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INCLUDING A SPECIAL SECTION DEVOTED TO NUMISMATICS

SCYTHIAN TREASURES FROM ANCIENT UKRAINE

PHARAOHS OF THE SUN: AKHENATEN, NEFERTITI, TUTANKHAMEN

KING ALFRED: LONDON'S FORGOTTEN KING

THE ROSETTA STONE

CLEANING THE ELGIN MARBLES

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MOSAICS IN RIMINI

EARLY COINS IN THE AEGEAN

NUMISMATIC MUSEUM OF ATHENS

Gold finial from Bratolahiv's'kyi Kurgan, near Olihyne. 5th century BC. H: 17.8 cm. From the touring exhibition 'Gold of the Nomads: Scythian Treasures from Ancient Ukraine'. San Antonio Museum of Art.
Antiquities from the collection of Christos G. Bastis

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Ellen R. Reeder, Gerry D. Scott, III, & Shelby L. Wells

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CELEBRATING 10 YEARS OF PUBLICATION

As we complete our tenth year of publishing Minerva, the Editor-in-Chief wishes to thank our readers for their faithful support of this publication. We believe that Minerva has served a worthwhile purpose in bringing to the English-speaking community the most timely coverage of world-wide archaeological excavations, museum exhibitions of ancient art, reviews of major symposiums and conferences, the trade in antiquities, a balanced reportage of efforts to combat the illicit trade, and a second-to-none world calendar of exhibitions, meetings, and lectures devoted to the ancient arts; all with an emphasis on England and the United States. We have increased our size from 48 to 72 pages and greatly expanded the number of colour illustrations, yet the subscription price has remained the same for the past five years. However, since this publication is heavily subsidised by Dr Eisenberg in order to maintain this value, the continuing and enthusiastic support of our readers is essential. As we enter into the new millennium, may we continue to share our passion for ancient art and archaeology.

NEWS FROM EGYPT

Discovery of four statues at Karnak Temple representing Tuthmosis I

This new important discovery has raised among scholars and researchers a very important question as to who built the Fourth Pylon of the temple at Karnak. Was it Hatshepsut, the great queen of Egypt, or her father Tuthmosis I? The centre portion of the pylon has been under restoration through a joint effort of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) and The Franco-Egyptian Archaeological Studies Centre at Karnak. The central section of the wall was built in limestone with a layer of stucco over the blocks, and the fall of this layer many centuries ago also brought down some of the limestone blocks. Restorers started by picking up the pieces of the collapsed wall in order to repair the eastern section, and discovered the remains of four limestone niches each containing the lower part of a seated Osirian statue. The four statues represent Tuthmosis I, as evidenced by an intact cartouche found nearby and the inscriptions over the lintel that specify that Hatshepsut ordered the erection of these statues. Some of the fragmentary pieces still carry inscriptions representing the winged sun disc with a red coloured leg above it that implies the existence of a relief of a whole scene surmounting the claues and adorning the eastern section of the pylon. Further work should lead to another four niches covered by the debris of fallen blocks that could possibly give the answer to the question whether it was Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis I who built the Fourth Pylon. Thanks to the combined efforts of the SCA and The Franco-Egyptian Archaeological Studies Centre in Luxor in the near future there may well be a new angle on the famous temple at Karnak.

Naglaa Habib El Zahlawi

Ongoing excavations in the central Delta of Egypt continue to delight archaeologists

El Dakahlia governorate located in the central Delta of Egypt includes many important archaeological sites, as the area used to be the 16th and the 17th Nome of Lower Egypt during the pharaonic era. The main sites that reveal important remains are Tell El Rabee, Tell Temy El Emeldel, Tell El Melkdam and Tell El Balanoum. An Old Kingdom necropolis was discovered in Monshelet Ezzat, 15kms south of Tell El Rabee that was Mendes. Mendes was mentioned in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts as the meeting place of Osiris and Ra. They unified and became the 'united Ba': the same texts state that Osiris' ba was manifested through the ram's body, consequently Osiris was represented as a ram and the worship of Osiris continued into the Ptolemaic era. Mendes became the capital of Egypt during the 29th Dynasty (399-380 BC). Civilisation in the area goes back to the Old Kingdom (2686-2181 BC) as the earliest tombs there are mastabas referred to in the 1st and 2nd dynasties (3050-2686 BC), but scholars have proved they were used during the predynastic and archaic periods. The SCA archaeologists started their excavations in September 1998, when the Old Kingdom necropolis was discovered, and excavations...
continue to recover more details of that period. The excavations produced many important objects, including exquisitely beautiful pottery vessels. Some of these have significant signs on them such as the fish symbol of Hat Meheit, the major deity worshipped in the 16th Nome at Mendes, modern Tell El Rahee, 15kms north of the newly discovered necropolis. Hat Meheit was probably the first deity worshipped and, represented as a fish, symbol of the fishing economy of 'the fishing community'. That area was known in hieroglyphs as Anebet and then Djedet and is mentioned in the geographical list carved on the walls of Senusret I's 'White Chapel' in the Karnak temple at Luxor.

Salem Gabr El Boghdadi, chief archaeologist for the area and the person responsible for the present excavations, is fascinated by the alabaster, schist, and everyday pottery found, and especially by the plates in different sizes and shapes. However, one masterpiece is a beautiful flaked flint long knife with the serekh of king Den, the fourth king of the 1st Dynasty (Fig 1). The serekh was the shape that contained the king's name in early times, and subsequently it was written in an oval cartouche. Horus, on top of the serekh, is represented as a falcon showing that Den was a powerful king and his reign particularly strong and prosperous. Among the finds was a cylinder seal with a hieroglyph inscription that might represent the owner's title or his position. The signs sm3-sk3m.sm3 on it might indicate the combination of the, ka, and the lb according to the SCA archaeologists working on the site.

The number of known decorated palettes is very few, not more than ten, but the example found here is particularly beautiful in its designs with animals (Fig 2). The palette was restored as it was broken into four parts and, repaired, it is almost complete. The design shows a hunting dog chasing an elegant animal that looks like a leaping gazelle trying to escape from it. The gazelle's head is lost with the damage at the top left. The dog is followed by another animal, possibly a gazelle, but in a more placid attitude. The two animals that circle the centre portion may symbolise the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt; they face each other, holding their tails upright. Their long necks interact and their heads meet in a probable sign of the unification. The animals' nails on their paws are reproduced in some detail, as they are on another animal represented in the lower part of the palette. This animal with its long ears and tail, standing quietly, is possibly a donkey. An elongated feather that looks like a palm tree runs up the right side of the palette. As with most of the known figurative palettes this new example still needs detailed study in order to interpret the significance of its design and iconography. This palette has close parallels with several of the other animal-decorated palettes and, with its elongated neck animals, principally with the obverse side of the famous Narmer Palette with its entwined neck 'serpoppards', now in the Cairo Museum.

Dr Gaballa Ali Gaballa, Secretary General to the Supreme Council of Antiquities, visited the site and noted the progress of work there; he said: 'we hope to discover more and more tombs related to this period that goes back five thousand years. We also hope that we can find more exclusive and rare finds related to that important period of our history as excava-
Antiquities smuggled to Jordan returned to Egypt

An over-lifesize Roman-Egyptian marble head of the god Serapis, probably sculpted in Alexandria, dating to the 1st century AD, was recently smuggled to Jordan, then registered as a Jordanian antiquity and placed on display at their National Museum, was returned to the Egyptian authorities. Also repatriated were 21 ushabti figurines, four amulets, and several scarabs that were found in a container being transported across the border between Egypt and Jordan.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

9000-YEAR-OLD FLUTES EXCAVATED IN CHINA

The oldest known playable musical instruments, six remarkable well-preserved bone flutes, have been excavated at the early Neolithic site of Jiha in Henan Province, China. According to radiocarbon dating, the site was occupied from c. 7000-5700 BC. Though fragmentary flutes have been found at other sites occupied by Neanderthal man, these are the first that have survived in such perfect condition that one of them can be played, producing a scale covering about an octave. Because of the carefully selected tone scale it is possible that they were used to play not just single notes, but music. The five- to eight-holed flutes were made from the hollow wing bones of the red-crowned crane. This could tie into the ancient legend that cranes could be summoned by playing on the flute. The flutes had been excavated as part of a six-year campaign which took place in the 1980s at Jiha, a prolific site with more than 300 graves containing thousands of stone, pottery, and bone objects. Pictograms carved on tortoise shell indicate that their use for divination goes back thousands of years beyond those previously found from the 2nd millennium BC.

Jiha is a site of 55,000 square metres, with over 40 house foundations, 370 cellars, and nine pottery kilns already uncovered even though less than five percent have been excavated. Dr Garman Harbotte of the Brookhaven National Laboratories on Long Island, New York, had been invited by Chinese scientists and archaeologists, while on a trip to China, to visit the site and it was only at the end of his visit that they took the flutes out from a safe. Fragments of about 30 other flutes were also uncovered. Dr Harbotte then convinced them to allow him to do radiocarbon analyses and to publish the findings in Nature, No. 401, 366-368 (1999), in conjunction with three of the Chinese scholars, Juzhong Zhang, Changsui Wang, and Zhaochen Kong.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

Additional tombs excavated at Bahariya

Dr Zahi Hawass, the director of antiquities for the Giza Plateau, who has been in charge of the excavations of the newly discovered necropolis at Bahariya Oasis, 365 kilometres southwest of Giza (see ‘The Valley of the Mummies’, Minerva, September/ October 1999, pp. 9-14), reports that two additional tombs have been uncovered, yielding dozens of additional mummies, many of which have cartonnage sarcophagi lavishly decorated with gilded designs. In one of the tombs, constructed like a catacomb, with a series of chambers one above the other, he has discovered the mummy of a child entirely covered with gold.
CORINTH MUSEUM ANTIQUITIES RECOVERED

On 7 September the FBI and the antiquities thefts squad of the Greek security police recovered 273 of the 276 antiquities stolen in April 1990 from the Archaeological Museum at Corinth, Greece, in a van in Miami, Florida. Among the recovered objects were a Greco 5th century BC marble kouroi head, a Roman marble head of Menander, twelve other Hellenistic and Roman marble heads, a Roman marble statue of Pan, a Graeco-Roman bronze statuette of a general, and a wide variety of Greek terracotta heads and figurines, Geometric, Corinthian, and Attic vases, small bronzes, jewellery, and glass vessels. A number of the better pieces were published by the writer in Minerva, September 1990, pp. 23-25.

For several years there were no leads, until the Greek authorities were contacted in 1997 by a Christos Mavriki who said that he had been approached by a Greek-American who claimed to have purchased the stolen pieces; however, they were not able to locate him or to recover them at that time. Three small and inconsequential vases from the group were illustrated and sold in a secondary New York auction for Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour in March 1998 as a single lot, one of which, a small Attic black-figure skyphos with lions attacking a boar, was subsequently published by the writer, unaware of its origin. However, these were not the first of the missing objects to appear on the art market, as two vases, both Attic black-figure hand cups with quadriga scenes and flanking sphinxes, were sold as one lot in a major New York antiquities sale in December 1997. The consignee, no doubt a bit emboldened, then placed five additional vases, in two lots, in the March 1998 sale.

Dr Thomas Mannock of the Beazley Archives at Oxford University, in charge of their pottery database, spotted the skyphos, noted its strong resemblance to one of the stolen vases, and contacted the writer in New York, who immediately notified the FBI and Dr Catherine Vanderpool of the American School of Classical Studies. The A.S.C.S had excavated, recorded, and photographed the objects, and also built the museum at Corinth in 1931. Dr Vanderpool had supplied Minerva in 1990 with a complete list of the stolen pieces and a selection of photographs of some of the more important objects which were then published. The FBI was able to locate three additional vases which had been consigned to the auction house and to track down the consignee, who was located in Miami.

Several months later Mavriki went to Miami after having contacted the owner of the stolen pieces, who was willing to return them if he were not named or prosecuted. Unfortunately, three of the better marble heads had apparently already been sold. They are illustrated here in the hope that they too can be recovered in the near future. Should any of our readers have any information concerning their whereabouts please contact the writer, who will pass on the information, in confidence, to the proper authorities, as it is still an ongoing investigation.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

MAJOR COLLECTION OF ANCIENT CHINESE ART DONATED TO SMITHSONIAN

Dr Paul Singer, a New York psychiatrist who died in 1997 at the age of 92, has willed a major collection of about 5,000 objects, valued between $50 to $60 million to the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution. He bought his first Asian object as a youth of 17 in Vienna. He fled Austria in 1938, passed through London, and then resided in New York and Summit, New Jersey, where he began to collect avidly for nearly 60 years, concentrating on early archaeological objects, and becoming an authority of the 8th to 3rd century BC antiquities of the state of Chu in southern China. Many of his objects have been displayed in museums throughout the United States. Some of the antiquities have been placed on temporary display at the Sackler Gallery to celebrate the bequest.

SICILIAN GOLD PHIALAE TO BE RETURNED TO ITALY

The Second Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on 12 July that the District Court decision that the inscribed Sicilian gold phialae, said to date from the 4th century BC, acquired by a New York collector, Michael Steinhardt, and seized by U.S. Customs in 1995, must be returned to Italy, due to the misrepresentations made to US Customs upon its importation in 1991 by the dealer, Robert Haber, that the country of origin was Switzerland, rather than Italy, and that the value declared was substantially lower than its true value. However, it did not attempt to tackle the more important issue that the Italian government considers the gold phialae stolen property since it considers all antiquities to be the property of the State and this would thus fall under the National Stolen Property Act.
The Kingdom of Pergamon emerged as a powerful independent state in western Anatolia in 323 BC, after the death of Alexander the Great. During the Attalid Period (281-133 BC) successive rulers erected a splendid city of marble on the peak of the acropolis, a site worthy of Pergamon’s status as the most powerful state in Asia Minor.

Most monuments on the Pergamon Acropolis were built under the ambitious and enthusiastic patronage of Attalos I and Eumenes II (241-159 BC). Their achievements include the royal palace, decorated with famous mosaics and works of art, and the addition of a two-story colonnade around the temple of Athena that connected a series of rooms exhibiting a collection of famous Greek sculptures. The renowned library built by Eumenes II, second only to the one in Alexandria, housed some 200,000 scrolls according to ancient sources. When the Alexandrian library burnt in 41 BC, Marc Antony took the Pergamon library to give as a gift to Cleopatra. The last of the Attalid kings, Attalos III, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. After his death Pergamon became the Roman capital of the Province of Asia in 133 BC.

Attalos I erected over-life-size statues of the conquered Gauls to celebrate his victories over these barbarian invaders. Between 165/4 and 156 BC, his son, Eumenes II, built an impressive marble altar to commemorate, and in gratitude for, his military successes. Of remarkable beauty and grandeur, the Great Altar (Fig 1) stood on a large terrace below the summit of the Pergamon Acropolis. The site is visually aligned with the Temple of Athena, the goddess to whom the Altar was dedicated, not to Zeus, as was once believed. A broad flight of stairs, which divides the centre of the west side of the Altar, leads to an upper court enclosing the altar proper. The walls surrounding this court were decorated with a small frieze depicting the life of Telephos, the legendary founder of the city, and numerous sculptures decorated the wide roof of the Altar.

However, a third sculptural feature – the Great Frieze – accounts for the Altar’s fame, even in ancient times. Only a monumental, central staircase interrupts the band of over-life-size relief figures encircling the base of the Altar. The small frieze in the upper court depicts episodes in the life of the hero Telephos in a traditional manner, but the Great Frieze portrays the mythical battle between the Olympian gods and the sons of Mother Earth, the Giants, in a new way.

A dramatic battle has erupted between the Giants and gods, who fight with extraordinary physical and emotional strength. Their struggle extends around six walls, not a series of events, but rather as the representation of a specific time and place – a
here attains a high point in the depiction of drama and pathos. At least 16 artists must have worked on the Great Frieze who combined all their artistic and technical experience to work the marble. Jewellery and weapons, elsewhere added in bronze, here are worked in the stone. The deep undercutting of the garments of the goddesses in some places leaves them almost detached from the background.

The artists sculpted extremely muscular yet always anatomically correct bodies, and were gifted at capturing expressions of pain and death on the tortured faces of the giants in marble, a material they seemed to model as readily as if it were clay.

The 'Arundel Giant' is a key fragment from one of the most unusual scenes on the Altar, the north frieze depicting Ares' companions engaged in battle. The physical attitude of the downed giant exemplifies the remarkable new creations of the Pergamene artists. At the feet of two fighters—a god wielding a tree trunk, and Giant preparing to ward off the awaited blow with an animal skin (Fig 2)—lies another bearded Giant, the subject of this fragment. The blow of a god has sent him plummeting to the ground so that he lands upside down, breaking his neck. The weight of his body, twisting to the right, rests on his shoulders, and his head is compressed against his chest (Fig 3). In death, his brow is furrowed, his eyes are closed, and his lips are slightly parted revealing the teeth (Fig 4). On the entire frieze, which is more than 100 metres long, this is the only instance where the face of a dead individual is preserved.

The 'Arundel Giant' has an unusual history. In 1667, the former Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum, Denys Haynes, rediscovered the fragmentary slab at Fawley Court, Henley-on-Thames. Haynes established that the slab belonged to the Great Altar of Pergamon, which has been exhibited in Berlin's Pergamon Museum since 1930. A few years earlier, Haynes had identified another fragment that originated from the Great Frieze, the workshop-Giant. Both were pieces from the first great English collection of Classical antiquities assembled during the 17th century by Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel (1585-1646). Arundel's agent, Reverend William Petty, had collected antiquities for Arundel House in the Strand, London, from throughout the Near East and in Italy. It is known that the 'Giant' arrived at Arundel House in 1627. If, as has been persuasively argued, the 'Arundel Giant' is the prototype for Peter Paul Rubens' 'Descent from the Cross', painted in Antwerp Cathedral in 1610 (Fig 5), the 'Giant' was not sent from Pergamon to England, but from Italy where Rubens would have seen it during his visit there (1600-1608).

Sometime after Arundel's death, his great-grandson gave pieces in the collection to a former family servant, Boydell Cupper, who used them to decorate his pleasure garden, called Cupper's Gardens, on the Thames Embankment at Lambeth. During the early 18th century, John Freeman acquired the 'Arundel Giant' for Fawley Court, where he set it into a Gothic Revival ruin. After its rediscovery it was given on permanent loan to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

Dr Max Kunze, Berlin,

New Yorkers may view the 'Arundel Giant' at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 East 79th Street, New York, from 30 November to 3 December between 11 and 5 daily where it is part of a special exhibition, 'Royal Portraits and the Hellenistic Kingdoms' presented by Robin Symes Ltd, in memory of Christo Michalidis (1945-99).
GOLD OF THE NOMADS
Scythian Treasures from Ancient Ukraine

The extraordinary treasures of ancient gold discovered in Ukraine since the 18th century have rarely been seen outside eastern Europe. Not since the 1975 Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition, 'From the Lands of the Scythians,' have American audiences been able to view these remarkable examples of the ancient goldsmith's art. Beginning this November, a long-term travelling exhibition of more than 170 objects – many of them excavated since the 1975 exhibition – will offer audiences in the United States and France a rare opportunity to study and enjoy these masterpieces of ancient metalwork.

Ellen R. Reeder, Gerry D. Scott, III, and Shelby L. Wells

One of the major nomadic peoples of the ancient world, the Scythians migrated westward, perhaps from an original homeland in the Altai Mountains, to the European Steppes. At its height, Scythian rule appears to have extended from the Danube River in the west to the Don River (and, for a time, the Volga River) in the east, and from the area surrounding modern Kiev (Kyiv) in the north to the Crimean Peninsula and the Black Sea in the south. The region corresponds roughly to the boundaries of modern Ukraine.

The Scythians first entered the historical record in the 7th century BC as a nomadic warrior culture that allied itself with the Assyrians against the Cimmerians, a similarly nomadic warrior culture displaced from the Ukrainian Steppes by the Scythians. So important was the alliance to both the Assyrians and the Scythians, it appears that a daughter of the Assyrian King Asarhaddon was given by her father in marriage to the Scythian King Bar-tata (Paratata) in 674 BC. Together, the Assyrians and the Scythians conquered the Medes of the Caspian Sea region. Following this victory over the Medes, Herodotus, the Greek historian, reports that the Scythians controlled much of the ancient Near East for 28 years, plundering and extracting tribute by force of arms. He also records the story that eventually the Median King Cyaxares entertained a large number of Scythian warriors, got them hopelessly drunk, and murdered them. Those who survived fled northward back to the Ukrainian Steppes.

Despite this set-back, the written sources which survive from antiquity give the impression that, as warriors, the Scythians were the equals of the Assyrians, the Greeks, and the Achaemenid Persians. To the Achaemenid Persians, the Scythians (or Sakas) were a colourful tribe of nomads and a definite threat. The Persian King Darius dealt with the Astatian Scythians in 520-519 BC, and a relief sculpture survives showing the defeated Astatian Scythian king as one of nine subdued enemy leaders bound and led before a large figure of the Persian monarch. However, Darius was not as successful in his campaign against the European Scythians. In 514 BC, he decided to campaign against these Scythians and assembled a massive army to subjugate them. During the campaign of 513-512 BC, the Scythians followed a 'scorched earth' policy, leading the Persian army deep into the Steppes, never giving battle and destroying wells, foodstuffs, and pasture land behind them. In doing so, they wore down the Persian army, forced it to retreat, and very nearly destroyed it.

To the ancient Greeks, the Scythians were northern barbarians of almost mythic proportion. One Scythian custom that helped to mark them as barbarians in Greek eyes was their habit of taking their wine neat, rather than mixing it with water in the Greek manner. The archaeologi-

Fig 1. Gold pendant, from Kurgan 2, burial 3, near Velyka Bilozercza. 4th century BC. Ht. 3.2 cm. WC.613 g. MHTU. The pendant is worked in elaborate detail and the Greek artist demonstrates a high degree of technical expertise. This type is known elsewhere in Greek jewellery where it most probably denoted a Greek goddess; whether a Scythian owner interpreted the image as a Scythian deity is unknown. The necklace has a bull's head pendant, and she also wore earrings (now missing). Her headpiece, not a type commonly found in Greece, may have been rendered with extra height to appeal to the Scythian custom for tall headdresses on women.
Scythian Gold

cal record certainly bears out the Scythian fondness for drinking wine, at least in connection with funerary feasts. Large numbers of Greek wine amphorae, remains of the funerary feast, are routinely excavated from the trenches surrounding Scythian tomb mounds known as Kurgans (Kurhans).

Direct contact between the Greeks and the Scythians began in the 6th century BC when Greek colonial settlements began to appear along the north coast of the Black Sea. The most important of these settlements grew into trading centres including Olbia (which Herodotus visited), Nymphaion, Chersonesus Taurica, and Pantikapaion. Trade largely consisted of Scythian grain from the farms of their subjects and slaves in exchange for Greek wine and luxury goods, including metalwork. Scythian grain was essential to ancient Greek prosperity, and the Athenian custom of Pericles very much relied on the regular arrival of the grain ships from the Black Sea coast. In addition, Athenians of the period recruited Scythian warriors to serve as police men. In time, the Greek colonies of the Black Sea became something like melting pots with cultural exchanges and intermarriage between Greek settlers and the Scythians. One example is the mother of Demosthenes, whose father was Greek and mother, Scythian. Demosthenes' Athenian opponents thus accused him of being a barbarian because of his wealthy Scythian grandmother.

Unlike their Greek and Near Eastern neighbours, the Scythians left no monumental architecture apart from their earthen tombs, which rise like small pyramids from the flat steppes. Nevertheless they produced any free-standing sculpture other than the massive, crudely carved effigies that crowned some of the burial mounds. Therefore, the wealth and quality of their metalwork is all the more arresting to the modern viewer. Whether as artists or patrons, the Scythians are identified with their metalwork in gold, silver, and bronze, and lavish examples of each of these are well represented in the exhibition. Most of the works are of relatively small scale and are very portable, as befits the requirements of a nomadic people. In addition, a large number of objects are associated with Scythian passions, including arms and armour, vessels associated with wine drinking, and horse trappings. Decorative jewellery for personal presentation is also in abundance with large earrings, torques (neck rings), finger rings, and fibulae (brooches) each represented. Belt plaques of lion heads in profile (Fig 8). Truly awe-inspiring are those works which combine these styles to form what might be termed a late Scythian aesthetic: these include the horse-head cup with its circle of raised horse heads that seem to revolve around a central, semi-precious stone (Fig 9); the famous gyrotys, or combination arrow quiver and bow case (a Scythian invention) that may show a scene from Scythian tradition using figures modelled in the Greek fashion (Fig 10), and an enigmatic gold finial with intertwining animal combat scenes quite literally covering its surfaces (Fig 11).

The form of the exhibition is the Greek connections obvious in much of the ornament. Also important was the Near Eastern influence. For example, the origin of the lion motif and the lion combat themes prevalent in Scythian art, a theme that was extensively relied on by the art of the Greeks, owes much to the art of the ancient Near East. The Scythians took this subject and assimilated it into their own style: instead of lions attacking man, the usual prey in Near Eastern scenes, Scythian art long portrays lions attacking stags and horses as the victims of lion attack; an example is the gold finial (Fig 11). Along the same line is the adoption of certain fantastic hybrid creatures, such as the sphinx and the griffin, by the Scythians. Such creatures ultimately originated in the Near East and are also found in ancient Greek art. Metalworking techniques such as granulation, filigree, and inlay began in the Near East as well. In this light the decoration on a gold sword scabbard (Fig 12) is distinctly Near Eastern in both form and the motifs produced in ancient Greek art. Metalworking techniques such as granulation, filigree, and inlay began in the Near East as well. In this light the decoration on a gold sword scabbard (Fig 12) is distinctly Near Eastern in both form and the motifs produced in ancient Greek art.

In addition, these interconnections appear in some of the scenes portrayed on the objects in this exhibition. For example, cult scenes are common in both Greek and Near Eastern art, and are portrayed on the large gold diadem (Fig 13) and the plaque with a goddess and a man (Fig 14). Further, Greek and Near Eastern depictions of everyday life and activity are paralleled by images of Scythian daily life on the gold plaque with two men drinking (Fig 15), and the gold helmet with a battle scene (Fig 16). The objects in this exhibition reflect the nomadic life of the people who procured and produced them, seen in their portability, their diverse styles, their quality and cost. For a culture that left no written history, this exhibition is in fact a grand testimonial to the artistic taste, business acumen, and warrior nature of a remarkable people.

Fig 2. Gold and enamel sphinx earring from the Three-Brothers Kurgan group, Kurgan 1 ('Eldest'), near Oboz'ky from the 4th century BC. H: 4.7 cm. Wt: 9.27 g. MHTU.

The form of the sphinx is characteristically Near Eastern; a hybrid creature with the head of a human, the body of a lion, and the wings of a bird. Greek craftsmanship is suggested by the delicate execution of the diadem, earrings, and necklace worn by the figure, and the inlaid torque ornament on the pedestal. The sphinx motif has been found in other Scythian burials, and its adoption may well reflect the Scythian affinity for imaginative hybrid forms.

A hybrid style is represented in these objects produced by and for the Scythians of this period. Some elements seem purely Greek, some purely Scythian in the so-called ‘animal style’, and others Near Eastern. Still other objects show a subtle fusion of two, or even all three, styles. Reflecting purely Greek style are items like the pendant head of a goddess (Fig 1), the massive sphinx earring (Fig 2), and the handsome silver cup included in the exhibition (Fig 3). Scythian in appearance are the frontal with dismounting archer and wounded stag (Fig 4), the lively statuette of a boat (Fig 5), and a gold plaque with bird heads (Fig 6). Near Eastern artistic style is found in a bronze situla (bucket) with lion head decoration (Fig 7) and two bronze
Fig 3. Silver kylix from Soboleva Mogila, near Hirniats’ke from c. 350-325 BC. Total h: 7.3 cm. Wt: 86.64 g. Al. This Greek kylix (wine cup) is representative of the amount and kind of wealth that travelled the trade routes between Greeks and Scythians. Despite the precious metal value, as a vessel its value would have been raised even higher with the cost of transporting it to Scythian lands. The willingness on the part of the Scythians to import silver vessels helps us understand why Greek metalworkers readily travelled to the Black Sea coast in search of commissions from their newly and vastly wealthy neighbours.

Fig 4. Gold horse frontlet, from Kurgan 11, burial 4, near Hunsyka. 4th century BC. H: 20.5 cm. W: 30 cm. Wt: 46.79 cm. MHTU. A horse, hunted with its master, wore this plaque, which was originally mounted on blue leather backing. The scene of the hunt is not uncommon in Scythian art; this piece has been rendered with particular skill to reveal high action: the hunter is dismounting from his horse while at the same time reaching for another arrow to shoot the stag, which already has two arrows embedded in its shoulder and neck, and the horse’s front hooves in the air indicate it is still in motion. The central tree solves the demands of the openwork technique, which requires multiple parts of connection for each design element. Although many elements in the scene, especially the tree and the scored surfaces, are of Near Eastern inspiration, the subject is probably derived from a Scythian oral tradition.
Fig 5 (above). Gold and silver boar, from Khomyna Mogila (Kurgan 13), burial 1.
4th century BC. H: 5 cm. Wt: 20.58 g. MHTU.
This golden boar served as the handle on a wooden cup. Plates soldered under the feet were attached to the vessel so that the boar would appear to be climbing the side. The body is hollow, formed of two halves joined together; the legs and tail were made separately and the fangs are silver. The boar is a common motif in the objects from Scythian burials, possibly because it played a primary role in the lives of these nomads who hunted it for its meat, bones, and tusks.

Fig 7 (below). Bronze situla. A chance find from near Pishchane from the 5th century BC.
H: 23 cm. D: 15.5 cm. Wt: 3500 g. NMHU.
This situla, or wine bucket, is part of a group of Greek bronze vessels. The shape was widely used throughout the ancient Greek world, though it originated in ancient Egypt. The Scythians were fond of Greek wine, and collected the serving and drinking vessels that were used by the Greeks.

Fig 6 (above). Gold plaque with bird heads from the 5th century BC. The find spot is unknown. H: 92 cm. Wt: 17.6 g. MHTU.
On this plaque, possibly used to decorate a cup, three volutes have been turned into interlocking eagle heads. One head, facing right at the top, has a round eye and a beak that curls into a volute. The volute’s centre is also the eye of the second large eagle head, rotated ninety degrees clockwise; a palmette emerges from its curled beak. The third smaller bird’s head curves around the eye of the first bird. The central volutes, and the circle which results from the transformation into bird heads, create a revolving dynamic that conveys the movement typically found in the Scythian style.

Fig 8 (below). Bronze plaques with lion heads in profile, from Kurgan 4 near Berestmihhy. 5th century BC. H: 6.9 cm. Wt: 7.7 cm.
Total wt: 150 g. NMHU.
These plaques were attached to a leather baldric, a strap that was worn over the shoulder to support a sword scabbard on the hip. The leather strap probably passed through the open lion mouths and was fastened in front. The large lion heads in profile with open jaws reflect Near Eastern influence, and also find parallels among the burials of the Scythians’ close cousins, the Sakas, in Central Asia.
Fig 9 (left). Gold, amber, and glass phialae, from Bratollubov’skyi Kurgan, near Ol’hnye.
5th century BC. D: 13.5 cm. Wt: 223 g. Al.

This phialae is an unsurpassable example of how Scythian and Greek artistic traditions could coalesce into new, successful forms. The horse heads are clearly inspired by the Parthenon frieze. Unmistakably Scythian, however, is the affinity for the rotational dynamic—in this case, the circular arrangement around a central disc.
The cup was made by hammering a sheet of gold over a single matrix six times to produce the six horses. Separately soldered strips were added for the details of the horse trappings. The central domed disc is of Baltic Sea amber.

Fig 10 (below). Gold gorytos cover, from Melitopol’skyi Kurgan, burial 2, near Melitopol’.
4th century BC. L: 47 cm. W: 23-27.5 cm. Wt: 206.4 g. MHTU.

This celebrated gorytos (bow and arrow case) was probably made in Panticapaeum, a city that was probably the centre of the goldsmiths industry on the northern coast of the Black Sea. Several very similar examples have been found in Scythian kurgans, indicating the ancient technique of hammering gold sheets onto reusable moulds. The graceful figures reflect the artistic style of 5th century Athens, but details such as questionable stools and unusual gestures, suggest an artist unfamiliar with Greek culture. The scene is not readily identified with any known Greek myth, so it is likely that the artist(s) used Greek forms to depict a Scythian oral narrative.
Scythian Gold

Fig 11 (above). Gold finial from Bratolubiv's'kyi Kurgan, near Ol'hyne. 5th century BC. H: 17.8 cm. Top d: 3 cm, base d: 18.5 cm. Wt: 652.6 g. AL. This exquisite, hammered gold finial was possibly ritualistic and associated with special status. In the lower registers, combat takes place between real animals such as bulls and lions. In the upper registers, fantastical griffins join with lions in attacking horses and stags. The disc on the top of the finial is a masterful integration of Scythian, Near Eastern, and Greek artistic traditions. A stag and a leopard, formerly isolated in the oldest Scythian traditions, are here locked in a scene of combat that probably originated, together with the leopard’s frontal head, in the ancient Near East. By contrast, the sympathetic treatment of the valiant stag, which expresses realistic suffering by raising its front leg and throwing its head back, is very much in the Greek idiom.

Fig 12 (above). Gold and enamel sword scabbard with boar, from Kurgan 6, burial 1, near Ordezhonikide. Late 6th-early 5th century BC. L: of scabbard 30.5 cm. L: of plaque 18 cm. Total wt: 120.49 g. MHTU. The plaque in the shape of a boar covered the side flap of the scabbard. Typically Scythian is the crouched position of the animal. The animal’s form is rendered as abruptly angled planes, a stylistic feature that may have originated in wood-carving. In contrast to the roughness of the boar, the scabbard is delicate and finely-wrought. The twisted gold wire circling the top edge, the tear-drop cloisons with blue enamel inlay, and the groups of three gold granules at the base of each inlay, are elements adopted from Near Eastern metalsmiths. Given the distinctive character of each piece, it is interesting that they were put together.

Fig 13 (below). Gold diadem from Kurgan 2. c. 350-300 BC. L: 36.5 cm. H: 9.8 cm. Wt: 64.58 g. MHTU.

In the centre of the scene, an enthroned woman holds up a mirror. Around her, male figures kneel in obeisance. Nearby, two men drink from a single horn, and a Scythian restrains a bare-chested captive. Because the image of the seated female with mirror appears elsewhere in Scythian art, she is interpreted as an important goddess, perhaps Taftali, goddess of home and family. Identified by the Greek writer Herodotus. Whereas details in the representations are clearly derived from Greek and Near Eastern art, the scene is without parallel and is widely interpreted as a depiction of Scythian religious beliefs, emphasising a supreme female deity, ritual drinking to seal a bond between warriors, and the centrality of conquest.

Fig 14 (above). Gold plaque with goddess and man, from Kurgan Nosaky (Kurgan 4), burial 1, near Baky; c. 350 BC. H: 3.5 cm. Wt: 3.97 g. MHTU. This motif of a seated Scythian woman holding a mirror before a male attendant repeats the central scene on the large gold diadem included in the exhibition (Fig 13). The composition is generally interpreted as a depiction of a supreme Scythian goddess.
Fig. 15 (above). Gold plaque with drinking scene, from Bervians'kyi Kurgan, near Novyansyl'ka; early 4th century BC. H: 2.8 cm. Wt: 1.7 g. MHTU.

Two men drink from a single drinking horn, a Scythian ritual scene also seen on the large gold diadem (Fig 13). The motif may reflect the ritual of blood-brotherhood described by the Greek historian Herodotus, in which two Scythians mix some of their blood with wine in a single cup or horn, and dip into the mixture a sword, arrows, battle-axe, and spear. After saying some prayers, both men drink from the same cup, as a way of sealing a solemn oath.

Fig. 16. Gold helmet from Perederieva Mogila (Kurgan 2), near Zrubne. 4th century BC. Ht: 18.2 cm. Wt: 607.59 g. MHTU.

On each side is a composition of three figures, a standing warrior defending a fallen comrade from the blade of another standing warrior. All have long hair and wear the distinctive Scythian long trousers tucked into ankle-high boots, belted tunics, and tasselled scabbards. Greek influence is obvious in the battle composition, the naturalistic figures, and landscape details, but the meticulous rendering of the Scythians suggests a Scythian patron or collaborating Scythian artist.

Fig. 17 (left). Silver bridle ornaments from Kurgan Ohuz (Pionchhna Mogila), near Nyzhni Sirohovy, 4th century BC. Total wt: 395.9 g. MHTU.

Horses were such an integral part of Scythian life that many were sacrificed to accompany their masters into the afterlife. Kurgan Ohuz contained the skeletons of 14 horses; some kurgans have yielded the remains of as many as 200 horses. These silver elements were attached to a leather bridle: the lion-heads decorated the nose strap, while the images of a winged man fighting a lion were attached to the cheek strap. These are common motifs in Thracian art, and reflect influence from the lands west of the Scythians.

Fig. 18. Gold, filagree, and inlay Cimmerian pin, from Kurgan 1, burial 3, near Vil'shany, 9th-8th century BC. D of gold head: 3.6 cm. Wt: 20 g. MHTU.

The Cimmerians, like the Scythians after them, were skilled in the technique of working gold. Characteristics of Cimmerian art are the inlay of blue faience beads, the spirals, and the wire-wrapping. The pin may have served as a clasp, a pendant, or even a sceptre finia.
Fig 19 (left). Frontlet with weary Herakles, from Babynya Mogila, near Tarasova Hryhorivka; c. 350-300 BC. H: 20 cm. W: 8.8 cm. Wt: 93.9 g. Al.
This frontlet (prometohippodion) was attached to the bridle above the horse’s nostrils and beneath the eyes. It depicts Herakles leaning on his club, a composition that was well-known in antiquity because of the celebrity of the sculpture the Weary Herakles, by the Greek artist Lysippos (c. 340 BC). The image has been adapted on this relief in recognition of the Scythian taste for ostentatious headdresses: the artist has draped Herakles’ lion skin over his head to make the mane rise upward, dramatically radiating the locks.

Fig 20 (above). Gold plaque with bee, from Haimanova Mogila, burial 2, near Bialky. 4th century BC. H: 2 cm. W: 1 cm. Wt: 0.57 g. MHTU.
The bee motif and its naturalistic treatment come from the Greek world. The immediate prototype of this matrix-hammered plaque may be a coin of Ephesus, a city in Asia Minor (Turkey) where the goddess Artemis was closely associated with the bee. Greek coins travelled easily and far in the ancient world and were accessible sources for artistic inspiration. The plaque decorated the garments of a Scythian woman.

Fig 21 (below). Sarmatian gold and glass torque from Nohaichyn’skiy Kurgan (Kurgan S), burial 19, near Chevone. Late 1st-early 2nd century AD. H: 10.2 cm. D: 14 cm. Wt: 918.5 g. MHTU.
The influx of the Sarmatians in the northern Black Sea region saw the introduction of an artistic style characterised by tightly grouped animal forms and the use of stone inlay. On this superb example, blue glass eyes lend a colourful accent to griffins and felines so closely placed that individual margins are sacrificed in the communal blend. The torque was found in a woman’s burial and was probably made specifically for funerary use, because there are no signs of wear, and the diameter is quite small.

Fig 22 (left). Gold and fabric headdress from Tetianyna Mogila, near Ordzhonikidze, Dnipropetrovs’ka Oblast’, c. 350 BC. Total wt of gold: 150.65 g. Al.
A total of 243 plaques, including floral designs, Gorgon heads, and beaded male heads, covers the conical cap and separate cloth of this headdress. Conical caps are also known from excavations in eastern Kazakhstan, further evidence of the Scythians’ ancestral roots in Central Asia.
Fig 23 (above). Silver and gold vessel from Soboleva Mogila, near Hirniats'ke; c. 350-325 BC. H: 9 cm. D: 8.3 cm. Wt: 113.91 g. AI.
This type of silver vessel finds no Greek parallels, but repeats a shape already established in the sturdy ceramic vases of the early Scythians. Similar vessels have also been found in Central Asian burials. Its compact, functional shape allowed the vessel to fit comfortably in the palm of the hand and was, consequently, ideal for households perpetually on the move.

Fig 24 (above). Bronze cauldron from Melitopol's'kyi Kurgan, Melitopol'. 4th century BC. H: 58 cm. Wt: 25,000 g. NMHU.
The communal nature of the Scythian lifestyle is dramatically illustrated by the size of this bronze cauldron, or cooking vessel. The oval shape makes it easier to lift.

Fig 25. Gold satyr con finger ring from Velykyi Ryzhanivs'kyi Kurgan, near Ryzhanka, c. 330-300 BC. D: 1.7-1.8 cm. Wt: 11.44 g. AI.
This ring was made by attaching a band to a gold coin minted in the Greek city of Parsikhapaton (modern Kerch) between 330 and 300 BC. On one side is the head of the god Pan (half man, half goat) with horns, pointed ears, and an ivy wreath around his head. On the reverse is a griffin, a stalk of wheat in its mouth, and the Greek letters ΛΑΝ, identifying the mint city and a pun (rebus) on the name with the god represented.

Fig 26. Bronze belt buckle from Aul Tseia, North Ossetia, Caucasus. 7th-5th century BC.
H: 9.5 cm. W: 9.5 cm. Wt: 500 g. NMHU.
This belt buckle, which shows a doe suckling her young, is roughly contemporary with the earlier phase of Scythian art. The smoothly rounded forms have no parallel in Scythian art. Also distinct from Scythian traditions are the stylised antlers, long ears, long curling tongue, and the spiralling tail of the smaller animal. On the reverse are fragments of two loops for attachment to a belt.

Fig 27. Gold headdress pendants from Kurgan 13, near Ordzhonikidze; c. 350-300 BC. Total wt: 17 g. AI.
From each hoop hang six smaller pendants, each with a bead in the form of a human head. The pendants would have been attached to a woman's headdress so that they dangled above the eyes at each temple. When the hoops and small discs sparkled in the sunlight together with their headdress, the effect would have pleased the Scythian taste for elaborate self-presentation.
Fig 28 (left). Gold plaque in the form of a snake-legged winged female, final spot unknown, 6th century BC. H: 3 cm. W: 3 cm. Wt: 1.86 g. MHTU. The hybrid creature shown here has a female torso with wings instead of arms. Instead of legs, the torso divides into two spirals flanking a palmette. The image is known in Greek art but is not readily identified. To the Scythians, the motif may have suggested a deity mentioned by the Greek writer Herodotus: Ape, the snake-footed goddess considered to be the mother of all the Scythians.

INSTITUTIONAL ABBREVIATIONS:
MHTU – Museum of the Historical Treasures of the Ukraine, Kiev;
NMHU – National Historical Museum of Ukraine, Kiev;
AI – Archaeological Institute, Kiev;
Perey – State Historical and Art Preserve;
Pereyaslav – Khmelnytsky.

GOLD OF THE NOMADS:
Scythian Treasures from Ancient Ukraine

The exhibition opens at the San Antonio Museum of Art, 7 November 1999 – 30 January 2000
and goes on to the following venues:
The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
7 March – 28 May 2000
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
2 July – 24 September 2000
Brooklyn Museum of Art
29 October 2000 – 21 January 2001
Venue to be announced
18 February – 29 April 2001
Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City
27 May – 11 August 2001
Grand Palais, Paris
25 September – 31 December 2001

A catalogue of the exhibition, edited by Dr Ellen Reeder, Curator of Ancient Art at The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, and introduced by Dr Gerry Scott, Interim Director and Curator of Ancient Art at San Antonio, and Gary Vikan, Director of The Walters, will be available at the venues. The catalogue features essays on Scythian art and culture by top scholars in the field of Scythian archaeology: ‘Scythia and the Scythians’, by Lada Ovsyshchevych; ‘Scythian Art’, by Ellen Reeder; ‘Early Nomadic Sources for Scythian Art’, by Esther Jacobson; ‘The Workshop of Gorytus and Scabbard Overlays’, by Mikhail Treister; ‘A Short Note on the Cimmerians, Scythians, and the History of Ukraine’, by V. I. Murzin; ‘Scythian Culture of the Central Dniistrovo Area’, by Tetyana Bohush and Halya Buzayn; ‘The Archaeological Investigation of Artistic Scythian Barrows in the Northern Black Sea Area’, by A. P. Tolkachko and S. V. Polin; ‘The Collection of Scythian Gold from the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine’, by Olena Pidvysotska, and ‘The Iron Age Collection in the National History Museum of Ukraine’, by Svitlana Koresaka and Lyudmila Strokova. There are a total of 352 pages with 295 illustrations, 240 in colour. Scythian Gold: Treasures from Ancient Ukraine is published by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., and will be available at the venues for $29.95 paperback, or $60 hardback.

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his autumn the audience at the last night of the Promenade Concerts in London's Royal Albert Hall once more joined heartily in the chorus of 'Rule, Britannia'. But what has that to do with a 9th-century Anglo-Saxon king, the only English ruler ever to have attracted the title 'the Great'? There are in fact two links. Indeed, Promenaders should perhaps have sung even louder this year, for 26 October 1999 marked the 11th centenary of the death of King Alfred, hero of Thomas Arne's opera *Alfred* of 1740, of which 'Rule, Britannia' was the climax. And the Royal Albert Hall itself is named after the 'Saxon' Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, whose marriage to Queen Victoria encouraged a revival of popular interest in England's Anglo-Saxon past. Victoria's imperial Britain saw its origins in the England of King Alfred, and Victoria and Albert had their second son christened Alfred. The name remained among the top dozen or so most popular names for English boys for the next sixty years.

At the unveiling of Hamo Thornycroft's majestic statue of King Alfred in Winchester in 1901 (Fig 1) Lord Rosebery described Alfred as 'the ideal Englishman, the perfect sovereign, the pioneer of England's greatness'. Normally said Victorian historians were not averse to using similar terms. Such sentiments permeated schoolbooks and children's books as well. In 1922 Arthur Mee's *Children's Encyclopedia* praised Alfred as 'The proud figure that stands at the gate of the English dawn'; the Ladybird book of 1956 also treated him in heroic style.

Such imperialist Anglo-Saxon attitudes have gone out of fashion in recent years. So has the 'cult of the personality', the belief that all great historical events are the work of great men. In 1990 students and faculty members of Alfred University, New York, objected to plans to erect a statue of King Alfred, on the grounds that he was just another DWEM ('Dead White European Male'). Alfred no longer receives as much attention as he once did, and Anglo-Saxon history is being squeezed out of the English school syllabus. Yet most recent historians seem to be united in their respect for Alfred's achievements. When in 871, at the age of 22, Alfred succeeded his older brother Æthelred as King of the West Saxons, his kingdom was threatened by Danish invaders. After a series of defeats in East Anglia and most of the neighbouring kingdom of Mercia. By the time Alfred died in 899 he had defeated the Danes and made peace with those who settled in England. He was undisputed ruler of a unified kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons. Though part of Britain still lay, as the 'Danelaw', in Danish hands, Alfred had laid the foundations of modern England. He had overseen a revival of religion, learning, and art; he had formulated English law; he had established new towns; he had recognised the importance of the 'English' language in uniting his people. But the claim that he founded the Royal Navy is open to question!

This year's centenary has not been received with the excitement that accompanied the bicentenary of Alfred's death - which was commemorated, because of a misunderstanding of the dates that appear in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in 1901. Then there were massive celebrations (most of them held in Winchester, which claimed to be Alfred's capital). A new warship HMS *King Alfred* was launched; there was an exhibition at the British Museum, and a commemorative plaque was unveiled in Brixton, south London. By contrast, most of this year's events have been lower-key. However, excavations at Hyde Abbey, Winchester, were taken up in the media as 'the search for Alfred's bones' - and the MP for Wantage, where Alfred was born in 848 or 849, put in a bid for the bones, if found, to be repatriated there.

At the Museum of London, an exhibition under the title 'Alfred the Great: London's forgotten king' runs until January 2000. It brings together results of the Museum's
own recent archaeological excavations in central London with major loans from the British Museum, the British Library, the Ashmolean Museum, and elsewhere.

For if we in London should celebrate one achievement of Alfred's, it is his establishment of a new town of London, the centre from which the modern City grew. According to the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 886, 'gesette Alfred cyning London burg' - 'King Alfred gesette London-burg'. The Old English word 'gesette' has been translated 'besieged', 'occupied', 'settled' and even 'founded'. Alfred's friend and biographer Bishop Asser added to the confusion by writing that 'after the burning of cities and the massacre of peoples' Alfred 'restored the city of London splendidly and made it habitable again'. And it was long considered that it was to celebrate his London initiative of 886 that Alfred issued a special series of silver pennies and halfpennies, with a monogram made up of the letters of 'LVNDONIA' (Fig 2).

Yet what exactly Alfred did in 886 has remained unclear. The exhibition centres on this crucial event and highlights the recent evidence that Alfred planned a new town within the Roman walls of London to replace the abandoned earlier Saxon town of Lundunwic. For Lundunwic had lain to the west outside the ruins of the old Roman city of Londinium.

The discovery of early Saxon Lundunwic is one of the major archaeological advances of recent years. Bede described London in the 8th century as a flourishing 'emporium', and contemporary documents - some of them included in the Museum of London exhibition - confirm the importance of London as a trading centre under the control of Mercian kings. However, intensive archaeological work in the City of London in the 1970s and early 1980s produced no evidence of an 8th-century town. Then in 1984, a turning point in the study of Saxon London, there appeared almost simultaneously papers by Alan Vince and Martin Biddle suggesting that earlier Saxon London had lain to the west of the Roman city (Fig 3). Excavations the following year at Jubilee Hall, Covent Garden, began the process that has over the years since revealed Lundunwic, the trading town that grew up along the Strand in the 7th and 8th centuries. Most recently, work to the south of the Royal Opera House has revealed a major north-south street, alleys and yards, and closely packed houses and workshops.

The realisation that earlier Saxon London lay beyond the Roman city walls seemed to provide an obvious context for Alfred's actions in 886. It was assumed that following the
Viking raids that had devastated London in 842 and 851 he was moving settlement back inside the defendable perimeter provided by the Roman walls (Fig 4). Documents of 889 and 899 show him granting property near what was later Queenhithe, and refer to trade taking place nearby on the ‘ripa emptorialis’ – the trading shore. Archaeology confirmed that a grid of streets in the southern part of the City of London had been laid out in or soon after Alfred’s time – London as we know it began as a late Anglo-Saxon planned town.

Yet as investigations continued it became clear just how oversimplified such an assumption was. The evidence from Londinium showed that it had indeed (flourished in the 8th century – coins found have been almost without exception ‘scufiud’, the small silver coins that preceded the introduction of the broader silver ‘penny’ at the end of the 8th century. But Londinium was already in decline before the Viking attacks of the mid-9th century. Meanwhile in the City it soon became clear that not all the streets within the apparent ‘planned grid’ were of the same date, and not all had roadside buildings from the beginning. Archaeology suggested that not until the late 10th century, or even later, could London once more be called ‘flourishing’.

Numismatists, meanwhile, were coming to the conclusion that Alfred’s ‘London monogram’ coin must have been issued long before 886. Perhaps it appeared at the time about 880 when Ceawlin, the ruler installed by the Danes in Mercia, died or was deposed, and Alfred may have been able to claim sole control over the part of Mercia that included London.

The period between the apparent decline of Londinium in the early 9th century and the plentiful archaeological evidence from the later 10th century found within the City remains one of the most puzzling in London’s long history. Yet recent work may be closing the gap. The Royal Opera House excavation produced a small hoard of Northumbrian coins, deposited at about the time of the second recorded Viking attack. A defensive ditch on the northern edge of the site seemed to be of similar date. Concurrent work in the City on the site of Bull Wharf (now Thames Court) close to Queenhithe (Fig 5) revealed early buildings and foreshore structures – and the first ‘London monogram’ coins to be found in a City excavation (Fig 6). These three coins are all of the rare issue of halfpennies (the

first ever to be struck); these low value coins may reflect the need for small change in a busy trading environment. Timbers from a Frisian trading vessel had been reused to build riverside revetments. Pottery from northern France and the Rhineland, and metalwork from Germany and Scandinavia completed the picture of foreign trade (Figs 7, 8). The site must be part of the ‘trading shore’ referred to in the documentary sources.

From the later revetments, preserved in the waterlogged ground, came reused timbers from a massive building – the aisle-posts of a great hall, or even a church, which must
have stood not far away. Although later than Alfred's reign, the timbers are a unique surviving illustration of the scale of the buildings of late Saxon London and of the sorts of skills Alfred could call on as he rebuilt his kingdom.

Anglo-Saxon skills are reflected elsewhere in the Museum of London exhibition, which places Alfred's plans for London in the context of his overall achievements. The world-famous Alfred Jewel (Fig 9) has made a rare excursion outside Oxford for the first month of the exhibition - thanks to the great generosity of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum. This extraordinary piece of gold and enamelwork is inscribed 'ÆLFRED MEHT GEWERICAN' - 'Alfred had me made'. It can stand as an icon for several other exhibits that reflect Alfred's initiatives but do not all carry such an explicit statement of responsibility - the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (a copy from the British Library, perhaps made in Worcester); Alfred's Laws; one of the translations into English from the works of Pope Gregory that Alfred commissioned; and the Burghal Hidage with its description of the system of fortified urban centres apparently begun by Alfred.

The exhibition also looks at the growth of Alfred's reputation in later years - for it is only since the 16th century, and Tudor historians' 'rediscovery' of the Anglo-Saxons and their language, that he has regularly been called 'the Great'. The peak of Victorian and Edwardian adulation for Alfred is represented by the millennial celebrations held in Wantage and in Winchester, Hamo Thornycroft's plaster and plastocene maquette of his statue of Alfred, unveiled in Winchester in 1901, goes on public display for (probably) the first time. And a display of children's books reminds us how Alfred has been depicted in the past - and how often he has been shown burning the cakes (Fig 10).

In this 11th centennial year Alfred's achievements should be remembered. As Scotland and Wales celebrate their independence and rediscovered nationhood, surely we can commemorate the role of Alfred in the creation of England as we know it without reliving the excesses of Victorian imperialism. London certainly would have been a very different place today if Alfred had not 'settled' it in 886. The continuous history of the nation's capital city dates from Alfred's reign.

And did he burn the cakes? Probably not - the story was first written down about 100 years after his death. But it is a good story and it too deserves to be remembered.

John Clark is Curator of the medieval collections in the Department of Early London History and Collections at the Museum of London.

'ALFRED THE GREAT 849-899: London's forgotten king'

The Museum of London exhibition runs from 8 September 1999 to 9 January 2000

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ANCIENT MOSAICS IN RIMINI

D. L. Patanè

La forma del Colore, mosaici da l’antichità al XX secolo, currently on view at the Palazzo del Podesta in Rimini, charts the history of the technique of mosaics, from antiquity to modern times. More than 100 mosaic panels make up the exhibition. They range from large polychrome Roman masterpieces to recently discovered fragments and to illustrate the continuity of a refined art and its survival in modern times, superb mosaics by 16th and 17th century painters and contemporary masters such as the Italian futurist Gino Severini. In addition to mosaics which have, until recently, lain unseen and forgotten in the storage rooms of various Italian museums, there are many examples from the private collection of the great Italian art historian Federico Zeri who died recently (see Minerva, January/February 1999, p. 8).

Among the earliest mosaics are sections from a Nilotic scene, made in opus vermiculatum in the 2nd century BC which were found in Rome at Monte Testaccio, together with a 1st century BC emblema representing cupid[s] and a lion from the harbour of Antium which is now on display in the Antiquarium Comunale in Rome (Figs 1, 2).

Fig 1 (above).
Fragments from a polychrome mosaic with a Nilotic scene. End of the 2nd century BC. From Monte Testaccio, Santa Maria Liberatrice in Rome.
Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

Fig 2 (right).
‘Hercules and the Lion’ from the harbour of Antium, Selva Pammphili, 1749. 1st century BC. Antiquarium Comunale, Rome.
Other early mosaics, such as the 1st or 2nd century AD Victories from the excavations at the Domus at Palazzo Gioia in Rimini have been restored and are, for the first time, on public display (Fig 3).

Among the later mosaics are fragments found during excavations at the so-called Theodoric's palace and at the Byzantine palace in Via d'Azeglio in Ravenna, and an almost complete semi-circular mosaic which framed the pavement of a Byzantine villa at Meldola near Forlì. All of these date back to the 6th century AD and are good illustrations of the meshing of late antique and Christian iconography (Fig 4).

Also included in the exhibition are some Renaissance mosaic panels of high quality proving that the craft of mosaic making never really died out at a time when wall painting was all the rage. During Renaissance times collectors of antiquities vied with each other to acquire recently uncovered mosaic floors from ancient monuments and incorporated them in the furnishings of their palaces. Masterpieces like the end of the 2nd century BC Nilotic scene from Palestrina became a source of inspiration for Renaissance painters such as Pinturicchio. This is a reversal of the common practice in antiquity of copying famous paintings by great masters into mosaics.

An interesting evolution of the craft saw a revival in Rome of the exacting technique of assembling minute tesserae into miniature composition due to the founding, in 1727, of the Opificio Vaticano. These small mosaics were often inspired by late antique originals or represented ruins of ancient monuments and were used to decorate small objects, mostly brooches and earrings much admired by visitors making the 'Grand Tour' in Italy.

In the section devoted to archaeology at the 9th International Conference on Oriental Carpets in Milan last September one of the lectures was appropriately entitled 'Mosaics: The missing link?' outlining the close relationship between mosaics and carpets. Pliny in his Naturalis Historia talks of pavements rendered beautiful and long-lasting by the transformation in stone, through a costly and laborious technique, to precious carpets. The weavers of stone carpets applied their art, first to the floors of palaces and private houses, and then eventually to mosaics which covered walls and vaults when Rome, Venice, and Ravenna were the centres of mosaic production between the 5th and the 12th centuries AD.
PHARAOHS OF THE SUN:
AKHENATEN, NEFERTITI, TUTANKHAMEN

A major international exhibition on Egypt's Amarna Period (1353-1336 BC), organised by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, examines the extraordinary seventeen-year reign of the heretic Pharaoh Akhenaten, beginning with innovations undertaken by his father, Amenhotep III, and ending with the era's lasting legacy.

Yvonne J. Markowitz presents an overall view of the period in relation to the exhibition.

By 1851 Lepcis had sorted out tantalising bits of the puzzle. In addition to drawing a plan of the ruins, he identified Akhenaten as Amenhotep IV, the successor of Nebmaat-ra ('Lord of Truth is Ra'), Amenhotep III, the 'Dazzling Sun' king who ruled Egypt during the first half of the 14th century BC. He also described the king's opposition to the old cults, the move from Thebes to a virgin site in Middle Egypt, and the installation of the Aten as the sole god, abstractly rendered as a sun disk with radiating arms terminating in human hands.

Amenhotep began his tumultuous 17-year rule (1353-1336 BC) in Thebes, possibly as co-regent with his ageing father, Amenhotep III. From all accounts, the reign of the elder king was a time of unsurpassed prosperity and peace (Fig 2, cat. 11). The country's borders were not only secured but extended southward into Nubia and eastward into western Asia. Among his neighbours, Egypt assumed an enviable position of control and influence. At home, there was a spirit of internationalism, the result of several diplomatic marriages, extensive trade, and a judicious foreign policy. Given the freedom and resources, Amenhotep III inaugurated an extensive building programme that included an immense temple gateway at Karnak and a vast mortuary temple with two monumental sculptures of himself (the so-called Colossi of Memnon) on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes (Luxor). At a nearby site, he built a luxurious 80-acre palace-city with an artificial lake which he named after the sun-god Aten. This dedication may have aroused the suspicions of the powerful priesthood of Amen, the Theban god who attained pre-eminence during the 18th Dynasty. In any case, it was certainly a harbinger of future hostilities and political realignments.

During his long and productive reign, Amenhotep III fathered several children with his Chief Royal Wife, Queen Tiye, a powerful woman in her own right (Fig 3, cat. 39). Destined for kingship was their elder son, Prince Thutmose, a High Priest of Ptah in Memphis who also held military titles (Fig 4, cat. 15). With his premature death, the second son stood to inherit the throne. Although little is known of the prince's early life, some have speculated that the future king was strongly influenced by the sun cult of Heliopolis and that he may have revisited briefly with his father during the latter's waning years. We do know that at the beginning of his reign, the young king had himself depicted in a manner consistent with long-standing traditions (Fig 5, cat. 20). Before long, however, Amenhotep IV reinvented himself as Akhenaten ('One Who is Effective for Aten'), expunging from his name any reference to the state god.
Amen. With his young wife Nefertiti, he initiated an intense building programme at Karnak, erecting at least four temples dedicated to his god. These structures, built in an open-air style conducive to sun worship, were decorated with sunk relief in a style that is often referred to as ‘extreme,’ or ‘expressionistic.’ Most peculiar were representations of the royal family who were portrayed with elongated faces (Fig 6, cat. 27), spindly extremities, truncated upper torsos, narrow waists, exaggerated hips, and swollen bellies. Also startling was a series of colossal sculptures of the king set at regular intervals outside the colonnaded court of the Gempaaten, the largest of the Karnak temples (Fig 7). These surreal images, ambiguous in gender and haunting in countenance, are dramatic examples of the extent of Akhenaten’s break with the past (Fig 8, cat. fig. 5).

Innovations during Akhenaten’s reign were not restricted to the religious and artistic realms. Kingship, the cornerstone of governance and statecraft, was redefined when the name of Aten was placed within royal cartouches as if the god ruled Egypt. The Aten was also depicted wearing the uraeus (cobra), an emblem of kingship. At the same time, Akhenaten had himself designated as Aten’s sole representative and intermediary on earth. The king also envisioned himself as Shu, the firstborn son of the Heliopolitan creator god Atum, who symbolised air and light. In fact, several of the colossal statues from Karnak feature Akhenaten in the guise of Shu (Fig 9, cat. 22) while others may represent Nefertiti as Tefnut, Shu’s twin sister and wife (Fig 8).

The position of Akhenaten’s principal wife Nefertiti also evolved under the new regime, as demonstrated by...
her increased prominence in cult rituals and state affairs. At Karnak, she received a new name – Neferneferuaten (‘Beautiful are the Beauties of Aten’) – which was also enclosed by a cartouche. Within the precincts of the Huhenben, a temple decorated exclusively with images of Nefertiti and her daughters, it was the queen, rather than the king, who was shown officiating as high priest. Another curious departure from traditional iconography can be seen on a stela which was probably installed in a private shrine at Amarna. This small but masterfully-composed monument features the royal couple seated as three daughters play and vie for their attention (Fig 10, cat. 53). In addition to illustrating an unprecedented display of intimacy among royal family members, the stela shows the queen seated on a chair decorated with the standard symbols of kingship while Akhenaten’s seat is left unadorned.

Another kingly gesture later adopted by Nefertiti was the ‘smiting’ posture, an established propagandistic device intended as a display of royal power (Fig 11, cat. 110). These, and other reversals, suggests that with the adoption of the new theology, there was a general blurring or shifting of time-honoured roles. Some Egyptologists have even suggested that Nefertiti ruled as pharaoh for a brief period of time. It also appears that the queen was not the only female accorded special attention and status. For example, Ti, wife of the Overseer of Charities, Ay, was awarded the prestigious Gold of Honour necklace reserved for favoured male courtiers in a ceremony held at Amarna honouring the couple (Fig 12, cat. 232).

For the royal family, the move from Thebes to Amarna was accomplished sometime between Akhenaten’s fifth and sixth regnal year. The atmosphere in the new capital during these formative years must have been electric. Within a relatively brief period, an entire city – temples, palaces, administrative buildings, private residences, and tombs – was built, decorated, and furnished. For artists and craftsmen,
Amarna undoubtedly offered an exciting opportunity to apply one's skill and imagination. Of the 20 to 50 thousand people estimated to have lived at the site, several thousand are believed to have been involved in creating Akhenaten's dream city.

The layout of Akhetaten called for a central core of buildings that served as the religious and administrative hub. Known as the Central City, it included a complex of highly innovative temples, a series of palaces, and an administrative area for affairs of state. The Great Aten Temple, a half-mile long stone enclosure fronted by two brick pylons, consisted of a series of open-air courts with hundreds of offering tables. These light-filled spaces represented a departure from the progressively dark rooms found in traditional Egyptian temples. The structure also included a colonnade or portico with statues of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, each inscribed with the names of Aten (Fig 13, cat. 86). To the south of the Great Temple lies the Small Aten Temple, a stone-built sanctuary that probably served as a chapel for the royal family.

The largest of the ceremonial buildings at Amarna was the Great Palace, a vast complex located in the western quarter of the Central City. Covering an area greater than 160,000 square feet, it boasted columned halls with brightly painted pavements, spacious open courts bordered by statues of the king and queen, fragrant gardens, and pools stocked with fish. Hints of the magnificent interior decoration of this grand edifice can be gleaned from the many painted floor fragments, carved inlays, and bits of polychrome tiles found at various locations throughout the site (Fig 14, cat. 79). A surviving section of a balustrade from the palace, which once formed part of a processional ramp, features Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and Princess Meretaten offering to Aten who, in turn, extends life-giving rays that embrace and caress the royal family (Fig 15, cat. 72). The figures on this architectural fragment are rendered in the extreme manner, the style associated with the early years of the reign.

Fig 10 (top). Limestone stele of the royal family, Akhenaten, Nefertiti and three young daughters. H. 33 cm. AMB.

Fig 11 (middle). Limestone relief of a royal barge with Nefertiti represented in a cabin in the classic posture of a pharaoh viewing an enemy. H. 23.9 cm. MFAB.

Fig 12 (right). Limestone relief from the tomb of Ay at Amarna. With him is his wife, Ty who also receives the shepsi (Gold of Honour collar) reserved for high-ranking courtiers. H. 27.5 cm. EM.
The Great Palace also provided living quarters for the royal women (the harim), work areas for officials, and a multitude of storerooms. It was connected, by means of a bridge, to the smaller King’s House. Here was located the Window of Appearances—a balcony where the royal family addressed Amarna’s residents, rewarding the favoured with prized goods (Fig 16, cat. 66).

Amarna’s Central City was also home to various government agencies. In 1887 a cache of nearly 400 clay tablets, written in cuneiform script, was discovered by a local woman in an area later identified as the ‘House of Correspondence of Pharaoh.’ These documents, drafted in the diplomatic language of the day, offer contemporary insights into international tensions and intrigues. One letter written by King Tushratta of Mitanni (northern Syria) to the queen mother Tiye, registers a complaint against her son, Akhenaten, who failed to convey the appropriate respect and consideration. The king states:

I will not forget the love for Mimmuteya [Amenhotep III], your husband. More than ever before, at this very moment, I show him 10 times—much, much—more love to Napkhareya [Akhenaten], your son. You are the one who knows the words of... your husband, but you did not send all my greetings to your son. Please, you [have sent] plated statues of wood. With gold being as dirt in your son’s country, why have they been a source of such distress to [him] that he has not given them tome?... Is this love?... (translation by William L. Moran)

Tushratta’s letter is typical in that it draws attention to a growing dissatisfaction among Egypt’s vassal states and the contentious kingdoms to the east. Some scholars have cited the documents as proof that Amenhotep III’s attentiveness and diplomatic skills helped maintain a balance of power in the region while Akhenaten, whose energies were spent elsewhere, all but lost Egypt’s Asiatic empire. The truth is probably somewhere in the middle—new forces were stirring up hostilities in Western Asia while Akhenaten was busy orchestrating his religious reforms and erecting a new capital. That he was not totally oblivious to outside affairs is evidenced by at least one campaign into Nubia where the king established a temple to Aten at Kawa, a site south of the Third Cataract.

For his principal residence, Akhenaten chose an area far north of the
Central City, a site close to the Nile and the cliffs’ edge. There he built an elaborate complex that included a large villa with pillared halls, sleeping quarters, storerooms, a chapel, several open courts, a lake, gardens, and servants’ housing. The complex, known as the North Riverside Palace, was enclosed by a monumental wall and connected to the Central City by the Royal Road, an artery that ran the length of the city. This road served as a processional way for the royal family whose passage, in chariots, was an important Amarna ritual evocative of the traditional procession of the gods from Karnak to Luxor. Under the new creed, Akhenaten was undoubtedly hard-pressed to provide a meaningful alternative to the public festivals honouring the old gods and his solution, a ritualised display of himself and his family, was carried out with the pomp of a grand parade.

In the southern sector of Amarna, Akhenaten built the Maruaten, a religious complex that included housing for officials, a palace, a central lake, formal gardens, a Sunshade temple (used for daily worship of the Aten), and a series of 11 pools forming a water-court. Walls and columns were lavishly ornamented with inlays, tiles, and painted scenes while the pavement in the pool area was painted with flying waterfowl and plants rendered in a naturalistic fashion. Inscriptions suggest the complex was associated with the royal women, notably a secondary wife, Kiyaa (Fig. 17, cat. 57) and later Meretaten, the first of Akhenaten and Nefertiti’s six daughters (Figs. 18, 19, cats. 46, 54).

Many of Amarna’s residents lived in two densely settled housing areas north and south of the Central City. Within these zones were distinct neighbourhoods featuring large mud-brick houses interspersed with smaller homes. All shared a common plan: a reception hall, a square, central living-room with a dais for entertaining guests, and smaller rooms grouped around the central core for sleeping, washing, storage, and cooking.

Villas for the wealthy were situated in the South Suburb. These spacious dwellings included granaries, a well, gardens, a private shrine, outbuildings, and servants’ quarters. Some estates, such as the workshop of Chief Sculptor Thutmose, were specialised residences where skilled artisans lived and worked. In fact, it was in this particular atelier that German excavators, working in the early decades of this century, discovered the famous bust of Nefertiti. An icon of feminine elegance and beauty, the sculpture is thought to have served as a model for artists-in-training. Another Nefertiti head, perhaps the work of Thutmose himself,
able in the Amarna tombs is the absence of traditional funerary iconography, particularly scenes featuring Osiris, god of the underworld. Also missing are the banquet and daily life vignettes which focused on the life of the deceased. In their place are large-scale images of the Aten and the royal family, with the tomb owner occasionally shown in his official capacity. Those particularly favoured, such as Meryra, Overseer of the Royal Quarters, are ceremoniously regaled by the royal couple with lavish gifts as he stands beneath the Window of Appearances. What is implied in such scenes is that access to all that is good in this life, as well as the next, relies on the largesse of Akhenaten, the beloved and only son of Aten. This position is made clear in the Great Hymn to Aten, the fullest version of whose poetic verses are carved on the walls of the tomb of 'the God’s Father', Ay:

There is no other who truly knows you but for your son, Akhenaten. May you make him wise with your innermost counsels, wise with your power.

The hymn, 'spoken' by Akhenaten, is considered one of the world’s outstanding examples of religious literature and contains, in its most complete version, the basic tenets of the new religion. A recurring motif in the hymn is the majesty and joy of creation by Aten, the sole god responsible for all that exists:

How various is the world you have created,
each thing mysterious, sacred to sight, O Sole God,
beside whom is no other!
You fashioned earth to your heart’s desire,
while you were still alone,
Filled it with man and the family of creatures
each kind on the ground, those who go upon feet,
he on high soaring on wings,
The far lands of Khor and Kush,
and the rich Black Land of Egypt.

(hymn translations by John L. Foster)

Yet, in spite of Aten’s exclusivity and the orchestrated campaign waged by Akhenaten against Amen throughout Egypt, ordinary household deities — the gods and goddesses who presided over birth, childhood, and common ailments — continued to play an important role at Amarna. Whether this reflects an understand-

was carved from quartzite and intended to serve as part of a composite statue (Fig 20, cat. 42). Less known, but equally compelling, are the plaster heads found in a storage area of the same studio. These true-to-life portraits, some depicting their owners at an advanced age (Fig 21, cat. 139), exemplify the period’s fascination with realism.

A good deal of our understanding of life at Amarna comes from tombs cut into the bay of cliffs along the eastern edge of the city. In addition to the burial chambers prepared for the royal family, several dozen tombs bear the names of Amarna’s leading citizens, including the High Priest Meryra, the Police Chief Mahu, the Charioty Overseer Ay, and the Chief Physician Pentu. Although most of the tombs were never finished, the existing structures with their decorations provide insights into funerary practices under Atenism. Most notice-
ing of magic's powerful draw or toleration on Akhenaten's part is unknown. In any case, the large number of amulets, cultic items, and figurines of minor gods recovered from domestic contexts supports the notion of widespread popular religion under Atenism.

It is not surprising that for his own burial, Akhenaten fashioned a tomb that was innovative and reflective of his personal creed. To begin with, the Royal Tomb was located in the eastern, rather than western cliffs—the area traditionally associated with the setting sun and the burial place of his immediate predecessors. Akhenaten also cut his tomb along a straight (rather than bent) axis with two suites of rooms for family members opening off the central passage. At the end of this corridor was a pillared burial chamber. Here, carved into the plastered limestone walls, were inscriptions and images of the royal family worshipping Aten.

Akhenaten died sometime during his 17th regnal year. A sarcophagus fragment recovered from the Royal Tomb bears the head of Nefertiti instead of the usual funerary goddesses, suggesting that the king remained true to his beliefs to the end (Fig 22, cat. 218). Fragments of numerous mumiform shabti figures of Akhenaten, lacking the invocation to Osiris, are clever modifications of standard funerary beliefs (Fig 22, cat. 221). Apparently, Aten's only son was unwilling to jeopardise his place in the afterlife!

Akhenaten was succeeded by his son Amenhotep III (Fig 24, cat. 101). The princess was interred in one of the Royal Tomb's suites and a mourning scene, decorating the wall of her burial chamber, shows a grief-stricken family—a compelling example of the ability of Amarna artists to express tender emotion and a scene unparalleled in Egyptian royal art. By this time, the exaggerated style had become less extreme, a quality apparent in statuary as well as relief (Fig 25, cat. 85).

Meketaten's death is believed to have occurred sometime after year 12, following the arrival of a large contingent of foreigners from the Aegean, Western Asia, and Nubia. This event, depicted in two private tombs, was marked by great fanfare with gift-giving and elaborate entertainments—a celebration, perhaps, in honour of the king's jubilee. Unfortunately, dark days lay ahead for the inhabitants of Amarna as the princess's death was soon followed by the disappearance of Queen Tiye, Nefertiti, Kiya, and Meketaten from official records. Could it be that the royal ladies fell victim to disease or pestilence brought into the country by the delegations from abroad?

Events surrounding the final days at Amarna remain unclear. Akhenaten's successor was a boy named Tutanhaten, possibly his brother or a son by a secondary wife (Fig 26, cat. 240). It was not long before the young king publicly rejected Atenism, changing his name to Tutankhamen and abandoning the city of his birth. The king and his court returned to Memphis and Thebes, Egypt's political and religious capitals. In an attempt to restore public confidence, Tutankhamen issued a proclamation, known as the 'Restoration Decree,' which addressed pressing conditions at home and abroad. Most importantly, the edict re-established the supremacy of Amen and returned power to his brother.

Tutankhamen, whose queen was Ankhnesenpaaten (formerly the Princess Ankhnesenpaaten), died after ten years on the throne, leaving no immediate heirs. He was succeeded by Ay (Fig 12), an ageing official who had served him as well as Akhenaten. Ay was soon followed by Horemheb (Fig 27, cat. 251), a general under Tutankhamen and the first post-Amarna king free of any associations with the hated heresy. The new ruler was quick to eradicate all vestiges of Atenism, including names, images, and temples. What he missed or passed over was later destroyed.
The Amarna Pharaohs

Rameses the Great of the next dynasty. As for the city of Amarna, it was soon forgotten, its remains buried for centuries under the shifting sand.

Although vigorous attempts were made to eradicate the Amarna heresy from Egyptian history, vestiges of the revolution continued well beyond Akhenaten’s death. In art, Amarna peculiarities such as full, sensual lips, a distended abdomen, and relaxed posture can be found in statuary (Fig 28, cat. 256) and relief. In religion, monotheistic themes continued to be explored and developed during the Ramesside period. Some scholars, including Sigmund Freud, have even suggested that its influence can be seen in the monotheism of Moses. From this viewpoint, Akhenaten is really the ‘grandfather’ of the Judeo-Christian belief system. Architecture also profited from the Amarna interlude, with new forms such as the Window of Appearances and composite floral columns continuing long after the abandonment of the city.

The drama that unfolded at Amarna continues to fascinate scholars, musicians, artists, and the general public who see Akhenaten as a pioneering, romantic figure. As for Nefertiti, she has become an icon of elegance and beauty while Tutankhamen will forever be associated with the marvellous treasures found in his tomb in 1922.

Scientific exploration of Amarna began with the work of British archaeologist Sir William Flinders Petrie, who excavated the site in 1891. Using the Lepsius plan, he focused his attention on the Central City where he located several private residences, the Great and Small Aten temples, and the Great Palace. From 1907 to 1914, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, under the direction of Ludwig Borchardt, excavated the North and South suburbs which yielded the fabulous treasures from the Thutmose workshop. The British resumed excavating during the early 1920s and continued through the mid-1930s under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES). Their team, which included J. D. S. Pendlebury, excavated royal and religious structures as well as private residences. Among their finds were objects of everyday life left behind during the exodus as well as luxury items hidden with the intention of retrieval at a future date (Fig 29, cat. 212).

More recent work at Amarna was conducted by the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (EAO) and the EES, under the leadership of Barry Kemp, who has been excavating at the site since 1977. Their discoveries are reflected in a large-scale model of the city built specifically for the exhibition. The current generation of archaeologists, who have been applying the tools and methods of modern science in both the field and laboratory, have greatly added to our understanding of life in an ancient city.

Fig 27. Granite statue of the General Horemheb seated as a scribe. H: 116.8 cm. MMA.

Fig 26 (above). Sandstone head of Tutankhamun wearing the cloth nemes head-dress. H: 29.6 cm. MFAB.

Fig 25 (top). Yellow stone seated statue of Akhenaten, once part of a dyad or pair statue since the remains of a woman’s left arm encircle his back. H: 69 cm. MEPC. Photo: Peter Clayton.

Illustrations are taken from the catalogue that accompanies the exhibition, all except Fig 25.
The Amarna Pharaohs

Fig 28. Limestone dyad statue of the Overseer of the Treasury Maya (under Tutankhamen), and his wife Meryt. H: 158 cm. ROL.

Fig 29. Glass fish vessel. Formed of polychrome glass on a sand core, it probably held precious oils or ungents. L: 14.5 cm. BM.

Venues for the exhibition:
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14 November-6 February 2000
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 19 March-6 June 2000
Art Institute of Chicago, 17 July-24 September
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 23 November 2000-18 February 2001
A variety of special events, including on 4 December 1999 a symposium entitled ‘Amarna: A Thirty-four Century Legacy,’ will accompany the exhibition. For information on the symposium, please call (617) 369-3326 or visit the website at www.mfa.org/calender.

Museum abbreviations:
AMB – Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin
BM – British Museum, London
EMC – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
MFA – Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MLP – Musée du Louvre, Paris
MMA – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
NCG – Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen
ROL – Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
VAGM – Verein zur Förderung des Ägyptischen Museum, Berlin

‘Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen’ was organised by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with major support from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Rita E. Freed, organiser of the exhibition, is the Norma-Jean Calderwood Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Art of the Ancient World. She was assisted in the exhibition by Research Fellows Yvonne J. Markowitz and Sue H. D’Auria.

The book and catalogue of the exhibition, Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen, is published by Thames and Hudson, with 366 pages and 452 illustrations, 431 of them in colour. $30 paperback, $60 hardback (£36).

Edited by Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D’Auria, there are introductory essays on the many aspects of this most controversial period by 13 internationally known Egyptologists. The specialist catalogue entries on the 265 objects in the exhibition are written by 26 contributors. The range of objects gathered together here is unprecedented and major museums from all over the world, as well as private collectors, have been most generous in allowing some of their major exhibits to travel. In fact, for the next 18 months, in some of the world’s major museums, there are going to be ‘on loan’ labels in many places in the display cases. This will obviously lead to disappointment for some visitors, but the overall splendour of the compilation of the exhibition, and the splendid publication that accompanies it, will to a great extent compensate for this.

For anyone interested in this most enigmatic period of Egypt’s long history, the exhibition catalogue is a must – it is far more than a catalogue of objects, it is a bold and useful statement on the Amarna period overall, and will obviously find a place on the shelves of all ‘Amarnaphiles’, as well as those who can appreciate the glorious art of the period that was to have lasting effects on later dynasties.

Peter A. Clayton

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BURIAL GROUND OF KINGS?

Martin Carver

Edith Pretty, who sought consolation in the counsel of a spiritualist in London. From the south-facing bay-window of her house at Sutton Hoo she looked out upon the grassy mounds, and perhaps recalling her father's unearthing of a monastery in their grounds in Cheshire, she decided to launch an archaeological investigation.

Contacting Ipswich Museum, she was put in touch with Basil Brown, a self-taught archaeologist and astronomer who was familiar with monuments all over East Anglia. One contemporary recalled that he had the 'appearance of a latter ... with a remarkable flair for smelling out antiquities.' His method was to locate a feature and then pursue wherever it led, in doing so becoming just like a terrier after a rat. He would trudge furiously, scraping the spoil between his legs, and at intervals he would stand back to view progress and tread in what he had just loosened. The sad thing is that with training he might have been a brilliant archaeologist.' Mrs Pretty lodged him in an upper room of the chauffeur's cottage, paid him 30 shillings a week, and secured him the services of two labourers. On 20 June 1938 Edith Pretty furnished Brown with a probing iron which he drove into Mound 1 until it hit something solid. Over the following six weeks Brown and his helpers trenched three mounds, finding boat rivets in Mound 2. With her appetite whetted, Mrs Pretty charged Brown to begin again in 1939. On 8 May she encouraged him to begin at Mound 1. Three days later the team of servants had uncovered the prow of a boat. Using the position of the iron boat rivets to guide him, Brown began to uncover the imprint of the ship. In all 3,000 rivets or clench nails were to be found of the 27-metre-long clinker-built boat, canted at a slight angle in its final resting place. On 30 May the great trench collapsed, but Brown struggled free after a few minutes. On 6 June, Charles Phillips, a Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge visited the site: 'I was not prepared for the astonishing sight which met me when I came round to the actual work.' Brown's trench had cut down to reveal the gunwale outline of a large boat. Phillips, in his letter to the Government authorities as well as the British Museum. While Brown dug on, the Government awarded £250 to Phillips to pursue the excavations on a more scientific basis.

The professional arrived on 8 July, and on 11 July, in a heated discussion, he informed Ipswich Museum that he was now in control. Brown seems not to have minded. Calling on an experienced team of young scholars, Phillips began to remove the centre of the ship, discovering on 21 July the first piece of jewellery. The following day brought to light 'a veritable feast of golden objects', as Carver puts it, including gold plaques, a handful of gold (Merovingian) coins (Fig 1), and a great gold buckle decorated with the raised forms of interlaced animals. In the following days Byzantine silver dishes, the Coptic bowl, and the 'lamp-stand' (the standard) were found. Carver captures the romance of the time, no doubt reflecting not only on the young excavators' subsequent accounts, but on Angus Wilson's novel, Anglo-Saxon Attitudes, in which the discovery is alluded to. In an exhilarating 17 days Phillips' team had emptied a burial chamber of 263 objects of gold, garnet, silver, bronze, enamel, iron, wood, bone, textiles, feathers, and fur. The chamber even contained the crushed remains of a flowering plant and a lacquered box. Arriving on the scene on 18 August, Hector Munro Chadwick, Cambridge's great Anglo-Saxon scholar, identified the
The new interpretation of the burial chamber is remarkably ingenious. On the basis of the split sides of the coffin found in Mound 17 excavated by Carver's team, a special analysis was made of the Mound 1 stratigraphy in which the objects in the chamber were related to each other. Developing this idea, Carver suggests that the burial chamber was probably built in the patched, working ship once it was placed in its trench. Analogy with the later, 9th-century Viking Oseberg ship-berial from Norway indicates how it might have been made.

A series of joists was laid across the middle of the boat on which a floor of planks was laid. The roofed chamber was then built on the floor and filled through an open side. Fine objects were hung from the walls of the chamber before the open coffin was eased into the chamber. The dead man, probably wrapped in a shroud, was laid at its west end. His head was placed on a goose down pillow in which a lady-hed had found its way. On either side of the pillow were two pairs of size 7 indoor shoes suggesting that the dead man was short. Around him were heaped his many possessions and gifts to the gods. Next the lid was nailed tight and on it were placed food offerings and regal gear including a great silver dish made in Constantinople at the end of the 5th century, and a set of weapons decorated with gold and garnets. On the coffin lid, too, was a helmet wrapped in cloth (Fig 3). Carver allows us a last peep into the chamber with a mostly unburnt cake of beeswax fuel, before the roof was sealed and the mound was made over it.

Many decades would have passed before the chamber collapsed and was compressed into the thin veneer of woodfain and metal found by Basil Brown. This was a king, a mariner, a warrior, and in the tradition of the Anglo-Saxon poem, Beowulf, a hero — the cemetery, now we have Carver's new reading of this great grave, contains an anthology of statements, connected by certain themes, some of which…can be read clearly enough to allow us to make history from them. Carver believes that mounds 5, 6, and 7, all containing cremations, may have been planned together, perhaps the first burials at Sutton Hoo. Mound 18, with another cremation, the horse burial in Mound 17, a rich female in Mound 14, and a number of inhumations including those of children were buried around the early cemetery.

Next came the ship-berial and a number of smaller mounds. In all, the cemetery was barely in use for 50 years with a custom displaying the strong influence of contemporary Scandinavian rites for kings.

With its extraordinary range of grave goods, from Byzantium, Frankia, Scandinavia, and different parts of Britain, the ship-berial waymarks a special moment when, with the introduction of Christianity, the family of a dead king were signalling his North Sea and English connections. The conspicuous consumption was an instrument of power designed to impress the chiefdoms of the 30 or more other English and British tribes over whom Raedwald held sway. Above all, the
cemetery was a response to the crisis being faced by an embryonic English royal lineage as they encountered the ideology of Continental monks, with their new stone churches and literary culture, and had, at the same time, to establish their origins as kings in the face of fierce competition from their peers. From this moment the English, and almost certainly, English as a language, began to take shape.

One further, grotesque feature, discovered in the new campaigns, provides a powerful illustration of the extent of this conspicuous consumption. Around Mound S an unexpected circle of burials was discovered. Careful excavation of the decomposed bodies showed that many were buried face down, with their wrists or ankles laid over each other as though tied. One individual had a broken neck; another had been decapitated. Were these buried when the royal cemetery was in use, or after its abandonment? The excavated data do not help us; the burials cannot be closely dated. Nevertheless, this seems to be a public execution site, known in later Saxon times as a cwealmstow, or killing place. Carver speculates that these were ritual killings – human sacrifices, the public liquidation of people who did not agree with the new king's outlook. Whatever, they represent a fascinating, if brutal, counterpoint to the extraordinary finesse of the Anglo-Saxon jewellery found in the burial-chamber.

Carver's book ends with a spirited account of the recent efforts to safeguard the mounds and to develop a small exhibition centre in the house that once belonged to Mrs Pretty. His efforts to make this a place for the public, like Mrs Pretty's generosity in giving the treasure to the nation, marks a final, uplifting episode in a remarkable story. Carver is modest when he describes himself as standing on the shoulders of the giants who found and brought this great archaeological site to life. His book, with its popular appeal, and accessible analysis, shows beyond doubt that he belongs to the pantheon of creative and, dare one say, romantic archaeologists who, by their skillful endeavour, have made the remains of this unlikely place one of the enduring keystones in the early history of the English.

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Fig. 5. The Tower reconstruction of the Sutton Hoo helmet, which is of distinctly Swedish type.
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Hieroglyphs Deciphered

CRACKING CODES

Peter Clayton looks at the new exhibition in the British Museum and the background to the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs.

It can rightly be said that in that great building in Bloomsbury known the world over as The British Museum, there are two major icons – the Elgin Marbles and the Rosetta Stone. Everyone, literally, knows that they are there, and on their first visit invariably heads straight for one or the other, depending on your penchant for Ancient Egypt or Ancient Greece.

The new exhibition at the Museum, ‘Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment’, celebrates the bicentenary of the discovery of the Stone by a French officer of engineers, Pierre François Xavier Bouchard, in 1799 at Fort St Julien at the Rosetta mouth of the Nile to the east of Alexandria. He was intelligent enough to consider that the inscriptions he noted on it might be of historical importance and reported it to his superior officer, General Jacques-Abdallah Menou (a convert to Islam). He, as invariably happened amongst the conquering French, appropriated it to himself.

After the defeat of the French at the Battle of Alexandria on 23 March 1801 (their fleet having been annihilated at the Battle of the Nile on 1 August 1798 by Nelson), Article 15 of the Treaty of Alexandria, 2 September 1801, stipulated that all antiquities held by the French should be handed over to the British as spoils of war. These ‘spoils’ included the so-called ‘sarcophagus of Alexander the Great’ (actually the never used inscribed sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, the last native pharaoh of Egypt, died 343 BC), and the Rosetta Stone. General (as he styled himself, although he was only Colonel) Tomkyns Turner was sent to collect the Stone from Menou, and Turner, being an antiquary man, comments how most appropriately it was collected in a ‘devil cut’. Menou, apparently in a fit of rage at having to hand over the Stone, had broken the wooden frame in which it had been set. The story goes that, upon Turner presenting himself with his detachment to collect the Stone, Menou disdainfully looked him up and down, noting that both of them were big men, and remarked that since Turner was taking the Stone he might also take Menou’s shirts, recently returned from the laundry, which should fit Turner, as well. History does not record if the latter offer was taken up by the British officer. What is recorded, however, is an indelibly painted text on the deep thicknesses on either side of the Stone, and on the other edge, ‘PRESENTED BY KING GEORGE III’. It was presented to The British Museum by the King and entered the Museum in June, 1802.

The Stone, with its irregular shape, 112.3cm high, 75.7cm wide, and 28.4 cm thick, is readily recognisable (Fig 1). It is estimated to weigh 762kg and is inscribed in three scripts and two languages (not in three languages, as so many books still incorrectly state). The upper 14 lines are in the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, the middle 32 lines are in demotic (a ‘popular’ form of writing Egyptian), and the bottom 53 lines are in Greek. Copies were made of the inscriptions by Nicolas Jacques Conte by taking the block of stone and taking off an impression, almost like a lithographic plate but, of course, it was in reverse, and copies went to scholars in Paris.

The Greek text was immediately recognisable and swiftly published by the Swedish scholar Johan David Åkerblad (who died in Rome in 1819, just three years before Champollion’s epochal publication). He was also able to work out, by comparing the Greek and the demotic texts, the proper names in the demotic as they occurred in the Greek. These, and his recognition of the words for ‘temples’, ‘Greeks’, and the suffix ‘him’ were of great use later to Baron Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy in working on the translation of the demotic. De Sacy (Fig 2) was the first person to read any ancient Egyptian words, recognising three names in the demotic version in 1802. Long before, in 1761, the Abbé Jean Jacques Barthélemy (1716-95) had suggested (accurately) that the ‘ovals’ (now called cartouches) seen in inscriptions might hold royal names.

The foundations were therefore laid for the brilliant young scholar Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832). He studied under Silvestre de Sacy; as a boy and later he had read Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Chaldean, and even Chinese, then he added Coptic (to be of inestimable value), Ethiopic, Sanskrit, Zend, Pahlavi, Farsee, and Persian. Initially Champollion made many mistakes in his attempts at cracking the code; but, making use of Thomas Young’s unpublished work (where Young (Fig 3) had detected the relationship of demotic with Coptic), he forged ahead. In 1815 Silvestre de Sacy had warned Thomas Young in a letter: ‘I think, Monsieur, that you are further forward today, and you read a great part at least of the Egyptian text. If I had one word of advice to give you, it would be to shorten your discoveries too much to M. Champollion. It could happen that he might then claim to have been first’. A later
Hieroglyphs Deciphered

Fig 3. Thomas Young (1773-1829). Commemorative medallion by Frank Kovace, first struck in 1954 as an award of Cambridge University endowed by the will of the archaeologist Frederick William Green (1869-1949). D: 51mm.

letter says of Champollion that ‘He is prone to playing the role of a jackdaw in borrowed peacock’s plumes.’ Young, however, was generous in exchanging information. Making comparisons with the names in the cartouches (‘ovals’) on the Rosetta Stone and on the Bankes obelisk at Kingston Lacy (brought back from Philae by Giovanni Belzoni), Champollion was able to publish his Lettre à M. Dacier… in 1822, which demonstrated that he had made the break through in reading Egyptian hieroglyphs (Fig 4).

 Naturally, the Rosetta Stone itself is the focal point of the exhibition at the British Museum, but there are changes to be noted on it. First, it has been carefully cleaned by Eric Miller of the Museum’s Conservation Department. Many thought that the inscription would ‘disappear’. When the infill of white chalk had been removed, however, it was still as clear as ever. In fact, with the removal of the traces of the original French inking, a layer of carnauba wax (earlier put on to help preservation), the chalk infill, the London polluted atmosphere, and the grease of the hands of the countless thousands over the years who have felt

Fig 4. Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832). Medallion by Corbin struck in Paris in 1972 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Champollion’s decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs. Note his name on the obverse written in hieroglyphs in a cartouche. The reverse refers to his publication, Lettre à M. Dacier (1822) and the statue is the superb gold-inlaid statue of Queen Karomama, one of the treasures of the Louvre, that Champollion bought in Luxor in 1829. D: 83mm.

underside and thin sliced for analysis, has revealed that the Stone is actually a fine- to medium-grain quartz-bearing rock containing feldspar, mica, and amphibole.

For many years the Stone has been displayed at an angle of about 45 degrees, and from 1847 until the 1980s was covered at this angle by a sheet of glass, making photography of it virtually impossible. (The author recalls during his time at the British Museum catching two male tourists trying to photograph the Stone in an even plane – with one sitting on the other’s shoulders! Needless to say warding staff were immediately summoned.) Now the Stone is displayed upright in a vertical position as it would have been originally, and nearby there is a reconstruction of how the fragment of the Stone would have looked as part of its original stela (Fig 5). Although the Stone is known from its eponymous find spot (a habit amongst archaeologists generally), it almost certainly did not originate from Rosetta but had probably been brought there in antiquity from a site further inland, the Late Period capital city of Sais having been suggested. Added to which, since no other fragments have been found in the vicinity of its discovery, the Stone probably came to Rosetta in its present broken form to be re-used in some building project.

Essentially the exhibition ‘does not provide a narrowly focused discussion of the Stone’s contents, context, or decipherment’ since many accounts are available, ‘instead it presents an accessible account of the various questions aroused by the Stone!’ – Preface. The exhibition has over 200 objects displayed, mainly from the British Museum collections but with a few significant finds from other UK sources and abroad. Overwhelming amongst the UK loans is the immense blue glazed composition vessel bearing the cartouche of Amenhotep II (1427-1401 BC) from the temple of Seth at Tukh. At 216cm (7ft 3ins) high it is the largest piece known of this material.

The objects have been carefully chosen to reflect the uniquely beautiful mixture of pictures and sound signs that make up Egyptian hieroglyphs, therefore many of the items are textually oriented (Fig 6) and there has been an effort to include hitherto unpublished pieces with, in many instances, translations provided to present a sample of the texts and styles available. The exhibition examines the role and the effect of the relationship between hieroglyphs and Egyptian art over four millennia.

Hieroglyphs are not the only script examined in this exhibition. Objects from other cultures illustrate such
The fascinating Chapter Four in the exhibition catalogue, ‘The Future: Further Codes to Crack’, addresses these problems.

The titles of the first three chapters of the exhibition catalogue give the flavour of the whole: ‘Deciphering the Rosetta Stone’; ‘Reading a Text: The Egyptian Scripts of the Rosetta Stone’; and ‘Towards Reading a Cultural Code: The Uses of Writing in Ancient Egypt’. The exhibition objects are integrated, with full descriptions, into the running text so that each complements the other and leads to a clearer understanding of the concepts involved in the writing and the objects in relation to them. Above all, in the ancient Egyptian mind, was the originator of the sacred writings, the god Thoth, god of wisdom, learning and writing, shown variously with an ibis head or embodied in the animal considered to be his personal familiar, the sacred baboon (Fig 8). Scribes are often represented seated industriously writing beneath a baboon seated on a pedestal – they could have no better supervisor.

The catalogue of the exhibition is a splendid production, full of information and superb illustrations which will be of use to scholars and interested layman alike. All one can say is to echo the quotation at the head of Dr Richard Parkinson’s Preface: ‘Read on, Reader, read on, and work it out for yourself’ (Novel on Yellow Paper, S. Smith, 1936).

Peter Clayton, an internationally known Egyptological lecturer, is the author of The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt (1982, reprint 1990), as well as being Consulting Editor and Book Reviews Editor of Minerva.

The British Museum exhibition ‘Cracking Codes’ is open until 16 January 2000.

Admission £4, concessions £2; under age 16, or British Museum Society members, free.

The catalogue, Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment, is by Dr Richard Parkinson, with 208pp, 32 colour pls, 200 illus. Paperback, £16.99.

‘Cracking Codes’
Cleaning the Elgin Marbles

‘SIR, THEY ARE SCRUBBING THE ELGIN MARBLES!’

Some controversial cleanings of the Parthenon sculptures

On 30 November and 1 December this year the British Museum will host an international colloquium to re-examine the controversial cleaning of the Parthenon sculptures in the 1930s.

Ian Jenkins has been researching in the museum’s archives to show how the controversy has a long history.

Many of the arguments that are heard today for or against the conservation of ancient artworks were rehearsed in the 19th century, around the case of the Elgin Marbles. A recent revival of interest in the notorious cleaning of the Parthenon sculptures in the 1930s has obscured the fact that this was not the first time that attempts to improve the condition of the sculpture had provoked controversy. Even before they came to the Museum, Lord Elgin aroused dissent with his proposals for having his Marbles restored in the Italian manner. He did not in the end execute them, but in 1811 the sculptor John Henning intervened when Joseph Nollekens’ men were about to start scouring the sculptures with dilute sulphuric acid and water. The practice had been advised by Nollekens himself, who had learned his trade from Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and other restorers of ancient sculpture in Rome, where preserving original surfaces mattered less than achieving a complete object for the Grand Tour market. Henning was prompted to recall the incident when, in 1845, he had seen the Lyceum sculptures, newly arrived in the British Museum, being washed with acid and water and had tactfully expressed his disapproval.

The sculptures were presumably washed by some means while they were in Elgin’s possession. They must have been washed again in 1817 when casts were first made of them by the sculptor Richard Westmacott and again around 1836-7, when they were moulded for the second and last time. Already in 1830, Michael Faraday and Richard Westmacott had been consulted about the application of a wash to prevent ‘decomposition’ of the surface of some sculptures that were perceived to be suffering from ‘exposure to the air’. Then, in 1845, the Museum became especially sensitive to the surface condition of its sculptures. The Trustees’ attention had been drawn to the fact that the manner of heating the galleries by coal-fired stoves was responsible for a great quantity of dust (Fig 1). There was, besides, another cause and perhaps a far greater menace, namely the deterioration of the London air by the increase of smoke emissions from coal fires serving the city’s ever-growing population. The antiquities, it was observed in 1851, including the Elgin Marbles, ‘are daily becoming more deteriorated by exposure to the London atmosphere, its smoke and dirt and the alterations of heated and damp air. A single inspection of them and comparison of the present state with that in which they were brought to England, or that of late importations from Athens are quite sufficient to reveal the danger and from the frequent ablutions which are necessary to clear them of the dirt, but which materially affect the surface of the marble, it is to be appreciated that at the end of a century or less they may be irreparably injured’.

These warnings were given by W. R. Hamilton, Lord Elgin’s former agent and afterwards an influential Trustee of the Museum. They formed part of an ongoing discussion about whether the Museum collections as they were then constituted were rationally composed and whether they should be separated out. One possibility was to detach the Elgin Marbles and send them out of London into the clean air of the country. Such was the concern over the threat to London’s artworks that in 1857 the Site Commission for the proposed new building to house the National Gallery requested permission for Michael Faraday to examine the surface of sculptures in the British Museum to ascertain the effects of smoke and dust. The intention was to determine where, or where not, to found the new repository of the nation’s collection of pictures. The Museum was also much interested in Faraday’s response and its Trustees discussed the text of a letter addressed by him to Dr Milman, Dean of St Paul’s Cathedral, who was one of the National Gallery Commissioners. It was considered important enough to be printed up as a Memorandum. Faraday examined especially the Erechtheum Column and Caryatid and some metopes, but his comments seem to be applied to the general body of the Elgin Marbles.
Richard Westmacott Jnr had taken over from his more famous father (d.1856) as principal restorer of the Museum's sculpture. He was invited to attend the meeting at which Faraday's letter was read and concluded that cleaning the sculpture was a necessary operation as long as it was done under the superintendence of a competent and responsible person in accordance with the condition of the sculptures and the quality of the marble.

To the next meeting of Trustees, Edward Hawkins, Keeper of Antiquities since 1826 and now nearly eighty years old, presented his views on how the sculptures should be cleaned and how the work was to be supervised. Hawkins' use of 'clay water' for washing marble statues about to be photographed was approved, but it was recommended that Westmacott be consulted once more. There was rivalry between Hawkins and Westmacott. The Keeper of Antiquities had long battled to develop a more independent role for himself and his Department. The Trustees tended to regard the Keepers as servants and to disregard opinion from these, their employees, preferring that of outside consultants such as the architect Pugin and his brother Sydney Smirke and the sculptors Richard Westmacott, elder and younger.

Westmacott and Hawkins agreed that the sculptures needed cleaning but not over the method. Westmacott favoured Fuller's earth and was given permission to go ahead by the Trustees. The decision did not meet with everybody's approval. On 18 June 1858 there appeared a letter in The Times newspaper, signed anonymously by one 'Marmor', who appears to have opposed all restoration as a matter of principle. It is the first of three such letters that remarkably foreshadow the scandal surrounding the 1930s cleaning of the Elgin Marbles.

'Sir, I have seen with amazement and indignation the Colosseum - that mighty record of Imperial Rome's magnificence - restored in part by the descendants of Goths in Italy, its crevices plastered up and the rich, variegated, golden hue, the result of nearly 2,000 Italian summers, obliterated by a monotonous coating of filthy colour. I have seen with like feelings some of our masterpieces in the National Gallery destroyed in order to give a wretched restorer a job, and on walking through the Elgin room at the British Museum today I witnessed proceedings which in absurdity and atrocity may vie with both those I have named.

Sir, you are scrupling the Elgin Marbles! Will their next act be to fill up their abrasions and have them neatly mended?

Now, Sir, I am no worshipper of dirt, but I do say that the tone given by time to antique sculpture . . . is absolutely essential to the harmony of its effect.'

The writer characteristically offers no view of what this 'tone' might be, other than the patina of age but, as Faraday's Memorandum shows, the surfaces were already in an altered state. Nevertheless, this letter prompted an airing of the grievance of another, who signed himself W.D.B.S.

'The vandalism complained of by your correspondent 'Marmor' has been of some duration and first attracted my attention on the opening of the new Greek-Roman Saloons. Last Christmas I saw a man scrubbing away with some vile compound. The celebrated bust of 'Clytie' (Fig. 2), one of the most beautiful antiques existing, has had its face mauled in this manner, and I am positive that anything beyond the simplest application of water, and that by persons acquainted with the exquisite fineness of sculptured flesh, must prove prejudicial to such work. I am told this bust was cleaned about ten years ago, and if the scrubbing process is to be renewed every now and then we may bid adieu to the antique beauty of these marbles. Blurred edges and modelling technically called 'gummy' will be the inevitable result with the loss of all those delicate touches which give life and individuality, and over which the sculptor lingered lovingly at the completion of his work. Time needs no human assistance to destroy.

The original correspondent waited for an official reply from the Museum and, when none came, attempted to keep the issue alive by offering a second letter to The Times:

'To all national establishments connected with art certain officials are attached whose duty it is to watch over the works committed to their charge, who receive a fixed salary and who doze at their posts.'

If 'Marmor' had Hawkins in mind, the charge of somnolence was certainly unjust, as a glance at documents detailing the professional life of this tireless individual would show.

Dipping his pen into the vitriol, the writer continues:
Cleaning the Elgin Marbles

Fig. 3. A British newspaper cartoonist's view of an earlier cleaning of the Elgin Marbles.

Fig. 4. The Elgin Room c. 1875. The frieze is protected by glass, as is the Helios group of the East Pediment, almost out of the left of the picture. Photo: F. York, BM Greek and Roman Dept.

Dr Ian Jenkins is curator with special responsibilities for the Elgin Marbles in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum.

For information about the forthcoming conference on the cleaning of the Elgin Marbles write to: The Keeper, Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG

and considered the first two letters, together with a counter testimony by Charles Cockerell, the architect and archaeologist.

As one of the Royal Commission for the site of the National Gallery last year I had occasion to hear the most mortifying evidence to prove the degradation to which these noble works were subjected in these hyperborean climates — but by Mr Westmacott’s operations, I now rejoice with you at their future exemption from further dishonour, and their perfect preservation in our museum to future times. I heartily congratulate you... Mr Westmacott assures me that his preparation contains no chemical mischief whatever... .

The Trustees went into the galleries and satisfied themselves that Westmacott’s methods were to be approved. At the beginning of 1859, Hawkins reported that the greater part of the Graeco-Roman sculptures had been cleaned under the continuing supervision of Westmacott. This, however, was far from the end of the matter. Within ten years, the sculptures were so soiled that Hawkins’ successor, Charles Newton, had to have them washed again in 1867-68 and to begin the process of protecting the frieze behind glass (Fig 4). Newton’s intervention undoubtedly did much to shut out dirt from the frieze, but it was never practical to enclose all of the pedimental sculptures or the metopes. These continued, therefore, to accumulate their coat of black grease. This was partially removed by periodic washing until Lord Duveen’s intervention in the 1930s restored to a more drastic action, which involved the scraping of the surface itself of some of the sculptures.

That incident has always been regretted but, like others before it, represents a part of the history of the sculpture. Unlike the Assyrian Marbles in which, the Parthenon sculptures were never restored. It would, however, be incorrect to think of them asunchanging. Objects in museums, especially old ones like the British Museum, are not static but have, as it were, a museum life. They change just as monuments like the Parthenon itself, that remain standing in the open air continue to change with the accidents of human intervention, weather and atmospheric pollution. If the London air has not been kind to the Elgin Marbles, then much less kind has been the air of Athens to those sculptures Elgin left behind. The British Museum was once a polluted environment. Since the Clean Air Act of 1956 and subsequent Acts it is much less so. Mechanical air-filtering has improved the situation in the gallery in which the Parthenon sculptures are now further dishonoured and they are cleaner as a result. They remain, however, the product of their own history.
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The July 1999 issue of APOLLO was devoted to Antiquities, and included articles on the digital reconstruction of losses on ancient material, the viewer in the the Roman landscape, the other life of the Fayum portraits, the new Greek galleries in the Metropolitan Museum and more.

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he inauguration of the new Numismatic Museum of Athens, at the end of last year at the illustrious 'Iliou Melathron', known as 'the Trojan Mansion', Heinrich Schliemann's splendid house (Fig 1), heralds the housing of 6,000 coins and artefacts, kept by successive curators since 1829 in several locations, under one roof. The numismatic museum is unique in Greece and the Balkans, and is one of only a few museums of its kind world-wide.

In 1869 the Neubukow-born Schliemann (1822-90) married Sophia Kastrioti, daughter of an Athenian draper, and settled permanently in Athens. A year later, he commissioned his Dresden compatriot Ernst Ziller (1837-93) to design and build the two-storey 'Iliou Melathron' in the style of the Italian Renaissance, adapted to the Neo-classical spirit of the times. By 30 January 1881 at the cost of almost half a million gold drachmas, Schliemann's Trojan Mansion was inaugurated in a brilliant reception held in its grounds. It was there, amidst the Italian-made tessellated floors and the wall paintings of the Slovenian artist Yuri Subic, that the avocational archaeologist and philhellene Heinrich Schliemann housed his own coin collections and Trojan finds.

The new, permanent exhibition of the Museum contains coins and other artefacts from the ancient Hellenic, Roman, and Byzantine worlds, the medieval European West, and the modern world, as well as a great number of hoards, archaeological finds, lead seals, medals, and gems acquired by purchase, donation, or confiscation. At present the exhibition is housed on the first floor, and its careful layout has been designed in harmony with the mansion, and with respect to its unique inner decor for maximum aesthetic effect. In addition to the diaphanous showcases with their explanatory texts, there are touch screens with digital presentations of the exhibits and a multimedia room (Hall V) which combine for a better conception of coinage by laymen or connoisseurs alike. In addition there is also a 12,000 volume library with classic works on the history of numismatics and sigillography, coupled with a very efficient metal conservation laboratory and several research projects.

Exhibition Hall I ('Schliemann's Hall') past the Museum's shop, highlights Schliemann's private collection and pays homage to his person, his architect, and his residence. Hall II is dedicated to the development or use of currency from pre-coinage eras to modern-age money. Topics such as 'coinages as historic sources', 'techniques in coin production', and 'the beauty and strength of ancient Greek coins', are presented together with displays of remarkable samples of hoards. Among these one from ancient Corinth stands out, as it is made up of 51 staters and a gold necklace. In 1930 under the floor of the north stoa at the temple of Apollo, these gold coins of Philip II and Alexander III were found in a rock cleft burial post 330 BC, covered by a simple black-glaze plate, Philip II's gold coins had been struck at Pella and Amphipolis, and Alexan-
The discovery of Macedonian coins as far south as Corinth may be linked to the presence of their armies in Peloponese, and the control of the Corinthian Isthmus by a Macedonian garrison stationed there after 336 BC. This theory is based on the fact that during the period the hoard was concealed in Corinth, Alexander and his cavalry were actually in Asia, advancing further and further eastwards.

Fig 3. Hall III. Currency: Invention, Evolution and Use.

Fig 4. Silver decadrachm of Syracuse, c. 400 BC. D: 25mm. Wt: 43.44 g. (x2).
NMA. Inventory no: 125/1996. Obverse: Nike driving a quadriga; in the exergue, panoply of prize arms, (x5) (NMA = contexts, prices). Reverse: the head of Archers; inscription of the engraver’s name, ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ.

An equally important hoard is from a burial at Myrina in Thessalian Karditsa dating to c. 440 BC, and found in 1970. Comprising 149 silver staters from Aegina in a black-glazed olpe (jug), this hoard consists of a series bearing the sea turtle (Caretta caretta) and another series depicting the terrestrial tortoise (Testudo graeca), a later type of Aeginetan weight standard too, adopted by the island after the loss of its independence in 457 BC. The hoard’s interest lies in its ‘saving’ nature, indicating the (Thessalian?) owner’s preference for the ‘international’ coinage of distant Aegina over the local coinage in a period when Thessaly’s first issues were already in circulation (Fig 2).


Hall III (Fig 3) follows the theme, ‘Currency: Invention, Evolution and Use’ and focuses on the Athenian coinage, Macedonian coinages at the time of Alexander the Great, and coins of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor and Magna Graecia. Among the latter is the silver decadrachm from Syracuse made by the elite engraver Euainetos (Fig 4). The panoply of arms, comprising greaves, a shield (left) and a helmet (right) symbolise the accoutrements of battle, and have been linked to the reason for issuing the decadrachm; namely, the Syracusan victory over the Athenians in 413 BC. Another view considers that the decadrachms attributed to Kimon should be dated 405 BC, when the Carthaginians failed to capture Syracuse. In this case, the armour may represent prizes awarded in the Tetherippion races, which were popular in Syracuse, and to which the chariot alludes. In the same Hall, coin circu-


depicted on Greek coinage. One of the many achievements of the ancient artists was the portrayal of human figures, an accomplishment that is on a par with the naturalistic rendering of objects. The first real portraits began to be engraved on coinage issued by some of the satraps in the East (Fig 6), and are considered the precursors of Hellenistic numismatic portraits.

The inexhaustible imagination of the Greeks is well represented by the wealth of iconographic types connected with flora and fauna species. Often, an animal occurring on a coin is a direct reference to the patron god or goddess of the issuing city-state. For instance, horses raised in the plains of Thessaly are connected with Poseidon, whose cult was particularly popular there. Majestic eagles portrayed on the coins of Elis, Lyttos (Cretan) or Abydos, refer to the worship of Zeus, while the wolf on Argive coinage is linked to Apollo. Lyceus, and deer or bees on the coins of Ephesus are connected with Artemis, its patron goddess. Homer’s ‘rich in grapes Histiaeia’, together with many Aegean islands, Maroneia, Corcyra, and other places took pride in recording their production of grapes and wine on their coins. Other cities indulged in puns (a rebus) on their names, having the rhodon (rose, Rhodes), the selinon (celery, Selinus) or the melon (apple, Melos) as their types.

Hall VII is dedicated to the history of the Numismatic Museum per se, and the visitor is shown documents and objects associated with it, from its institution on 21 October 1829, by decree of Ioannis Kapodistrias, Governor of the newly created Greek state, to recent times.

It is expected that the exhibition will expand, in the near future, to the second floor where it is scheduled to focus on presenting Roman, Byzantine (or Medieval) and modern coinages. As Dr Ioannis Touratsoglou, Director of the Museum, claims, ‘...at the dawn of the third millennium, the Museum is called to play a multifarious role both in the area of research and in the area of information technology.’

A publication, Coins and Numismatics (1996, 216 pp.), co-authored by five renowned Greek archaeologists and edited by the Numismatic Museum, is of great use to the visitor and contributes to an easier understanding of numismatics, which is defined by the American Webster’s Dictionary as ‘the study of coins, tokens, medals, paper-money, and objects closely resembling them in form or purpose, including standard media of exchange and decorations’.

[Note: The Times of 9 September 1999 reported that the Numismatic Museum has been closed indefinitely due to fractures in the frescoes arising from the recent earthquake in Greece.]

NEW MUSEUM

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Illustrations: Figs 1, 3, 4, 6-11 by K. Xenakis; Figs 2, 5, 12, 13 by M. Skalskis.
Greek Coins

EARLY COINS IN THE AEGEAN

Theo Antikas and Laura Wynn-Antikas report on a touring exhibition from the Numismatic Museum of Athens.

In a flight of poetic fancy in the introduction to the aesthetically pleasing calendar published by the Numismatic Museum in Athens which illustrates some Aegean coins from this exhibition, Dr Ioannis Touratsoglou, Director of both the Archaeological and the Numismatic Museum in Athens, writes: 'In the grasp of the world's oldest sea, before the Epic and after Time, tireless Icaros of Myth, the Aeons, gave birth to the Aegean with Talos as nurse and Eros as helpmate. Glaucous and foamy, they laid it in the cradle of simplicity and beauty. Eternal and inscrutable in its wisdom... It was then that the World beheld itself for the first time, without being afraid'.

The key geographical and political position of the Aegean, between Europe and the East, coupled with its temperate climate, were crucial factors in the development of ancient civilisation on many of its scattered islands (Fig 1). As early as the Neolithic period, Greeks sailed to the Cyclades (islands) and the Aegean Sea from end to end with valuable cargoes. The quest for metals to make tools and weapons led the Minoans and later, the Mycenaean, to great maritime adventures which brought them power and prosperity. The vast expansion of seafaring trade caused major changes in commercial and maritime transactions, and, most importantly, the invention and issuing of coins as money whose stable value facilitated every form of trade.

The first coins appeared in the East Aegean territories of Ionia and Lydia in the late 7th century BC (as Herodotus tells us) reaching the Greek islands and mainland via the sea routes. The Island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf, a great naval and mercantile power at the time, was the first to strike coins in Europe after 570 BC. Not surprisingly, one of the earliest coins minted, a silver stater (Fig 2) depicts the sea turtle discussed at length in Aristotle's Economics and is still occasionally to be seen in the Aegean today. Moreover, it was believed that 'the turtles vanquish bravery and wisdom' (Polybius IX, 74). The staters of Aegina, didrachms of Corinth depicting a winged Pegasus, and Athenian coins with the city goddess and her owl travelled to the ends of the Hellenic world of the Aegean, the Mediterranean, and the Euxine Pontus, and the Athenian 'owls' were widely copied. A mint on the Island of Lesos renowned for its poetess Sappho, issued a billon stater in the mid-6th century BC with two calves' heads face to face with an olive tree between them (Fig 3).

The Cycladic island of Delos, where the first Greek amphictyony (league) was established in honour of the god Apollo, minted a silver didrachm (Fig 4) which depicts a six-string lyre, the god's musical symbol, around the end of the 6th century.

Fig 1. The Greek mainland and the Aegean islands. The map is taken from the Calendar 1999*, National Numismatic Museum.

Fig 2. Aegina, silver stater (obverse), c. 550 BC. Inventory no: 2233. (x2).

Fig 3. Lesvos, billon stater (obverse), c. 550-540 BC. Wt: 10.92g. Inventory no: 5237a. (x2).

Fig 4. Delos, silver stater (obverse), c. 6th century BC. Wt: 7.87g. Inventory no: 1894/5. H 3307. (x2).
BC. At about the same time, the Thracian island of Thasos in the north Aegean started minting coins related to the orgiastic worship of Dionysus which was preponderant in Thrace. The sather (Fig 5) depicts an ithyphallic satyr carrying off a protesting nymph who raises her right arm to strike him. The satyr is seen running to the right, his legs bent in the conventional manner of the archaic style.

On the island of Kos, birthplace of Hippocrates, another coin was minted to honour Apollo in whose name the five Doric city-states of Kos, Knidos, Lysos, Lindos, and Kamiros dedicated agonies (athletic contests) in honour of Apollo Triopios. Victorious athletes were rewarded with a bronze tripod, and this is represented on the Kos tetradrachm triple-coin (Fig 6), behind the left of the discobolus (disc thrower) who is seen at the critical moment of releasing the discus.

Late in the 4th century BC, the Cretan city-state of Phaistos, (noted for its famous Minoan palace and strangely inscribed 'Phaistos Disk'), honoured the legendary hero-athlete Herakles by striking a silver didrachm (Fig 7). On the obverse, the young Herakles is seen standing right, holding a club which rests on the ground, and a club bow in his left hand; to the left, a lion's skin hangs from a tree and on the right is a laurel branch over a serpent. On the reverse is a walking bull, left, the epitome of Minoan culture, surrounded by a laurel wreath.

In the same century, Syracuse art begins to influence the Greek mints, and this is seen on the tetradrachms of Rhodes (Fig 8) whose obverse depicts an interesting image of Helios (the Sun god), reminiscent of the god of the Aegean. On the reverse, the flower symbol of the city is seen with the inscription ROMAN. The coin is an example of a rebus type (a pun on the name) and the mint of Rhodes evolved as a very important mint of the eastern Mediterranean from the time of the revolt of its principal cities against Athens in 411 BC down to the Roman occupation of 43 BC. The touring exhibition 'Coins in the Aegean' is currently on show in the Zappeion Megaron in Athens and goes on to tour the Aegean islands from 2000 onwards. The exhibition is organised by the Numismatic Museum in collaboration with the Archaeological Receipt Fund of the Greek Ministry of Culture.

A catalogue accompanies the exhibition and illustrates selected coins with captions to explain their historical background. The catalogue is published by the Archaeological Receipt Fund and is available from: 57E Benizelou St., Athens 105 64. Fax: +30 1 324 2254. Email: protocol@tapa.culture.gr
WOMEN IN CLASSICAL GREECE
A review of "Pandora’s Box" by Jerome M. Eisenberg

A 14-page illustrated review in MINERVA (Nov/Dec '95) of the ground-breaking exhibition organized by Dr. Ellen D. Reeder of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, on the artistic portrait of women in the Classical Greek World – their lives, customs, rituals, and myths.

THE WEALTH OF THE THRACIANS

A 14-page illustrated review in MINERVA (Jan/Feb '98) of a spectacular exhibition of ancient Thracian gold and silverwork, including the 165-piece Bogdarski Treasure, travelling America in 1998-1999.

GIFTS OF THE NILE: ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FAIENCE
Florence Dunn Friedman

A 14-page illustrated review in MINERVA (May/June '98) of the first major international exhibition of Egyptian faience, as described by the organizer and curator.

GLYPHIC ART OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST:
Jerome M. Eisenberg, 64/67

A two-part 16-page illustrated review in MINERVA (May/June, July/Aug '98) of "A Seal Upon Their Heart: Glyptic Art of the Ancient Near East". An important exhibition of ancient Near Eastern cylinder seals.

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER ON GREEK VASE FORGERIES
Observations on the art of deception in the vase-maker’s craft

Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer, Distinguished Research Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is a world renowned authority on ancient Greek vases. In this intriguing 10-page study (MINERVA Mar/April '98), he examines ancient copies and more recent forgeries of Greek vases, a subject often discussed by scholars, dealers, and collectors, but rarely offered in print.

GOLD OF THE NOMADS
A review of "Scythian Treasures from Ancient Ukraine" by Ellen R. Reeder, Gerry D. Scott, III, and Shelby L. Wells

A 14-page illustrated review in MINERVA (Nov/Dec '99) of the extraordinary treasures of ancient gold discovered in the Ukraine since the 18th century, and rarely seen outside eastern Europe, that form a travelling exhibition that is now running from 1999 to 2001.

PHARAOHS OF THE SUN: ARKHENATEN, NEFERITITI, TUTANKHAMEN
A review article by Yvonne J. Markowitz

A 14-page illustrated review in MINERVA (Nov/Dec '99) of the major international exhibition on Egypt’s Amarna Period (1353-1336 BC), organized by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, examining the extraordinary seventy-year reign of the heretic Pharaoh Akhenaten.

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AUCTIONS FEATURING ANCIENT COINS


22-23 November. NUMISMATIKER LANZ MUNCHEN AUCTION. Munich. Tel: (49) 89 29 90 70. Fax: (49) 89 22 07 62.

24-26 November. GERHARD HIRSCH NACKF. AUCTION. Munich. Tel: (49) 89 29 21 50. Fax: (49) 89 22 83675.


3-4 December. SUPERIOR STAMP AND COIN AUCTION. New York. Tel: (1) 310 203-9855.

7 December. SPINK AUCTION. New York. Sale of Ancient, foreign, and United States coins and banknotes. Tel: (44) 171 747 6928.

FAIRS


25-28 November. MSNS COIN SHOW. Dearborn, MI.

2-5 December. NEW YORK INTERNATIONAL NUMISMATIC CONVENTION. Marriott Hotel, World Trade Center. New York. General Information: Kevin Foley, PO Box 371010, Milwaukee, WI 53237. Tel: (414) 481 7287. Fax: (414) 481-7287.

CONFERENCES & LECTURES

13 November. 5TH AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY ARAB-BYZANTINE FORUM. 7th-8th century coinages of the eastern Mediterranean. American Numismatic Society (at the new ANS headquarters, 140 William Street, New York). Tel: (1) 212 234-3130.

15 November. THE ORIGINS OF THE INDIAN COINAGE TRADITION. Joe Cribb. Society for South Asian Studies AGM at the British Academy, 10 Carlton House Terrace, London. 5pm.

16 November. WOMEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES: DEPICTIONS ON COINS FROM EAST AND WEST. Sharmil Shamma. Royal Numismatic Society at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London. 5.30pm.


EXHIBITIONS

AUSTRIA VIENNA

CELTIC MONEY. Special exhibition through the summer. KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM. Tel: (43) 1 523 2770.

CYPRUS NICOSIA


GREECE AEGEAN ISLANDS

COINS IN THE AEGEAN. This exhibition tours the Aegean (see pp. 50-51). ZAPPEION MEGARON, Athens. Tel: (30) 1 322 4206. From 3-12 November. Then to 'The Archaeologist's House', Piraeos St., Athens. Mid-November-end of December. In 2000 the exhibition tours the Aegean but dates and venues have yet to be confirmed.

ATHENS NUMISMATIC MUSEUM. The museum is now rehoused in Heinrich Schliemann's mansion, on 10-12 Eleftheriou Venizelou Street, but is closed at present due to damage caused by the recent earthquake (see pp. 47-49). Tel: +30 (0) 1 354 3774.

FRANCE

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UNITED KINGDOM LONDON

THE METAL MIRROR. COIN PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEPHEN SACK. Artistic microphotographs concentrate on the numismatic collections of the British Museum and the Cabinet des Médailles in Brussels. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 171 636 1555. 5 October-5 December.


THE PRESEVS PROJECT: A CURRENCY FOR EUROPE. A co-operative venture between the Athens Numismatic Museum and the British Museum. This is an Internet Exhibition examining the varied occasions in antiquity when different states in the region of modern Europe shared common currencies. www.culture.gr/ntm/Presveis.

ITALY ROME


SPAIN TARRAGONA

COINS OF TARRACOA. MUSEU NACIONAL ARQUEOLÒGIC DE TARRAGONA (34) 977 236 206. Until 31 December.

RUSSIA ST PETERSBURG

PORTRAITS OF WOMEN ON COINS. THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM. (7) 812 212 95 45. Until 31 December.

UNITED STATES WASHINGTON, D.C.


MINERVA 53
SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE'S FIRST CENTRE FOR ANCIENT NUMISMATIC STUDIES SET UP IN SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

Following a substantial private endowment, an Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies has been set up at Macquarie University in Sydney. The centre, one of very few in the world, will have as a resource the donor's numismatic library and collection of over 2,500 Greek and Roman coins as well as the University's existing collection. The objects of the centre are to establish a centre of international excellence in the study of ancient numismatics; act as a major link between national and international research programs for the study of ancient coins; facilitate reciprocal visits by staff members with other universities, museums or similar bodies supporting the centre's objectives; assist qualified Macquarie University students to participate in the study of ancient coins both at the University and elsewhere; arrange publication of the results of the centre's research and catalogues of Macquarie University's ancient coin collection and arrange lectures for Macquarie University students.

A Director for the centre will be appointed shortly and there will be positions for postgraduate research students. Enquiries regarding the centre can be made to the Acting Director, Associate Professor C. E. V. Nixon, Department of Ancient History, Division of the Humanities, Macquarie University, Sydney, N.S.W., 2109, Australia.

W. L. Gale,
A.C.A.N.S. Advisory Board.

IS THIS A CASE OF A NUMISMATIC 'EMPEROR'S CLOTHES'? 

Peter Clayton visited the British Museum's exhibition 'The Metal Mirror: Coin Photographs by Stephen Sack'.

What, then, to make of it? As with reviewing a book, so with an exhibition, the reviewer presents a personal view based on their own knowledge and acceptance of the material. So, as a numismatist, I can only view it as a numismatic disaster; whether it is 'modern art' is a question beyond my capabilities - few of us can understand some of the much vaunted subjects that compete for the huge annual Turner Prize. Should this be, after all, an exhibition in the British Museum? A very debatable point - perhaps the Tate Gallery on Millbank, or perhaps the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) Gallery in the Mall, would have been more appropriate locations. Who knows - the answer lies in your own personal response - whatever view you might take, the exhibition is certainly numismatically controversial.

'The Metal Mirror' is on show at the British Museum until 5 December 1999

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As we enter the autumn season, the most interesting news has come from the American Numismatic Association convention in Chicago. This is a major annual fair in America, with a different venue every year. Although it is a fair primarily for American coins, it still ranks as one of the largest fairs for ancient coins as well. This year, however, attendance was noticeably poorer than usual. The dealers were there, but many collectors did not bother to come. What was the reason, considering that the market is strong overall, the American economy is booming, and auction results have been strong? Although it is too early to be sure, one possibility is that the internet is finally taking a toll on traditional attendance at fairs.

In the past, it has been customary for collectors to save in advance of a major fair and to arrive with money to spend. However, now that collectors can shop every day in the comfort of their own homes, they neither have money saved nor feel the necessity of making a journey to buy coins. It may be premature on the basis of just one experience to see a trend, but time will tell whether fairs can maintain their importance to the trade when the internet offers a less expensive, less time-consuming, and more comfortable method for a collector to buy.

Despite the experience of the ANA, the strength of the American market was confirmed by Classical Numismatic Group’s Mall Bid Sale 51, which closed on 15 September. Prices were consistently strong throughout with over 90% sold. The cover coin, an attractive silver nomos of Velia, circa 305-290 BC, sold for the healthy price of $4000, justifying the estimate of the same figure. The highest price in the sale went to a unique electrum staters from an uncertain Asia Minor mint, circa 650-600 BC (Fig 1). Although the designs were only geometric patterns, the uniqueness of the piece — reflection of the weight in the fact that it is part of a series for which several smaller denominations are known — meant that it was hotly pursued by specialised collectors, finally selling for $26,000 against an estimate of $15,000. The sale included a collection of Armenian coins which fetched remarkably strong prices. A rare silver drachm of Artavasdes II, 56-34 BC, sold for $5000 against an estimate of $2500. A similarly rare silver drachm of Araxias III, 18-34 AD, sold for $4650 on an estimate of $3000. Roman coins also sold well.

The sale included part of a collection of late Roman and Byzantine coins, and rarities were particularly in demand. A gold solidus of Honorius, 393-423 AD, from the popular Aquileia mint, sold for $2250 against an estimate of $1000. A gold solidus of Petronius Maximum, 455 AD, very rare but only in fine condition, fetched $6500 against an estimate of $3000.

The Spink Sale, held in London on 6 October, included a small but pleasant collection of Greek coins. An attractive Leontini silver tetradrachm, 466-425 BC, sold for £1100 against an estimate of £600-1000 (Fig 2). A rare Eretria silver drachm, circa 480-440 BC, fetched £880 against an estimate of £500-600, reflecting the wide interest in the coins of general area of central Greece (Fig 3).
The History and Coinage of the Roman Imperators, 49-27 BC
by David R. Sear

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The Tomb of Christ
Martin Biddle.
xii + 172pp, 103 illus, incl. 47 col.
Handback, £25 ($39.95).

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is, without question, the most emotive site in Christianity. It has been a centre of controversy ever since the Empress St Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, made her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in AD 325/6 to identify the Biblical sites. Clearing away the Hadrianic temple that had been built to obscure the site and, at the same time, legend has it, finding fragments of the True Cross, she set in train a route of pilgrimage that has endured ever since. The site and shrine have been fought over by Crusaders and Muslims and, not least, both physically as well as liturgically, by the several Christian churches that now have the care of specific areas. Controversy between certain elements of the guardianship has meant that for many years the tomb, the focal point of the Church, has been in great structural danger. Just before the end of the British Mandate in 1947, the tomb was strapped together with steel girders to prevent it collapsing. Almost ever since, there have been plans and moves for urgently required restoration and stabilisation work to be carried out. This culminated in 1986 when Professor Biddle and his wife were asked to make a record of the tomb before the necessary work of restoration could begin. 

This book is not only the record of the work carried out — not an excavation in the archaeological sense but an account of the evidence and data taken from the multitude of representations that have been over the years of the tomb (edicule) and also by applying the very latest technology to record and interpret features. 

Professor Biddle first presents the reasons why the edicule needs to be closely studied before any move is made on its restoration, then he traces its history from the 4th century AD through the structure’s major periods that included embellishment by Constantine the Great, destruction in 1009 by the Caliph al-Hakim, rebuilding under the Emperor Michael IV Paphlagon in 1036-40, the Crusader additions, the subsequent decay, reconstruction again in 1555, followed by a serious fire in 1808. The history of the site has indeed been tempestuous, and it is all these strands and threads that are elucidated with the aid of Greek, Latin, and Arabic sources and the various models, some actual size, that exist in parts of Europe. The use of modern techniques of recording in three dimension that include photogrammetric survey reveal the form and appearance of the tomb through its successive changes over the course of two millennia — it is indeed a book for the millennium.

The text is an exciting read and is most ably supported by splendid photographs. Of particular note are the colour photos of John Crook which, for those who know the church and the tomb area and its hitherto dark and almost dismal presentation and (not least, as the reviewer well knows), the mayhem in the area on Easter Day and Christmas Day, these photos will be a revelation.

Professor Biddle has laid a firm (and very readable) foundation as a prelude to further, practical, work. He sees little reason why, when the archaeological investigation is made of this most emotive site, there should still not be at least some, albeit slight, remains of the original tomb in which the body of Christ rested when taken from the cross almost two thousand years ago.

Peter A. Clayton 

Correction:
Minerva, September/October, p. 62, col. 3: A Table of Ceramic Phases will be found printed small on p. 26 of Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges.

The Golden Age of Roman Britain
Guy de la Bédoyère.
Tempus Publishing, Stroud, 1994 pp.,
27 col. pls., 91 text figs.
Handback, £25.

This is a very useful book and is really a follow-up and expansion of the author’s article exploring the literary associations of Carausius which appeared in Numismatic Chronicle in 1988. Bédoyère’s knowledge of the ancient literature and historical events has enabled him to present an illuminating picture of 3rd and 4th century Britain in a volume which is well produced. 

Events and the political intrigues of the Carausian revolt are explained and how the propaganda genius used symbolism on coins to project an image of well being, likening his emperorship of Britain to that of a Golden Age. Here lies the problem with the book because its title implies that the late 3rd and early 4th centuries was the Golden Age of Roman Britain when in reality most of the villas in the south-east had been founded long before this date and many of them had mosaics and painted wall plaster of a quality matching the fine houses constructed in towns like Colchester, Leicester, and Verulamium. For these cities, for example, the ‘Golden Age’ was not the late 3rd to early 4th centuries but the 2nd century, particularly the Antonine period.

The same may be said of the villas, particularly in Buckinghamshire, Essex, and Hertfordshire, many of which, in the 4th century, never recovered from the plague which raises the question as to the quality of life in the towns of these counties compared to former times. Surely the economic climate as evidenced from the villas is an indicator of events in the cities? It is also clear that different parts of the province flourished while other parts stagnated; knowing that towns were once richer is perhaps the very reason why Carausius attempted to beguile the population into thinking that they had never had it so good — a super Mac of his days!

The book provides a useful chronology, a list of sites open to the public, historical sources, and further reading. It is a shame that one’s first view of the book is clouded by the fact that the coloured illustration of the gold and silver coins from the Hunuc tejoyda hoard is printed in reverse so that their inscriptions are back to front.

Dr David S. Neal
Book Reviews

Egypt Lost and Found: Explorers and Travellers on the Nile

This is a huge book, literally (at 36.5cm tall and weighing 2.75kg it will not fit onto many library shelves) and metaphorically in its broad sweep from tourists in antiquity down to the later 19th century. Its Select Bibliography is comprehensive for the earlier works, eschewing to list the more modern and recent works on many of the personalities included here. The initial and medieval travellers who visited or mention Egypt. The bulk of the book begins with the travellers of the 18th century and the opening up of Egypt by the Napoleonic Expedition of 1798. The publication outcome of this was the immense and incredible Description de l'Egypte, which takes up 30 pages of text. This is followed by the 'War of the Consuls', when Egyptian antiquities and their collection seemed to be divided up amongst the various European factions.

The larger sections are devoted to the great early names: Frédéric Caillaud, Giovanni Belzoni, Baron von Minutoli, Girolomo Segato, Champollion and the Franco-Prussian Expedition, John Gardner Wilkinson, Colonel Howard Vyse and John Perrings, Richard Lepsius, Duke Maximilian von Humboldt, and Prisse d'Avennes. A last section covers artists and travellers on the Nile and this includes detailed pieces on Luist Mayer, Linaert de Bellefonds, Léon de Laborde, Édouard de Montéard, Pascal Coste, Robert Hay, Frederick Catherwood, George Richmond, Theodore Heseltine, Owen Jones, David Roberts, Hector Horeau, and William Henry Bartlett. Some of the latter names are well known, others are not so immediate, but the coverage is so broad that it is extremely useful to be able to compare their works let alone their interpretation and views of the monuments.

The book is heavily illustrated in colour throughout - it presents quite a rainbow galaxy of colour turning the pages. Many of the engravings and lithographs featured were originally not issued in colour, and so here they have been 'enhanced' by later, although sometimes almost contemporary colouring. This does not unduly detract - it is intriguing to see Bishop Richard Pococke's somewhat schematic drawing of the Valley of the Kings (the first representation of it, in 1745) in added colour. The running text is detailed and interesting, although it does have a tendency to get lost amongst the plethora of illustrations and their, also extremely useful, long and detailed captions.

To present such an in-depth coverage of the early travellers in Egypt, particularly in their individual presentation, and such an embarras de richesse in illustrating so much of their works is a bibliographical treat. The price of such a large and heavily illustrated volume is a bargain indeed, and it does not matter that it will not fit onto the bookshelves, it is a joy to have to (heavy) hand.


Art and the Early Greek State: An Interpretive Archaeology

Over the past generation the period in Greece that spans the 8th to the 6th centuries BC has become a breeding-ground for archaeologists and historians. Gone is the acceptance of the information conveyed by Greek writers of later centuries, gone is the 'subjective' interpretation of the archaeological material. We must now become accustomed to such phrases as 'the context of visual lifeworlds of ideologies centred on corporeal form' (p. 73) and such sentences as 'the reality of the past is not simply its factuality, its raw existence as fact, as that which is there remaining after decay and loss, this archeology' (p.25).

Shanks takes us on such a haptic journey through his ideas on the emergence of the early Greek 'city-state', and of Corinth in particular, that the shape of the terrain is no longer easy to distinguish. The bumpy ride is something of a roller-coaster, providing peaks and troughs, and churning the stomach in the process with a constantly changing focus. He gives us a close look at the design and style of Corinthian perfume-pots, with statistics derived from the 2000 he has studied. We are also shown a wider view of the significance of their production in social terms; we visit masculine sovereignty, war, external contacts, travel, etc.

Shanks' attitude to his subject (posing questions, welcoming divergences, and introducing the authoritarian 'I' more often than is appropriate) makes the structure of the book more haphazard than it might otherwise have been, and his style of writing is irritatingly mannered (see above). It is a welcome sight to see the use, and quotation, of Greek in the original (with translation), but the proof-reading should have been more accurate.

Professor Brian A. Sparkes
University of Southampton

House and Society in the Ancient Greek World

The theme of this book is 'social relationships and behaviour in ancient Greek cities'. Its geographical scope is Greece and southern Italy, and chronologically it spans the late 5th to mid-3rd century BC, the period which saw the institution of the poleis or city-state particularly flourishing.

While both textual and iconographic evidence are invoked, Nevett's approach is essentially archaeological, with the detailed analysis of actual houses on a number of sites at its heart. The evidence is sifted thoroughly and judiciously, and a rigorous theoretical approach is applied to the results of past excavations - on a site such as Olynthus, for example, which is treated as a special case because it remains a unique source of information about a large number of houses. The resulting picture of the Greek house, its regional development, and its changes over time, is firmly based, and sure-footedly illustrated with a number of house plans.

Discussing male and female use of domestic space, Nevett interestingly makes the point that women's habitual space is not the same thing as a segregated women's quarter. She concludes that the main social pressure was to ensure the separation of female household members from male guests, and this was one of the major principles underlying the organisation of the single-entrance courtyard house throughout the Greek world.

One of the pleasures of ruins, after the theatre, the temple, and the other public buildings, is to seek out remains of a shady domestic interior in which to sit and contemplate the past. It is 'playing house' perhaps - but readers of this book will do it with a better understanding.

J. Lesley Fitton
Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum
Sabean alabaster figure of a seated woman, her arms resting upon her knees, her head with short grooved mouth, straight nose, eyes hollowed out for inlay, pierced ears, and flaring coiffure.

South Arabia, 3rd-1st Century B.C. H. 22.5 cm. (8 7/8")

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GILDING DRAGONS: BURIED TREASURES FROM CHINA'S GOLDEN AGES. This special loan exhibition will include gold objects never before displayed outside China, many of which are recent discoveries. It concentrates on the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-906) one of the golden ages of Chinese history. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 171 636 1555. UNTIL 20 FEBRUARY 2000.

PETRIE MUSEUM - NEW OPENING HOURS. The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology will now be open on Mondays at 10:00 am instead of 10:30 am, so that visitors can see an entire Egyptian mummy on display. When the museum re-opened 16 JANUARY 2000, THE COLLEGE LIBRARY, GOWER STREET, LONDON, WC1E 6BT. (44) 171 504 2868.

THE ROXY WALKER GALLERIES OF EGYPTIAN FUNERARY ARCHAEOLOGY. The British Museum's unparalleled collection of Egyptian statuettes, amulets, and Books of the Dead in a totally new installation, featuring architectural elements which have never been on display before, as well as new information from the exploration and reconstruction projects. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 171 636 1555. OPENED 14 MAY 2000. (See forthcoming Minerva.)

LONDON LADS AT THE GREAT 849-899: LONDON'S FORGOTTEN KING. The Museum of London marks the 11th century in London's death with a major exhibition. This is the first opportunity for the public to see many of the finds from recent excavations in Saxony. London. On display are weapons, coins, jewellery, manuscripts and fine Anglo Saxon metalwork. Pieces on loan include a rare surviving piece of the Astrolabe of Alfred the Great. THE JEWEL OF LONDON. (44) 600 3699. UNTIL 9 JANUARY 2000. (See pp. 18-21.)


NEW SAXON LONDON GALLERY. THE LATEST EVIDENCE FROM RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES UNDER COVENT GARDEN WILL BE EXHIBITED IN THE SASSON TOWN AND TRADES AREA. THE EXHIBITION OPENS 1 JANUARY 2000. THE EKDO ARTS, THE SALISBURY HOUSE, 2 EKDO STREET, LONDON. (44) 171 600 3699. ONGOING EXHIBITION.


WINDSOR THE COLLECTOR'S ART: ANCIENT EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN COLLECTIONS. In association with the public to see William Joseph Myers collection of Egyptian antiquities featuring over 1,000 objects in memory of the entire period of Egyptian culture. BREW HOUSE GALLERY, ETON COLLEGE LIBRARY, ETON COLLEGE, READING. OPENED 26 JUNE, NEW PERMANENT INSTALLATION, MUSEUM, JUNE/JULY/AUGUST 1999, PAGES 29-32.

UNITED STATES ATLANTA, GEORGIA A NIGHT UNDER THE PHARAOHS. A travelling exhibition from the National Museum of Antiquities, Scotland, featuring sacred and mortuary life, religion, pharaohs, and everyday life in ancient Egypt. FERNBANK SCIENCE CENTER. This is 2001-3411. UNTIL 5 SEPTEMBER 2000.

MISTERYES OF THE MUMMIES: ROTAT- PREVIEW. Includes the painted col-lections from Makurés tomb, a child from BC, and the coffin and mummy of a child from an important Canadian col-lectors. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 171 636 1555. OPENED 16 JANUARY 2000. THE JEWEL OF LONDON. GOWER STREET, LONDON, WC1E 6BT. (44) 171 504 2868.

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama LAND OF MYTH AND FIRE: ART OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL GEORGIA. This exhibition, which will also have opened at the Walters Art Gallery in October was cancelled, however it is likely to be open in the autumn of next year, following its yet-possible presenta- tion at the Mingei International Museum of World Folk Art. THE MUSEUMS IN THE SPRING AND THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON, NEXT SUMMER.

BOSTON, Massachusetts ART OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. A new permanent installation tracing the evolution and art of Anatolia, the Levant, Mesopotamia, Iran, and West-Central Asia. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. BOSTON. (1) 617 267-9300. (See Minerva, May/June 1999, pp. 35-7.)

EGYPTIAN FUNERARY ARTS. another new permanent installation of mummys, coffins, funerary masks, and burial goods from the 21st Dynasty, THE BRITISH MUSEUM. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. BOSTON (1) 617 267-9300. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1999, pp. 9-16.


ARCHEOLOGICAL EXHIBITIONS FROM THE SZE HONG COLLECTION. DENVER ART MUSEUM (1) 303 640-2993. UNTIL 6 FEBRUARY 2006.


MALIBU, California J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM CLOSED. it was the Thinking Man's Museum, which housed the noted collection of Greek and Roman antiqui-
ties, closed on 6 July 1997 for a three-year conservation and renovation project completed in 2000 as a centre for comparative archaeology and culture. (See above.)

NEW YORK, New York
EGYPTIAN ART IN THE AGE OF THE PYRAMIDS. The first major exhibition devoted to Old Kingdom antiquities featuring 230 masterpieces from 30 museums in Europe and North America. (See Minerva, May/June 1999, pp. 14-20.)

EIGHTH IN A SERIES: THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS AND THEIR BOOKS. A new exhibition investigating the relationships between the ancient Egyptians and the Axumites. (See Minerva, May/June 1999, pp. 14-20.)

FIRE OVER EARTH: CERAMICS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE ASIA SOCIETY. Over fifty pieces from China, Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia, illustrating the art and technology of ceramics from the 3rd millennium BC on, from the collection of Mr and Mrs John D. Rockefeller, ASIA SOCIETY (1) 212 644-0522. Until 24 November.

Masterspieces of the CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION. A major international exhibition, being held during a major renovation of the Gulbenkian Museum, one of the largest in the country. (See Minerva, July/August 1999, pp. 16-19.)

NEW GREEK & ROMAN GALLERIES, PHASE II. The first major section of the renovated Greek and Roman Galleries, the Beller Court, is devoted to early Greek art from the Cycladic, Mycenaean, and Early Corinthian periods, including many objects that are in permanent display for the first time. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500. (See Minerva, July/August 1999, pp. 16-19.)

NEW GREEK & ROMAN GALLERIES, PHASE III. The second major section of the renovated Greek and Roman Galleries, the Jaqueline Kennedy Onassis Garden, is devoted to art from the 6th to 4th centuries BC, with 200 objects on display, including a giant bronze statue of the god Zeus from the 5th century BC. (See Minerva, July/August 1999, pp. 16-19.)

REOPENING OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN GALLERIES, featuring the Raymond and Beverly Sackler Gallery for Assyrian art, which reopens the audience hall of an Assyrian palace. The galleries include many objects excavated by the museum at Nippur, Nimrud, and Hasanal; superb ivories from Anatolia and North Syria; and silver and gold objects from Sasanian Iran. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500. Opened 19 October.

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania
CANADIAN AND CANADIAN ISRAELI. The first major North American exhibition dedicated to the archaeology of ancient Israel, featuring more than 500 ancient artefacts, c. 3000-500 BC, principally exca- vated from sites in Israel, Jordan, and Oman from 1921 to 1981. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY. (1) 215 898-6800.限时展品

10,000 objects on view. MOUNTAIN INTERNATIONAL MUSEUM OF WORLD FOLK ART (619) 474-6900. Until 30 June 1998. (See Minerva, March/April 1999, pp. 23-26.)

SAN DIEGO, California
ARROWS OF THE SPIRIT: NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ADORNEMENT FROM PREHISTORIC TO HISTORY. An exhibition of the relationships of historic designs to contemporary Native American culture. (See Minerva, March/April 1999, pp. 23-26.)

SAN FRANCISCO, California
CHINESE BRONZE AND BUDDHIST ARTS. 120 of the most exceptional Chinese and Western objects comprising a collection dating from the early Neolithic period to recent times, the first major reinstallation of the Chinese collection over two years. ASIAN ART MUSEUM OF SAN FRANCISCO. (1) 415 379-8801. An ongoing exhibition.

TOLEDO, Ohio
USING COMMENTARY: THE ART OF THE LAY SPECTATOR. A new permanent interactive exhibition that invites the visitor on a tour on the bas-relief, a medieval manuscript, or an ancient tomb, to visit a craft area with hands-on art activities, and other activities of this ancient art. (See Minerva, March/April 1999, pp. 23-26.)

WASHINGTON, D.C.
CHARLES LANG FRERER AND EGYPT. An important collection of 17 Egyptian glass vessels of the 18th Dynasty acquired by Frer in Cairo in 1909, plus his 1400-piece ancient glass collection; with three other cases of Egyptian vases, amulets, inlays, and jewellery. FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. (1) 202 357-4880. An ongoing exhibition.


THE GOLDEN AGE OF ARCHAOLOGY: CELEBRATED DISCOVERIES FROM THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA. A major exhibition with over 200 antiquities from 6000 BC to AD 1966. (See Minerva, March/April 1999, pp. 23-26.)


TREASURES FROM THE ROYAL TOMBS OF UR. The third exhibition of this exhibition series of objects excavated from the Royal Cemetery of Ur, the 3000year-old city known in the Bible as the home of Abraham, presented by the University of Pennsylvania Museum. ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. (1) 202 357-2700. Until 17 July (then to Cleveland). Catalogue. (See Minerva, March/April 1999, pp. 14-20.)

WILLIAMSTOWN, Massachusetts
THE DIG - 30 YEARS OF EXCAVATIONS AT THE HOLLOMEN MODI. FRANCE: LONG DISTANT TRAVELS. An exhibition featuring architectural plans, and drawings of the medieval excavations conducted at Williamstown College. MOUNT WASHINGTON LEGE MUSEUM OF ART (1) 413 597-2429. Until 12 December.

AUSTRALIA
GEELOONG, Victoria
ARTIFACCTS FROM GREECE, ETRURIA AND ROME FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, THE NATIONAL CENTENARY EXHIBITION. A scientific exhibition on religion, warfare, and everyday life in ancient Greece, Etruria, and Rome. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES. Until 7 November (then to Te Papa Tongarewa, New Zealand).

MELBOURNE
NEW ANTIQUITIES GALLERIES. A new and expanded exhibition of 500 works of ancient art from the Mediterranean, Egypt, Etruria, Rome, and the Near East. COLUMBIAN AMERICA, presenting the full extent of the Gallery's holdings in this area. NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA. (61) 3 920 0222. (See Minerva, March/April 1997, pp. 35-39.)

AUSTRIA
BURG KARSTEN, KARSTEN, OF THE ALPS. 4000 years of jewellery and coins found in the Alpine regions of Austria. NATIONAL GALLERY. (43) 463 537 432. Until 28 November.

CANADA
TORONTO, Ontario
ANCIENT MASTERS OF THE ADRIATIC. An ongoing exhibition of Bronze Age, Greek, and Roman artefacts uncovered by a R.O.M. archaeological expedition to Palagruza, a Dalmatian site on the Adriatic Sea, supplemented by objects on loan from the Archaeological Museum of Split, the National Museum of VENICE, and objects from many antiquities and museum antiquities from the 4th to 15th centuries, including 500 objects: sculpture, mosaics, frescoes, liturgical objects, jewellery, and coins. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM. (1) 416 586-8000. An ongoing exhibition.

THE JOEY & TOBY TANENBAUM GALLERY OF BYZANTINE ART. A new gallery of 500 objects, including gold, silver, and enamels, with objects from the 4th to 15th centuries, including 500 objects: sculpture, mosaics, frescoes, liturgical objects, jewellery, and coins. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM. (1) 416 586-5549. An ongoing exhibition.


CHINA
SHANGHAI
REOPENING OF SHANGHAI MUSEUM. Reopened after four and a half years of planning and construction, the new museum is shaped like an ancient Chinese bronze vessel. - its 10,000 square metres contain 11 galleries and three exhibition halls housing over 100,000 objects. SHANGHAI MUSEUM. (86) 21 63 32 55 00.

EGYPT
CAIRO
THE ROYAL MUMMIES. Eleven pharaonic mummies, 8 kings, including Ramesses II, and 3 queens and princesses, have been placed back on permanent exhibition. They were removed from display in 1980 when Anwar sadat thought that their appearance robbed them of their dignity. THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM. (20) 74-43-10.

LUXOR
MUSEUM OF Mummification. A small new museum, close to the Temple of Luxor, devoted to mummi- fied animals, with separate displays of mummy, birds, and reptiles. The stairs of embalming, the mumming apparatus, and the surgical tools used are also on view. (20) 9533 0239. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1998, p. 40.)

FRANCE
AGDE, Herault

ANGERS, Maine-et-Loire
EGYPTIAN INTENTIONS. MUSÉE PINCÉ. Until 31 December.
Calendar

CHALKIDIKI, POLYCYRÖS ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. (30) 371 22269. New permanent exhibition.

THESALONIKI FROM THE ELYSIAN FIELDS TO THE CELLAR OF PARADISE. An exhibition on burial customs and traditions during the early Christian period. THE MUSEUM OF PAGAN CULTURE. (30) 31 868 570.

'THE GOLD OF ANCIENT MACEDONIA'. Permanent exhibition. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. (30) 31 830 538.


IRELAND DUBLIN ANCIENT EGYPT. A recently opened permanent exhibition of Egyptian antiquities drawn from the Museum's own collections. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND. (353) 1 6777 444.

VIKING AGE IRELAND. New permanent gallery illustrating the impact of the Viking invasion on Ireland, AD 800-1000. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND. (353) 1 6777 444.

LIMRÍO THE HUNT MUSEUM. A new museum housing the renowned and wide-ranging collection belonging to John and Gertrude Hunt. The collection is particularly strong on Medieval material, but also includes Egyptian, Greek and Roman art. One of the highlights and an important collection of Irish archaeological pieces in the country. THE HUNT MUSEUM. Limerick. (061) 31 2 833. (See Minerva, Nov/Dec 1998, pp. 36-40.)

ISRAEL JERUSALEM A DAY AT QUMRAN: THE DEAD SEA SECT AND ITS SCRULS. This new permanent exhibition commemorates the 50th anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls. A unique 1st-century AD document from an ostracan discovered in Qumran in the winter of 1995 reveals the connection between the site and the scrolls discovered in the caves. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM. (972) 2-6708-811.

DRINK AND BE MERRY: WINE AND BEER IN ANCIENT TIMES. An exploration of the wine and beer trade and consumption in Israel and the Mediterranean area from the 4th millennium BC to the 6th century AD. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM. (972) 2-6708-811. Until 1 January 2000.

THE FIRST ARTISTS. A special permanent exhibition of Prehistoric sites cunningly found at prehistoric sites. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM. (972) 2-6708-811.

MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO - PALAZZO MASSIMO ALLE TERME. Since June all the sections are open to the public, including the numismatic collections, and the Roman wall paintings from the Villa Farnesina and the frescoes and mosaics from the Aula Iasica. MUSEO PALATINO. (See Minerva, March/April 1998, pp. 39-40.)

THE ROADS OF THE VIA SACRA FROM SABINA TO THE SAMNITE REGIONS. More than 2000 objects document the history and the culture of the people of the Samnite regions, from their origin to their long conflict with Rome. TÉRAME DI DIOCLEZIANO. Until December 1999.

REOPENING OF THE DOMUS AUREA Nero's palace is opened again to the public for the first time since 1941. Special lighting enhances the visual effect of the important, well-preserved remains of some of the wall paintings. (See Minerva, Sep/Oct 1998.) (90) 648 415 000. Closed on Sunday and Monday. 9.00-11.00 for scheduled tours. Guidebook in Italian and English.

ROMAN HOUSES UNDER S. PAOLO ALLA REGOLA. A labyrinth of ancient houses underneath the Palazzo Specchi can now be visited by appointment. (90) 689 235.

VICTORY OVER BARBARIANS, FROM Pergamon to Rome. The 'Dying Gaul' from the Capitoline Museum and 'The Gaul Slaying Himself' can now be seen side by side. PALAZZO ALtemps. (90) 646 890 3500. Until December.

TOIRANO, Savona FROM JASPER TO BRONZE: LIGURIA BETWEEN 3600 AND 1000 BC. Recent archaeological discoveries relating to Savona and ancient Jasper and copper mining. MUSEO CIVICO A PALAZZO DEL MARECCHIE A TOIRANO. (91) 072 401 968. Until the end of 1999.

TURIN MUSEO DI ANTICITTÁ. Newly renovated sections of the museum were opened to the public, as part of the reorganisation of the whole building. A fascinating new documentation of archaeological work in Turin on sites dating from prehistory to the Middle Ages. (91) 011 521 2251.

TRAVELLING THROUGH TIME. Comprehensive exhibition which will travel throughout Italy and abroad, its aim being to stimulate a greater interest in history for schools. The objects on show have been lent by a host of museums ranging from the British Museum to many archaeological and military museums throughout Italy. MUSEO STATALI D'ARTECCHERIA. (91) 011 88 4382. Ongoing in different cities until 1999.

JAPAN NAGOYA ANCIENT ART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. A long-term loan exhibition of artefacts from the British Museum in Fine Arts, Boston, finally opening after a delay of three years. It is the first five-year loan to be negotiated under the terms of its 20-year commitment. NAGYO/BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. Until March 2004.

SHIRAKAWA SHUIME FAMILY COLLECTION: THE MINERVA 68
CALENDAR

MIHOF ORMUSEUM. A new museum, located in a subterranean cave in Athens, has been named after the leader of the Shi‘i Shumaili, Mihof Khoja. The museum houses a superb Shumeli collection consisting of Classical, Egyptian, Near Eastern, Cypriot, and Roman Antiquities. It will be managed by the Shumeli Foundation. (See Minerva, Nov/Dec 1996, pp.10-13.) The MIHOF ORMUSEUM. Fax: (81) 748823414.


THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES REOPENS. On the 19 November the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden will reopen it doors after two years of renovation. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES (RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, RMO). (31) 71 512 7527.


PORTUGAL LISBON PORTUGAL IN THE TIME OF THE WARRIORS. On display in the Lisbon Archaelogical Museum are objects from one of the major cultural periods and their tools and pottery in this part of the Iberian Peninsula. MUSEU NACIONAL DE ARQUEOLOGIA (351) 1 362 0000. Until the end of September 2000.

THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS OF MONSARAZ. An exhibition of dolmens, menhirs, and cromlechs from one of the major megalithic areas in southern Portugal. MUSEU NACIONAL DE ARQUEOLOGIA (351) 1 362 0000. Until November.

SPAIN BARCELONA ROMANEQUE GALLERIES. The world’s largest existing collection of Romanesque murals, some in their original apos, mostly from the area of Aragon, has been on the move and is being on display for some years. MUSEU NACIONAL DE CATALUNYA. (34) 3 423 7199. ongoing installation.

NEW MUSEUM OF PRECOBRAINIAN ART. A small museum with an outstanding collection of Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Central and South American sculptures, pottery, textiles, and other artefacts. MUSEU BARBARI-MUELLER D’ART PRECIEUX, Montadra. (34) 13 319 76 03.

SWITZERLAND BASEL SYRIA: CRADLE OF CULTURE. This major travelling exhibition features about 400 objects from the national museums in Damascus and Aleppo and several regional museums. ANTUKR MUSEUM BASEL UND SAMMLUNG LUDWIG (41) 61 271 2202. 4 November-31 March 2000. Catalogue.

BERN THE CELTIC RING. BERNSIS HISTORISK MUZIEUM. (41) 31 350 7711.

GEOVIA SASSAND TEXTILES FROM THE LOUVRE. Excavated textiles from Egypt, c. AD 872495. A loan from the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre, give us a glimpse of the fabrics of this period, even the same designs and processes those produced in Iran. MUSEE D’ART ET D’HISTOIRE. (41) 22 418 600. Until 14 February 2000.


ST. GALLEN ETURIA AND HELLENISM. The reopening of the antiquity rooms of the museum. SAMMLUNG FUR VOLKERKUNDE (41) 71 244 8802.

MEETINGS, CONFERENCES, & SYMPOSIUMS


5-7 November. MESOLITHIC SCOT- LAND. The Early Holocene Prehistory of Scotland and its European Context. Edinburgh. Contact: The Association of Scottish Cenetr of Antiquities of Scotland, Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh Street, Edinburgh, EH8 9YF, Scotland, UK. Fax: (44) 131 247 4163. E-mail: j.rowan@nms.ac.uk.

8-10 November. ETHICS IN ARCHAEO- LOGY. An international student conference. Obrzych, Poland. Contact: Agnieszka Dolotowska, Institute of Prehistory, University of Poznan, Sw. Marcin 7B, 61-800 Poznan, Poland. E-mail: agadola@artemia.umedu.pl.

17-20 November. AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH. Annual Meeting. Cambridge, MA. Contact: Rudy Dornemann, ASOR at BU, 5th floor, 656 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02215-20008. Tel: (617) 353-6574. E-mail: dornonn@bu.edu. WWW: www.asor.org/AM/AM99.html.

18-20 November. 7TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MEDIEVAL CERAMICS. Thessalonika, Greece. Contact: ATECM, 10 rue Mazarine, 13100 Marseille, France. Tel: (33) 42 64 37 65; fax: (33) 42 20 48 53. E-mail: laillam@aiupx.univ-al.fr.

38 November - 1 December. CLEANING THE KINGS TRAVEL. Discussions as to what extent the cleaning has altered the surface of the stone statues of the British Museum. The Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre (SDAS). Send a deposit to make the journey payable to the British Museum, to Keeper, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG. (See pp 42-5.)

1-9 December. THE PANAGHIURISHT TREASURE AND TORCHES IN THRACE. Sofia, Bulgaria. Contact: Daniele Agre, Archaeological Institute and Museum - EAS, 2 Soborna Street, 1000 Sofia, Bulgaria.

4 December. AMARNA: A THIRTY-FOUR CENTURY LEGACY. Boston. A symposium to be held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in conjunction with the exhibition (see pp. 24-33), featuring speakers such as William J. Murnane and J. Kent Kinkade (1) 617 368-3326. Website: www.mfa.org/calendar.

27-30 December. ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, 101ST ANNUAL MEETING. The Fairmont Hotel, Dallas, Texas. Contact: AIA Tel: (1) 617 353-9361; fax: (1) 617 353-9382. E-mail: aia@harvard.edu. WWW: www.ha.org/miaa200.htm.


6-9 January 2000. LIGHTEN OUR DARKNESS: CULTURAL TRANSFORMA- TIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM. Birmingham, England. Contact: Dr. K. A. Wardle, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Birmingham B15 2TT. Tel: (44) 121 414 3502. E-mail: K.A.Wardle@bham.ac.uk.

28 March - 3 April 2000. EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EGYPTOLOGISTS, International Conference Centre Cairo. Contact: Dr Zahi Hawass. Fax: (44) 20 3 340 7239. Tel: 00 20 2 383 4519.

LECTURES

UNITED KINGDOM

3 November. TINTAGEL, CORNWALL: FIELDWORK AND RESEARCH DURING THE PAST DECADE. Prof, Christopher Morris, British Archaeological Society. To be held at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, 5 pm.

8 November. BULL-LEAPING FRES- COES FROM EGYPT AND KNOSSOS: NEW RESULTS. Nanno Marinatos, Greek Institute for the Study of Greece UK (at Kings College, Great Hall. 6 pm.


11 November. THE TREASURY OF RAMIS III. Stephen Snape. Egyptian Embassy. 6.30pm. (44) 171 491 7720

18 November. LARGER THAN LIFE: THE COLOSSEI OF AMENHAT III. Christopher Duffy. Egyptian Embassy. 6.30pm. (44) 171 491 7720

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Calendar

25 November. NEW FINDS FROM APOLLONIA PONTICA. Nevena Gueorguieva. Institute of Classical Studies. 4.30pm.

25 November. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANTELOIDS. Carol Andrews. Egyptian Centre, 6.30pm. (44) 171 491 7720

1 December. THE ST NICHOLAS CROZIER IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. Dr Pamela Tudor-Craig. British Archaeological Association. To be held at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly. 5 pm.

2 December. BYZANTINE SILVER SPOONS. Ruth Leader. British Museum. 4.00pm.

2 December. THE TRAINING AND STATUES OF CLASSICAL GREEK SCULPTORS. Geoffrey Waywell. Institute of Classical Studies. 4.30pm.

2 December. LUSTRE POTTERY: FROM MEDIEVAL CAIRO AND BACK AGAIN. Sarah Searight. Egyptian Embassy. 6.30pm. (44) 171 491 7720


MANCHESTER: MAGICK PRIEST KINGS OF ANCIENT EGYPT. Lorraine Evans. Manchester Ancient Egypt Society. University of Manchester, Institute of Science and Technology. 8pm. Contact Victor Blunden: (44) 161 225 0879


UNITED STATES: NEW YORK. 4-5 December. DEVILS IN THE CLAY: MAGIC AND MEDICINE IN ANTIQUE MESOPOTAMIA. Dr Irving Finkel. New York Society, Archaeological Institute of America and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Grace Rainey Auditorium, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 4 December, 11am; 5 December 1pm.

PROVIDENCE, Rhode Island. 8 December. THE MONUMENTS OF GREAT GODDESSES IN EGYPT. Barbara S. Lesko. Department of Egyptology, Brown University; contact (1) 863-3132. 8pm.

Appointments
Marina Chinchilla has been appointed Director of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, Spain, following the brief tenure of Dr Martin Álamo. She was previously employed at the Ministry of Culture.

Dr Iannis Toaratsagolou has been appointed Director of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece. He will keep his position as Director of the Athens Numismatic Museum.

It has been announced that Hasan Askari, Christopher McCall QC, Eric Salama, David Lindsell, The Countess of Dalkeith, and Dr Anna Ritchie have been appointed to the Board of Trustees of the British Museum.

Auctions
1 December. BONHAMS, London. ANTIQUITIES. (44) 171 393 3994.

7 December. PHILLIPS, London. ANTIQUITIES and tribal art. (44) 171 629 6602.

8 December. CHRISTIES, New York. ANTIQUE JEWELLERY. (1) 212 636 2243.

9 December. CHRISTIES, New York. ANTIQUITIES. (1) 212 636 2243.

9 December. SOTHEBYS, New York. ANTIQUITIES FROM THE BASTIS COLLECTION (evening sale). (1) 212 606 7266.

10 December. SOTHEBYS, New York. ANTIQUITIES. (1) 212 606 7266.

11 December. DOROTHEUM, Vienna. ANTIQUITIES. (43) 1 315 60 533.

Fairs
13-21 November. CULTURA. The World Art and Antiques Fair. The world’s largest gathering of top-quality dealers in classical Roman, Greek, and Egyptian antiquities. Basel, Switzerland. (41) 61 273 5454.

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