TREASURES FROM SYRIA

EGYPTIAN GALLERIES REVAMP AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

HADRIAN'S VILLA

CLASSICAL SCULPTURE IN MADRID

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN CAUCASIAN GEORGIA

CHINA'S GILDED DRAGONS

THE YARMUKIANS: NEOLITHIC ISRAEL

ANTIQUITIES TRADE UPDATE

NAIPES (AXE MONEY) OF PERU


INCLUDING A SPECIAL SECTION DEVOTED TO NUMISMATICS
Roman marble statue of Asklepios, god of healing and medicine, leaning upon a serpent entwined staff; after a Greek prototype of c. 420 BC, perhaps by Alkamenes. 1st-2nd Century AD. H: 34.9 cm. (13 1/4")

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IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES:
• The Zodiac from 1500 BC to the Renaissance
• The Egyptian Galleries in Cleveland
• A New Roman Coin Hoard • Archaeology in Albania
Earliest alphabetic writing discovered in Egypt

At Wadi el-Hol, in the desert west of Thebes, American Egyptologists have made an important discovery of what may be the earliest known alphabetic writing, dating to c. 1900-1800 BC, preceding the Syro-Palestinian scripts found in Sinai and the area of present-day Syria and Palestine by two or three hundred years. Incised in the soft limestone cliffs along an ancient road which ran from Thebes to Abydos, they were found by Dr John Coleman Darnell, a Yale University Egyptologist, and his wife, Deborah, in 1993 and 1994 while they were conducting a survey of ancient travel routes in the southern Egyptian desert from their base at Chicago House, Luxor.

The two inscriptions were written in a Semitic script most probably by a scribe traveling with a group of mercenaries, and were apparently developed in a fashion similar to a semi-cursive form of Egyptian. Until now it was thought that these first attempts by Semitic peoples to develop an alphabet had originated in the Syro-Palestinian region, rather than in a foreign land. Following several years of consultation with fellow scholars Dr. and Mrs. Darnell presented their initial report on these exciting findings at the November 1999 meeting in Boston of the Society of Biblical Literature.

Palace of Pharaoh Ahmose discovered in Sharqiya

What is thought to be the Palace of Ahmose I (1570-1546 BC) has been found by an Austrian-Egyptian archaeological team in the el-Dabaa area in Sharqiya governate in the eastern Delta. With the use of ground radar and a magnetometer it was determined that the ancient city where the palace was located was more than ten kilometres in length. It was near the location of what was once the capital of the Hyksos (at Tell-el-Yahudiyeh), a group of Semitic kings or ‘Desert Princes’, who ruled Egypt from the eastern Delta, c. 1663-1555 BC. Ahmose I founded the 18th Dynasty and expelled the Hyksos from Egypt. He then expanded his empire into Palestine and nearly to the Third Cataract in Nubia. Although his mummy was found in 1881 in the great royal cache at Deir el-Bahari, his tomb, presumably in the Theban necropolis, has not yet been discovered.

Tomb of Senenmut opened to the public

The tomb of Senenmut, the royal steward to Queen Hatshepsut (1498-1483 BC) and tutor to her young daughter, the princess Neferure – among his many other royal and religious titles – and architect of the magnificent terraced mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, can now be visited. Senenmut had already built a previous tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, south of Deir el-Bahari, but then built this more impressive tomb located beneath the outer court of the temple with its entrance concealed in the nearby quarry outside the temenos wall of the temple, to be nearer to his queen. The ceiling decoration of this tomb is extremely interesting as it contains the signs of the zodiac.

Excavation resumed on monolithic statue of Ramesses II

In 1991 excavation was halted on a colossal statue of the great pharaoh Ramesses II (1279-1212 BC) at Sohag, just west of Akhmim, about 130 kilometres north-west of Thebes, following the discovery of the torso. When it was found that the rest of the statue was in an adjoining Muslim cemetery. The cemetery has been relocated at another site and excavations are now proceeding again. The open-air museum at Sohag is most noted for the eleven-metre high statue of Meremamun, daughter of Ramesses II and Nefertari, who became his ‘Great Royal Wife’ following the death of her mother.

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The horse stables of Ramesses II uncovered

The largest ancient horse stables ever found, those of Ramesses II, were discovered by a German-Egyptian archaeological team at Qantir, immediately north of Tell el-Daba. This is the site of the 19th Dynasty city of Pi-Ramesse, the Delta capital of the Ramesside pharaohs established by Ramesses II. About two acres in size, the stables were composed of several gated areas and were constructed to hold and breed over four hundred horses. Bronze fragments from battle chariots and stones used to attach the horse trappings were uncovered, confirming that the horses at these stables were not used only for hunting and recreation, but also for the battles so vividly recorded on the reliefs of Ramesses. Again, these ruins were detected by means of ground radar equipment and a magnetometer.

Coptic church found at Qubbet al-Hawa

A 6th-century church was located by an Egyptian mission at Qubbet el-Hawa, on the west bank of the Nile, just north of Elephantine island and opposite the modern town of a swan... Near the site of some 6th Dynasty rock-cut tombs of noblemen, it was built in the style of Nubian churches to the south with a central dome surrounded by smaller domes. It contains a number of polychrome frescoes including a representation of Jesus holding a bible and surrounded by angels. Other frescoes depicted groups of monks. The mission also found an icon portraying Jesus with his disciples. A hermit's cell, connected to the church by a wall covered with purple crosses, led to an ancient rock-cut tomb with portraits of a seated nobleman.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

ARCHAEOLOGISTS SHORE UP ANCIENT LEANING CHURCH IN GREENLAND

A team of archaeologists from the Danish and Greenland National Museums this summer (1999) moved in to stabilise the foundations of one of the vast Arctic territory's key Norse monuments: the leaning church of Hvalsey on the south-western tip of the island near Qaqortoq (Julianehaab), an area first colonised by Nordic farmers in the 10th century. The church, dating back to AD1300 and a UNESCO World Heritage site, is in a near perfect condition apart from missing its roof, but for years its southern wall has been gradually collapsing down the mountainside, giving rise to fears that one of Greenland's most important ancient buildings might topple into the nearby fjord.

The project - costing £65,000 and carried out in three weeks - involved shoering up the subsiding foundations of the tiny church with concrete, while at the same time allowing the building to preserve its characteristic askew inclination. Experts consider Hvalsey (whale island) church to be a unique example of Anglo-Norse architecture. The ruins are among the best preserved in Middle Ages settlements in Greenland or the western Atlantic. Originally distempered in white, the church contrasted with the primitive local turf huts and animal hide tent habitats of the Inuit (Eskimo) population.

Hvalsey's dangerous lurch - first reported by a Danish navy lieutenant in 1828, is believed by historians to have been caused by jerry-building by the Irish or Norwegian builders, who erected the church on an unstable cemetery site. On the site are the remains of some 200 graves, and ancient Icelandic church registers suggest that the church served a big parish stretching far into the hinterland. According to the records, the last marriage to be celebrated between two Icelanders at Hvalsey Church was in 1408, at the very end of the Viking period. Greenland was discovered around AD 982 by the Viking Erik the Red, son of a Norwegian chieftain banished from Iceland. Christianity was introduced on what is the world's largest island 1000 years ago. In 1261 Greenland accepted the sovereignty of Norway, but early in the 15th century all communication with Europe petered out. The icebound island became a Danish colony in 1721 and gained home rule under Copenhagen in 1799.

Christopher Foleitt

BRITISH MUSEUM NEWS

The British Museum is working on the largest development in its history. The ambitious Great Court project and its associated activities will create up to 130 new jobs within the Museum, of which 60 have already been announced. The majority of these will be filled by existing Museum staff with priority given to permanent members of staff as opposed to those on temporary contracts. As part of the of rationalisation in the Museum, approximately 60 specific existing jobs are proposed for closure, which have been notified to staff on 25 November (Press Release).

MINERVA 3
MORE EXCITING BURIALS FROM
ROMAN LONDON

Following closely on the discovery of the Roman sarcophagus and lead coffin at Spitalfields (Minerva, July/August 1999), archaeologists from the Museum of London Archaeological Service have also excavated a small part of the western Roman cemetery on the site of Atlantic House in Holborn. The site lies on what was the western bank of the river Fleet and would have fronted on Newgate Street, the Roman road that left Londinium at Newgate, heading for Silchester and the south-west. A total of 20 inhumation burials and 29 cremations were found.

During the excavations, the archaeologists made an exciting discovery in the wet clay of the riverbank. They found two intact Roman wooden coffins in an amazing state of preservation, due to the site being flooded by the river Fleet in the post-Roman period. There have been many traces of coffins found from Roman London’s cemeteries, but usually the only evidence left is as a stain in the soil, as fragmentary mineralised wood, or solely iron nails. Each coffin contained a skeleton lying in a layer of wet silt and the bones have now been removed for further research. Because of the waterlogged conditions, it is hoped that the environmental evidence will be as interesting as that from the Spitalfields sarcophagus.

Once the skeletons were removed, it was possible to inspect the coffins. They were made of oak with the planks butt together in a simple fashion to make the joints. The bases were complete and the four sides of each coffin had been preserved. The lid of one coffin had also survived but was in a poor state of preservation because the weight of the soil above had compressed the wood and moulded it around the skeleton. It was found that the coffins had been made of re-used low quality wood and, rather than being coffins as such, may have acted as simple wooden linings to the graves. The weight of one of the skeletons had caused indentations in the softened wet wood of the base and the outline of the skeletal bones could clearly be seen (Fig 1).

The survival of these wooden coffins is unique to London and it remains to be seen whether they can be paralleled elsewhere in Britain. Further research on the skeleton from the Spitalfields sarcophagus and the wealthy nature of that burial compared with the skeletal information from these more lowly burials may provide some interesting insights into the lives of late Roman Londoners.

Jenny Hall, Roman Curator at the Museum of London.

ARCHAEOLOGISTS
UNCOVER APOSTLE’S
MARBLE IN CYPRUS

Fig 1. The base board of one coffin with the indentations caused by the ribcage of the deceased, Museum of London Archaeology Service.

Excavation on the site of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Hampshire, has revealed the plan of the east end of the Abbey church. The research design for the project involves re-investigation of post-medieval disturbances to the site, to determine the veracity of earlier claims to have found the burial place of Alfred the Great, his queen Ealhswith, and their son Edward the Elder. John Leland, Henry VIII’s historian, records the tombs to have been located in front of the high altar of the Abbey church.

A large pit on the central axis of the church, and near the site of the high altar, has recently been found to date to about 1900 and may reflect the efforts of the then Winchester mayor, Alfred Bowker, to raise interest in Alfred 100 years ago.

In the side of this pit can be seen an earlier feature, yet to be fully excavated, but containing at least one fragment of human bone, from a pelvis. Despite media speculation, it is not possible at present to say whether this bone is part of an undisturbed feature, or part of the backfilling of an antiquarian excavation. The need for scientific tests on the bone fragment will depend on an understanding of the context, including the retrieval of any further human bone. Work on the site continues.

Christopher Follett

THE SEARCH FOR ALFRED THE GREAT

Ken Quaismann, Head of Winchester Museums.
A proposal to resurface the forecourt of the British Museum has led to the expansion of the archaeological investigations from the confines of the Great Court (Minerva, September/October, pp. 26-7). Trial trenches were placed across the west side of the area, to examine the survival of the west wing of Montagu House, and the 'Officers' Houses' that lay to the west of this.

Archive research has shown that the west wing was converted to accommodation for senior members of staff on the acquisition of Montagu House by the Museum in 1754. It remained as such until new residences were prepared (the present east and west wings of the Museum) stretching towards Great Russell Street in 1849. By this time it had become increasingly dilapidated, not least because of the demolition of the northern extent to make way for the new buildings in 1843. Sir Frederic Madden, one of the last occupants, wrote in 1847 complaining:

...the insecure state of the house is such - the west wall being several feet out of the perpendicular and propped up by stays of wood, that Sir F. Madden during the winter lives in continual dread of its falling and burying himself and family in its ruins.

At least two floor levels could be detected inside the building, and the drains to the east showed a minimum of four phases. Once again a variety of measures attempting to control the damp were in place, ranging from the revetting wall keeping the forecourt deposits away from the east wall (Fig 2), to the use of a bituminous cement in the basement corridor. Ultimately the floor level was raised to correspond with the courtyard, although the infilling of the basement on the west with a dump of clay and refuse can have done little to improve the situation.

An extension of the trench to the south of the colonnade supporting wall towards Great Russell Street has revealed evidence of basements. The line of a collapsed arch could be seen along the continuation of the east face of the east wall, with the top of the doorway through from the turret just appearing at the base. Interesting, further to the east, the machinery and electrical switchgear for the front gates is housed in rooms adapted from these basements.

Early in 2000 it is hoped to continue the investigations, when the east wing will be available for examination, building on the discoveries made in October 1997.

Tony Spence, Curator, Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities, The British Museum.
STOLEN FRAGMENTS OF ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEF SCULPTURES RESURFACE

Samuel M. Paley reports on the mutilation of four bas-reliefs from the time of Tiglath-pileser III which were stolen from Nimrud (Kalhu) in Iraq.

Four fragments of Assyrian bas-relief sculptures have been offered for sale on the antiquities market over the past four years. This is in addition to those published by John Russell (see Minerva, May/June 1997, pp. 16-26). All four were from the cache of Tigrath-pileser III (744-727 BC) material excavated by the Polish Centre of Archaeology (Warsaw and Cairo) between 1974 and 1976 and published by Janusz Meyszynski, the director of the Polish project at Nimrud, Richard Sobolewski, the architect, and A. Mierzejewski, the epigraphist, respectively.

The bas-reliefs were stolen from the site museum where they had been stored since the end of the mission's sojourn in Iraq. The final report of this excavation is not yet complete, so aside from professional archaeologists and art historians of the ancient Near East who are familiar with scholarly publication in preliminary reports in professional journals, few people know of their existence. The robbers probably felt safe in offering them in various venues. In almost each case, the fragments offered had been cut up or smashed, ostensibly to hide their association with published photographs that might come to the attention of any prospective buyer.

The following four Assyrian bas-relief sculptures have been offered on the market:

Fig 1. This is the complete upper register of a two-register bas-relief, which depicts a charioteer followed by two foot soldiers going off to battle. The front parts of the horses were completed on the slab to the left of this one. The right side of the relief is eroded but a silhouette of a tree dividing the charioteer from the next to the right can be identified. To the right of the tree, the outline of the back of an archer is clearly visible. The archer is part of a siege scene. Austen Henry Layard saw this relief and drew the slab, along with the siege scene to its right. He did not have it transported out of Iraq; he left it where he found it, to be rediscovered, along with the scene of the besieged city (N-A/11/76) by the Polish excavation team.

The fragment shown to dealers is only a portion of N-A/12/75. The upper left corner of the slab, the back parts of the two spear men, the tree, and the outline of the archer were broken off the preserved part of the original slab with what seems to have been a sledge hammer. (Offered for sale c. 1996-97.)

Fig 2. This slab is the bottom register of a two-register bas-relief depicting two royal officials approaching the figure of a standing king. The right and the bottom edges as preserved are original. A corner of the inscription band survives on the upper, right edge. One of the officials is bearded, the other clean-shaven. Both are barefoot, a clear indication of Tiglath-pileser sculpture, especially in cases when a scene might be mistaken for the art of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC). Only the king's hand and staff and something held in the king's lowered hand are visible. (This identified object may be unfinished, a blocked out area ready for some detail to be added, perhaps a flower.) This slab was not published in any of the printed versions of the preliminary reports of the Polish team, but was shown as an example of the bas-reliefs discovered by the Polish excavation team at Nimrud when they reported their discoveries at the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale meetings in 1978. The rest of the slab is in the Louvre.

We assume that the complete slab was shown to dealers, though no mention was made to us concerning whether or not the plinth, which would have information about quarrying practices, survived. (Offered for sale c. 1996-97.)
Figs 3-4. A two-registered bas-relief carved with the image of a soldier on each register. A band of eroded inscription runs between the two registers. To the right is a sacred tree, which extends from the plinth to near the top of the slab. The tree acts as a border decoration for scenes of war in which these two figures probably represented companies of soldiers lined up as part of a war campaign. This block stood originally at the corner of a room in Tiglath-pileser’s palace. The trunk of the tree was at the corner, its branches extending out at 90 degrees on the two faces of the corner block. This mimics corner trees in the earlier palace of King Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC), the remains of which lie a short distance to the north of this bas-relief’s find place.

The soldier on the upper register wears a short belted tunic, is bare-headed, and carries a round shield protecting the upper left half of his body. He brandishes a short spear with his left hand, holding it in the middle of the staff. The end of a scabbard belonging to the soldier that would have stood in front of him is visible, waist high on the edge of the slab. The soldier on the lower register wears a similar tunic and brandishes a long spear, held mid staff, with his left hand. This soldier wears a pointed helmet. His raised right arm is broken off at the elbow and forearm and there are remains of what looks like a round shield and a full-length body shield in front of him. Both soldiers are bare-footed.

The slab was discovered in four fragments by the Polish excavation team. Until now, only the upper figure and the eroded inscription band have appeared as a single item on the market, but most of the tree has been sawed off the block, leaving only a part of the line of palmettos. Even reduced this way in size, the surviving stone was further marred: it was cut into two parts across the soldier’s tunic and between the third and fourth tree palmetto, probably to make it easy to transport it. The fate of the rest of the bas-relief is unknown. (Offered for sale c. 1998-99.)

Fig 5. This relief shows a genius facing right toward a king, in turn, facing him. The top and right edges of the slab are original. There is a margin of raised stone on the left edge, which suggests that the slab tucked behind another at the corner of a room. The figure of the king was sawed down the middle and the whole relief was partly sawn and partly broken off across the lower parts of the figures. When this was done is unknown since, to our knowledge, this relief was not documented by Layard, but was found this way by the Polish Mission. It is quite possible that it was done in antiquity. We note here that one interpretation advanced for the whole cache of relief fragments was that it was part of an ancient dump of discarded stone deemed of no use in further building projects at the site.

The subject is unique in the representations of Tiglath-pileser: a king with hand raised and bow firmly set on the ground in front of him, flanked by two geniuses, wearing fillets decorated with roseate bracteates, also with hands raised and each holding a ‘branch’ (drooping pomegranates). It has been noted before that the genius facing the king from the right might be N-A/9/76, published by Richard Sobolewski in 1976 (Archiv für Orientforschung 25, pp. 236-7, Fig 10). See my discussion of the comparable examples (loc. cit.). The genius on this slab wears a short tunic with a covering shawl. The king wears a long tunic with a covering shawl. The cursory decorations on both garments and the cut of the genius’ over-shawl are characteristic of Tiglath-pileser sculpture. The robbers or their cohorts have trimmed this slab. They cut off the remains of the king entirely and, when the bottom of the relief was evened off, the pomegranate branch, the preserved part of the leg and lower part of the tunic and over-shawl of the genius were also removed. That the fragment being shown on the market is certainly this piece, cannot only be seen in the iconography – the details in the decoration and relative positions of arms, head and body – but also by the positions, shapes and sizes and the holes with pieces of metal in them which mar the face of the stone. (Offered for sale c. 1998-99.)

Professor Samuel M. Paley
Department of Classics,
The University of Buffalo,
State University of New York,

The article was written with the assistance of Richard P. Sobolewski, Warsaw, Poland, and Professor John M. Russell,
Massachusetts College of Art, Boston, MA.

MINERVA 7
SYRIA: LAND OF CIVILISATIONS

A review of a major exhibition of antiquities from Syrian museums currently in Basel and soon to travel to Canada and the United States.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

The major role that the land of Syria has played in the evolution of human endeavour in the Near East - early agriculture, the city-state kingdoms of the late 4th through 2nd millennia BC, and the development and spread of its cultural heritage all the way through the Islamic period - cannot be over emphasised.

The last important travelling exhibition of Syrian antiquities - 'Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria' took place in the United States from 1985 to 1987. It developed from an earlier exhibition - 'Land des Baal' - presented in 1982 to 1983 in Germany, Austria, Paris (with additions from the Louvre), and Rome (with finds from Ebla). The current exhibition - 'Syria: Land of Civilisations' - which opened in Basel, Switzerland, to great acclaim on 4 November brings us a large number of antiquities never seen before outside Syria. In addition to a number of the well-known objects previously exhibited in the earlier exhibitions. The majority of the objects on show are from the National Museums at Damascus and Aleppo with a number from the Palmyra Museum, but important objects, some published here for the first time, are also on view from the museums at Deir ez-Zor, Idlib, Suweida, and several other sites that the visitor to Syria may not have the ability or time to visit.

Over 400 objects, including several major sculptures, are presented in an exhibition that has been organised by five themes: the origins of civilisation, the organisation of society, the organisation of the economy, the organisation of thought, and the transmission of scientific heritage to the West. While the concept is laudable, it does often lead to some confusion on the part of the viewer in both the exhibition and in the catalogue as it can juxtapose an antiquity from c. 1300 BC next to an Islamic object dated to c. AD1300. However, the selection of objects and the presentation, cannot be faulted. The inclusion of pieces excavated as recently as two years ago, such as the unique 4th millennium stèle from Mari (Fig 5), makes it a must for anyone interested in the artistic, cultural, economic, and historical development of the ancient Near East.

A brief history of early Syrian culture.

While the earliest traces of human habitation in Syria - chipped flint tools - date to about 1,000,000 years ago, the oldest skeletal find, a large fragment of a Homo Erectus skull, dating to about 450,000 years ago, was not found until 1996. This was uncovered at Nadawiyah Ain Askar, a site north of Palmyra. A skeleton of a Neanderthal child, apparently buried in a cave on purpose, was found in 1996 at Debayyah, about 50 kilometers north of Aleppo. A second skeleton of a child and other bone and teeth fragments date these Palaeolithic burials to about 60,000 BC. Pre-agricultural settlements, the first villages, were not established until the Neolithic period, about 12,000 BC.

The first figurative representations, which were most probably fertility figurines, date to the 10th to 9th millennia BC (Fig 2). Alabaster vases in the form of animals date as early as 7000 BC, while ceramic vessels depicting animals, especially the bull's head as a symbol of fertility and reproduction, were produced by the second half of the 6th millennium BC. Village life was well established in several areas of Syria by the end of the 7th millennium BC. By that time female fertility figurines were plentiful (Fig 3) and by then a new social and political order arose in which chiefdoms were led by a ruling body, rather than by a single chief.

Fig 1. Decorative gouged basalt stone. There is a broad, carved trough in the middle of one side of these flat stones, which are often found in the Near East and date as early as 10,000 BC. Perhaps used to straighten arrows or to polish cylindrical objects, this unique example is decorated on the other side with an engraved four-legged animal, a bird of prey, and geometrical designs. Other flat stones or 'palettes' found at the same site are covered with unidentified motifs possibly representing symbolic messages or even a primitive and earliest known form of writing. Jof al-Alm, c. 9000 BC. 5 x 3.9 x 1.7 cm. National Museum, Damascus. 1193. Catalogue no. 259.

Fig 2. Calcite female figurine. One of the earliest known female figurines in the Near East, probably a fertility figurine. This example is made of stone, unlike the eight other slightly later pieces found at the site, which were formed out of fire-hardened clay. They date to the period of the first communities to engage in agriculture. Since they all lack facial features their intended use as a representation of reproduction seems even more apparent. Tell Durebet, c. 8000 BC. H: 9 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M10165 (M8731). Catalogue no. 262.

MINERVA 8
Fig. 3. Terracotta female figurine. Fertility figurines first appeared in the Near East in the 10th-9th millennium BC (see Fig 2), however they were not produced in large number until the end of the 6th millennium BC. The exaggerated hips and breasts of this later type, called by some a 'mother goddess,' are obvious signs of their use as fertility figures. Tell Kashkashk, c. 5000 BC. H: 8.8 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. 1117. Catalogue no. 265.

Fig. 4. Alabaster cultic stele. An early foundation deposit unearthed in 1997, including about 60 alabaster vessels and a libation vessel cut from a large triton shell, yielded this unique stele engraved with large eyes, a female pubes, and stylised birds and ibex. It bears an interesting similarity to the Iberian 'Millaran eye goddess' Idols of the 3rd millennium BC. Tell Hariri (ancient Mari), later 4th millennium BC. 35.3 x 18.5 cm. Deir ez-Zor Museum. 19088 (TH97.154). Catalogue no. 295.

In the 4th millennium BC the first cities took shape in southern Mesopotamia. The so-called Fertile Crescent and its source of nourishment, the Euphrates river, extend about 600 kilometres into Syria. It not only served as a link between southern Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean but also gave the Mesopotamian rulers an opportunity to create commercial 'colony cities' in Syria.

In Syria three large city-state kingdoms developed toward the late 4th millennium: Mari (now Tell Hariri), Ebla (Tell Mardikh), and Ugarit (Ras Shamra). The first public building constructed in Mari was a palace that also housed a religious sanctuary, reflecting a new social order in which two forms of power shared dominion. This prosperous city controlled the river traffic between northern Syria and southern Mesopotamia and a large number of masterworks have been found in the palace ruins (Figs 6-9, 12, 14).

Ebla flourished during the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC, and reached its zenith about 2400 BC, at which time it was the most important city-state in Syria (Fig 13). In 1975 a royal archive of about 15,500 cuneiform tablets was discovered in the palace. Some of these, and the Egyptian stone vases found here that were presented to the kings by the Egyptian pharaohs, testify to the serious relationship between this city and Egypt. A fine collection of granulated gold jewellery in the exhibition was found in two burials c. 1750 BC: the Tomb of the Princess and the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats.

Fig 5. Alabaster 'eye idols.' Excavations at the Eye Temple at Tell Brak yielded many hundreds of these highly abstract miniature figurines, most probably used in religious ceremonies. Throughout later periods the round-eyed figurine represented a worshipper (see Fig 6). Eye Temple, Tell Brak, c. 3200 BC.

Average h: 4 cm. Deir ez-Zor Museum. 10668/1-8. Catalogue nos. 294 a-h.
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Fig 6. Gypsum statuette of a worshipper.
A large number of gypsum figures of praying figures were uncovered in the temples of Mari. Placed on benches inside the temples, they represented idealised depictions of administrators, temple workers, and wealthy individuals. The large eyes of these adorants were made of lapis lazuli, shell, schist, and bitumen. Temple of Ninni-zaza, Tell Hariri (ancient Mari), c. 2500 BC. H: 53 cm. National Museum, Damascus. M2076 (M2369). Catalogue no. 296.

Fig 7 (top right). Gypsum statuette of a seated priestess. This female, most probably a priestess, is shown in a rarely used seated pose. Her bulging polos headress is covered by her fringed garment. Temple of Ishtar, Tell Hariri (ancient Mari), c. 2500 BC. H: 23 cm. National Museum, Damascus. M2072 (M2308/2368). Catalogue no. 288.

Fig 8. Lapis lazuli and gold breastplate in the form of an eagle or, perhaps, a bat. The head and tail were attached to the wings by copper wire, with a bitumen core beneath. A similar breastplate was also found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur in southern Iraq, thus this piece reflects Mari's far-reaching connections. Tell Hariri (ancient Mari), c. 2500 BC. 13 x 12 cm. National Museum, Damascus. M 2399. Catalogue no. 13.
Fig 9. Mother-of-pearl and schist inlay on a schist plaque. A Mari soldier directs a bound naked prisoner, symbolising a victory of the king. A group of these plaques were found in a temple within the palace precincts at Tell Hariri (ancient Mari), c. 2400 BC. 12 x 10.3 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M 5113. Catalogue no. 37.

Fig 10. Limestone bull with human head and ivory eyes set in bitumen. The man-headed bull is considered to be a perfect symbol of male fertility. It is one of a pair guarding the doorway of a ceremonial complex, a repeated usage in later periods. The irises of the eyes, now missing, were probably made of precious stone. Tell Brak, c. 2200 BC. 28 x 42 x 17 cm. Dire ez-Zor Museum. 11754 (TB1001). Catalogue no. 272.

Fig 11 (above right). Diorite statue of a king of Mari (top right). This solemn and powerful representation of King Ishup-ilam was found in the throne room of the palace of Mari along with statues of other former kings of the city-state. This important ruler built the Temple of the Lions, which was adjacent to the palace. Tell Hariri (ancient Mari), c. 2200 BC. H: 147 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M 7882. Catalogue no. 1.

Fig 12 (right). Copper lion protome. This large copper sculpture with inlaid eyes and a second lion protome were mounted on the walls of the entrance to the inner sanctum of the Temple of the Lions in Mari, a temple dedicated to an as yet unidentified 'King of the Land.' It was created by hammering copper sheets over a wood core and affixed to it by nails. Tell Hariri (ancient Mari), c. 1800 BC. 70 x 54 x 40 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M 7906. Catalogue no. 9.
The Babylonians under king Hammurabi pillaged Mari in 1761 BC as Syria became part of his empire. Likewise, Ebla was ravaged by the Hititite king Mursili I, c. 1600 BC. An effective counterbalance to the foreign occupying powers was formed by such regional Syrian groups as the Hurrians, the Mitanni, and later the Aramaeans. In 1286 BC the Hititites fought the Egyptians, then ruled by Ramesses II, for command over the entire region. It was fought to a draw at Kadesh, Syria, resulting in a famous peace treaty, the oldest known.

Fig 13. Basalt stele to Ishtar. This large monument, uncovered in the Secondary Chapel of the G3 Sanctuary atop the acropolis of Ebla, is sculpted on all four sides with rows of bas-reliefs of deities relating to the invocation of the goddess Ishtar, who afforded the city divine protection. She is depicted on the top row of the side in a winged chapel surmounted on a bull flanked by two bull-men. Ishtar, the goddess of the moon, was later identified with Aphrodite. Tell Mardikh (ancient Ebla), c. 1800 BC. 165 x 46.5 x 25.5 cm. Idlib Museum. 3003 (TM.67.E.224; 85.E.38; 85.G.350). Catalogue no. 276.

The Ugarit city-state, bordering the Mediterranean, came into its greatest prominence in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC. In addition to their invention of an alphabetic cuneiform, called Ugaritic, they were noted for their gold jewellery, weapons, and vases (Figs 16-17). The Aramaeans (Figs 18-19), originally a tribe of nomadic Bedouins from Mesopotamia, established one of their kingdoms in Guzana, now Tell Halaf. Here they carved hunting and battle scenes on basalt blocks on the façade of their palace. Their language, Aramaic, became the lingua franca of the Near East in the 1st millennium BC and continued to be so into the early Roman period.


Fig 15. Terracotta model of a liver for divination. Following the sacrifice of an animal, its liver was examined to find signs of future events. This practice was normally reserved for the ruler. The interpretation was then recorded on a clay model, probably for future reference by the priests. Tell Harir (ancient Mari), c. 1800 BC. 6.3 x 5.8 cm. Aleppo, National Museum. M 5157. Catalogue no. 303.

Fig 16. Silver and gold statuette of the god Baal. This cast silver figurine, wearing a gold loincloth and necklace and holding a gold mace, may represent the god Hadad or Baal, the warrior god and protector of Ugarit. Baal often carried a mace and the statuette was found with a group of votive idols close by the Temple of Baal. Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit), c. 1800 BC. H: 28 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M 8162. Catalogue no. 27.

Til Barsib, the Aramaean capital of the Middle Euphrates kingdom of Bit-Adini, was captured by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III in 856 BC, renamed Kar Shalmaneser or 'Port Shalmaneser,' and was used by him and his successors as a forward base for attacks, and also as an official residence (Fig 20). By 745 BC the Assyrians had conquered all of Syria and it officially became part
Fig 17. Gold cup. This hemispherical cup embossed and engraved with animals and mythological beings, including leaping ibexes, lions attacking bulls, and a depiction of two men killing a lion was probably from a Ugaritic palace. Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit), c. 1300 BC. D: 17.5 cm. H: 4.7 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M 10129. Catalogue no. 24.

Fig 18. Basalt statue of an Aramean king. The massive and simplified style and this type of stone are typical of Aramean sculpture and the rulers were often depicted in this pose, as if they were riding in a hunting chariot. The find spot of this statue is unknown. Circa 900 BC (?). H: 180 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M 11444. Catalogue no. 52.

Fig 19. Ivory decorative plaque of a sphinx. Although this fine ceremonial furniture ornament was found in a palace of the Assyrian governor of Hadatu, a city on the Upper Euphrates in northern Syria, the regional seat of Assyrian government, it was no doubt plunder from an Aramaean city. This lively human-headed winged lion was adapted by the Aramaeans from the Egyptian sphinx. Arslan Tash (ancient Hadatu), c. 800 BC. 7.9 x 5.8 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M 833. Catalogue no. 53.

Fig 20 (right). Fresco mural of two Assyrian dignitaries in court dress. This is a fragment from a larger fresco in which the two Assyrian dignitaries were presenting a foreign captive before an enthroned Assyrian ruler and his courtiers. Following the conquest of the Aramean capital Til Barsib the Assyrians built a palace which they embellished with painted murals. Tell Ahmar (ancient Til Barsib) c. 750 BC. 41 x 38 cm. National Museum, Aleppo. M 7509. Catalogue no. 57.
of their newly formed Neo-Babylonian empire in 612 BC.

The Achaemenid Persians subdued Syria peacefully in 538 BC. They called this new satrapy Aber Nahr or ‘beyond the river’ and considered the Syrians as allies, not as a subjugated people (Fig 21). In 333 BC the Persians were defeated by Alexander the Great. Long after his death and following a lengthy power struggle for control of his empire, one of his generals, Seleucus I, won Syria in 312 BC. With a Syrian capital, Antioch-ad-Orontes as his base, his territory soon reached from the Mediterranean to India. The Seleucids later engaged in repeated battles with the Egyptians in the south and on the Mediterranean coast and with the Parthians from northern Iran in eastern Syria. Meanwhile a number of local Arab chieftains won their independence, initiating the decline and eventual disintegration of the Seleucid Empire and its occupation by the Roman Empire under Pompey in 64 BC.

For four centuries the Romans developed Syria as an important province, though with the exception of a few major cities such as Antioch, Apamea, Emesa (Figs 22-24), Palmyra

Fig 21. Terracotta sarcophagus cover (upper section). Terracotta sarcophagi with the top sections in the form of human heads were commonly used for burials of wealthy individuals and for important officials when Syria was under the control of the Persian Empire as an Achaemenid satrapy, c. 538-333 BC. 'Amrit (ancient Marash), c. 500 BC. 55 x 51 cm. Tartus Museum. 64. Catalogue no. 61.

Fig 22. Silver and iron mask. This impressive iron mask with its silver coating and gilt details, including a finely detailed diadem, probably belonged to an Arab king of Emesa. It was found in a royal necropolis and was perhaps worn in parades by the king. Since the face visor was hinged, it may also have been meant to be worn in battle (ancient Til Barsib). The imprint of the fibres of the fabric which covered the crown of the head are still visible in the oxidised iron. Homs (ancient Emesa), c. AD 50. 25 x 20 x 20 cm. National Museum, Damascus. 7084. Catalogue no. 62.

Fig 23. Mosaic of Hercules. The baby Hercules is depicted here strangling two serpents placed in his cradle by the jealous goddess Hera. She did this because her husband, Zeus, had conceived Hercules with the mortal Alcmene, shown to his right. She takes her son Iphicles, his brother, out of harm’s way as Hercules’ adoptive father, Amphitryon, husband of Alcmene and father of Iphicles, stands behind her in a protective stance. Homs (ancient Emesa), c. AD 300. 290 x 224 cm. al-Ma’arrat Museum. 1378. Catalogue no. 279.
Fig 24. Enamelled green ceramic vessel in the shape of a bust of a young woman. This attractive vase probably represents Persephone, the goddess of the newly harvested wheat, daughter of Zeus and Demeter, the goddess of agriculture. From the area of Homs, Roman period. H: 26.5 cm. National Museum, Damascus. 7619. Catalogue no. 351.

Fig 25. Limestone funerary bas-relief of a woman. Large numbers of rectangular stone plaques sculpted with bas-reliefs representing the deceased were used to seal the burial niches of both the tower and underground tombs, a practice apparently unique to Roman Palmyra primarily in the 2nd century AD. The women traditionally hold their shawl. These bas-reliefs were decorated with painted details and the jewellery was gilded. The inscription reads: 'Aqma, daughter of Atehna Hajeja, alas.' Tadmor (ancient Palmyra), c. AD 150. H: 65 cm; W: 46 cm. Palmyra Museum. B2666/8967. Catalogue no. 334.

Fig 26. Marble head of King Odamat. While Syria was still under the domination of the Roman Empire, Odaenathus had created a virtually autonomous kingdom at Palmyra, while remaining loyal to Rome and safeguarding his realm by driving back the advancing Sassanid troops to their Iranian capital of Ctesiphon. His wife, Zenobia, who succeeded him, was said to have been responsible for his assassination. Her successful military campaigns led her into Egypt and then Anatolia, but she was captured by the Roman Emperor Aurelian following his siege of Palmyra in AD 272. Tadmor (ancient Palmyra), AD 251-267. H: 45 cm. Palmyra Museum. B2726/9163. Catalogue no. 64.

Fig 27. Basalt statue of the goddess Athena-Allat. This large helmeted Athena holds a shield sculpted with a high-relief head of Medusa. From Palmyra south to northern Arabia she was identified with the Arabian deity Allat. The Nabateans of northern Arabia introduced the Allat cult to the southern Syrian region of Hauran. The Greek inscription on the base reads 'For the health of our ruler, a dedication to a Roman emperor. Suweida, c. AD 200. H: 158 cm. National Museum, Damascus. 1001/4219. Catalogue no. 278.

(Figs 25-26) and Dura Europos, Syria was primarily an agrarian society, with a few nomadic tribes in the desert regions (Fig 29). With the fall of the Roman Empire, the eastern empire continued as the Byzantine Empire and the political and social power of the bishops, as well as their religious power (Fig 30) increased substantially. Arab tribes began to attack Byzantine Syria in AD 634 and with the fall of Damascus the following year, Syria came under their control.

In AD 661 Damascus was made the capital of the Umayyad Empire (Fig 31), created by a branch of the Arab tribes directly related to the Prophet Mohammed. The empire eventually extended from Spain to the border of China. Its decline in the 9th century was followed in the 10th and 11th centuries by a series of other Arab dynasties in different parts of Syria (Fig 32), then finally by the arrival of the Crusaders in AD 1096 who set up strategic sites in order to wage their holy war. A Turkish general, Salah al-Din, also known as Saladin, defeated the armies of the Second Crusade in AD 1171 and established the Ayubid Dynasty. The Ayubids built and rebuilt large cities such as Damascus and Aleppo, constructed large citadels, and accommodated both the Muslims and Christians in their religious pilgrimages. Turkish mercenaries, the Mamluks, invaded Syria in AD 1260, driving out the Mongols who had just sacked Damascus and Aleppo (Fig 33). The Ayubid and Mamluk artists created many fine works in metalwork glass, and ceramics.

The last Christian Crusade took place in 1291 at which time they were finally expelled from Syria by the Mamluks. The Tartars, under the leadership of Tamerlane, invaded Syria at the beginning of the 15th century and in 1516, following the execution of the last Mamluk sultan, the Ottoman Empire was finally established.
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Fig. 28. Glass fish flask. The earliest known glass vessels were probably created in Syria in the middle of the second millennium BC. Much of the ancient glass industry was concentrated in Syria and it continued well into the Islamic period. This large mould-blown vessel in the shape of a fish was perhaps used to hold oils or other liquids as offerings to the deceased. Tafas, c. AD 200. L. 28.5 cm. National Museum, Damascus. 1436/3065. Catalogue no. 190.

Fig. 29. Sufistic graffiti on basalt. The nomads of the Sufa Desert, south-west of Damascus, occupied this area from the 1st to 4th centuries AD. They were known for their trading and camel-breeding as this drawing, incised with flint on a dense basalt block, testifies. A horseman, spear in hand, attempts to capture a one-humped camel and a dromedary. The inscription surrounding the depiction translates 'May the goddess Allat ensure good booty' [to whoever leaves this inscription untouched but] 'may the goddess Allat make blind and mute' [whoever destroys it]. al-Ekaway, Sufa Desert Region, c. AD 200. 70 x 45 cm. Suweida Museum. 852. Catalogue no. 221.

Fig. 30. Basalt bas-relief of St Simeon Stylites. In order to pray and meditate in isolation, St Simeon resided atop a 15-metre-high column, unlike the other monks who sought more normal accommodations, such as caves. The bird, representing Christ, crowns him with a wreath; the man on the ladder holds a censor. From the area of Hama, c. AD 500. H. 78 cm. W. 66 cm. Hama Museum. 1088. Catalogue no. 321.

Fig. 31. Sculpted stucco statue of a man. More than 50,000 fragments of stucco sculptures have been recovered from the ruins of a monumental castle, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, erected by the caliph Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik (AD 723-742) of the Umayyad dynasty. It is located only about 60 kilometres south-west of Palmyra. In fact, many of these sculptures were certainly influenced by the limestone Roman funerary portraits at Palmyra, such as this figure's hairstyle, beard, and toga. The main façade of the castle has been reconstructed in part and now serves as the entrance gate to the National Museum of Damascus, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, AD 728. H. 54 cm. National Museum, Damascus. 31767 A. Catalogue no. 87.

Fig. 32. Islamic ceramic bowl with hare. This bowl was decorated in graffito technique, in which the designs are incised. A very popular style in Syria, especially with such large central motifs, it was first used in Islamic art in the 10th century. Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, c. AD 1200. D. 23 cm. Palmyra Museum. 1195/8126. Catalogue no. 193.
The hardbound catalogue for the exhibition has been published in separate English, French, and German editions. It has been admirably written by Dr Michel Fortin, with a number of short contributions by eminent scholars and excavators. It is 350 pp., with over 400 entries, all well illustrated, and is available at the Basel venue for SwFr 45.

This article is available as a separate reprint for $5 at the exhibition or for $3 or $5 post-paid from Minerva. For other reprints published by Minerva please see the advertisement on page 27. Special quantity rates for classroom use or for resale may be obtained upon request.

The captions in this review are primarily adapted from the catalogue entries by Dr Michel Fortin, the author of the catalogue. All of the photographs are by Jacques Lessard of the Musée de la Civilisation except the following: Figs 9, 32: Mohamad Al-Roumi; Figs 22, 28: Georg Gerster; Fig 30: La médecine au temps des califes (Paris, 1996); Fig 31: Alain Saint-Hilaire.
FROM HERE TO ETERNITY

John Taylor describes the ideas and context behind the British Museum’s newest Egyptian galleries.

Last summer saw the opening of the Roxie Walker Galleries of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology at the British Museum. Funded by the Bioanthropology Foundation Ltd, the new display represents the first exhaustive reorganisation of this major collection for one hundred years. The two refurbished galleries present coffins, mummies, stelae, statues, funerary papyri, shabti figures, and amulets in a totally new permanent setting, accompanied by texts and graphics which, it is hoped, will significantly enhance accessibility and enjoyment on the part of the Museum’s 5.6 million annual visitors.

The project, which has occupied four years in planning and installation, aims to present the material in a fresh and informative way. Although the old ‘mummy rooms’ were among the most popular galleries with visitors, a major overhaul has long been overdue. The new installation has been planned to facilitate the visitor’s understanding of the attitudes and aims underlying the Egyptians’ complex burial practices, their evolution, and the processes adopted to achieve immortality.

There are two main components to the display. A series of thematic sections, lining the walls of the two rooms, explain fundamental conceptions: attitudes to death, the character of the afterlife (Fig 1), and the methods employed to ensure a safe passage into that new life – mumification, provisioning the dead, magic and ritual, funerary texts, amulets, and coffins. Most of the central display cases contain complete (Fig 2), or near-complete burial assemblages, ranging in date from the end of the Old Kingdom to the second century AD. These groups provide a chronological backbone and reference point, besides illustrating the complex and constantly changing relationship between the myriad objects placed in the tomb (Figs 3-5).

The reconstitution of these groups is one of the major innovations of the new galleries, and presents the results of much research on the history and provenance of the collections (Fig 6). The rectangular tamarisk-wood coffin of the official Hetepnebi of Asyut (First Intermediate Period) is now seen in the
context of a wide range of other objects found in the same tomb, including a wooden headrest, model boat, servant statuettes, and figures of the tomb-owner. The great cedarwood coffins of the physician Gua from el-Bersha are at last reunited with the same man’s canopic jars and box, tomb models and statuettes, and his exquisite ivory headrest, the supports carved in the shape of the Ti, or ‘Girdle of Isis.’ Perhaps the most spectacular group is that of the Theban Chantress of Amun, Henutmehyt, dating from the 19th Dynasty (Fig 2). This lady’s dazzling gilded inner coffin (Fig 8) has long been a favourite with the visiting public, and it is now exhibited together with the outer coffin, the gilded mummy-board, canopic jars, a large complement of shabti figures stored in four painted boxes, and a full set of magic bricks. In the same case is Henutmehyt’s funerary papyrus, an unusual document containing a single chapter of the Book of the Dead written in red and white inks. This rare and fascinating piece has been lent by the Museum of Reading.

Much more space than formerly has also been devoted to objects from the royal burials of the New Kingdom, of which the British Museum holds perhaps the richest collection outside Egypt. Many of these pieces were the fruits of the early collecting activities of the famous Paduan strongman-Egyptologist Giovanni Belzoni (1778-1823). They include one of the life-size wooden statues of Ramesses I from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings and an extensive selection of figures of protective deities in unusual forms (some with a turtle in place of a head) from this and other tombs.

The thematic elements of the exhibition aim to explain the thought-processes and technologies behind the funerary practices. Hence the section dealing with mummification (confined to a single narrow case in the old gal-

![Fig 3. Painted wooden model of a granary from the tomb of Sebekhetepti at Beni Hassan, late 11th Dynasty, about 2000 BC.](image)

![Fig 4. Painted wooden model of a funerary boat from a tomb at Thebes, 12th Dynasty, about 1900 BC.](image)

![Fig 5. Statues of Ptah-Sokar-Osis made for the burials of the vizier Pamun and the priest of Amun Padmut, 25th Dynasty, about 730-670 BC.](image)

![Fig 6. Corner of gallery 63 showing mummies and coffins. Middle to New Kingdoms.](image)

![Fig 7. Burial assemblage of the priest Hor from Thebes, 25th Dynasty about 680 BC.](image)
Fig 8. Gilded wooden inner coffin of the Chantress of Amun Henutmehyt, from Thebes, 19th Dynasty, about 1250 BC.

Fig 9. Mummy of a young man with gilded mask and cartonnage coverings, Roman Period, after 30 BC.

Fig 10. Encasept portrait on linenwood panel, showing a youth, from Heliopolis, about AD 80-120.

Fig 11 (top). Set of canopic jars for the Chief of the Musicians of Amun-Ra, Neskhons, from the 'Royal Cache' at Deir el-Bahri, 21st Dynasty, about 990 BC.

Fig 12 (above). Lid of the painted wooden coffin of the priest Nesperenmesu, 22nd Dynasty, from Thebes, about 850 BC.

Minor masterpieces of sculpture) to the mass-produced mould-made figurines of blue- and green-glazed faience, turned out by the thousands in the first millennium BC. A bill of sale on papyrus records the transaction by which a set of the figures was purchased from the ‘chief modeller of amulets’ of the temple of Amun. Attention is also drawn to aspects of the shabti which are still imperfectly understood, such as the employment of these figures outside the tomb as votive offerings or to represent the owner at important cult places such as Abydos, with its great temple dedicated to Osiris, god of the dead.

In contrast to the old display, greater emphasis has been placed on
the use of magic and ritual for the dead. Cases are devoted to amulets and to the evolution of funerary literature, with a range of specimens of papyri containing extracts from the Book of the Dead, the Amduat, the Litany of Ra and the Books of Breathing. The liturgies and utensils used in the major rituals are also exhibited. These include the attractive model offering vessels and bronze altar of the priest ldy, dating from the 6th Dynasty, and the specialised implements for the performance of the Opening of the Mouth, the all-important ritual which revitalised the mummy, restoring the bodily faculties of the deceased at the entrance to the tomb.

The development of coffins is succinctly encapsulated in a large case occupying one entire wall. This contains a sequence of nearly all the major types of coffins from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman Period (Figs 14, 15), dovetailing with the examples included in the tomb groups, to provide a clear outline of the development. Attention is also drawn to the constructional techniques involved (a matter on which popular interest regularly focuses); an information panel explains the process of identification of the types of wood used, and tools and small components of coffins show how the carpenters and joiners went about their tasks.

The botanical study of timbers is just one aspect of a prevailing interest in scientific research on the ancient Egyptian collections at the British Museum. Many of the mummies on show have recently been studied using the CT scanner, and the images and findings are incorporated into the display. This is an ongoing project, and the results obtained so far are promising. The ages at which the individuals died can be refined, pathological conditions observed, and embalming techniques, organ packages and amulets recognised. These discoveries sometimes reveal the discrepancies between the self-image the dead wished to project via their idealised masks and coffin portraits and the reality within. Hence the still-wrapped lady Khetet of the late 18th Dynasty, long familiar as a youthful beauty from her gilded and bejewelled mask, is revealed by the CT scanner as a very elderly woman with only two remaining teeth. She had been mummified crudely and cheaply, perhaps to save resources for the symbolically more important mask.

Animal mummies are exhibited in two cases at the end of the galleries, and are placed in their historical and cultural context. The display emphasises the wide range of species which were treated in this way - cats, jackals, crocodiles, falcons, ibises, bulls, fish, snakes, ichneumons, and even beetles. The religious background to the mummification of these animals as votive offerings is explained, and the finds from one particularly well documented site, the Bucheum at Armant, are on show for the first time. Here the visitor can see the artificial eyes placed in the funerary masks of the sacred bulls, the bronze clamps used in their mummification, and their funerary stelae and offering vessels.

As is the case with any such project, the Roxie Walker galleries are the product of much specialised work by conservators, technicians and designers, in addition to curatorial staff. Careful thought has been devoted to creating a successful design for the display - not an easy task in view of the size and weight of the many coffins and mummies, and the need to provide conditions for them which will meet the stringent requirements for their long-term preservation.

Caroline Ingham of the Museum's Design Office, who has directed the project, has succeeded in breaking away from the crowded, rank-and-file appearance of the old display, and has produced an exhibition with a remarkably open aspect and a feeling of spaciousness, in which the over 900 objects can be clearly seen against backdrops of coloured fabric, specially chosen to echo the pigments used by the ancient painters.

The galleries have already proved exceptionally popular with visitors, students and schoolchildren, who, it may be hoped, will find in them a window on to the perpetually fascinating world of the ancient Egyptians.

Dr John H Taylor is curator in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum and has special responsibility for the coffins and the new funerary galleries.
THE NEAR EASTERN GALLERIES AT THE METROPOLITAN

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.D.

With the renovation and reinstallation of the galleries for Near Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the visitor is now presented with nearly 1500 antiquities from the permanent collections of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art dating from the 8th millennium BC to AD 651. The exhibition covers a region extending, west to east, from ancient Anatolia in Turkey to the Indus Valley in Pakistan and India, and north to south, from Russia and the Central Asian countries to Yemen. It includes the ancient lands of Sumer, Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, Canaan, Phoenicia,

Fig 1. Proto-Elamite silver kneeling bull holding a spouted vessel. South-western Iran, c. 3100-2900 BC. H: 16.3 cm. Though it is hooved, this unique supplicant has a human body and is clothed in a fine garment. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966. MMA 66.173.


Fig 3. Iranian (?) arsenical copper head of a ruler, c. 2300-2000 BC. 34.3 cm. This nearly solid-cast head with its dignified yet powerful features certainly portrays a king, rather than a deity. In the half-century since this superb portrait was acquired neither the subject nor its place of origin has been determined. Rogers Fund, 1947. MMA 47.100.80.

Fig 4. Southern Mesopotamian diorite seated statue of Gudea the ensi, or governor of Lagash. The inscription on the back confirms that he is portrayed as a supplicant before the deities in a temple. Probably from Tellu (ancient Girsu), c. 2150-2100 BC. 44 cm. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1959. MMA 59.2.

and of the Hittite Empire, Urartu, and Phrygia. The gold and silver treasures of the Achaemenid Empire and Sasanian and Parthian Dynasties are well represented. New to the department are the antiquities of Central Asia from the last half of the 1st millennium BC, which join the exhibition of metalwork from Bactria-Margiana, c. 2000 BC, in Afghanistan and Turkmenistan.

The Raymond and Beverly Sackler Gallery for Assyrian Art is of special interest for the central part recreates an audience hall in the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (r. 883-859 BC) at
Near Eastern Art

Fig 5. Neo-Assyrian monumental alabaster (gypsum) human-headed winged lion. Excavated at the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (r. 883-859 BC), Nimrud (ancient Kalhu), Northern Mesopotamia. H: 3.11m. L: 2.77 m. W: 0.622 m. This ruler chose Nimrud as his capital. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr, 1932. MMA 32.143.2.


Nimrud. The monumental 9th century BC stone reliefs and guardian figures (Fig 5-7) are flooded by daylight and ceiling beams have been set at the estimated height of the actual palace rooms at that time. His inscriptions state that he was a powerful warrior...who has no rival among the princes of the four quarters of the earth.' An adjacent gallery emphasises the precious minor objects such as the ivory furniture ornaments that demonstrate the richness of the Assyrian court.

The museum has exceptional holdings in remarkable ivory sculptures and plaques from Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Syria. It also has a large number of fine objects from the museum’s excavations at Ctesiphon, Nimrud, and Nippur in Iraq, and at Hasaniu, Qass-i Abu Nasr, and Yatim Tepe in Iran. Of special interest are the North Syrian stone architectural reliefs of the late 10th or 9th century BC carved with hunting scenes, fantastic creatures, and ceremonial banquets and the colourfully glazed ceramic and metal wall plaques with floral and geometric motifs from the 4th millennium BC onwards found in northwestern Iran.

Although the museum had already begun to acquire small Near Eastern antiquities, such as cylinders, stamp seals, and cuneiform tablets in the late 19th century, it was not until the 1930's that it acquired works of major significance such as the Assyrian reliefs and treasures from Ur (Fig 2). In 1956 the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art was organised and a steady program of acquisitions ensued through the 1960's. However, very little of any consequence has been purchased subsequently: most of the newer acquisitions have been donations from collectors. For example, in 1989 the late Norbert Schimmel presented the museum with the splendid Hittite silver vessel with gold inlay terminating in the forepart of a stag. Today there are several important long-term loans from the British Museum, the Israel...
Near Eastern Art

Fig 9. Neo-Babylonian glazed brick panel with striding lions, Excavated at Babylon, Wall of the Processional Way, reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, 604-562 BC. H: 0.97 m, L: 2.27 m. The northern entrance to the capital of the Babylonian empire was marked by the monumental Ishtar Gate, through which ran the Processional Way, lined with these huge brick panels. This road led to the Blit Akkutu, the House of the Near Year's Festival. The striding lions were the symbol of Ishtar, the goddess of both love and war. Ex collection of the State Museums, Berlin. Fletcher Fund, 1931. MMA 31.13.2.

Fig 8. Phoenician style ivory figurine of a Nubian tribute bearer with an ox, a monkey, and a leopard skin. He is carrying gifts to be presented to the Assyrian king, Excavated at Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE2, Nippur (ancient Kalkhu), Northern Mesopotamia, Neo-Assyrian period, c. 8th century BC. H: 13.5 cm, W: 7.5 cm. Expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. Rogers Fund, 1960. MMA 60.145.11.

Antiquities Authority, the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, and the Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences, Tajikistan.

Unfortunately, the Near Eastern department, unlike the Greek and Roman and the Egyptian departments in the museum, appears, in recent years, not to have deemed it necessary to foster relationships with many collectors or dealers, instead concentrating on cultivating major financial patrons. In the 1960s the writer donated a number of good objects to the department (and was elected a Fellow for Life), when the department was under the direction of Charles K. Wilkinson. However, when the recently retired curator, Prudence O. Harper, was offered an important Mesopotamian bronze statuette, then in the possession of the writer, as a donation in 1987, she would not accept it, even though it had a good provenance (the Thierry collection), because she claimed that she could not determine its find site. It was, in fact, probably the only time she visited the writer's gallery, located about two kilometres from the museum, since we studied for our doctorates together under Dr Edith Porada at Columbia in the early 1960s. Hopefully the new Acting Associate Curator in Charge, Joan Aruz, will forge better relationships with collectors and dealers.

Fig 10. Sasanian gilded silver plate with niello inlay depicting a king hunting rams. Following the hammering of the plate from a cast ingot, the low-relief background decoration was carved and then the figures of the king and animals were crimped into place and engraved or chased with some of the fine details. Finally, the gilding a mixture of gold and mercury, was applied. Iran, late 5th-early 6th century AD. D: 22 cm. Fletcher Fund, 1934. MMA 34.33.
THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ANTIQUITIES: AN UPDATE

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

I. THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT REQUESTS U.S. IMPORT RESTRICTIONS ON ANTIQUITIES.

On 16 September the United States Information Agency received a request from Italy to the United States seeking import restrictions on a wide-rangning list of archaeological materials in stone, metal (including ancient coins), ceramic, bone, glass, and frescoes from the 5th millennium BC to the 5th century AD. It even included Attic pottery, as the ancient Etruscans were major importers of these vases in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. The request was made in accordance with the implementation by the United States of the 1970 UNESCO Convention and was most likely instigated by the forfeiture to the Italians of a Sicilian gold phiale illegally exported from Italy, and of the return of several illegitimately excavated or stolen antiquities by the Getty Museum, acquired by them in good faith, all of which took place over the past several months.

This request is now being reviewed by the Cultural Property Advisory Committee which, on 1 October, came under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of State. This is the second time that such a broad request has been received by the committee. The writer was consulted last year when the committee received a similar request from Cyprus. After due deliberation, it recommended that the restrictions be limited to Byzantine ritual and ecclesiastical materials. These restrictions were imposed on 12 April 1999 (see Minerva, July/August 1999, p. 5).

The writer was invited by the committee to testify at the hearings held in Washington on 12 October concerning the Italian request. In his testimony he pointed out that the statistics supplied by Dr. Ricardo Ellia to the committee on the percentage of Apulian vases exported illegally were greatly exaggerated and that one can still legally purchase and export many of the various types of antiquities from Italy that they seek to prohibit from entry into the United States. He emphasized the fact that the restrictive attitude of the Italian government concerning the chance find of banal objects is the very thing that fuels the incentive to smuggle.

He noted that until very recently, the Italian state bore the burden of proving that an object was illegally excavated since the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, no. 1089, was passed in 1939 (see Minerva, July/August 1998, pp. 36-37). Collectors and dealers are free to buy and sell antiquities through registered galleries and auction houses (see following article) and they are free to import them into Italy. Unfortunately, later rulings have loosely interpreted all archaeological objects, no matter how banal, as objects of importance to their national heritage.

The three archaeologists who testified before the committee, Dr. Malcolm Bell III, Dr. Ricardo Ellia, and Dr. Ross Holloway, though rightfully concerned about the pillage of Italian sites, are extremely prejudiced against collectors. Dr. Holloway, for example, stated that: 'For centuries the owning and display of the art of the Greco-Roman world has been a sign of pretensions to culture.' But even he recommends that the Italian government should follow their own laws and open up the market.

A second meeting of the committee to discuss the Italian request was held on 22 November. (On the following day it reviewed a proposal made by the Republic of El Salvador concerning the imposition of import restrictions on certain categories of prehispanic archaeological material.)

The Cultural Property Advisory Committee is composed of a number of individuals directly appointed by the President. Unfortunately, even with two seats vacant, there is no one connected with the antiquity trade on the committee, although this was one of the original intentions when Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan presented the bill to create it several years ago. At present, in addition to several individuals from museums, there are two anthropologists and one dealer specializing in 18th and 19th century antiques. Due to technicalities, they have been unable to fill either of the two vacant chairs with anyone representing the antiquity trade. Senator Moynihan, Charles Schuiner, and William Roth have now introduced a bill intending in part to correct this oversight, the Cultural Property Procedural Reform Act (S1696). It will also make their procedures more public and will restrict the circumstances under which countries can seek import restrictions.

II. THE LETTER THAT THE TIMES WOULD NOT PRINT CONCERNING THE TRADE IN APULIAN VASES

Editor
The Times
London, England

Sir,

Peter Watson and Neil Brodlie ('Sorry trade in ancient civilisations', October 20) of the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre at Cambridge make some rather exaggerated claims in their recent article concerning the most part the pillage of Apulian vases from southern Italy, based on skewed statistics supplied by Ricardo Ellia of Boston University. Ellia's 'most thorough investigation of a plundered civilisation ever conducted' consisted primarily of counting the vases in the many publications by Professors Dale Tendlall and Alexander Cambitoglou, who assiduously did their studies in this field over several decades. Ellia states that of '13,718 Apulian [red-figure] vases known to scholars [there are actually about 18,000] only 753, or 5.5 per cent have been legally excavated by professional archaeologists. All the others have been looted.' To Elia, Watson, and Brodlie, any antiquity without a 'provenance' (including hundreds of thousands of ancient objects legally acquired in the past 300 years) are 'smuggled', 'looted', 'illicit', or 'illegally excavated'.

Ellia's methodology is certainly not rigorous enough and is, in fact, meaningless, because he considers all of the many thousands of vases collected and exported from the 18th and 19th centuries, including many collected in the course of the Englishman's traditional 'Grand Tour of the Continent', as
'looted' before any laws were actually passed restricting in part their export and, in fact, most of them before the modern state of Italy came into being (1870). The first restrictive laws were passed in 1902 and modified in 1939. The export of privately owned and recorded Italian antiquities has been legally permitted until the present time, including the large quantities of banal pieces currently being offered for sale by dealers and auction houses in Italy. The last Italian auction offering privately owned Apulian red-figure vases was conducted by Pandolfini in Florence on October 8. Of the twenty vases offered, only one was of sufficient interest for the Archaeological Superintendency of Florence to state that they may exercise their right to list it and declare it unavailable for export; the others were free to be sold without restrictions and would be available for export as confirmed by the Superintendency on 29 September.

Elia apparently ignored primary Italian publications and the thousands of yet unpublished vases deposited in museums and their storage rooms, for the Italians are notoriously behind in their publications on excavations, though they recently have done little in excavating in Apulia beyond rescue operations. In fact, they have little interest in Apulian vases – nearly all of the major publications have been done by foreign scholars. Elia also notes that of the 1881 Apulian vases sold by an auction house in 250 auctions over a period of 37 years ‘not one had a provenance’. What he actually means, of course, is that they were not excavated by archaeologists. Obviously, those would remain in museums, except for those that have been deaccessioned. Many of them were, in fact, from distinguished old collections whose owners no longer need to sell objects to be publicized in auction catalogues. How many provenances do you find in antique, furniture, and jewellery sales? Elia never lets the facts stand in the way of a good rant.

The statement that ‘...where legal excavation ranges over a period of 37 years ‘not one had a provenance’ discovered for every tomb discovered. Therefore, the 12,965 Illicit [Elia’s term] Apulian vases known to scholars... must have brought about the destruction of well over 100,000 tombs’ in order to supply the market is ludicrous. There have been a good number of tombs excavated containing a dozen or more vases. And how large a sampling of published Apulian tombs did he use to make his interpolations? Elia has based his career on this one issue with all of the fervor of a tee-totaler discovering the joys of ginger beer. Watson, a journalist, and now a Research Associate at the Research Centre, has acquired his claim to fame in publishing ‘exposés’ of auction houses and the antiquity market. Haven’t we had enough of this self-serving rhetoric?

Such extremism does little to help stem the illicit antiques trade. The net result is to bring prestige to the legitimate dealers and to drive the smugglers further underground. Only an open market in antiquities, including the legal export of banal objects from the Mediterranean countries with the resultant beneficial export taxes, will help to cure a problem that we are all very concerned about. Extremism and these occasional диалогues will not help. Also, they are unwilling to engage in any meaningful dialogue – their (forthcoming) conference at Cambridge on October 22-25, with about 60 participants, is by invitation only and no other interested parties, including the under-signed or any representative from the International Association of Dealers in Ancient Art, were permitted to present their views or even allowed to attend.

I note, not without amusement, that the illicit Antiquities Research Centre, with its ‘original Near Eastern focus’ to stem the trade in illegally exported antiquities, has not only added some seemingly conclusory to the agenda, but are now covering the entire world – from South America to Tibet. Obviously the lack of current illicit trade in Near Eastern and classical antiquities gave them little else to publish in their bi-annual newsletter.

Yours sincerely,
Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.
Editor-in-Chief, Minerva

III. CLOSED SYMPOSIUM ON ILICIT ANTIQUITIES HELD AT CAMBRIDGE

A symposium entitled ‘Illicit Antiquities: The Destruction of the World’s Archaeological Heritage’ was hosted by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research in Cambridge, England, 22-25 October 1999. It was presumably under the auspices of the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre, although this name did not appear in any of the eight pages of press releases except as Neil Brodie’s address to secure further details (see above article). Although the writer was in England at the time, he was unable to secure permission to attend the conference either as an observer or as a journalist. He notes, however, that an English TV producer, who filmed the writer for a forthcoming TV documentary, was invited to attend.

It was announced in their publicity release issued after the conference was held that 50 archaeologists, government ministers, police, and lawyers from twenty-two countries met for the conference and, following three days of presentations, they passed the ‘Cambridge Resolution’ which seeks to institute effective national legislation for the protection of cultural heritage and seek agreement among governments, museum, and collectors that it is wrong to purchase antiquities without documented provenance, or history.

[Unfortunately this would include many tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of objects that have been brought out from sites worldwide, most of them from the Mediterranean countries, and spread throughout Europe over the past 300 years, especially into England via the prolific ‘Grand Tours of the Continent’ that took place in the later 18th and early 19th century. Classical and Etruscan antiquities were subsequently acquired throughout the world since the mid-19th century. Large collections of Etruscan and Roman objects were formed by enthusiasts in Germany, France, and Switzerland, many of which, through their descendants, after several generations, are just now reaching the auction houses and dealers. Most of these pieces bear no labels or proof of provenance. How many collectors bothered to keep bills of sale or, for that matter, any formal records?

Huge numbers of antiquities in the hundreds of ancient art auctions conducted in the 19th and 20th centuries in England and France, for the most part objects without provenance. Until the second half of the 20th century very few were even illustrated except for the most important pieces. Are these to fall into limbo?] Details on looting in more than twenty countries were presented; these will be published along with a list of all countries mentioned in the symposium in a monograph. The widespread use of explosive in illegal vandalism was emphasized. Again, an attack was made on the antiquity trade, especially the English auction houses. It was stated that there has been an aggressive change in collecting habits from the Classical world to artefacts found in Africa, the Far East, and Latin America. But as dealers and auctioneers in Classical antiquities would be quick to point out, the trade in Classical antiquities has increased over the past several years, in line with a similar rise in the other areas mentioned as well as the entire art market.

A list was published of cultures that have recently been threatened and a request made to avoid dealing in objects from these threatened areas:

AFRICA
Kenya: Pate, Wajir Graves, Garissa.
Somalia: Galkayo, Caroc Basasso, Raj Hatun, Bendar Beira.
Tanzania: Kondoa, Iramba, Ryasi.

ASIA
China: ReShui, Tubo, Zhao, Niaa, Chu, Hongshan, Liao, Jing.
India: Jaihira, Teshil Alligani, Chandraketugarh.
Pakistan: Gandhara, Patan Indus Kohistan.
Syria: The limestone massif running from Aleppo to Hama.

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Thailand: Banchiang, Ban Pone Ngam, Ban Prat, Ban Puk Ree, Banteay Chmar, Angkor Borei.

SOUTH AMERICA
Peru: Vicus, Chavin Zena valley, Mochica, Lambayeque, Chimú, Nazca, Paracas, Maranon River.

Much of this has already been covered by the work, publications, and conferences of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and UNESCO, such as Looting in Angkor (2nd edition 1997; see Minerva, March/April 1994, pp. 16-19), Looting in Africa (1997; see Minerva, January/February 1995, pp. 19-24), Looting in Latin America (1997), etc., as well as the Workshop on the Illicit Traffic of Cultural Property held in Mall in 1994, and the Workshop on the Protection of the Heritage and the Fight Against Illicit Traffic in Cultural Properties in the Arab Countries (1998). One begins to realise that a good percentage of the output of information from the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre and most probably the present symposium is indeed redundant and serves primarily as a means of publicity for the group at Cambridge. In fact, some of the most recent conferences held on the illicit antiquities traffic featured several of the same speakers presenting still other versions of their papers, if not the identical ones.

Lord Renfrew of Kilmarnock, Director of the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research and founder of the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre (see Minerva, January/February 1998, p. 6), was elected Secretary of an Interim International Standing Committee on the Traffic in Illicit Antiquities. The Chairman will be Dr George Abungu, Director General of the National Museums of Kenya, and the other members of the committee are from China, Peru, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the U.S. (represented by Dr Elia (see above articles) and Dr Patty Gerstenblith, Editor of the International Journal of Cultural Property. The Executive Secretary is, not surprisingly, Dr Neil Brodie (see above articles). There are no members from Italy, Greece, or any of the Mediterranean countries, even though representatives from those two countries, Cyprus, and Turkey attended the symposium. We trust that this glaring omission will be rectified. Also, Egypt was not even represented at the conference. A list of the attendees was not published, though this is the usual procedure for such a conference.

(For editorials by Dr Eisenberg concerning Lord Renfrew, Peter Watson, Ricardo Elia, and the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre see Minerva, September/October 1997, p. 20, November/December 1997, p. 6, and January/February 1998, p. 6.)

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ARE WE THE TOMB ROBBERS?

John Casey muses on the recent discoveries in the Bahariya Oasis in Egypt.

In August The Daily Telegraph published an account of the 'spectacular discovery of 10,000 Egyptian mummies, which have lain undetected for nearly two millennia' and which could provide the key to understanding Graeco-Roman culture in the Nile Delta at the time. Gilded masks, decorated waistcoats, amulets and pottery 'have stayed undetected beneath the desert sands for 1,800 years.' The headline of the story talked of 'treasures in Egypt's Oasis of the Dead.'

The haul of the archaeologists seems rich indeed. In one month alone this year the excavators found 165 mummies covered in gilt and richly painted. Dr Zahi Hawass, who oversees many of the Egyptian archaeological sites said that 'never before have [sic] such a number of mummies been found in a single site in Egypt.' Above all, Dr Hawass and his fellow diggers rejoiced that this site had by extraordinary good luck escaped the depredations of tomb robbers.

So - should we join in the rejoicing that so many 'beautiful specimens' (in the words of Dr Hawass) have survived to be presented to the gaze of people at the end of the twentieth century? My own feelings, I am afraid, were of mild disgust, and I regretted that these ten thousand dead Graeco-Roman Egyptians had not managed to remain 'undetected' for another two thousand years. But what I found especially distasteful was the gleeful insistence that these mummies were somehow lucky to have escaped the ancient grave-robbers. For the truth is that 19th and 20th century archaeologists are the most persistent, successful and shameless grave-robbers in history.

They are, apparently, going to excavate the whole burial site in which the ten thousand mummies were found. They will certainly remove all the golden masks, funerary amulets and "waistcoats" that they get their hands on, and put them on display. They will also doubt display quite a few of the mummies themselves for tourists to gawp at.

Of course, all this will be done under the all-excusing name of science. The 'science' of archaeological tomb-robbing is pretty undemanding, and well-suited to those who are good with their hands rather than their brains. This does not stop the diggers making absurdly inflated claims to defend their deprivations. So these ten thousand mummies will be studied, in line with current obsessions, to discover what diseases were prevalent in the area at the time. Nothing surprising will be learned. But their most insistent claim is that because the decorations of the mummies mix Graeco-Roman with Egyptian motifs, the mummies will provide a key to the culture of the area.

That is tosh. We have always known that both the fact that the archaeologists adopted Egyptian styles of art and architecture when they ruled the country. Alexander the Great (following the lead of the Persian, Cyrus the Great) always respected the gods of the countries that fell under his sway, and continued to build temples to them in the various national styles. He certainly did this in Egypt. And the last rulers of independent Egypt - the Ptolomies, a Greek family of pharaohs, of whom Cleopatra VII was the most famous, went on building in the Egyptian style right to the end. Many of the temples best known to tourists in Upper Egypt - including Luxor, Dendera and Philae - were very largely built by the Greeks and Romans in a purely Egyptian style. All this is well-known, and the newly discovered mummies will not seriously add to our knowledge. (The level of Dr Hawass' thinking was betrayed in his remark that some of the mummies 'reminded me of those depicted by Hollywood film-makers.')

That is no excuse. The burial - or other sorts of ritual disposal - of the dead is found in all civilisations. It is a fundamental expression of human nature. In the words of the German philosopher, Hegel, it is a way in which we transform death from something that just happens, into something we understand. To respect the burial customs of those who went before us is common decency. To treat the dead of earlier societies as mere grist for the mill of the insatiable archaeologists is licensed callousness.

I realise that some of the ancients were, in a manner of speaking, asking for it. Those pharaohs who buried gigantic treasures in the Valley of the Kings, with the naive belief that such a tightly packed burial-ground would somehow escape the attentions of the grave-robbers, were obviously tempting fate. That Carter and Carnarvon, having found the tomb of Tutankhamun and its treasures, might simply have preserved them and sealed it up again is against human nature.

But the time has come to call a halt to the arrogance of the tombsters, and to challenge their casual assumption that the ancient dead exist just in order to provide them with employment and the chance to write learned papers. If you want a sense of the mechanical wastefulness of their approach, you cannot do better than visit the museum in Volterra, Italy. There a local archaeologist-priest devoted his life to digging up Etruscan tombs. There are dozens of them. They are all the same - reding husbands and wives embracing in death. One of them would have been quite enough to tell us all we need to know about Etruscan burial practices. All that we learn from the dozens on display is how philistine and arrogant are the tomb-archaeologists of the twentieth century.

There is a story in Plato of a man who was severely tempted to look on the corpses of some executed criminals. Eventually he could hold out no more, went up to the bodies and, addressing his eyes, shouted, 'Very well - look, damn you!'

President Anwar Sadat of Egypt decided that it was indecent that ancient pharaohs, semi-nude, should be on display to the yelling tourist hoards in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Not long before he was assassinated, he shut the Room of the Mummies, with the intention of giving them a proper burial. But when the massacres of a few years ago ruined the tourist trade, the room was re-opened in order to attract custom. On my last visit, I stood for a good fifteen minutes gazing at the corpse of the great Ramses II, "Ozymandias, King of Kings." I was thinking 'Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils, Shrunk to this little measure?" But if I had been more honest with myself, the words ought to have been: 'Very well - look, damn you!'

Dr John Casey is a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. His article first appeared in The Daily Telegraph, 28 August.

(See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1999, pp. 9-14).
Among the many papers presented at the 14th International Bronze Congress, held at the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln (Cologne), Germany, 21-24 September 1999, the following may be mentioned as perhaps being of the most interest to our readers:

Dr Eleanor Guralnick (Chicago) delivered no doubt the most important paper, 'Oriental and Orientalizing: Some Bronzes from Greek Sanctuaries'. Extensive bronze remains from three large Greek sphyrelaton korai statues (female figures made of bronze sheets covering wooden cores), c. 600-575 BC, were recently published by Brigitte Iorgell and Dessa Rittig in Olympische Forschungen XXVI (1998). The decorated bronze wrappings of the skirt of one of these korai are reused earlier Near Eastern bronze plaques, perhaps from North Syria, and most probably sheathing from door posts or columns. These are the largest surviving examples of Near Eastern bronzes yet found in Greece. The fronts of the skirts of the other korai are decorated with orientalizing Greek designs, while the back parts of the skirts are again composed of Near Eastern repoussé bronze sheets. This synthesis of the Greek and Near Eastern design and motifs, such as exhibited on the fronts of the skirts, thus led to the new Greek style known as 'Orientalizing'.

Dr Beryl Barr-Sharrar (New York) discussed 5th and 4th century BC casting and hammering techniques, especially with reference to the bell situla, the kalathos situla, and the stamnoid situla. Until the first half of the 5th century BC situlae were hammered with hand-held tools. Then the mouth was cast but the body was still hammered. By the late 4th century a single casting was made, though the body was hammered to give it its final shape. The stamnoid situla is an exception as it was always produced by hammering.

Dr Nadejda P. Gouliaeva (The Hermitage, St Petersburg) reviewed the extensive collection of bronzes in the Hermitage, which was formed during the reign of Catherine the Great and greatly expanded during the 19th century by purchases from the noted Italian collectors Pizzati and Campagna. In the later 19th and early 20th century it acquired a large number of bronzes from the collections of Russian noblemen such as A. G. Laval, F. and M. Golitsyn, A. Bludov, and Stroganov. Three life-size portrait busts were discussed – those of an unknown Roman by the so-called Hermitage Master, c. 30 BC, Dynama, a Bosporan queen of the late 1st century AD, and a later 2nd century AD bust of a young Roman prince, perhaps Annius Verus, son of Marcus Aurelius who died in AD 170 aged seven years.

Dr Ute Klaß (Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne) discussed the purposeful colouring of ancient bronzes such as exhibited by a bust of Attis. In addition to the commonly used silver for the eyes, it was noted that a tin-rich bronze coating (the analyses showed as much as 43% tin) was used to achieve a graysilvery silver colour for the bust itself. In another example, a sea creature was cast from a zinc-rich bronze to achieve a golden colour.

Dr Rossitsa Nenova-Merdjanova (Sofia) spoke of the protective function of bronze vessels against the evil eye. In the palaestra and the baths the Romans surrounded themselves with protective objects and talismans. The images on spherical vessels and those in the shape of busts such as negroes, dwarves, slaves, and depictions of grotesque and handicapped beings, especially those with ugly, fearful, or grinacing faces, served this purpose – they were meant to protect the possessors against the evil eye. Representations of the phallos probably served a similar function at times. Examples of mosaics from ancient bathhouses confirm that these images were a defence against malicious powers.

Professor Dr John Pollini (University of Southern California, Los Angeles) presented new observations on the style and dating of the famous Riace bronze warriors discovered in 1972. He believes that the two bronzes were produced by two different artists, perhaps working contemporaneously in the same workshop and dates them to c. 440-430 BC. He theorises that the head of Warrior A (Fig 2) exhibits 'severising' traits rather than the 'severe traits', which have led some scholars to date it to c.460-450 BC, and that these are used to convey the impres-
sion that Warrior A is an ancestor, perhaps a warrior king, of Warrior B (Fig 1). Thus the old fashioned, long hairstyle of Warrior A is employed to contrast with Warrior B's contemporary high Classical hairstyle. Several examples were given to illustrate the use of archaizing and severizing features to convey greater antiquity The Riace bronzes (Fig 3) were probably part of a larger group of figures, perhaps executed in Delphi or Argos, and brought to Italy following the sack of a Greek city such as Corinth.

Dr Eberhard Thomas (Archäologisches Institut der Universität zu Köln) discussed the famed silver Hoby beakers in Copenhagen and their interpretation of Greek Homeric myths in the Augustan period. On one, on which the artist Chrisophos signed his name in Latin, there is a scene of Odysseus and Philoctetes. The other, signed by Chrisophos in Greek, depicts Priam supplicating Achilles in the camp of the Greeks for the return of the body of his son, Hector, slain by Achilles.

Professor Dr Renate Thomas (Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln) presented a unique, unpublished small Ptolemaic bronze from a private collection in Dusseldorf. The nude figure, holding a pomegranate, has a headdress composed of a wreath of grapes and ivy leaves surmounted by an Egyptian hea-hrā crown with wings, a lotus leaf or feather in front, and a radiate crown behind. It most probably represents Ptolemy IV with the attributes of Dionysos, Harpokrates, Hermes (and Thoth), and Helios. A similar, though not identical, representation can be found on coins of Ptolemy IV and also on coins of Ptolemy V commemorating his predecessor. The writer believes that this is the first time that a representation of this ruler has been found in a bronze sculpture.

Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg, Minerva, presented a paper on ‘An analysis of metallurgical analyses: reading between the lines.’ He had noted that in recent years an attempt, perhaps sometimes purposeful, by some technicains to interpret and present the analyses and examinations of the surfaces of some forgeries of ancient bronzes in such a way that the statements could be misconstrued and the objects accepted as truly ancient. Two examples of such reports on life-sized ‘Roman’ heads were presented, as well as illustrations of copies of life-size Roman bronze heads created in the past four centuries, mostly produced to deceive.

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Queen Christina of Sweden, who reigned from 1632 to 1645 and died in Rome in exile in 1689, was one of the most remarkable monarchs in a century noted in Europe for its eccentricities. Endowed with many artistic talents as well as intellectual sensibility, in 1649 Christina invited the philosopher Renée Descartes to Stockholm (he was to die there). In the same year she gave two exceptional paintings, of Adam and Eve, by Albrecht Dürer to Philip IV of Spain.

The story of how Queen Christina’s sculpture collection, which consisted mainly of Classical pieces, arrived in Madrid after being bought by Philip V is an intriguing one. The first important reference to Christina’s collection in Spain occurs in the manuscript written by Eutichio Ajello y Láscaz, an erudite abbot. This singular work consists of 224 unbound folios, in which the abbot, using illustrations and commentary (Fig 1), describes the masterpieces in the Palace of San Ildefonso, in La Granja, 11 km from Segovia and about 80 km north-east of Madrid. His work consisted of 23 learned commentaries with 44 illustrations, and a further 21 items not described from the total number of sculptures and other works in the collection.

The catalogue is said to date from 1730 but by then Philip V was dead and his second wife, Isabel de Farnese, was in charge of the collection by about 1746. As the abbot Ajello dedicated it to the queen, it is probable that Ajello’s work was edited closer to 1746, or maybe a bit later. This is a very important fact, since abbot Ajello also tried to catalogue, with doubtful learning, the Italian collection, better described as ‘Roman’, of the Palace of San Ildefonso, whose transfer to Madrid was explained by Antonio Ponz in 1781.

The collection of sculpture was bought by King Philip V from Baltasar Odrescalchi, Prince of Erba, in 1724. The origin of the collection lies in the voracious desire of the Queen Christina of Sweden (Fig 2) to collect all kinds of masterpieces when she arrived in Rome after her abdication in 1654, thus becoming a genuine Maecenas in Roman artistic and intellectual life. She bought the most important group of mythical subjects and the collection of incomplete classical sculpture of Rudolph II in Prague, the city that was plundered by the Swedish army in 1648.

The location of this collection in Rome in the 1650s does not mean that all the sculptures come from excavations in the city. In the year of Christina’s death in 1689, an inventory was made by Lorenzo Belli of her antiquities in the Palazzo Riairo (today Corsini). The collection then passed to her sole heir, Cardinal Azzolino, who died not long after that.

The collection then descended to the cardinal’s nephew, Pompey Azzolino, an impoverished noble who soon offered it to various antiquaries. Most of the collection was bought for 123,000 escudos by Livio Odrescalchi, Duke of Bracciano and Pope Innocent X’s nephew. His death in 1713 led to the dispersion of the collection. A catalogue of the gallery was produced in that year but the next heir, Baltasar Odrescalchi, divided the collection up into different sections: sculptures, paintings, books, and so on, and sold them off between 1720 and 1724.

Dr S. Perea Yébenes reports on Queen Christina of Sweden’s classical sculpture collection in the Prado Museum in Madrid.
In 1724 Philip V of Spain bought the section of sculptures, urns, reliefs, and other archaeological items in stone (Figs 3-6). Odascalchi had demanded 63,000 escudos for the collection, but the King of Spain, through his ambassadors, offered only 30,000. At last it was valued at 50,000 escudos, about 12,000 ducats, by the sculptor Camillo Rusconi, also a leading dealer, with the recommendation of Cardinal Aquaviva, who also got a tax exemption from Pope Benedict XIII because of its transfer to Spain.

The shipment took place between December 1724 and September 1725, under the supervision of Félix Cornejo and the Duke of Atri. Abbot Tencin talks about 67 columns and 50 standing statues 'apart from the busts and bas-reliefs'. Overall there were more than 200 pieces of sculpture of different shapes and materials. Their destination was, from the beginning, the Palace of San Ildefonso in La Granja.

On the orders of the Marquis of Galiano, a: the beginning of 1746 two important inventories were made: one was of the property of King Philip V (20 January), and the other the property of Queen Isabel de Farnese (5 February). All the art objects belonging to the Queen, Isabel de Farnese, were marked with a fleur-de-lis, and the king's with a cross, and the entries marked respectively in the register of the inventory. In the original manuscript they are marked in red ink, and in the paintings in colour in the corners: the cross was cut with a chisel into the sculptures.

When the king died, his widow, the Queen, moved to San Ildefonso, and arranged the statue collection, which had been bought 20 years before by Philip, on the ground floor of the palace. The 'strangest' pieces, those that were most incompatible with the classical statues were, as Ponz said, piled up 'without any consideration' in a room that was called the 'idol Gallery'. Housed here were the Egyptian statues, made of basalt (Fig 7), from the reign of Hadrian, some urns, a curbstone of a well, and some reliefs and inscriptions; all are now in the Prado Museum.

The 'idol Gallery' is mentioned in the general inventories of 1776, and again in the one of 1789 of King Charles III. The series of eight Muses (Figs 8-15), now in the Prado Museum, came from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, where they were found in...
1500. They were bought by Pope Leo X, who put them in a vineyard in the Vatican. Next they were taken to the Palazzo Madonna and then to the Carpi Gardens on the Quirinal. From there, still without being restored, they were bought by Queen Christina.

The collection arrived at the Prado Museum from the Palace of San Ildefonso about 1832-33. The collection from San Ildefonso was not at the Prado Museum in 1830, the date of the inauguration of the Royal Museum of Painting and Sculpture. Boyer says that the transfer was 'depuis 1830'. In the General Archive of the Royal Palace in Madrid there are hand-written receipts and reports dealing with the Royal Order of 20 June 1832, 'in which the King His Majesty orders not to verify the transfer of the paintings and sculptures chosen in the Royal Site of San Ildefonso and which should be carried to the Painting Museum till the works on the mentioned place were finished'; and on 4 February 1833 it was considered that, 'it is the moment to send them (paintings and sculptures chosen in the Royal Site of San Ildefonso) to the Royal Museum of Paintings'.

Therefore, 1833 is the most probable date of transfer. The sculpture collection appears in 1834 in the will of King Ferdinand VII in the corresponding part of the 'Inventory and valuation of statues, busts and other objects of sculpture belonging to His Majesty which are in the Galleries of the Museum of Madrid'.

S. Perez Yebenes is our correspondent in Spain.
Early Israel

THE YARMUKIANS

Norman A. Rubin describes the first comprehensive exhibition of Neolithic artefacts from Sha’ar Hagolan in Israel, now on at the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem, which reflects the culture of people who lived on the banks of the Yarmuk River in the Jordan Valley 8000 years ago.

A good percentage of archaeological sites throughout the world have been discovered by accident; the same is true with the finds of Middle Neolithic art and artefacts from Sha’ar Hagolan. The site was discovered in the late 1930s by the members of Kibbutz Sha’ar Hagolan during the construction of fishponds. The collection of finds included pestles and grindstones, stone bowls, flint tools, pottery and figurines, and so on. As this was the pioneer era in Israel, the finds were assembled by the kibbutz members and stored in their tents, and subsequently displayed in a disused underground bunker.

The kibbutz constructed a museum during the 1970s and today a large collection of Neolithic finds from the site are on permanent display. The founder and first curator of the museum, the late Yehuda Roth, became the local expert who was, despite a lack of formal training in archaeology, very knowledgeable about the Neolithic era.

Discovering a lost culture
Sha’ar Hagolan is an 8000 year old archaeological site located in the Jordan Valley 1.5 kilometres from the Sea of Galilee (Fig 1). The site lies on the north-west bank of the Yarmuk river – hence the eponymous name of the ‘Yarmukian Culture’. Sha’ar Hagolan, now a kibbutz (agricultural co-operative), lies between three modern states: Israel, Syria, and Jordan, in a magnificent setting that includes the Golani Heights to the east, Mount Gilboa to the south-east, and the hills of the Galilee to the west. The area is rich in water and the land is fertile. The archaeological remains on the co-operative’s land cover a broad area of approximately 20 hectares, making it the largest known Neolithic settlement in the Near East.

Sha’ar Hagolan became known in archaeological research circles following the work of the late Professor Moshe Streckis of the Hebrew Univer-

![Fig 1. The location of Sha’ar Hagolan and other major Yarmukian sites.](image)

![Fig 2. The site of Sha’ar Hagolan with the location of the various excavated areas: A-D, areas uncovered by Professor Moshe Streckis, 1949-52; E-F, areas uncovered in the new excavations of Yosef Garfinkel, 1989-98.](image)

![Fig 3. Yarmukian pottery is characterised by elaborate decoration which is a combination of incision and painting, the latter always being executed in shades of red. The incised patterns are very pronounced, essentially consisting of three elements: horizontal line, zigzag lines and a herringbone pattern.](image)

![Images of Yarmukian pottery](image)
Archaeological excavations have been continued by a team of archaeologists headed by Yosef Garfinkel of the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. After the fishponds ceased functioning and a nearby olive grove was uprooted, a large scale excavation project began in Sha‘ar Hagolani which is scheduled to continue for ten seasons. To date three seasons have already been conducted, in 1996, 1997, and 1998.

The Yarmukian communities flourished in Israel and the neighbouring lands some 8000 years ago (c. 6400-5800 BC), and it was during this revolutionary period that drastic changes took place in human evolution. The small nomadic bands of hunter and gatherer people were replaced by a new lifestyle in large permanent villages based on agricultural economy. The worldwide process started in the Jordan Valley, and from there spread to other parts of the Near East.

Professor Streklis found no evidence of architectural remains in his excavations, and so he concluded that: ‘the Neolithic settlers of Sha‘ar Hagolani apparently lived in circular huts, half sunk below the ground.’ The large number of pits dug by the Yarmukians created the false impression, in the early days of research that the population was semi-nomadic and pastoral inhabiting the sites for only part of the year.

However, this picture has completely changed. In one of the new excavations at Sha‘ar Hagolani, three monumental buildings with rectangular rooms were uncovered and, between the houses, two streets were found. These finds appear to reflect a hierarchical system consisting of broad, straight streets and narrow alleys.

With the beginning of settlement and permanent habitation, a considerable number of containers were uncovered at the ancient village sites. Portable vessels of various materials had been unearthed at the pre-Yarmukian sites: stone bowls, remnants of rope-woven baskets and of wooden bowls, plaster vessels, and unbaked clay items.

The greatest technological innovation made by the Yarmukian people was the systematic production of pottery vessels. The pottery, depending on its size and shape, served many functions in the Yarmukian household: storage of grain and fluids, cooking, tableware, and for containing various spices and cosmetics (Fig 4).

It is assumed that in the beginning the pottery was produced by simply pressing lumps of clay into the required shapes by hand, but as time progressed, and even before the invention of the potter’s wheel, Neolithic man was capable of giving his pottery an aesthetic form with polished surfaces that invited painted decoration.

The earliest form of decoration consisted of simple spiral and circular designs; most probably, this motif (the so-called snake emblem) was a symbol to these ancient people of the meaning of the earth, of life, and of the idea of eternal renewal. Subsequently this meaning tended to be left behind when the spiral design spread to other cultures as only a ready-made decorative motif and nothing more.

The Yarmukian pottery shapes were more developed, for jars with collar necks and handles and flat bases now appeared. The most outstanding feature is the elaborate decoration – a combination of incision and painting. The incised pattern is very pronounced consisting of three elements: horizontal and zigzag lines, and a herringbone pattern. The paint, in various shades, was used as a background covering the entire vessel or line following the contour of the incision.

The Yarmukian potter was capable of producing both small containers and large storage vessels and he demonstrated an impressive and varied form of craftsmanship with a very distinct style of decoration.

 Artefacts of flint, basalt and limestone

During the Neolithic period before the discovery of metal, tools were made of flint, and flint implements were the most common finds at Sha‘ar Hagolani: arrowheads, spearheads, sickle-blades, borers, and awls, scrapers and axes. The raw material source was river pebbles, gathered by the Yarmukians from the Yarmuk River. Flint knapping was most probably an important industry for the community and the artefacts and flake found at the site are of great importance for the study of the technology of the Neolithic flint knappers.

Stone implements made of basalt and limestone were an important part of the Yarmukian household; artefacts recovered included basalt mortars, grinding slabs, grinding stones, pestles, and bowls. Tools were also crafted from stone and included arrowheads, whetstones, sharpeners, and hammer stones. Both raw materials were within easy reach of the settlement. The basalt originated from the volcanic remains on the Golan Heights, and the limestone came from Mt Gilead.

Of special interest are the various stone weights that reflect Yarmukian activities. The circular stone weights with bi-conical whorls were made of either soft or hard limestone and of basalt. Some weights have a hole drilled in them, located at the centre or at the edge. Others have no hole, but were narrow at the edge, allowing a rope to be tied round them. They
Early Israel

Fig 5 (left). ‘The Red Figurine’, from Sha’ar Hagolan. The typical elongated eyes are shaped like cowrie shells. Neolithic, c. 6000-5500 BC.

Fig 6 (below left). ‘The Statue’, a Yarmukian figurine from Sha’ar Hagolan. This figurine was made of a pure whitish clay and exceptionally well finished. The original parts included the head and left leg; the rest of the body has been reconstituted. Neolithic, c. 6000-5500 BC.

Fig 7 (above). Clay head from Sha’ar Hagolan that may have been part of a larger figure. Note the extreme elongation of the head. Neolithic, c. 6000-5500 BC.

had a variety of uses, including fishing weights, spindle whorls, and as counter weights on digging sticks. The increased importance of weights appears to be a uniquely Yarmukian development.

The Yarmukian culture used a wide range of raw materials in their domestic arrangements and for their varied industries. They probably also fashioned objects of wood, reeds, and other perishable materials which would have disintegrated over the years. On the other hand, objects of clay, flint, and stone have been preserved and proclaim the quality and quantity of the Yarmukian culture.

Trade and economy
The Yarmukian economy can be reconstructed from a variety of direct and indirect evidence. Cereal crops were grown as deduced from the flint sickle blades which indicate the harvesting of grain; various stone pound-

ing and grinding implements indicate that the cereal crops were processed. Animal bones found at the site are evidence that domesticated animals were kept; the dominant animals were sheep and goats, and, in addition, there were cattle and pigs. Stone fishing-weights and flint arrowheads and spearheads all indicated that hunting and fishing supplemented their diet.

Weaving is attested by the presence of numerous spindle whorls and the garments were probably of wool; they were fastened with bone pins, and sewn with needles. Leatherwork is indicated by flint awls, borers, and scrapers, and animal bone was used for the handles of these tools.

Small pieces of obsidian (volcanic glass) and sea-shells, discovered at the site, provide clear evidence of long distance trade developed by the Yarmukian people with other communities. The sea-shells, which appear to have come from the Mediterranean, indicate a local connection; while obsidian, which was passed from hand to hand, indicates a far-distant connection: the closest source of natural obsidian to Sha’ar Hagolan is approximately 700 km to the north. Archaeologists are certain, from this evidence, that the Yarmukian people did not live in total isolation and maintained contact with neighbouring regions.

Yarmukian art
The assemblage of art in clay from Sha’ar Hagolan is the richest collection of prehistoric art ever unearthed at one site in the Near East. This unique collection is the most intriguing aspect of the Yarmukian culture. The anthropomorphic clay figures are divided into four categories: figurines with cowrie-like eyes (Fig 5); a clay ‘statue’ (Fig 6); pillar figurines and a bent figure. They are designated variously as ‘fertility figurines’, ‘seated figurines’, and ‘broad-type figurines’, and so on.

Various explanations have been put forward for the elongated heads of the clay figurines: for instance, the figurine might be wearing a tall hat, a triangular mask narrowing at the top, or an elongated hairstyle (Fig 7). The abstract forms do not have a neck, but are rich in other details, such as ears or fingers. They are both male and female, which is indicated by the heavily enlarged pelvis. There is only one example where the genitalia is pronounced, whereas the female organ is not indicated. The breasts are small and not emphasised; a striking difference from other cultures where the female breasts are exaggerated. The clay figures wear a form of dress which may be divided into two major types: a garment which covers parts of
the body while revealing others (the breasts and the navel), and the scar which is represented by a clay ribbon circling the base of the neck. Some of them are decorated with a style of jewellery, particularly earrings, which are rounded clumps of clay attached to the ears. These earrings are a striking phenomenon of the Yarmukian figurines, but as yet there are only theories as to their function although it is the earliest evidence of the use of earrings in the ancient Near East.

Figurines are another major component in Yarmukian art: ‘detailed figurines’, ‘face figurines’, and ‘eye figurines’ (Fig 8). All the anthropomorphic pebble figurines were made of limestone river pebbles. Unlike the clay figurines which display a higher degree of standardisation in the execution of their attributes, the pebble figures exhibit a freer choice in the depiction of facial features, body parts and dress (Fig 9). One theory for the purpose of these figurines is that they convey a religious-ideological-symbolic message. Another theory has designated the Sha’ar Hagolan pebble figurines as ‘the terrible mother’, while others refer them as ‘grotesque figurines’, or ‘broad figurines’.

The eyes (cowrie shell motif) are the most prominent features of the Yarmukian anthropomorphic figures. They were represented on both the clay and pebble figurines and their shape resembles a cowrie shell set horizontally on the figurines’ faces. Without historical written evidence, the meaning of this motif is not clear; however, anthropomorphic figures with cowrie-like eyes had a wide geographical distribution, and clearly indicate that it was a powerful icon in the Neolithic period. There are also basalt pebbles incised with geometric patterns. Various hypotheses have been suggested concerning their function: in textile dying, as part of a fertility cult, or a rain cult, in initiation rites, or as brands to indicate ownership of animals.

The wealth of symbolic expressions of these figurines, both in clay and on pebbles, raises many questions: what are these objects? Do the anthropomorphic figures represent humans or divinities? What are the sources of the Yarmukian tradition? What is the meaning of the geometric incisions? What is the meaning of the prominent oblique eyes that appear on so many Yarmukian figurines? Why have so many been discovered at one site, Sha’ar Hagolan? - and so forth. All these questions remain unanswered. Theories suggest that some of them may have had a cult function and may have served in various ceremonies. But it must be remembered that the archaeologists are dealing with a prehistoric human community that has left behind no written texts and as such there are only theories.

Conclusion
Sha’ar Hagolan is the largest (Middle) Neolithic centre in the Near East. Hundreds of stone and flint implements, and art and cult objects have been uncovered and collected over the years. The rich collection of art and cult objects still mystifies the archaeologists on their absolute function in Yarmukian society. Various theories have been proposed over the years concerning these objects from Yarmukian contexts.

Evidence has proved that the Yarmukians were builders and lived in an organised settlement. Future excavations at the site will be needed in order to produce a more comprehensive picture of its architecture, the activity of the area and of the village planning.

Archaeological evidence uncovered so far does provide some valuable information. Yet, there are many unanswered questions about the Yarmukian culture. One of the main objectives of further archaeological excavations at the site is to obtain additional data in order to gain a better understanding of this unique human culture – the Yarmukians.

Reference books:
The Yarmukians – Neolithic Art from Sha’ar Hagolan, edited by Yosef Garfinkel, Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University. The catalogue, the title of which is the same as the exhibition, is on sale at the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem.


Archives on the Neolithic artefacts and archaeological evidence from the Museum of Prehistory, Kibbutz Sha’ar Hagolan.
London's Roman Lady

THE SARCOPHAGUS FROM ROMAN LONDON: NEW DISCOVERIES

Liz Barham presents an update on the analytical work and investigative conservation of this remarkable burial.

In March 1959 a spectacular Roman burial was discovered during the archaeological excavations at Spitalfields, east of the City of London. A young woman had been buried there in the mid to late 4th century in a decorated lead coffin inside a lidded stone sarcophagus (Fig 1). Jet objects and glass vessels were found in the grave. She was buried with several textiles, some decorated with gold thread and a ‘pillow’ of leaves had been placed beneath her head.

The story of the discovery and excavation of the burial was reported in the July/August 1999 edition of Minerva. Since then, painstaking conservation and analytical work has revealed further information about the finds and samples from the burial and therefore about the Roman lady herself.

As excavation of the coffin contents began, the leaves beneath the skull were among the first unusual features to be noticed. Most of these had mineralised, although beneath the mineral crust, amazingly, some organic leaves had survived (Fig 2). The leaves appeared to be bay leaves, but to confirm this, a detailed examination of the cellular microstructure of leaf fragment samples at high magnification has been carried out. The leaves were compared to modern samples of bay and to examples from reference texts. The general cell pattern and veining were present and the samples compared very well with modern bay, however, further work using leaves from close relatives such as olive and box is underway.

Preliminary analyses have been carried out by the Department of Archaeological Sciences at the University of Bradford on a selection of the mineralised leaf fragments, to examine more closely the burial conditions that have preserved them. This work indicates that they were formed from lead oxides and lead carbonates. As the body decomposed, the coffin would have begun to fill with liquid. This may be an explanation for the presence of ‘tide-marks’ on the inner side, as the level rose and later evaporated or drained away. The tide-marks may also have been caused by the height of the water-table rising and lowering during burial. Lead ions from the coffin could have been released into the solution and then precipitated out as lead compounds around the leaves that were directly next to the base and sides. The form of the leaves could then be preserved as fossil-like shapes of their former selves.

The textile remains in the coffin are the first ever to have been found and recorded from Roman London. As conservators removed more of the silt, several areas of gold threads were initially discovered, lying between the top of the thigh zones and in distinct patches across the torso (Fig 3).

The gold thread is made of a very thin, flat ribbon spun into a spiral around a thread core (Fig 4). The thread core is likely to have been silk because of the need for a very fine but strong thread; however, no samples of this appear to have survived. The thread is just over 0.1mm wide and therefore is among the finest extant gold thread recorded from the Roman period. The thread must be magnified at least five times to enable the spirals to be seen. The ‘2’ direction of the spin of the thread (so called because...
the spiral follows the same direction as the stem of a letter 2) suggests it may have been made in the western part of the Roman Empire. Roman gold thread found from sites in the East has typically been spun in the opposite direction.

The threads are no longer held together, therefore examining them for any evidence of the pattern of the original weave without moving them was a conservation challenge. Their location in relation to the body was recorded and they were lifted on 'rafts' of thin plastic film slid beneath each area of thread, floated on droplets of de-ionised water (Fig 5). X-radiographs (Fig 6) of the lifted areas of thread suggested that some small cohesive sections of thread had survived. The top layer of silt from each area is being removed carefully under the microscope by drawing it off in pipettes of de-ionised water. The high surface tension of the water has helped to loosen the silt from around the threads. Most fine tools were too clumsy to remove the silt without moving the threads, even with a very steady hand. The silt, which contained insect remains from the decomposition process (Fig 7) has been retained to be sieved and examined by environmental archaeologists. It is unknown how such thread was prepared and spun in antiquity, however it has been suggested by a specialist in ancient textiles and a working goldsmith that the most likely method of manufacture could have involved cutting a piece from a gold ingot to be beaten into thin sheets. A narrow strip could then be cut off with a knife and twisted by hand around the organic central core. Further strips could be joined on by spinning them into place after the first strip to make a continuous spiral. The core was for strength alone as it would not be visible once the ribbon was tightly coiled in place.

It is thought that such fine work could have been carried out by children and whole families of craftsmen could have been employed in the work. There are references in the Notitia Dignitatum to 'barbaricani', a group who appear to be makers of gold thread. The Edict of Prices of Diocletian suggests this was a well-paid job in the late 4th century AD.

It has not been possible to establish conclusively whether the original tex-

tiles were garments, how many there were, and whether they were lying over or under the body. However, the locations of the discrete areas of gold thread suggests that they may have decorated a larger piece of textile that no longer survives. If this is the case, the gold is likely to have been woven part of the fabric, since there is no evidence for embroidery in gold at this period. Small samples of organic fibre have been recovered from some of the areas of gold thread; work continues to identify them in order to establish what sort of fabric was associated with the gold. Although gold thread has been found in wealthy Roman burials quite frequently on the continent of Europe, only four other examples from the Roman period are known to have been found in Britain to date and of these, this is the largest assemblage.

As the mineral crust under the head and shoulders at the bottom of the coffin was investigated, fragments of two types of organic textile were found to have survived in a void beneath the crust, under some of the ribs. This void would have been waterlogged soon after burial as the body decayed and, like the organic leaves, the fragments probably remained in a relatively stable environment with little or no oxygen present until excavation. If oxygen is excluded during burial, the organisms that cause decay cannot survive. The organic textile fragments have been cleaned gently and unfolded by a conservator.

One of the pieces of organic textile is a fragment of damask, a cloth with a distinctive chequered weave pattern (Fig 8). Roman damasks were usually silk, although wool examples are known. Examination of the form of the fibres at high magnification confirmed that this is a silk fragment. In this period the silk yarn would have been imported to the west from China. Damasks were among the finest cloths of the period and Syria was a major centre of damask production.

The other fragments of organic textile have a plain weave (Fig 9) and their fibres have been identified as wool. The different spacing of the weave of the wool and silk fragments suggests that these two different textiles rather than different features of the same piece. Either type of textile may have been associated with the gold thread, but the fragments were not found in association with the gold. Dye analysis has had to be ruled out at this stage because of the destructive nature of chromatographic techniques and the small samples available. However, the luxury nature of the grave goods suggest that the most expensive dyes of the period would have been chosen and these are
thought to have been purples from the ‘Murex’ whelk.

Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 illustrate some of the artifacts found in the grave. Figure 6 shows an X-radiograph of one of the areas of gold thread, Figure 7 displays remains of a beetle magnified x 25 that fed on the textile fibres found in the mineralised crust. Figure 8 (top right) presents a silk damask fragment magnified x 10 – note the distinctive chequered pattern. Figure 9 (centre right) provides a wool fragment magnified x 20. Figure 10 (bottom right) depicts a plain-weave mineralised textile fragment from beneath the mineralised leaf layer magnified x 25.

Tiny samples of each of the artefacts that appeared to be made of jet found in the grave have been analysed at the University of Newcastle with the aim of establishing the type of ‘jet-like’ material used and its region of provenance using reflected light microscopy. This work confirmed that all the small objects except the circular box found were made from jet. The elements of the box (Fig 11) were made from three types of coal material: the base of jet, the lid and body of the pot of lignite and the ‘spacer’ (between body and lid) of shaly coal. Using a database of reflectance values taken from samples from a variety of geographical sources in the UK and on the continent of Europe, it is sometimes possible to suggest the region of provenance of the material from a particular object. However, in this case the reflectance values could not be conclusively matched with those of a particular region. There were no apparent residues of the original contents of the box surviving to sample for analysis and indeed it may never have been used if these objects were made specifically for the burial.

Before the body was removed, a sample of the silt in the gut region was taken to analyse for presence of parasites at the Environmental Archaeology Unit at York. These may have offered an indication of the health of the woman just prior to death. However, there were no remains in the samples. This may be the result of poor conditions for preservation: although the sediment within the coffin was waterlogged when it was examined, if the groundwater level in the coffin had fluctuated during burial, some areas may have been dry for some time. Under such conditions, fragile material such as parasite eggs would have been destroyed.

A number of analyses are being carried out on the teeth of the skeleton to assist in establishing her region of origin, to find out more about her
diet, and to investigate possible family relationships with other burials in the cemetery.

To avoid contamination, a molar tooth was removed immediately after the lid of the coffin was lifted for DNA analysis by the Institute of Molecular Medicine, John Radcliffe Hospital, University of Oxford. Human DNA has been extracted from the tooth and successfully amplified to give a sample that can be compared with a database representing the world distribution of people. The aim was to demonstrate whether the deceased was indigenous or an immigrant. This work succeeded in isolating the Roman lady's DNA sequence, and confirmed she was of a European type. Samples from nearby Roman graves were also taken to investigate possible family relationships by DNA comparisons and work continues in this area.

A molar tooth was supplied to the Department of Paleontology, Natural History Museum, to perform stable isotope analysis for carbon, nitrogen and oxygen. Stable oxygen analysis will give information about the type of climate that the individual experienced during life, based on the ratio of oxygen isotopes resident in the teeth. This depends on a temperature-dependent fractionation of oxygen isotopes which affects dietary water and becomes recorded in the teeth and remains even after death. It therefore should be possible, for example, to differentiate between a person who had lived in London all their life from one who had migrated from the Mediterranean.

Stable carbon isotope analysis of teeth has been used to establish the relative contribution of 'C3' (temperate) and 'C4' (tropical) vegetables to a person's diet. This is unlikely to be relevant to a person indigenous to Roman London, but the combination of this analysis with the stable nitrogen isotope ratio from the same sample should give an indication of the protein content of her diet.

Lead and Strontium isotope analysis using laser fluorination is also underway on a premolar tooth by the Department of Archaeological Sciences at the University of Bradford. This again should allow identification of first generation immigrants and aid discussion of her possible region of origin. It is expected that the dental enamel of a first generation immigrant would have a strontium isotope composition significantly different to that of the geology of the area of burial.

This burial provides a rare opportunity to examine whether and to what extent the woman was exposed to lead in her diet, for example through drinking from lead vessels or from water piped through lead pipes. Dental enamel takes lead under the influence of the ambient environment during life. However, whereas lead from the coffin will have migrated to the bones after death, dental enamel tends to be highly resistant to the exchange or incorporation of ions once death has occurred. It should therefore be possible to distinguish lead levels her body experienced in life by analysing one of her teeth.

A sample of the oolitic limestone from the sarcophagus was removed for thin section examination at the University of Reading with the aim of suggesting a source region. Conclusions were based on texture, fossil content, oolite size and variability, colour, diagenetic (degree of cement), compaction, and porosity of the specimen. It is possible to identify the general age and UK region for a particular rock type. Because of the size of the Jurassic limestone belt, it is not possible to identify a very restricted geographical source: for example, one outcrop of a specific type may be identical over a 10-20 mile expanse. Nevertheless certain rocks can be discounted and matches were sought with comparative samples from the Museum of London Archive and Resource Centre, the Natural History Museum, the Postgraduate Research Centre of Sedimentology at the University of Reading, and from quarries in Avon and Lincolnshire.

A close match was found with a sample of Barnack stone, a limestone found in the East Midlands. The quarry at Barnack is close to Ermine Street, the Roman road that connected Lincoln and York with Roman London, and is a possible source of the sarcophagus stone. Although it has not been possible to establish the provenance of the lead from which the coffin was made, the stamps on Roman ingots previously found in London indicate that during the Roman period, lead was transported to London from mines in Somerset.

This burial is clearly that of a woman from a very wealthy family. The artefacts in the coffin all display this conspicuously and further investigation of them has underlined this. Her privileged status is also indicated by the presence of dental decay in one tooth, suggesting that she had access to a sweeter diet than would have been enjoyed by the average Roman person. Her height, relative youth and the good condition of her skeleton suggested that she may also have been a striking woman. Clearly she was buried with great care, surrounded by attractive, luxury goods, which may have been made especially for the purpose, or objects that she herself may have used and liked.

Conservation work has helped to ensure that the evidence from these rare artefacts is preserved for future study and display. Investigative analysis of the body is providing a little more insight into her origins, and analysis of artefacts from the coffin has helped to shed further light on how such objects were made and the materials used to make them in the Roman period. It has also demonstrated the effectiveness of the excellent trade links of the Roman Empire in the 4th century, making luxury items available even in Londinium, on the far western edge of the Empire.

The excavation on the site at Spitalfields is now complete, but further investigative and analytical work from this and many other parts of the site will continue. The results will be presented in detail in the forthcoming archaeological publication of the excavations at Spitalfields, to be published by the Museum of London Archaeology Service. The conserved artefacts from this burial are now on permanent display in the Roman gallery at the Museum of London.

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TREASURES FROM HADRIAN'S VILLA AT TIVOLI

D. L. Patanè

For the first time since the emperor Hadrian's villa near Tivoli was abandoned in the 2nd century AD, 200 masterpieces from the villa, on loan from museums and private collections in Russia, France, Germany, Holland and, of course, Italy, have been reunited in an exhibition in Paris entirely devoted to the emperor Hadrian and his villa. In the spring there is the unique opportunity to view the works of art in their natural setting when the exhibition travels to Hadrian's Villa itself.

The construction of Villa Adriana at Tivoli, north-east of Rome, began as soon as Publius Aelius Hadrianus became emperor in AD 117. The series of separate buildings that make up the villa were not only magnificent in themselves, but were each part of a complex spreading over 126 hectares. Underground water channels and underground roads linked the different parts of the villa providing the means for the smooth running of the emperor's life in his sophisticated retreat. In each separate building the element of surprise was always present combining a symbolic architectural landscape with the niter of its centre. The villa was intended to be the repository of treasured memories from journeys in the many regions of the empire. Buildings such as the Canopus, Egypt, were not copies of monuments in far away lands but rather conceptual re-elaborations of the originals on a different scale.

The villa was abandoned after Hadrian's death in AD 138 and rapidly fell into ruin. In the 16th century Piro Ligorio (c. 1500-83), an antiquarian, architect, and topographer, was the first to explore Villa Adriana. Cardinal Ippolito d'Este had commissioned Ligorio to find the materials - marble and paving - and works of art for the building of the cardinal's own lavish villa at Tivoli, the future Villa d'Este. Ligorio undertook a serious excavation of the site documented in his Description of the Superb and Very Rich Villa of Hadrian. He was also the author of a Dictionary of Antiquities and of an archaeological map of Rome (1551) and the first scholar to lament the plundering of works of art which, according to him, should have been left where they were found:

'...as the columns and other parts... were revealed I saw something that I could not have imagined... most of the buildings ornaments were sold as though in a cattle market... the inscriptions were lost through ignorance and ill will...'

Over the centuries excavations at the villa continued and its site became a quarry for works of art to be sold to the increasing number of collectors of antiquities in Rome and Europe. Even as recently as last summer a marble column was stolen from the villa's gardens, although they are illuminated at night, and open to visitors. Hadrian's Villa is one of the most visited sites in Italy with more than 300,000 visitors a year.

In the 18th century Count Giuseppe Fede sought most of the area comprising the villa, and had a house built to store the many antiquities he found in his lands. The most beautiful works of art in his collection were sold by his heirs after the count's death in 1776, to the Museo Pio Clementino in the Vatican, and to
the newly established Capitoline Museum created by Pope Benedict XV in 1734. Among these objects there was the red marble statue of a drunken satyr, one of the most remarkable objects in the present exhibition (Fig 2).

In 1769 in a site at Pantanello near Count Fede’s property, the painter Gavin Hamilton (1723-98), who was very active in Rome as a dealer in antiquities, started digging. Hamilton found a host of statuary, some of which he sold to the Vatican, but mostly sold in England (Fig 1). Then there was Cardinal Marefoschi who found, in the domains of Count Centini, one of Count Fede’s heirs, the superb mosaic emblemata from the villa’s pavements and the celebrated Roman copy of Myron’s Discobolos.

Hadrian, Treasures from an Imperial Villa’ follows two other smaller exhibitions which were held in Rome last year. Previous exhibitions focused on monuments associated with the emperor Hadrian. ‘Hadrian and his Mausoleum’ was held at the Castel Sant’Angelo (originally Hadrian’s mausoleum), ‘Province Fidelis’ – housed at the Museo Nazionale at Palazzo Massimo – focused on the magnificent sculptures which decorated the Hadrianeum in the Campus Martius in Rome. This was the temple built in the years AD 139-145 by Hadrian’s successor Antoninus Pius (r. AD 138-161) in honour and in the style of his predecessor. The sculptures found during excavations around the temple in the 16th century were dispersed at the time into several separate private collections (Figs 3, 4).

Even with three exhibitions devoted to Hadrian, one after the other, there still remains a need for a major exhibition.

Hadrien, Trésors d’une villa impériale, Mairie de Paris, fully illustrated catalogue, pp. 376, published by Electa, 1999, available in French and Italian. (The exhibitions on Hadrian in Rome last year were also accompanied by fully illustrated catalogues published by Electa in 1998, 1999).
Early Christianity in Georgia

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN THE CAVES OF CAUCASIAN GEORGIA

Murray Eiland and Nodar Bakhtadze

Historical sources suggest that Christianity played an important role in the Caucasus from an early period. Armenia was officially converted in 301 by St Gregory the Illuminator, and, according to Greek and Syriac records, there was similar activity in Georgia. Georgian traditions record two 1st century apostles: Simon the Canaanite is described as being buried in the West; Saint Andrew is recorded as having been active in the East and West. Documents identify a bishopric on the Black Sea coast by 325, and a bishop — apparently from this region — participated in the Council of Nicaea in 325. It is also interesting to note that this new religion was not limited to the easy route of communication with the Mediterranean via the Black Sea and was practiced in areas far inland.

There are several stories concerning the Christianization of Iberia, the ancient name for eastern Georgia. These traditional sources outline the life of St Nino, a slave-girl who converted the royal family to her religion through a series of miracles in about 330 (this date is open to considerable speculation). According to several sources, the slave girl impressed all who came into contact with her with her great devotion to her religion. She was also known to have healing powers so it is not surprising that when the queen was struck down by an illness, Nino was consulted for a cure, which proved successful. The king, though pleased, was not yet fully convinced. When a strange darkness descended upon him while hunting, he vowed that if it lifted, he would convert to Christianity and renounce all other religions, and the king and queen then instructed their people to build a church.

The final miracle was that the third pillar required to support the roof of the church could not be raised and put into place using any machine. The slave girl then prayed all night, and in the morning, in front of a group of people who witnessed the miracle, they saw the pillar suspended above the place where it was to be set. After the crowd affirmed the nature of the miracle, the pillar lowered itself into place, and the rest of the structure was built. Subsequently the king sent an embassy to the emperor Constantine for priests.

The importance of this conversion is expressed by the increased cultural connections between the Byzantine empire and Georgia. This conversion to Christianity was met with hostility by the Sasanid Persians (AD 224-651), as it would be met with opposition by later Islamic peoples who struggled for control of the region. While there appears to have been a range of religions present in Georgia before their conversion, it is likely that the city elite were Zoroastrians, who naturally looked to Iran for patronage. An indication of this hostility is nowhere more in evidence than in the story of St Shushanik. According to tradition, this Armenian noble lady, who was married to a Georgian governor, Var-ken, refused to convert to Zoroastrianism like her husband who desired to curry favour with his Iranian overlords. She was ill-treated and imprisoned and finally died in about 544. Her place of burial is on a rocky outcrop on a bend of the Kura river that runs through Tbilisi. The present building, the Metekhi Church (1278-89), is regarded as the focal point of the modern capital.

The overall effect of the conversion is open to debate. On the one hand the adoption of Christianity unified the country under a single religion, which preserved a sense of collective identity through periods of foreign domination. On the other hand, it has been argued that the adoption of Christianity eventually led to the disintegration of independent monarchies. The church, instead of supporting a few powerful kings against the Sasanian monarchs, supported local feudal lords in their desire for greater independence. The most important long term result was a shift towards the West and away from the Iranian sphere of influence.

Georgian art, particularly from the early Christian period, continues a
number of themes expressed during the Sasanian period. Nowhere is this better expressed than on the Sioni Church at Bolnisi. An inscription over the north records that the church was begun in the 20th year of the Sasanian king Peroz (459-84) and completed 15 years later. Many stone carvings demonstrate a detailed familiarity with Iran (Fig 1). When these elements are compared with a detail of the crown of Khusrav II (590-628) from a silver drachm (Fig 2), a similar arrangement of design elements emerges. While it is likely that these images on the church were adapted from coins, or other easy to transport materials, it nevertheless indicates an important relationship that was - according to historical accounts - not always peaceful.

What remains of the earliest Christian structures demonstrates that the initial phases of this new religion were probably not accompanied by royal protection and that the first Christian communities were secluded. Some of the earliest evidence of Christianity during this period comes from caves, although many of them show little architecture and preserve few material remains. Cave dwelling is not unique to this period of Georgian history, as this small nation has been the battle ground for its powerful neighbours for centuries. It is therefore natural that cave dwellings have played an important role in a number of different periods.

The early history of caves in Georgia begins with the Bronze Age, when a few caves indicate an inaccessible lifestyle for security or religious reasons now long forgotten. Some of the best pre-Christian evidence in Georgia comes from the cave complexes at Uplistsikhe. Much of the original plan of the complex can be reconstructed. Beginning in the second half of the second millennium BC and extending to the Middle Ages (Fig 3), many of the structures resemble their wooden counterparts. Many caves have roof decoration that imitates round logs or square roof joints. Walls are at times decorated with pilasters or columns. There is even a basilica in a typical free-standing style of the 5th century.

The sprawling site of Vardzia demonstrates the possibilities for cave architecture during the medieval period. Cut into a sheer cliff on the left bank of the Kura River, many structures are dated to the time of Queen Tamara (1184-1213). There are over 600 caves preserved, some up to seven storeys high (Fig 4). The cliff is riddled with narrow corridors, secret passages, water systems, and store rooms, which could withstand a long siege. Although primarily a religious structure, it also supported a sizable lay population as well. The site was not built at the core of Georgian control, but rather on the frontier. It seems that this site, now close to the modern border with Turkey, was designed to mark a natural boundary. The site withstood sieges on more than one occasion, but was finally destroyed in 1552 by a force of invading Persians.

As part of an expedition to uncover organic materials from Georgian caves, a very early structure was carefully examined. It is located in Lower Kartli near the modern village of Tetri-Tskaro. The entrance was literally a hole in the ground (Fig 5). Due to the heavy rains that had recently inundated the country, the cave was dripping wet. The cave was reached by a narrow entrance into a large natural chamber. There was a pool of water in the bottom, and without a flashlight, there was not nearly enough natural light from the entrance to guide us into the man-made chamber that could be reached through a short passage. This room was very small and could contain no more than about a dozen people in relative comfort. Due to centuries of use by bats, the ground was composed of wet, unstable guano about two feet deep (Fig 6). Around the base of the chamber was a short ledge that may have served as seating for a small group. The apse at the front of the church bore several small niches, apparently for relics, all carved from the rock. The ceiling was vaulted and reminiscent of a wooden structure. Although of limestone, the difficulty of access would have presented problems for the stone carvers.

The next chamber was plainer and contained several loculi, or cuts in the wall of the chamber to house a body (Fig 7). Like most of the famous loculi graves in the catacombs in Rome, these structures were aligned so that they were parallel to the chamber, as if they would have been the easiest way to carve such a structure from the rock. These small niches would have been large enough to contain a single (contracted) body, which would have probably been walled off from the chamber. In this case it seems clear that the room was designed so that it could be visited. Perhaps they contained the graves of early Christian martyrs or saints. Although excavation was difficult, several fragments of late antique vessels (4th-5th century) were recovered from the guano. The entire ensemble resembles early

Fig 3 (left). Cave at Uplistsikhe. This 11th-12th century cave church is elaborately carved to imitate a wooden structure. While Late Antique caves also imitated wooden counterparts, the medieval example follows a distinctive plan.
church structures from other regions, bearing some similarity to the fourth century church in Maalula (near Damascus) in Syria. But, unlike a traditional church above ground, this structure probably had a distinct purpose. Parallels from other areas shed further light on the problem. In Rome the best known examples of such early Christian architecture are the catacombs. Traditional thinking on the subject proposes that, while at various periods churches were built above ground, they were reserved for the wealthy. Poorer members of the community, out of sight from their masters (who may not have been Christian), preferred to worship underground, which gave them greater security. They also had the tombs of martyrs and saints to add solemnity to their religious lives. This method of burial in a *hypogeum*, or underground chamber, survives in many medieval European churches. On the revisionist side of this argument, there is no evidence that early Christians used the Roman catacombs for large-scale worship during the persecutions. While they may have visited martyrs and relatives, the structures were located too far away from the city centre – where churches above ground existed – for regular use.

Whatever the case for Rome during this period, there is good evidence for caves being used for the protection of Christian communities in other places. Anatolian Cappadocia (some 140 miles south-east of Ankara) is perfectly suited for cave dwelling. Layers of soft volcanic tuff, that harden upon contact with air, dominate the area. The region was first excavated for caves in about 3000 BC, but was used particularly during the Christian persecutions of the 4th century. Internal disputes within the Byzantine Empire and the arrival of Islam did nothing to reduce the need for defensible structures. Dwellings could be as high as ten storeys above ground, and could only be reached by ropes, ladders, or roughly cut steps. A Christian population remained until the early 1920s, when growing nationalism led many Christians to move to Greece. In this example it is clear that caves helped in the preservation of an isolated community.

At this stage in considering the Georgian caves, several points should be clarified. Cave dwellings were in no way limited to Christian communities, as there were 'underground cities' from many periods. Tombs are also associated with cave burial, and these sites may not have been intended for worship. At the same time, early Christians did have a penchant for cave-monasteries, which were often founded by a monk who withdrew into an isolated cell. In time, other cells could be added as pilgrims and other monks would congregate there.

Dr Murray Eland is a researcher at the University of California and is involved with several excavations in Georgia.

Dr Nodar Bakhtadze is an archaeologist in Tbilisi and lecturer at the university.

**Fig 4 (left).** The site of Varadzitsa is difficult of access, but like other Georgian caves – such as those at Uplistsikhe – has suffered due to earthquake. Some 3,000 caves existed during the reign of Queen Tamara. In 1456 an earthquake left 650 inhabitable.

**Fig 6 (right).** Nodar Bakhtadze in the 4th century burial chamber in the church near Tetri-Tskaro. The loculi would probably have been walled off from the chamber.

**Fig 5 (below).** This small opening to the 4th century cave complex near Tetri-Tskaro was cut into soft limestone and showed no signs of being larger in antiquity.

**Fig 7 (below).** The 4th century cave church near Tetri-Tskaro. The ceiling has suffered years of water damage, as the limestone dissolves in water. Note the guano on the floor.

The common theme that links these caves is that they offer a religious solitude and, perhaps more importantly, a location difficult to access. While we now have a good understanding of the reasons for cave dwellings during historical periods, major questions remain. How may one interpret the evidence of structures 'that served more than just one purpose'?

The reasons and purpose of the small early Christian cave complex, based upon what we know of the political situation from written sources, relate to the religion being under attack from native traditions and the powerful Iranian empire in the east. The 4th-5th centuries were by no means stable, meaning that Christian communities must have been concerned about the safety of their relics. The structures described here do not appear to be large enough to house a congregation, and instead may only have been a focal point of worship based around relics. They may have served a similar purpose as the catacombs in Rome. Further excavations must take place in the caves and in the settlement on the plateau above in order to place the caves and their use into a more solid context.
COSMOPOLITAN CHANGAN
The City of Eternal Peace

Donald Dinwiddie reports on a major collection of treasures, now on display at the British Museum, that focuses on the glories of Tang Changan, as well as the many beautiful objects from the Zhou, Qin, and Han Dynasties which have never been shown before outside China.

From the 7th to the 10th centuries AD, Changan, known as the city of Eternal Peace, was the eastern terminus of the famous Silk Road, linking the civilisations of Asia with those of the Mediterranean. It was in this capital of the emperors of the Tang dynasty (618-907) that over one million people from every corner of Asia did business, converging on the city with its thriving economic, political, and religious centre. For example, when the Sassanian court was overwhelmed by the Islamic jihad the survivors fled to Changan, and it was also here that the followers of Manichaean and Nestorian Christianity found refuge and, later, a few converts.

By the time the Tang made Changan their seat of power, the region had been at the centre of Chinese history for more than fifteen hundred years. Known as the land within the passes, it was protected to the north and south by mountains, and to the east by the Yellow river. Around 1150 BC the Zhou rose up in Changan to conquer the Shang, and the city became the heart of the Qin kingdom when the Zhou fled east from the Western barbarians in 770 BC.

Changan lay across the Wei river from the site of the Qin capital of Xi'an and in the 3rd century BC Xi'an became China's first imperial city. However, having achieved imperial status Xi'an did not survive two decades; even before its ruins had stopped smouldering, the new imperial city of Changan was created by the founder of the dynasty (206 BC-AD 220). In the four centuries between the decline of the Qin Dynasty and the ascension of the Tang, Changan changed its name several times and shifted its position along the southern bank of the Wei river. Yet the city and region remained cemented within Chinese mythology as the land that must be won and held as the seat of power for any imperial contender.

Naturally Tang Gaozu (r. 618-26) chose the region as his power base. He rechristened Daxing, capital of the conquered Sui Dynasty (581-618), as Changan, thereby making explicit the association of his dynasty and capital with that of the illustrious Han.

However, because monumental Chinese architecture is constructed using wood, and not brick or stone, we know more of the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar than Tang Changan. Today the city still exists as Xi'an (Western Peace), but it has long been merely the capital of the western province of Shaanxi, notwithstanding the fact that its present size and population more than rivals its Tang ancestor. In this modern city it is hard to find architectural fragments dating from the 14th century, much less the 8th.

However, what has not survived above ground has survived below, and the region is archaeologically one of the richest in China. Discoveries of Zhou hoards of bronze ritual vessels, and the tombs of the Qin, Han, and Tang have over the past century made concrete a glorious past that after a thousand years of neglect seems almost unbelievable.

At present the British Museum is hosting an exhibition of archaeological material from the land within the passes, spanning its history from the Zhou to the Tang, 'Gilded Dragons: Buried Treasures from China's Golden Ages' which is, in part, a logical follow-up to 'Mysteries of Ancient China' of 1996, another loan exhibition of archaeological material coming from all over China and tracing its cultural history from the 6th millennium BC to the Han dynasty. While the current show contains many great objects from the Zhou, Qin, and Han which have never been shown before outside China, the true emphasis of the
China’s Golden Ages

The Tang material in the exhibition gives a overwhelming impression of an truly cosmopolitan culture which was familiar with and fascinated by the rest of the world. However, the difference in the effect of Western influence on Tang civilization and that of 19th and 20th century European influences on China today is startling. For the Tang, the Christinae outside influence was an Epicurean, and the Tang material was new and exotic.

What were these Western influences on the Tang? In terms of the arts, their most powerful influence seems to have come from the Persian cultural sphere. Throughout China’s history the area to the west of Changan, the present day Qinghai and Xinjiang Autonomous Regions, had been an important source of trade due to the Silk Roads, but they also provided the constant threat of immigration and invasion. Both the Zhour and Qin came originally from the West, and it is not clear where the future Tang Gaozu might be from a family of mixed blood as certainly the Sui Dynasty that he first served and then replaced. These western regions formed the heart of the Silk Roads, and the cities and kingdoms were multi-racial conglomerates where, in the period of the Tang Dynasty, a Tibetan, Turkic, or Chinese influence might rule over a population, including not only peoples of these three races, but also the people more familiar to us today from the Indian subcontinent or even from Eastern Europe.

Although throughout its history Changan has always been perceived as a clearly Chinese city, it was to a great extent it shared the multi-racial composition of its Silk Road neighbours. By the 7th century, the most pervasive mercantile presence along the Silk Road were the Sogdians. From the point of view of Western Asia, these peoples are often seen as the poor northern satellite of Persia. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that they were not only a significant influence on the Turkic culture, which in the medieval period would extend itself across the steps and Western Asia, but also had a large impact, at least on the material culture of Tang China as well as that of the contemporaneous Tibetan empire which was spreading across eastern Central Asia from the Tibetan plateau.

Certainly the culture and goods these Sogdian merchants were communicating to the east were Persian, and specifically Sassanian, in character. In 638, the last Sassanian king, Yazgard III (r. 632-51), sent his son Firuz to Changan to ask for the assistance of Tang Taizong (r. 626-49) in defending his empire from the jihads. In 651, when Yazgard was slain and the empire lost, Firuz was still pleading with the Tang emperor’s successor, Tang Gaozong (r. 649-83). He and his embassy were allowed to set up a court-in-exile in Changan which rapidly became the focus of a large community formed by the resulting diaspora. This community continued to thrive throughout much of the Tang period.

We are now only beginning to understand the full impact of Persian styles on Chinese art. Numerous examples of blue-and-white porcelains from the 14th and 16th centuries have led us to believe that elements, such as water birds and scrolling foliage to be Intrinsically Chinese. However, these motifs are being re-evaluated in the light of Tang period metalwork and textiles which have a markedly Persian character.

A passion for Persian metalwork seems to have run deep in Tang China. China’s own metalworking traditions were rich in methods of casting, but even the most technically refined object of cast metal seems ponderous and heavy next to vessels of hammered metal decorated in chased, engraved and enamelled design. Conceivably the Chinese first encountered such metalwork with early Achaemenid and Greco-Bactrian examples, but if they did not know how to make or had no evidence of far surface. Even so, the birds, flowers, and lions of Sassanian art can be found in explosive abundance in Tang metalwork and ceramics, and their develop.
China’s Golden Ages

The second major foreign influence on Tang China was Buddhism, which first reached China from India, very likely along the same routes that Persian influence had arrived. Its impact was just beginning to be felt at the end of the Han dynasty in the early 3rd century AD and in the subsequent four centuries of political disunity its adherents and influence steadily grew. For the majority, like the mediaeval Christian church, it offered salvation from a troubled world.

By the time the empire was re-established under the Tang, the Buddhist church was a rich and powerful force, not only in the spiritual life of the people, but also in their political and economic life. Buddhist temples and monasteries thrived under the patronage of the people, the imperial family and the old nobility. The buildings were richly adorned with images of gold, silver, and bronze, and were hung with the most resplendent silk fabrics and tapestries. Buddhist painting of the Tang period produced China’s great geniuses of figure painting. However, unlike Japan or even war-torn Korea, astonishingly little is left to us of this golden age of Buddhism in China.

In the twilight of any empire, there is always at least one scapegoat. In the year 845, the Buddhist establishment became for the imperial government the evil that must be eradicated for the salvation of the dynasty. The subsequent confiscation of Buddhist property, which was often accompanied by its destruction, could possibly not have been done better if the Islamic jihads had penetrated deeper into China. The relative success with which the government carried out its proscription on Buddhism sheds some light on the extent of antipathy felt by the general population for temples and monasteries that owned a large personal fortune as motifs can be followed in Chinese art history up to the present day.

death, had the relics brought to the palace. The following year the relics were sent back to Famen together with a large group of precious objects donated by the emperor, which were then sealed in an underground palace beneath the monastery’s pagoda.

In 1987 archaeologists discovered a Tang imperial Buddhist repository untouched by the events of 845. Many of these objects are on view in the current exhibition for the first time outside China. Their splendour outshines even those gold and silver objects found in the few unlooted tombs of the Tang imperial family.

The close of the Tang Dynasty in 907 also witnessed China closing its doors on its first Western education. The succeeding Song Dynasty (960–1279) achieved great cultural heights, but they were much more consciously Chinese in character. A liberal and expansive attitude did not suit an empire which was in fact little more than a kingdom threatened by larger and more powerful neighbours. The single point of superiority which the Chinese could rest on was a cultural one. Therefore, the achievement of the Song culture was its creation and refinement of a Chinese aesthetic in all the arts of human endeavour, and in its imparting it to its less refined neighbours. Even when those neighbours ultimately swallowed them up, the seeds were planted for the Sinification of the predators. By contrast, Tang civilisation embraced the arts of all it encountered. Their cultural legacy became known in the visual arts as the Tang International style. The fruit of the seeds it planted are perhaps most evident in the courtly culture that developed in Japan and which survives to the present day.


‘Gilded Dragons: Buried Treasures from China’s Golden Ages’

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Top Greek and Roman Coins at Autumn Sales

Eric J. McFadden

This column will be short, because I am rushing to prepare for a flight to New York for the New York International and the various auctions to be held there. I have been particularly short of time because there have been so many auctions in the past month. Among the many fine offerings, two sales have stood out: the crowd, the Leu Numismatics sale and the Numismatik Lanz sale. Both included outstanding collections.

The Leu sale was billed as the finest sale of Greek coins since the famous Kunstfreund sale in 1974. It included highlights from a fine French collection assembled with taste and care, and the prices reflected the exceptional aesthetic appeal of many of the coins. The cover coin was a superb Syracuse facing head tetradrachm signed by the master engraver Kimon. Estimated at only SF120,000-140,000, discussion prior to the sale indicated that the price was certain to exceed SF300,000, as several bidders had interest around that level. In the end, the usual top coin dealers were all outbid by Beverley Hills dealer Fayez Barakat for a princely sum of SF430,000 (Fig 1).

The sale had many other highlights. A wonderful Akragas silver tetradrachm, featuring an artistic figure of Scylla, sold for SF170,000 against an estimate of SF100,000-120,000 (Fig 2), bought by Chicago dealer Harlan Berk. An important and rare silver trident of Delphi sold for SF92,000 to Classical Numismatic Group, who outbid a major European museum. The estimate was SF62,000-70,000. A superb early Athens silver tetradrachm of c. 515 BC, estimated at only SF55,000-

65,000, sold for SF220,000 and was bought by a Norwegian collector who felt he simply had to have it.

While the Leu sale featured Greek coins, the Lanz sale offered part 2 of the Roman coin collection of Leo Benz, one of the foremost German collectors this century. Gold was especially strong. A rare gold aureus from the brief reign of Otho, AD 69, sold to the American dealer Robert DuPorton for DM70,000 against an estimate of DM45,000 (Fig 3).

An aureus of Plotina, the wife of Trajan, was hammered down to Oslo Mynthanddal for DM48,000 on an estimate of DM30,000. A truly beautiful aureus of Domitian, AD 81-96, sold to Basel dealer Münzen and Medaillen for DM35,000 against an estimate of DM20,000 (Fig 4). The bronze in the sale, most of which had been cleaned in the old-fashioned method that involves smoothing of the surface, nevertheless sold well, although not at the levels of the gold. Silver also found strong buyers, especially among the Spanish contingent.

Fig 1 (top). Syracuse tetradrachm signed by Kimon, c. 405 BC, sold for SF140,000 against an estimate of SF120,000-140,000 in the Leu sale. Actual size.

Fig 2 (second). Akragas tetradrachm, c. 420 BC, fetched SF170,000 against an estimate of SF100,000-120,000 in the Leu sale. Size: x 1.5.

Fig 3 (third). Gold aureus of Otho, 69 AD, sold for DM70,000 against an estimate of DM45,000 in the Lanz sale. Size: x 1.5.

Fig 4 (bottom). Gold aureus of Domitian, 81-96 AD, sold for DM35,000 against an estimate of DM20,000 in the Lanz sale. Size: x 1.5.
NAIPES
Pre-Hispanic Axe Money
Currency of Peru
John F. Merkel and Maria Ines Velarde

Axe Money

N aipes (the Spanish word simply for ‘cards’) are pre-Hispanic I-shaped sheet metal objects with a central raised, elongated ridge. The metal composition is usually a distinctive alloy of copper with arsenic. At the archaeological site of Sican, in northern coastal Peru (Fig 1), over 20,000 naipes have been discovered in excavations of a single elite tomb. Large numbers of naipes discarded by looters (called ‘huaqueros’) next to their pits are often the only surface remains from once intact pre-Hispanic tombs. The naipes were left by the looters simply because there was no commercial market for these numerous objects; unlike any precious metal objects from a tomb.

However, for archaeologists these discarded naipes provide a fascinating insight into the organisational structure, multiple uses of metals, and trade connections of the Sican culture. Naipes represent an essential aspect of the investigation of metal objects and production remains within the Middle Sican (AD 900-1100) cultural and environmental context. The term Sican is preferred to Lambayeque or Chimú which have also been used for this pre-Inca culture in Northern Coastal Peru.

Axe-money is the general term used to designate and classify these standardised sheet metal objects which, to a degree, simulate an axe shape and presumably functioned as a primitive money. There are many examples and different recognised types of axe-money in pre-Hispanic South and Central America. Each recognised type, such as the naipes, has a distinct geographical distribution. However, more archaeological research is needed to discover the extent of each regional distribution and identify areas of overlap between types.

A formal definition of primitive money simply as a medium of exchange seems very general. Nevertheless, a general definition allows a wide range of objects (which may only in part function as money) to be better understood within a variety of ancient and non-industrial cultures. There are several other functional aspects of money, such as units of account, status markers, and storage of value which seem relevant for interpreting the role of naipes within the Sican culture.

The word primitive is used to differentiate exchange use of certain objects from modern functions and concepts of money. Modern coinage (with its devaluations and alloy substitutions) is obviously much more complex in its functions. Paper money, credit cards, and electronic money for transactions are based upon trust and accepted modern conventions. Understanding and exploiting money today is a distinguishing feature of modern global economic activities. Our various and complex uses of money today actually help to characterise our modern culture. Primitive money fulfills some of the fundamental aspects of a modern currency. However, the term should not imply that primitive money of various materials (metal, feathers, textiles, or shells, for example) is somehow simplistic or uninteresting. Naipes are representative of a pre-Hispanic New World primitive money.

The archaeological evidence
Within the Middle Sican cultural region, the flat naipes are often discovered stacked and tied together with cotton cord in bundles of five and ten. Other stacks have been found with as many as 30 naipes tied together or again as multiple bundles tied together to form larger groups. The
central ridge enabled easy stacking of the sheet metal naipes. Some bundles are stacked in opposing directions, so the raised surfaces face outward when tied together. The I-shape naipes are clearly most prevalent at the site of Sicán in the Lambayeque river valley of Northern Peru. None of the naipes documented for this area come from simple or very wealthy burials as grave goods from the Middle Sicán Period (Fig 2). There is no obvious function for naipes as tools or weapons. The sheet metal is not appropriate for use as an axe. The edges are blunt, not sharp, and therefore the naipes were not used for cutting or scraping. There is no evidence for the use of naipes either as architectural or personal decorations. Copper-arsenic agricultural or ‘digging’ tools, each weighing up to about 1 kg, are also found tied together in some elite tombs. These bundles of tools may have had a practical function and possibly represent lots distributed to work gangs. The naipes are found in great numbers, deliberately sorted, stacked, and tied into bundles, but have no obvious function as a tool. Some 1,500 bundles of naipes were buried in the largest niche in East Tomb at Huaca Loro. Large numbers of naipes found in elite tombs with more elaborate and precious metal objects are interpreted as revealing their use as status markers.

Naipes also may have served further as a unit of account, so far, five sizes have been identified (the smallest about 4.5 x 2.8 cm and the largest about 8.5 cm in length), but thickness and original weights are not easily measured due to the corrosion covering the whole surface (Fig 3).

Evidence for the use of naipes as actual payment for exotic materials may be inferred from the actual geographic distribution of naipe types. A few examples of the Sicán naipes have been found further north in the Pluma River valley in association with Middle Sicán black pottery. There are also several examples of naipe bundles from burials of the Manieno-Huancavilca culture in Ecuador and other examples of naipes have been reported from Ecuador. Long distance trade for exotic materials, such as emeralds and chalcedony, suggests an exchange network during the Sicán period, possibly with the use of naipes in payment or exchange as a recognizable and undisturbed copper-arsenic alloy composition. Further research is underway to more closely identify the geographic extents of each distinct type of axe-money. Based upon the archaeological evidence, naipes do fulfill several significant functions as primitive money.

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*Technical Studies*

Technical studies at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, have extended the interpretation of the naipes as a store of value for the Middle Sicán culture. A collection of naipe bundles from the East Tomb at Huaca Loro was officially exported and included in the programme for technical study and conservation in the Institute laboratories. One bundle of ten naipes (Fig 4) was sectioned for metallographic study and analysed using the electron probe microanalysis facility.

The compositional study of naipes has revealed apparent trends for weight percent arsenic in the copper alloy. A range of 3.5-4.5% arsenic is usually reported for the Sicán, naipes. However, the range for naipes in the bundle studied at the Institute of Archaeology has a lower range of 0.8-2.0% arsenic (Table 1). The corroded metal has higher arsenic concentrations than the uncorroded metal. Calibrations have been checked extensively to ensure the measured range of values on the uncorroded metal. Apparently there were several

Table 1. Electron probe microanalysis of a single stack of ten naipes. Multiple analyses were made on each of the naipes. Analyses with less than 3% arsenic are attributed to corrosion; principally oxygen which was not measured. The elements chlorine and sulphur were also detected in some point analyses of corroded naipes.
Axe Money

recognised ranges of alloy composition. The fact that the naipes are stacked and tied together within discrete compositional ranges is evidence that copper-arsenic alloys were recognised at levels over about 0.5% As.

That naipes can represent a store of value is suggested by technical studies of the gold alloy artefacts from the East Tomb at Huaca Loro at Sicán. The copper-arsenic alloy naipes were probably alloyed with gold and silver to make other precious metal objects, and the consistent low arsenic concentrations correlate with the proportion of copper added to the precious gold alloy compositions. The ratio of copper and arsenic in the naipes is approximately the same as the ratio of copper and arsenic found in the gold alloys. The interchangeability of one type of metal object, for example, into other useful objects is an important distinction.

Naipes were apparently made from specifically selected alloys of copper and arsenic. The alloy was produced deliberately by smelting together combinations of copper ore and arsenic containing ore. Copper-arsenic alloy prills made in the smelting process were collected from the crushed slag and remelted to form ingots. The resulting ingots could be alloyed with gold or silver, cast into other objects, such as the digging tools previously mentioned, or hammered into sheets of a desired thickness for various other objects, including naipes. There would have been multiple cycles of hammering and annealing before the desired thickness was achieved.

Selection and classification of the copper-arsenic alloys may have been made during hammering, depending upon how each metal composition responded. The central raised, elongated ridge down the centre of the naipes would have also added to the overall strength, as with modern corrugated sheet metal. Metallographic evidence supports the observations that the final I-shape was cut using chisels (Fig 5). No evidence of further finishing or abrasion of the edge was observed. Microhardness values range from 100 to 170 (Vickers microhardness measurements using 100g loads) which, along with the microstructure, document that the naipes were left in a final, relatively hard, cold worked state. Again, the fact that naipes were counted and tied together in bundles suggests that other selection criteria were operating, such as colour or composition. The technical studies were undertaken to investigate such possibilities.

With burial the bundles of naipes have corroded together and often have preserved organic markings on the corroded surface of the string used to tie them together. Sometimes organic fibres (preserved by the copper) can be identified as cotton using the Scanning Electron Microscope. Some bundles are rather fragile and came apart with handling whilst other bundles seem solidly corroded together. The standardised copper-arsenic compositions of the naipes will also enable further studies of corrosion in different archaeological environments and contexts.

Conservation cleaning

For investigative cleaning of corroded bundles of naipes, there is an ethical reluctance to separate each naipe for technical analysis. Once photographed and documented as a bundle, however, the investigation of each individual naipe and how it was stacked together becomes more meaningful. For example, X-radiography of individual naipes has revealed a wide variety of surface markings (Fig 5). Hammered superfi- cial markings have been interpreted as perhaps official markings which would make the object immediately recognisable. The complexity of these markings was unexpected because very few striations are immediately visible because of the corroded surface. When the naipes were made, however, these surface markings would have been immediately visible. Perhaps the markings also had special meanings in terms of materials selections. The naipe patterns (Fig 6) may also relate to a stacking criteria or serve as a group identifier (like the marking observed on adobe mud bricks of the temple platforms at Sicán).

The rigidity of the I-shape, as well as the cold worked final state, would have made these sheet metal shapes suitable for evaluation by simple bending tests for quality. The quality or suitability for use of cold worked, corrugated sheet metal would be readily apparent whether or not the metal folded easily. Occasionally, during investigative cleaning, it has been noted that there are additional hammering marks on one area of the surface at the edge. Since this over-marking is not common, and covers other systematic, elaborate patterning as well as distorting the edge which produces cracking, the secondary hammering is interpreted simply as testing. The edge was hammered in one spot until the metal deformed and started to crack. This is a very practical means to test the quality of sheet metal.

Some of the individual naipes are, however, unmarked, so their composition should also be investigated. The I-shape is also found to vary slightly, depending on the curvature or angularity of the outer corners. These variations in shape may also correlate with compositional differences or similarities. Unexpectedly, the low range of 0.8-1.9% As which was reported for a Sicán I-shaped naipe bundle also coincides with a bundle of another, very different shape of axe money found in Ecuador.

Conclusions

The copper-arsenic alloys used in antiquity are of little practical use today, so modern metallurgical research has generally neglected the technical characterisations of these alloys. Arsenic and most other impurities are detrimental to the electrical conductivity of copper. However, what specific properties may have been recognised and exploited in the past? Certainly, work hardening, annealing, melting temperature, and colour changes were observed with alloying, but to what extent were these properties manipulated and appreciated? Technical evaluations of the copper-arsenic alloys is required for a modern appreciation of ancient capabilities. Recent work by Professor Heather Lechman at the Massa-
Axe Money

Greeks Institute of Technology has emphasised the tensile mechanical properties of copper-arsenic alloys. High tensile strength is a crucial property for successfully working the copper-arsenic alloy into sheet objects. The technical studies of naipes represents an excellent means by which to investigate ancient capabilities. Tight control of arsenic concentrations in copper may not have been achieved or sought in the production of sheet metal, but the counting and stacking of naipes into bundles indicates that there was an appreciation, classification and selection of concentration ranges for arsenic in copper. The copper-arsenic alloy traditions in the New World represents one of the major achievements with materials used before Spanish contact. Fundamentally, the technical investigations of naipes and axe-money from adjoining regions and countries remains a fascinating topic for multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary archaeological study. The marking patterns on the naipes can be interpreted as having both a practical meaning in terms of materials recognition and selection as well as a more symbolic meaning. Of the several hypotheses concerning the symbolism of the marking patterns, a plausible interpretation would be that the marking also represents group production units. Naipes may have been made in designated metallurgical workshops, separate from the gold alloy object production. Other aspects of industrial organisation during the Sicán period indicates duplication and repetition. The evidence comes from the large numbers, alignment and re-use of smelting furnaces, and the bundles of metal 'digging tools' for construction/agricultural use found in some elite tombs. Professors Cavallerio and Shimada argued for the interpretation of the markings on adobe mud bricks as ultimately representing production groups. Standardisation and marking on the naipes as well as their other primitive monetary functions inferred from excavated archaeological context seems to further support cultural models for organisation of metal production and use under elite control during the Middle Sicán period in Northern Peru. Accepting that naipes are primitive money opens a new, wider range of numismatic investigations.

Acknowledgements
We would like to thank Professor Izumi Shimada, Director of the Sicán Archaeological Project for his long-term support of archaeometallurgical research at the Institute of Archaeology, UCL. The Sicán samples provided by the Sicán Archaeological Project have contributed immensely to student research opportunities.

Dr John F. Merkel is
Lecturer in Archaeometallurgy in the Institute of Archaeology, University College London.

Maria Ines Velarde is a postgraduate student in the same Institute.

Coin Book Review

Greek Coin Hoards in Turkey: The Antalya Archaeological Museum and the C. S. Okray Collection


As Professor Peter Robert Franke of Munich points out in his Preface, this is an important record of numismatic finds from Asia Minor and Thrace, and the authors are to be congratulated on their dedication in producing such a fine book and, not least, taking the publication and distribution of it upon themselves - they deserve to succeed. The book is a fully descriptive catalogue of 1,036 coins, each coin illustrated with a digitally enhanced image taken from a plaster cast, and the result is remarkably good.

The original intention was to publish the Greek coin hoards in the Antalya Archaeological Museum, but it has expanded beyond that to include hoards from the Burdur, Fethiye, and Sinop museums to the benefit of numismatists interested in the area. Five significant hoards from the 4th to 1st centuries BC are included. The essay on Pamphylia and its coinage takes in Aspendos and includes the Ürüklihöyük hoard of 12 silver staters and the Varsak-Düden hoard of 206 staters; the essay on Side includes the Gazipaşa hoard of 38 staters, the Side hoard of 129 tetradrachms and Karakuşu with its 269 tetradrachms. From Lycia come five bronze coins which are the first evidence for the city of Kitanaura. The Sinop museum can boast the Ordu hoard, found during construction work at the Black Sea town of Ordu in 1970. It was immediately dispersed but was pursued by the authorities, and 69 coins were recovered for the Sinop museum. In 1975 Christof Boehringer published a group of 138 tetradrachms from the hoard, suggesting that there had been some 220 to 230 tetradrachms in the hoard; it is now accepted that the true number was closer to c. 220-230 pieces. The 69 in the Sinop museum represent 13 different types whilst Boehringer's list has 18 types which, put together, produces 24 types which include seven New Style Athenian tetradrachms, coins of the Antiechi and, the largest group, 31 posthumous issues of Lysimachus from four different mints. It also included the presently unique tetradrachm of Ariarathes III or IV (now more probably thought to be IV). The date of deposit appears to be late in the reign of Mithradates V, c. 140-120 BC.

The Cafer S. Okray collection, now containing over 520 coins and probably the largest collection in private hands in Turkey, is represented by a selection of 250 pieces which give a good indication of the scope and quantity of numismatic material that has been circulating in Turkey during the last decade. Most of the coins in the collection seem to be hoards, or part of hoards.

The book covers a wide span of coins from Turkey, including a few individual specimens struck at Roman cities in Thrace. It is a welcome addition to knowledge of coins that circulated in Asia Minor and Thrace and, from the spate of coins now being found in the area, will form a useful base to work from.

Peter A. Clayton
AUCTIONS FEATURING ANCIENT COINS
6-9 January. IRA AND LARRY GOLDBERG AUCTION. Beverly Hills, CA. Tel: (1) 310 551-2646. Fax: (1) 310 551-2626.

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10-13 February. LONG BEACH COIN & COLLECTABLE EXPO. Auctions by Heritage Numismatic Auctions and Ponterio & Associates. Dealer viewing 9 February 2-7pm. Information: Andrea Newmann, Show Co-ordinator. Tel: (805) 962-9939. Fax: (805) 963-0827. E-mail: longbeachexpo@msn.com Website: www.longbeachshow.com

6 March. GIERSBEN MINZHANDLUNG AUCTION. Auction of ancient coins. Munich. Tel: (49) 89 2422 643 0. Fax: (49) 89 228 55 13.

16 March. CLASSICAL NUMISMATIC GROUP (CN) AUCTION. 53. PO Box 479, Lancaster, PA. 17608-0479, USA. Tel: (717) 390-9194. Fax: (717) 390-9978.

18 March. JEAN ELSEN s.a. AUCTION 61. Brussels, Belgium. + 32 2 734.63 56. Fax: + 32 2 735 77 78. E-mail: numismatique@elsen.be Website: http://www.elsen.be

23 March. THE SINGAPORE COIN AUCTION. Conducted by Baldwin-Gillof-Monetarium. Raffles City Convention Centre in Singapore.

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6-9 January. FLORIDA UNITED NUMISMATIC CONVENTION. Orlando, Florida. Tel: (1) 407 321 8747. Fax: (1) 407 321 5138.

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10-13 February. LONG BEACH COIN AND COLLECTABLE EXPO. (1) 805 962-9939. Fax: (1) 805 963-0827.

CONFERENCES & LECTURES


25 January. A NUMISMATIC RAMBLE THROUGH TOURIST TURKEY. Keith Sugden. Chester and North Wales coin and banknote society. Contact: Dr Simon Bean at the Liverpool Museum. Tel: (0151) 478 4293.

8 February. BETWEEN THE LINES. Felicity Powell. British Art Medal Society, Cutlers’ Hall, Warwick Lane, EC4. 5.30pm.


22 February. REPRODUCTION COINS AND ARTEFACTS. Brian Cross. Chester and North Wales coin and banknote society. Contact: Dr Simon Bean at the Liverpool Museum. Tel: (0151) 478 4293.

21 March. GOLD COINAGE IN PRE-ISLAMIC BENGAL – REWRITING HISTORY. Joe Cribb. Royal Numismatic Society at the Society of Antiquaries. 5.30pm.

24-26 March. 14TH SINGAPORE INTERNATIONAL COIN SHOW. At the same venue as the Singapore coin auction. For more information contact: Richard Koon, Rocket Communications Pte Ltd. Tel: 65-2231011. Fax: 65-2237120. Email: rkoon@singnet.com.sg

EXHIBITIONS
CYPRUS
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GREECE
AEGEAN ISLANDS
COINS IN THE AEGEAN. This exhibition tours the Aegaeon (see pp. 50-51). ZAPPEION MEGARON, Athens. Tel: (30) 1 322 4206. (See Minerva, November/December 1999, pp. 50-51). From 3-12 November. In 2000 the exhibition tours the Aegaeon but dates and venues have yet to be confirmed.

ATHENS NUMISMATIC MUSEUM. The museum is now housed in Heinrich Schliemann’s mansion, on 10-12 Eleutherou Venizelou Street, but is closed at present due to damage caused by the recent earthquake (see Minerva, November/December 1999, pp. 47-49). Tel: +30 (0) 1 354 3774.

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DRUIDS
Miranda Aldhouse-Green looks at the new book by Anne Ross on an emotive cult.

The focus of this book purports to be the evidence for ancient Druidism and for its survival—in some form—through the medieval and early modern period to the present day, in the far north and west of Britain and in Ireland. All of Dr Ross’s publications are written with elegance and grace, and this work is no exception. She writes with infectious enthusiasm, in an attractively accessible style.

*Druids* is presented in nine chapters, commencing with an essay on the European Iron Age context in which Druidism may have been spawned. This follows in chapter 2, by a survey of the Classical literary evidence for the Druids in Gaul and Britain. There follow two chapters that blend the testimony of archaeology with later literary and anecdotal material to explore issues concerned with the related question of special human deposition and possible ritual murder, on the one hand, and with the symbolic significance of the human head, on the other. Chapters 5 and 6, ‘The vernacular literatures’ and ‘Druids and Fenians’ examine the early Irish and Welsh texts, particularly the myths compiled in writing during the medieval period. A further essay (chapter 7) is devoted to a discussion of the seasonal festivals; chapter 8—somewhat obscurely titled ‘Unity and diversity’—is an exploration of the enigmatic interface between paganism and early Christianity, mainly in relation to Ireland. The final theme (chapter 9) concerns resonances of pagan superstition in the modern folklore of Britain and Ireland, with particular reference to Scotland although, curiously, there is a digressive discourse here on the ancient Gaulish Coligny Calendar which—to this reviewer at any rate—would seem to have been better placed in chapter 7.

There are some interesting observations about ritual and religion in Europe during the Iron Age and Roman periods. Chapter 2, ‘The Classical Commentators’, contains a useful comment about Julius Caesar’s responsibilities as Pontifex Maximus and the special interest he may therefore have taken in Gaulish religious practice. Likewise, the discussion of Ausonius provides a useful backdrop to his well-known comments on dynastic Druidism in late Roman Gaul. The main problems of *Druids* for me are broadly associated with chronology and context. Throughout the book, there is questionable—and sometimes totally invalid—oscillation between the pagan European Iron Age, the early medieval mythic texts of Wales, and Ireland and modern folklore, all these discrepant forms of evidence being accorded equal value and presumed to be closely linked with the other. Such undisciplined meanderings take little cognisance of context and the need to acknowledge divergent types of testimony. It is unfortunate that Dr Ross appears uncritically to accept the relevance of the early historical insular literature as wholly pertinent to pre-Christian Europe.

Indeed, it has to be borne in mind that the virtual absence of a meaningful Roman presence in Ireland caused that land to develop along a very different path from that of Britain and Gaul in the early first millennium AD. Furthermore, there is little discussion of the role of the Christian clerical redactors in the perpetuation of myth in the West, and the function of these ‘pagan’ legends as Christian propaganda. In the same way, Ross’s citation of the early Celtic saints’ Lives as reliable testimony for Druidism (p. 145) must surely be challenged, as should the curious statement (p. 95) that the Irish mythic sources for Druids are much more reliable than the Classical texts. The constant lack of attention to chronological and contextual disjunction devalues the discussion and undermines the genuine scholarship that undoubtedly underpins Ross’s approach.

One of the many examples of spurious linkages over time is the allusion, in chapter 1, to the Neolithic Serbian site of Lepenski Vir as a possible ‘cradle of Celtic origins’ whilst without...appearing to step beyond the bounds of reason, which—I regret to say—is exactly what she has done, in seeking to make direct connections between the Balkan Neolithic and the Gallo-British Iron Age. Another such invalid linkage is the correlation (chapter 3) between the Iron Age tumulus model shields from the Salisbury Hoard and the Táin Bó Cuailnge. Jim Mallory’s work on the archaeology of the *Táin* has demonstrated very clearly that the descriptions of material culture in the Ulster Cycle embed the chronology of the epic prose tales firmly within an early medieval Irish historical context, rather than being a ‘window on the Iron Age’.

Many other instances of unsupported chronological mixture of evidence may be cited, although there are too many to enumerate here.

Certain elements of Ross’s discussion present views that are somewhat out of date and ignore some of the exciting modern theoretical debates concerning the pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman period in Britain and western Europe. In chapter 2, a rather simplistic model of Romanisation is assumed, consisting of straightforward conquest and assimilation of indigenous culture to intrusive colonialism. Many Romanists and later Iron Age specialists have, for some time, been of the view that ‘Romansisation’ presents too unidirectional a model of interaction between Romans and the native populations of Gaul, Britain and elsewhere. In chapter 4, the statement ‘war was the greatest source of pleasure for the Celtic nobles’ is again given too much weight, in view of current explorations of the symbolic significance of both Iron Age hillfort
defences and of weapons in burials. In painting such a picture of Celtic society, Ross falls into the trap about which she herself warns us, namely of uncritical belief in the Classical literature. It is an irony that although, in the Epilogue, the author proclaims that Druids presents an opportunity for her to use the dramatic results of an ever-developing archaeological expertise, she signals fail to do so.

In the later sections of the book, especially in chapters 5-7, I find a distinct absence of focus to the discussion. There is too much lengthy narration of the mythic tales, which often have all too little direct relevance to the Druids. A good example of this can be found in chapter 6, which recounts the story of Morgan Mac Fiachna, thereby presenting a link with Druidism that is tenuous in the extreme. In the same way, Ross has failed to establish a satisfactory connection between the Druids and the Life of the Medieval Welsh Saint Tudwal and the skull represented so clearly in the hands of the author in colour plate 4. This use of unconvincing connections relates to a different, though conterminous, problem, the definite assumption of named divine or Druidic identity to certain uninscribed archaeological imagery, such as the carving from Tandaragee/Newry (depicted on the jacket), which Ross identifies as a depiction of Nuadu, and one of the bronze figures from Neuvy-en-Sullias (colour plate opp. p. 96), which is claimed as a Druid.

The problem of the initial identification leads to the development of 'factoids' since Ross claims the Neuvy figurine to represent a Druid, she can argue that the site itself is a 'probable Druid sanctuary' (p. 104). Neither assumption has genuine foundation, but it does, however, reflect the lack of focus between the Neuvy figurine, who holds a circular object in one hand, and a comment concerning a druid 'egg' in Pliny the Elder's Natural History. Another example of spurious identification concerns the claim (p. 88) that Boudica was a Druidess, purely on the grounds that she conducted a sacrifice prior to joining battle with the Romans.

There are certain factual errors in Ross's text, of which I cite two examples. The caption to fig 24a, which shows the Jupiter-Giant group from Neschers, mistakenly describes the head trampled by the horse's hooves as a severed head, whilst in fact the surviving head of a chthonic giant. A second caption (to fig 59, p. 154) is surely a complete error. It describes a statue as a depiction of the horse-goddess Epona from Alesia, whilst in actuality it represents a bearded triple-faced male figure, with holes in the top of his head for the insertion of detachable antlers, found at Etang-sur-Arroux.

The illustrations to Druids present some problems. The colour-values in certain of the colour plates (notably the Gundestrup cauldron, plate 12 and the stag figurine, plate 16) are out of true. Some half-tones are over-enlarged and blurred (for instance, fig 18, 50). But worst of all are the maps, the place-names of which appear to have been typed on using an old-fashioned typewriter, sometimes (as in fig 7) almost illegibly crowded together. Moreover, in many cases, the black-and-white illustrations appear to bear no relation to the surrounding text; I am unclear, for instance, as to what relevance the human skull fragment from Coventina's Well (fig 56) has to do with Columbia, nor how the stone heads (figs 51-53) relate to the contiguous discussion of assemblies and stone statues associated with these illustrations, the publisher has to bear at least some responsibility.

In summary, Druids is a disappointing offering from so renowned a scholar as Di Ross. At best, it is an uncritical and challenging: at worst it presents a misleading and poorly focused study. It is perhaps significant that certain key texts are absent from both the bibliography and further reading list (incidentally, the rationale for separating the two escapes me), notably Nora Chadwick's seminal work The Druids, published by University of Wales Press in 1966 and reprinted in 1997, which contains an essential and exhaustive survey of the classical texts on the Druids and is surely the starting-point for any serious study of the subject. None of the recent studies of Iron Age Britain and Europe (such as those of Simon James and Jeremy Hill) are listed. But the most serious problem with Druids is the lack of academic rigour, inasmuch as the genuine evidence for the ancient priesthood is mingled indiscriminately with material of varying degrees of contextual relevance, together with lengthy, sometimes inappropriate personal anecdotes concerning surviving folklore and superstition. It is this absence of structured focus which makes it impossible for me to recommend this book to my students or to anyone else with a truly academic interest in the Druids.

Miranda Aldhouse Green
Professor of Archaeology, University of Wales College, Newport.

Drink and Be Merry: Wine and Beer in Ancient Times

Michal Dayagi-Mendels,

The genesis of this book lies in the exhibition of the same name as the book's title held in the Israel Museum in 1999. It is not, however, merely a catalogue of the exhibits in that exhibition. The author has written an engaging, informative, and even at times amusing book (especially in respect of some of the illustrations chosen) that stands on its own merits as a useful addition to the literature on that element so essential for Man's survival - drink. The author has sought her evidence from sites and objects across most of the ancient civilisations of the Near East and the Classical World in a variety of media: wall paintings, sarcophagi, sculpture, pottery, precious metals and glass, and more prosaic vessels and implements of bronze - all served the basic purpose of assuaging Man's thirst. The author admits that her focus has been largely on the land of Israel, but this is no bad thing when one recalls that the Bible's first mention of viticulture is to Noah planting a vineyard and subsequently becoming drunk (Genesis 9:20-21).

A series of nine chapters examines all aspects of wine, the trade, the types of wine, the necessary utensils (and some of these are works of art in themselves), customs and usage in religion, ritual and medicine. Beer has a smaller part of the action since so much of the extant evidence relates to wine, but wooden statuettes from Middle Kingdom Egypt show its manufacture, and a polychrome New Kingdom stele in the Berlin Museum shows that beer in antiquity was not the golden liquid of modern times - here a Semitic mercenary sips his beer from an amphora via a long right-angled straw to help separate the dregs and husks. Perforated bronze strainers that were attached to the ends of straws have been found at Megiddo.

From the Classical world-Dionysos naturally features large as the god of wine on mosaics as well as many representations of him on pottery and coins. Greek black- and red-figure vases carry many illustrations of the drinking of wine, its effects and the antics that can be engendered - a number of them only in recent years finding themselves acceptable for public display in museums. In all, this is a fascinating and very readable account of that essential element of Man's well being.

Peter A. Clayton
Naked Truths
Edited by Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow and Claire L. Lyons

Feminist approaches to Greek and Roman antiquity belong to a field of their own. By offering contemporary interpretations of ancient world phenomena, they tend to use antiquity as a forum for promoting an agenda which is largely shared with 20th century western societies. As many feminist authors only have a limited interest in and a far from expert knowledge of the ancient world, their work is really a reflection of modern approaches. Feminist tombs are filled with wishful-thinking about what angles women's bodies might have been like had women held centre stage. As such they are both a-historical and judgmental, since they apply contemporary standards on societies that flourished two or three thousand years ago.

This collection of 13 essays investigates, as the editors explain, the hidden agenda of meaning lying behind the representations of women, especially of female nudity, in Greek and Roman art. The application of feminist and post-structuralist research strategies, viewed through multicultural and anti-colonialist perspectives, leads to interpretations conscious of the society that interprets, and therein lies the key to the book. The limitations of its scope will restrict its readership to the gender-conscious.

The feminist viewpoint in classical archaeology is presented by Shelby Brown, who summarises the principles of feminist art history. She points out that as female nudity in art was aimed at male viewers, women were compelled to view themselves through a male perspective. However, not all essays in this volume deal with nudity. Nor are they all feminist-oriented. The three essays dealing with women in Greek art in the traditional manner are interesting and have a contribution to make, but they would have been better served if published in a different volume. Beth Cohen discusses the significance of the bare breast in Greek sculpture of the 5th century BC. Apart from examples of women suckling (mostly in Magna Graecia), lying, or dancing, Cohen finds that women's breasts are rare as a result of male aggression. However, Cecrops' daughter in the west pediment of the Parthenon eludes Cohen's categories and is consequently omitted from the discussion. The Barberini Suppliant is singled out for special treatment. Cohen follows the old view that the original was a bronze standing on the Athenian Acropolis, even though George Desplins has identified fragments of the original in Parian marble, now stored in the Acropolis Museum. The fact that the marble version on the Acropolis is in Parian marble indicates a classical original, because Parian marble was not used for copies in Roman Athens.

Larissa Bonfante's excellent and illuminating article forms a pendant to Cohen's, offering a survey of nursing mothers in the art of Etruria and Magna Graecia. She argues that well-born children in mainland Greece were raised by foster mothers as opposed to what went on in the West. As a result of social conventions, bare breasts were avoided in Greek art except as a portent of disaster. In Italy, on the other hand, female nudity was invested with magic powers and was considered beneficial to the viewer. Aileen Ajoottan studies the iconography of Hermaphrodite, tracing his origin to 4th-century BC Attica, and explains the difference between the barren Hermaphrodite and the fertile Phanes of Orphic cosmologies. Hermaphrodite's healing aspect is thought to be the reason for his introduction in Attica, at a time when healing deities tended to proliferate.

John Robb investigates the social meaning of burial goods in Italy from the Neolithic to the Iron Age. His survey, however, is too schematic to be truly illuminating. Francine Viret Bernal's essay focuses on the iconography of Agamemnon's murder with special emphasis on the role of his wife, Clytemnestra, on an Attic vase. The Pherecrates vase in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is argued that the vase painting echoes Aeschylus' description of the murder. The battle axe wielded by Klytemnestra attacking Agamemnon on this vase, and again by Orestes killing her on a cup in Ferrara, is compared to a sacrificial weapon. The iconography of murder in Greek art, however, is akin to that of human sacrifice, as both are frequently staged by an altar.

Jane M. Snyder offers an analysis of the images of Sappho in Attic vase painting. John Younger's interpretation of the Parthenon frieze as a document to Athenian sex attitudes would have shocked Perikles and his contemporaries. The lesbian and homoerotic connotations detected on the frieze are entirely due to modern interpretations. Athenian society in the 5th century BC was highly sophisticated and perfectly capable of compartmentalising its functions. Homosexual gestures were conveyed on private documents like vase paintings but there is no evidence of them in representations of religious ceremonies on public buildings. Joan Reilly studies the naked female figures with truncated limbs held by young girls on Attic grave reliefs and suggests that they are anatomical votives. She argues that their aim is to aid the maturation of the girl's body so that she can attain child-bearing age. Far from being related to menstruation, however, truncated female figures are in fact common grave goods and must be related to Underworld deities like Kore (c.f. E. B. Dusenbery, Samothrace 11, The Necropoleis, Catalogues of Objects. Princeton, 1998).

Annalee Salomon surveys the influence of Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite, the first monumental female nude in western art. She points out the vogue of the statue and contrasts her self-conscious attitude to Greek male nudity displaying their bodies. The tradition of the female nude hiding her genitals is thought to have echoed down the centuries in 'unbroken continuity'. Western art, however, has had a chequered history and surely the author has heard of the Middle Ages. Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow applies modern feminist film theory to the interpretation of the murals of two Pompeian houses. Scenes of violence against women are perceived as an attempt to satisfy the male owner's ego and as a means of exercising control over the household. Natalie Boymel Kampen's Epilogue emphasises the need for gender-conscious interpretation that reconstrucst social identities. In her summing up of the contributions to this volume, 'desire' and 'desirability' are the key words for investigating gender systems, desire being the means of capturing the attention of the dominant male.

Professor Olga Palagia
Department of Archaeology and Art History at Athens University.

The Seventy Wonders of the Ancient World: The Great Monuments and How They Were Built
Edited by Chris Scarre.

Few people these days can name accurately and in full the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World so, in this book, to increase the numbers by ten times is a tall order indeed. The origi-
An extremely useful aspect of the book is the fact that it includes so many sites from both the New World and the Far East — so often these are neglected. Here we find the tombs of emperors of China and Japan, and of the Maya king Pakal at Palenque, cult centres at Chavin and Teotihuacan in the Americas, as well as Buddhist stupas, shrines and caves in India and Java, together with the mud mosques of Timbuktu — all names and places to conjure with. Great walls range from China to the Iron Age fort of Maiden Castle in Dorset; Roman roads and Inca roads and bridges share a section, and the enigmatic Easter Island statues have their place when examining the colossal Egyptian obelisks and statues as well as the giant stelae of Aksam in Ethiopia and the Nazca Lines in the desert of Peru.

This is a book to be dipped into with interest and pleasure as well as a ready source of answers to many questions. It will surely become a most necessary companion to The Guinness Book of Records in setting the arguments in pub quizzes.

Peter A. Clayton

(Mr Clayton is the joint author of The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, 1988, reprinted several times and now in eight languages.)

Icons of Power: Feline Symbolism in the Americas


Cats are good to think with. American felines are polysemic devices with which to structure the world, develop ideas, and maintain social and religious equilibrium. Sometimes they are felds. Or they may be conceived as arrows, warriors, pentises and a host of long-tailed male symbols, even comets and dogs. Dominating all is the jaguar, the original Aztec octolli in Nahautl. Jaguar identity is assumed by wearing claws, teeth, and pelts. These may enable the wearer, like the jaguar, to cross boundaries and transform — pass through water and air, to move from the natural to the supernatural, and to call up powerful enabling spirits for shamans. This enthralling collection of essays explores archaeological and ethnographic themes to explain and unpack the layered meanings of these iconic beasts in a wide variety of cultures in the Americas.

The nine papers vary considerably. Elizabeth Benson takes a vivid look at Jaguar symbolism in the Americas through the richest literary and iconographic sources, from the Maya Waterlily Jaguar, to other deities with jaguar attributes, from the Moche to the Zapotec. At the other extreme Tom Dillehay looks at Araucanian society in Chile — where there are no jaguars — to see how spatial and other aspects of feline symbolism are still markers of high status in lineage and religion. Richard Cooke discusses cats in ancient Panama in terms of generalised cognitive systems which include the more realistic depictions of other species. Anne Legast covers similar ground for Colombia. Alan Cordy-Collins explores the iconography of one group of early Peruvian ceramics (Tembleda) for the iconographic association of cats and hallucinogenic cactus. Peter Roeb succinctly compares shifting dualism in Lowland South American societies.

Two papers introduce North American accounts of the animal called cougar, puma, panther, or mountain lion. James Gunnerson gathers evidence of this image across the linguistically diverse Puebloan societies of the American Southwest; he concludes that the puma has many of the same associations as the jaguar in Mesoamerica. Hamill takes northern Iroquoian vocabularies and texts to develop ideas surrounding the association of words for wildcat with the mythic creatures longtail, to which in historic times attributes of the old world lion were attached. The editor provides a thematic overview.

The publishers describe this as a ‘well-illustrated volume’: it is not. While the pictures may be well chosen, many of the entirely black and white reproductions seem to have been taken from nineteenth generation colour transparencies in which much of the detail is unreadable. Further, the objects in the plates have, too often, been clipped and cropped. These things are of great aesthetic — even inspirational — quality, a value not conveyed by this book.

J. C. H. King
Department of Ethnography,
The British Museum.
UNITED KINGDOM

EDINBURGH
NEW MUSEUM OF SCOTLAND. The new museum houses several galleries devoted to Scottish history, including 'Geology and Natural History', featuring rocks and fossils formed millions of years ago. In the 19th century in Edinburgh, there were over 4000 artefacts on display from the first arrival of human groups in Scotland. In c. 700 BC, until the Norse Settlements, the AD 1100 AD, and 'Kingdom of the Scots', covering the period 1100-1707 AD, where renowned pieces such as the Forteviot Arch, Pictish Chains, the Lewis Chessmen, and the Monymusk Reliquary are on display. The MUSEUM
OF THE ROSETTA (44) 131 225 7534. Opened 1 December 1999. (See Minerva, Nov/Dec 1999, p. 7.)

LOND ON
ALFRED THE GREAT 849-899: LONGFELLOW'S SONG. The Ercoucle Museum of London marks the 11th centu ry of King Alfred's death with a major exhibition. This is the first oppor tunity to see many of the finds from recent excavations in Saxon London. On display are weapons, coins, jewellery, manuscripts, and Anglo-Saxon metalwork. Pieces on loan include a rare showing of the Alfred Jewel, author of the Osian, the seminal English-language survey of Central Asian art and architecture. Amongst the artefacts on display are a 7th century sil ver HWICLE 6B. (44) 20 7504 2886.

BUKHARA AND BEYOND: ARTEFACTS OF UZBEKISTAN AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY EDGAR KNOBLOCH. Photographs and artefacts chronicle the Islamic history of Uzbekistan from the 8th to 19th cen turies, covering over forty photographs of major monuments and archaeologi cal sites taken by Edgar Knobloch, author of Beyond the Osian, the seminal English-language survey of Central Asian art and architecture. Amongst the artefacts on display is a 7th century sil ver HWICLE 6B. (44) 20 7504 2886.

CRACKING CODES: THE ROSSETTA STONE AND DECEPTION. This exhibition about deciphering scripts celebrates the bicentenary of the discovery of the Rosetta Stone on the banks of the Nile in mid-July, 1799. After examining the variety of the world's writing sys tems, the exhibition tells how the Stone was discovered, how it entered the British Museum, and how it inspired the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs by Champollion. A wide variety of objects demonstrate the uses of writing, the magical properties of hieroglyphs, and the relationship between Egyptian and Egyptian art. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 20 7636 1555. Until 9 January.

NEW YORK
THE WESTON GALLERY OF ROMAN BRITAIN. This new gallery displays recent archaeological discoveries about the Roman occupation of Britain. THE BRITISH MUSEUM. (44) 20 7636 1555. (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1997, pp. 10-13.)

WINDSOR THE COLLECTOR'S ART: ANCIENT EGYPT AT ETON COLLEGE. A chance for the public to see William Joseph Meyers' Etonian collection and part of the 2,000 objects spanning the entire period of Egyptian culture currently held by ETON COLLEGE. (44) 2753 671212. (Check opening times.) Until 30 June.

UNITED STATES
ATLANTA, Georgia LIFE AND DEATH UNDER THE PHARAOHS. A travelling exhibition from the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, Netherlands, on the culture, religion, pharaohs, and everyday life of ANCIENT EGYPT. FERNSBACH SCIENCE CENTER (1) 404 378-4311. Until 5 September.

PETRIE MUSEUM - NEW OPENING HOURS. The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology will now be open to the public at new afternoon times: Saturday 10am-1pm, Tuesday-Friday 1pm-5pm. PETRIE MUSEUM OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, University College London, Malet Place, London, WCIE 6BT. (44) 20 7504 2886.

THE ROXIE WALKER GALLERIES OF EGYPTIAN FUNERAL ARCHAEOLOGY. The British Museum's unparalleled collection of mummies, coffins, funerary statues, amulets, and Books of The Dead in a totally new installation, featuring many pieces which have not been on display before, as well as new information from CAT-scans and reconstruction projects. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 20 7636 1555. Opened 14 May. (See p. 18-21.)

LONDON EATS OUT: STREET SELLERS TO SUSHI BARS. Escavated food remains, ancient cooking vessels, and antiquated eating utensils on display in an exhibition that charts history from a culinary perspective. MUSEUM OF LONDON. (44) 20 7660 8087. Until 27 February.


NEW Saxon London Galaxy. The latest exhibition from recent archaeo logical discoveries under Covent Garden, with extensive evidence of the Saxon town and trading centre London has been discovered in the CENTRE OF LONDON (44) 20 7660 3699. Ongoing exhibition.


EY GPTIAN FUNERARY ARTS. Another new permanent installation of mum mies, coffins, funerary masks, and burial goods in the period of the Roman Period. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON (1) 617 267-9300. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1999, p. 9-16.)

PHARAOHS OF THE SUN: AKHENATEN, NEFERTITI, TutANKHAMEN. A major international exhibition on Egypt's 18th Dynasty (1353-1336 BC) organised by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with 265 objects drawn from the British Museum, and from American and European museums. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON (1) 617 267-9300. February (then to Los Angeles, Chicago, and Leiden). Catalogue $30 paperback, $60 hardback. (See Minerva Nov/Dec 1999, p. 28.)


Cambridge, Massachusetts IVORIES FROM THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. Explores the role of ivory carving in the daily lives of ancient peoples. THE MUSEUM OF ART, WINTHROP (1) 617 495-9400. An ongoing installation.

N BUY THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. Features over 100 pieces from the Egyptian Gallery, including 10,000 finds excavated at Nubia, including cuneiform tablets, seals and seal impressions, terracotta figurines, bronze weapons and tools and pottery. SEMITIC MUSEUM OF HAR VARD UNIVERSITY (617) 495-4631. An ongoing installation until 2001.


CLEVELAND, Ohio EGYPTIAN GALLERIES REOPENED. In this reinstallation of the galleries, the rooms are oriented to the themes of Kings and Gods, Public and Private Life, and, with special emphasis, the Afterlife. CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART (216) 707-1900. Reopened 24 September 1999. (See forthcoming Minerva.)
TREASURES FROM THE ROYAL TOMBS OF UR. The fourth venue of this exhibition featuring objects excava
ted from the Royal Tombs of Ur, the 5000-year-old city known in the Bible as the home of Abraham, pre
sented by the University of Pennsylvania Museum. CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART (1) 713 736-7340. 20 February - 23 April (then to New York). Catalogue. (See Minerva, Mar/Apr 1999, pp. 14-20).

CORNING, New York TREASURES FROM THE CORNING MUSEUM OF GLASS. 200 masterpieces in glass covering 3500 years of glassmaking, including a number of well-known ancient vessels. CORNING MUSEUM OF GLASS (1) 607 937-5371. Until 31 July.

DENVER, Colorado ANCIENT CHINESE BRonzES FROM THE SZE HONG COLLECTION. DENVER ART MUSEUM (1) 303 640-2933. Until 6 February.

GREENWICH, Connecticut WOOLING FOR THE GODS: TEXTILES OF THE ANCIENT ANDES. To the Inca fine textiles were more precious than gold. In this exhibition over 60 woven, paint
ed, and feathered textiles from the Chavin, Paracas, Nasca, Mocha, Tiwanaku, Wari, Sican, Chimu, Chancay, and Inca cultures are on dis
display. THE BRUCE MUSEUM (1) 203 869-0376. Until 19 March.

HONOLULU, Hawaii SEARCHING FOR ANCIENT EGYPT: ART, ARCHITECTURE AND ARTIFACTS FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM. The final venue for this important exhibition of 138 Egyptian antiquities from the University of Pennsylvania Museum including part of the Old Kingdom funerary chapel of Kapure and the four-ton false door, architectural elements from the 19th Dynasty Palace of King Merenptah, a red granite head of Tutmosis III, funer

HOUSTON, Texas THE GOLDEN AGE OF ARCHAEOLOGY: CELEBRATED DISCOVERIES FROM THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA. A major exhibition with over 200 antiques from c. 6000 BC to AD 960 focusing on objects excavated over the past 20 years, including stone sculpture, jade, gold, bronze, wood, and bamboo decorative objects, ritual implements, musical instruments, paintings, and calligraphy. THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON (1) 713 639-7300. 13 February - 7 May (then to San Francisco). Catalogue.

KANSAS CITY, Missouri ECHOES OF ETERNITY: THE EGYPTIAN MUMMY AND THE AFTERLIFE. An exploration of the Egyptian concept of the afterlife as illustrated by antiquities from the collection of the museum at THE J. P. GUTHRIE MUSEUM OF ART (1) 816 541-4000. Until 7 May.


POMPEII: LIFE IN A ROMAN TOWN. MUSEUM OF ART. The fourth exhibition of this major exhibition featuring over 400 objects from the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples and the holdings of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, with ancient wall frescoes depicting a variety of objects of daily life such as the wine press, a library, and bedrooms. The exhibition emphasizes objects used from nature, science, and technol
gy, and includes a number of function
tional works. LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART (323) 857-6111. Until 9 January.

MALIBU, California J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM CLOSED. It should be noted that the Getty Villa houses the noted collection of Greek and Roman antiqui
ties, closed on 6 July 1997 for a three
t Year renovation and will reopen this year as a centre for com
arative archeology and culture. (See above.) THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM (1) 310 459-7611.

NEW YORK, New York ART IN THE AGE OF THE PYRAMIDS. The first major exhibition devoted to Old Kingdom antiquities, the museum has the noted collec
tion of Greek and Roman antiquities, closed on 6 July 1997 for a three
t Year renovation and will reopen this year as a centre for com
arative archeology and culture. (See above.) THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM (1) 310 459-7611.

NEW YORK, New York CANANEA AND ANCIENT ISRAEL. The first major North American exhibition devoted to the archeology of ancient Israel and neighbouring lands, featuring more than 500 ancient arte
cfacts. 2000-500 BC, principally exca

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania THE EGYPTIAN MUMMY. An impor


SAN DIEGO, California ARROWS OF THE SPIRIT: NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ADORNMENT FROM PREHISTORY TO THE PRESENT. An examination of the relationship of historic designs to contemporary adornments with over 700 objects on view. MINGEI INTERNATIONAL MUSEUM OF WORLD FOLK ART (619) 239-0003. Until 30 January.

SAN FRANCISCO, California CHINESE BRONZE AND BUDDHIST ARTS. A major exhibition featuring objects from the museum's permanent collection dating from the early Neolithic to the Ming Dynasty. It is the first major exhibition of Chinese art in over two years. ASIAN ART MUSEUM OF SAN FRANCISCO. (1) 415 379-8801. An ongoing exhibition.

TOLEDO, Ohio HANDS-ON EGYPTIAN ART. A new permanent interactive activity centre is based on the reconstruction of an ancient tomb, a visit to a craft area with hands-on art activities, and other aspects of this ancient culture, with periodical changes. TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART. (1) 419 255-8000.

WASHINGTON, D.C. CHARLES LANG FREER AND E. CHENAL. An exhibition of 17 Chinese glass vessels of the 18th Dynasty acquired by Freer in Cairo in 1909, part of the Freer glass collection; with three other cases of faience vessels, amulets, inlays, and jewellery. FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. (1) 202 357-4880. A new ongoing exhibition.

THE FREER GALLERY OF ART: CONTIN
ingen EXHIBITIONS: ANCIENT CHINE
SE POTTERY AND BRONZE, ARTS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD, BUDDHIST ART, INDIAN ART. FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. (1) 202 357-2700.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ARCHAEOLOGY: CELEBRATED DISCOVERIES FROM THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA. A major exhibition with over 200 antiques from c. 6000 BC to AD 960 focusing on objects excavated over the past 20 years, including stone sculpture, jade, gold, bronze, wood, and bamboo decorative objects, ritual implements, musical instruments, paintings, and calligraphy. NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART (202) 737-4215. Until 2 January (then to Houston).

SACKLER GALLERY: CONTINUING THE JOURNEY. REFLECTIONS ON ANCIENT INDIAN RAW STONES AND SOUTHWESTERN CERAMICS FROM ANCIENT IRAIR, SCULPTURE OF SOUTH AND SOUTH-

reprints are available from Minerva for $5 each or at the venue.
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 120,000 cultural relics. SHANGHAI MUSEUM. (26) 21 63 72 35 00.

EGYPT
CAIRO
THE ROYAL MUMMIES. Eleven pharaonic mummies, 8 kings, including Ramesses II, and 3 queens and princesses, have now 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) 75 43 10.

LUXOR
MUSEUM OF MUMMIFICATION. A small new museum, close to the Temple of Luxor, devoted to mummified humans and animals, with separate displays for mammals, birds and reptiles. The stages of embalming, the materials, and a large collection of surgical tools are used on view. (20) 9538 0269. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1998, p. 40).

FRANCE
ACGE, Hérault
EGYPT: A SIGHT OF ETERNITY. MUSEE DE L'EPHEBE (33) 467 26 81 00. Until 8 January.

AMIENS, Somme
MEROVINGIAN WEAPONS FROM THE CALOTIERE NECROPOLIS (Pas de Calais). MUSEE DE PICARDIE (32) 322 91 36 44. Until the end of April.

ANTIBES, Alpes-Maritimes
REINSTALLATION OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL COLLECTION. Accompanied by a new exhibition. MUSEE D'ARCHEOLOGIE. (33) 49 29 05 43.

BIBRACTE, Burgundy
NEW CELTIC MUSEUM. A new museum for the Celtic civilization, includes objects not only from France, but also Switzerland, Germany, Slovakia, Budapest, and the Mediterranean region. Bibracte is part of a huge Celtic fortified oppidum, with most of its fortifications still in place. MUSEE CELTIQUE DE BIBRACETE, Saint-Leger, sous-Beuvray. (38) 85 62 35.

BOURGES, Cher
EXCAVATIONS IN THE CARROUSSEL GARDENS AT THE LOUVRE. MUSEE DU BARRY (33) 248 70 41 92. Until February.

CANNES, Alpes-Maritimes
FROM EXCAVATION TO MUSEUM: THE OLD ENAMEL PAINTINGS OF THE ISLE-SAINT-MARGUERITE. New permanent exhibition showing Roman wall paintings discovered in local excavations. MUSEE DE LA MER. (39) 4934 3181.

FEURS, Loire
THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS: A HERITAGE PUT IN DANGER. MUSEE DASSIER (33) 477 26 05 27. Until March.

GUIRY-EN-VEKIN
A LA RECHERCHE DU METAL PERDU: NEUVE TECHNIQUES POUR LE RESTAURATION DE L'ARCHEOLOGICAL METAL. This exhibition illustrates the many processes used for restoring pieces of ancient metal. MUSEE ARCHEOLOGIQUE DU VAL D'OISE. (33) 34 67 45 07. Until 2 January.

LE MANS, Sarthe
THE GATLS AT THE FRONTIER OF ARMORIC. MUSEE DE TESSIE (33) 245 47 38 51. Until the end of February.

LONGS-SAUNIER, Jura
1000 HISTOIRS YEAR OF THE GREEN WHEAT. MUSEE D'ARCHEOLOGIE (33) 384 47 12 13. Until March.

LYON, Rhone
OPTIC TEXTILES FROM ANTICITY. MUSEE DES TISSUES ET DES ARTS DECORATIFS (33) 478 37 15 05. Until 30 November.

MOROCCO: FROM ITS ORIGINS. MUSEE DE LA CIVILISATION. GALLO-ROMAINE (33) 478 24 94 68. Until 30 April.

SCHOLARLY TRAVEL IN EGYPT: ESPACE PATRIMOINE BIBLIOTHEQUE DE LA PART DIEU. Until January.

MARSEILLE, Bouches-du-Rhone
TRADE MARKED CITIES: TEN YEARS OF ARCHAEOLOGY, 2600 YEARS OF HISTORY. CHAPELLE DE LE VIELLE CHARITE. Until 30 January.

NEMOURS, Seine-et-Marne
THE LAST HUNTER-GATHERERS FROM THE JURASSIC MASSIF, 13,000-5000 BC. MUSEE PREHISTORIQUE D'ILE DE FRANCE. (33) 164 28 40 37. (Until 2 January)

PASSAGES WITHOUT RETURN. A new permanent exhibition of funerary monuments made in the north-west part of the Paris region at the end of the Neolithic period, c. 3500-2500 BC. MUSEE DE PREHISTOIRE DE L'ILE-DE-FRANCE. (33) 1 64 28 40 37.

NICE, Alpes-Maritimes
NEW MUSEUM. A new museum, devoted to Asian art, opened 17 October. The inaugural display features some 200 objects from India, Cambodia, China, and Japan. MUSEE DES ARTS ASIATIQUES DU CONSEIL-GENERAL DES ALPES-MARITIMES, 405 Promenade des Anglais-Arenas.

NIMES, Gard

ORGANIC L'AVEN, Ardèche
FASCINATING ORGANIC. A new interactive guided tour from the Upper Paleolithic Period to the Bronze Age. MUSEE REGIONAL DE PREHISTOIRE. (33) 75 38 65 10. A permanent installation.

ORLEANS, Loiret
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE NEOLITHIC COLLECTIONS. MUSEE DES BEAUX ARTS. (38) 53 99 22. Until end of February.

PARIS
DOMINIQUE VIVANT DENON, THE EYE OF NAPOLEON. Denon was in charge of the savants of the Napoleonic expedition in 1798 who recorded in great detail the monuments of ancient Egypt, subsequently published as the magistral publication of the Egyptian expedition. On display are more that 650 works (paintings, drawings, engravings, antiquities, sculptures, medals, manuscripts). MUSEE DE LOUVRE. (33) 1 40 50 50. Until 17 January.

EUROPE AT THE TIME OF ULYSSES. Gods and heroes of the Bronze Age. GALERIES NATIONALES DU GRAND PALAIS (33) 1 44 13 70. Until 9 January. (then to Athens).

HOMO ERECTUS UNTIL THE CONQUEST OF THE WORLD. MUSEE DE L'HOMME (33) 1 44 05 72 00. Until 30 April.

REOPENING OF SOME OF THE NEAR EASTERN, EGYPTIAN, GREEK, ROMAN, AND ISLAMIC GALLERIES. The Sackler Wing, the new Roman Galleries (the rooms); reopening of the Egyptian galleries with many new objects on view including a unique large diorite head of Queen Nefereti; pre-Hellenic and Archaic Greece; Hellenistic antiquities; epigraphic gallery; Greek and Roman terracottas and glass; Roman silver. MUSEE DE LOUVRE. (33) 1 40 20 50 50. (See Minerva, Sept/Oct 1998, pp. 8-14).

PLOEZA
SOU MEMORY: 20 YEARS OF ARCHEOLOGY IN THE COTE D'ARMOR. CHATEAU DE LA ROCHE JAGU. Until 15 April.

RIOM, Puy-de-Dome
GREEK AND ETRUSCAN CERAMICS FROM AUVERGNE COLLECTION. MUSEE FRANCAIS-MANDET (33) 473 38 18 53. Until 26 March.

SAINT-ROMAIN-EN-GAL, Rhône
NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. The largest collection of Prehistoric art. A new museum in France overlooks the archaeological site of the Roman city of Vienne. Excavations since 1981 have uncovered impressive frescoes and mosaics, including the mosaic of the Battle of Lycurgus. MUSEE DE SAINT-ROMAIN-EN-GAL. (33) 74 83 03 76.

MEETING THE GALLIC GODS. MUSEE DE SAINT-ROMAIN-EN-GAL (33) 74 85 03 76. Until 30 January.

SEVRES, Hauts-de-Seine

TENDE, Alpes-Maritimes

GERMANY
BERLIN
REINSTALLATION OF THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION. This installation in Charlottenburg, featuring the famed polychrome limestone bust of Neferti, which includes a number of pieces not on display since before World War II, is
a temporary one awaiting the transfer of the entire collection to the new museum complex in the Museumsinsel in Berlin, where the ÄGYPTISCHES MUSEUM UND PAPYRUSAMMLUNG, (49) 20355 566.

TROY-SCHLEIMANN-ANTIQUITIES. Permanent exhibition of more than 500 Trojan antiquities in Berlin, now on display after reopening the museum collections from East and West Berlin, MUSEUM VORUR VON FRUH- GECHICHTE SCHLOSS CHARLOTTEN- BURG, LANGENSAU. (49) 30 320 91 233.

BONN RHINISCHE LANDESMUSEUM BONN. The museum will be closed until early in 2001 for a complete renovation.

ESSEN, Nordrhein-Westfalen AGATHA CHRISTIE und DER ORIENT: CRIMINOLOGIE UND ARCHÄOLOGIE. An exhibition about Sir Max Mallowan, his wife, his excavations in Iraq and Syria, and their writings, from 1930 until LANDESMUSEUM (49) 201 884 5200. Until 5 March.

FRAKURT AM MAIN DIE PISCIANIS - A EUROPEAN PEOPLE. This major exhibition devoted to an important mid-Adriatic Italian society includes about 500 antiquities from the 9th to 3rd centuries BC. SCHIRN KUNSTHALLE, Until 6 February.

HAMBURG GALERIEN UND CAESARS: ENTERTAINMENT IN ANCIENT ROME. A major exhibition centering around the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, featuring such prominent personalities present at the games as Spartacus, Caesar, and Nero. MUSEUM FÜR KUNST UND GEWERBE (49) 40 2486 2732. 18 February - 25 June. Catalogue.


KARLSRUHE ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS: WESTERN GREEKS, ETURUSCANS, ROME, AND BYZANTINIUM. A new permanent section of the museum’s notable collection of antiquities featuring a number of masterworks, including various fine Byzantine objects on display for the first time, such as a silver square cloister. The first section, on the ancient Near East, the Cyclades, Egypt, and mainland Greece, opened in 1995. BADISCHES LANDESMUSEUM KARLSRUHE, (49) 7 21 926 6154. Opened 4 December 1998.

KASSEL, Hessen CHEST, CARRIAGE, CARAVAN - ON THE ROAD TO THE FINAL REST. The ceremonies, equipment, and transport used for processions from ancient times on. MUSEUM FUER SEPulkRATUR (49) 561 918 930. Until 30 January.

KONSTANZ, Baden-Württemberg VON WOTAN TO CHRIST: THE ALMAZEN AND THE CROSS. This important exhibition centres around the

Calendar

a loose confederation of tribes in southwest Germany never defeated by Rome, and the early Christianity that resisted the domination of the Frankish king Chlodwig in 496-497. It includes some spectacular recent discoveries concerning the development of Christianity among the Alamanen. ARCHAEOLOGISCHES LANDES MUSEUM (49) 7531 98040. Until 30 April.

MAINZ, Rheinland-Pfalz SYNTHESIS OF THE ROMAN GLASS EXHIBIT. LANDES MUSEUM MAINZ, (49) 6 31 28570.

MUNCHEN KOREA: THE ANCIENT KINGDOMS. Shamanistic objects from the 1st millennium BC, early Buddhist sculptures and other works of art from the 4th to 6th centuries AD, and later Buddhist and Neo-Confucianist treasures, are featured in this exhibition of over 200 works, including the famed gilt bronze medallion Maitrey. KUNSTHalle DER HYPO-KULTURSTIFTUNG (49) 89 244 212. Until 30 January (then to Zürich).

ODYSSEUS: MYTH AND MRRORY. This major exhibition presented in Rome in 1996. HAUS DER KUNST (49) 89 211 270. Until 9 January. Catalogue.

IN THE LAND OF THE KINGS OF SABA: ART TREASURES FROM ANCIENT YEMEN. Over 400 antiquities from prehistory to the end of the South Arabian kingdom. STAATLICHE MUSEUM FÜR VOR- UND FRÜH KULTURKUNDE (49) 89 228 5556. Until 9 January.

MUNSTER TELL MUNBAQUK: BRONZE AGE SYRIA. WESTFALISCHES MUSEUM FÜR ARCHAEOLOGIE (49) 231 590 702. Until 2 January.

GREECE ATHENS THE EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ROOM. 280 Egyptian works of art, including statues, sarcophagi. Portrait portraits, vases, and jewellery, selected from about 4000 objects in storage since 1945. STAATLICHE MUSSEUM FÜR VOR- UND FRÜH KULTURKUNDE (49) 89 228 5556. Until 9 January.

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HONG KONG KOWLOON WARRING STATES TREASURES: BURIED SECRETS FROM CHINESE TIMES IN AGES. A selection of more than 100 antiquities from the Warring States period (475-221 BC) excavated in Zhejiang province in 1992. MUSEUM OF ART (852) 2743 267. Until 9 January.

IRELAND DUBLIN ANCIENT EGYPT. A recently opened new permanent display of Egyptian artifacts drawn from the museum’s own collections. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND, (353) 1 677 444.

VIKING AGE IRELAND. New permanent galleries tracing the impact of the Viking invasion on Ireland. AD 800-1000. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND, (353) 1 677 444.

LIMERICK THE HUNT MUSEUM. A new museum housing the renowned and wide-ranging collection of Irish Arts from the 17th century onwards. Grand Parade. HUNT MUSEUM, (353) 1 677 444.

ITALY BRESCIA HARWA - PHARAOIC ART. The exhibition centres on the tomb of Harwa and other important tombs from the pharaonic dynasties. On loan from the vast archaeological collection in this newly reopened archaeological museum. MUSEO DIOCESANO. Until 9 January. Catalogue.

REOPENING OF THE MUSEO DELLA CITTA IN SAN GIULIA. This is the first phase in a long-term project, which will include a new museum inside the 8th and 12th century convent of San Giulia, and the creation of an extensive archaeological park. The Roman and the Christian sections in the museum have just opened. Amongst the many important finds, the ensemble of the superb bronze statue of a winged Victory, mosaic, and wall paintings is a precious find. The 13th-century Longobard king Desiderius. MONAS TERIO DI SANTA GIULIA, (39) 030 2807 540.

CAMELINO, Macerata MUSEO CIVICO ARCHEOLOGICO - CONVEN- TO DI SAN BENEDETTO. The archaeo-
PERGOLA
Opening of the archaeological museum specially built to house the celebrated 1st century AD gilded bronze statues found at Cartoccio in 1946.

PERUGIA
MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE DELL’UMBRIA. The 1st century AD monumental bronze statue of Mirmo, emperor Titus’ nephew, is now on view after restoration work which has lasted since 1963 when the 2.9 metre high statue was instead exhibited during the building of a mill at Amelia. (39) 075 572 7141.

PIAZZA ARMERINA
VILLA DEL CASALE. The Roman villa and its splendid mosaics is now open to the public until 8 p.m. throughout the year.

RIMINI
THE ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE IN RIMINI. ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORY. MUSEO DELLA CITTA. (39) 0541 28692. Until 1 May.


ROMA
MUSEO NAZIONALE EURUSCO DI VILLA GIULIA. Seven rooms closed since 1990 have reopened: on the mosaics, ceramics and jewellery from the Castellanion collection and artefacts from the 5th and 6th centuries and temples and necropoleis of Faenianus Insula Novi and Narces. (39) 06 322 6671. An ongoing exhibition.

MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO - PALAZZO MASSIMO ALL’TERME. All the sections are now open to the public, including the numismatic collections, and the Roman wall paintings from the Villa della Farnesina and other Roman sites. Guidebooks also in English. (39) 06 520 726.

PALATINE MUSEUM - REOPENING. After 13 years of restoration the museum has now re-opened. It features a new collection of furniture, movable sculpture and the adjoining Domus Augustana houses wall paintings from the Aula Iisica. MUSEO PALATINO. (See MINERVA, March/April 1998, pp. 39-40.)

REOPENING OF THE DOMUS AUREA. Nero’s palace is opened again to the public after being closed for twenty years. Special lighting enhances the beauty of the architectural spaces and of some of the wall paintings. (See MINERVA, Sep/Oct 1998.) (39) 064815 199-199190 for scheduled tours. Guidebook in Italian and English.

ROMAN HOUSES UNDER S. PAOLO ALLA REGOLA. A labyrinth of ancient houses underneath the Palace Specchi can now be visited by appointment. (39) 06 829 235.

TURIN
MUSEO DI ANTICHITÀ. Newly renovated sections of the museum were opened in May 1998 as part of the reorganisation of the whole museum documenting archaeological work in Piedmont on sites dating from prehistoric to the Middle Ages. (39) 011 521 2251.

JAPAN
NAGOYA
ANCIENT ART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. A long-term loan exhibition of major items from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, finally opening after a delay of three years. It is the first five-year loan from Boston under the terms of its agreement with the Nagoya/Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Until March 2004.

SHIGARAKI
SHUMEI FAMILY COLLECTION: THE MIHO MUSEUM. A new museum, located in a suburb of Kyoto, designed by I. M. Pei, and named after the spiritual leader of the Shum firearmaking family, consists of Classical, Egyptian, Near Eastern, Chinese, and Japanese antiques and art objects. It will be managed by the Shumai Culture Foundation. (See MINERVA Jan/Feb 1998, pp. 20-24, and MINERVA March/April 1998, p. 13.) THE MIHO MUSEUM. Fax: (81) 748823414.

LEBANON
BAALBEK

MALTA
REOPENING OF THE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY. The newly renovated museum, featuring large collections of prehistoric and post-medieval antiquities, is now open to the public. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY. (356) 24 06 71.

 MORROCO
MARRAKESH
ATLANTIC FROM THE KUTURIYA MOSQUE. This monumental inland wooden pulpit was produced in Cordoba, Spain, c. 1137-1145 AD, later assembled in Marrakesh, installed in the mosque of ‘Ali ibn Yusuf (1107-1143 AD), and moved about ten years ago to the Abbayyabib Museum of Abd-al-Mu’min (1130-1163 AD). One of the masterpieces of the Islamic world, it has been newly restored in a collaboration between conservation specialists from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Moroccan craftsmen. BADI PALACE. Permanent installation.

THE NETHERLANDS
AMSTERDAM

MYTHS AND MUSIC: MUSIC IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY. A retrospective exhibition about music in Greek and Roman antiquity. Classical musical instruments, paintings on Greek vases and modern replicas trace the development and significance of music in antiquity. ALLARD PIERSMUSEN, (31) 20 525 2565. Until 12 March.

DEN HAAG (THE HAGUE)

LEEUWARDEN

NETHERLANDS
ARCHAEOLOGY: PREHISTORY AND MIDDLE AGES. A comprehensive account of the earliest history of the Low Countries spanning 250,000 years. New permanent exhibition. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES (RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, RMO). (31) 71 512 7527.

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES REOPENS. The National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden has reopened its doors after two years of renovation. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES (RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, RMO). (31) 71 512 7527.

RITUAL AND SPLENDOUR, ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE MIHO MUSEUM, JAPAN. The first exhibition in the renovated galleries of the RMO is made up of an exceptional collection of fifty-six pieces from the ancient Near East, Egypt and the Classical World, on loan from the MIHO MUSEUM in Shiga (Japan). THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES (RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, RMO). (31) 71 512 7527. (See MINERVA, Jan/Feb 1998, pp. 20-24.)

PORTUGAL
COA VALLEY STONE AGE ENGRAVINGS. The largest open-air collection of Palaeolithic engravings of animals, dating to c. 21,000-17,000 BC, was discovered in 1992. The three-mile-long river valley site is now open to the public as an archaeological park.

LISBON
PORTUGAL IN THE TIME OF THE HUNTER-GATHERERS. On the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic peoples 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.

SPAIN
BARCELONA
ROMAN MUSEUMS. The world’s most outstanding collection of Romanesque murals, some in their original apses, mostly from the area of the Pyramids, has been reinstalled after being on display for some years. MUSEU NACIONAL D’ART DE CATALUNYA. (34) 3 423 7199. An ongoing installation.

NEW MUSEUM OF PRECOLUMBIAN
Calendar

FIRST MILLENNIUM BC. Birmingham, England. Contact: Dr K.A. Wardle, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Birmingham B15 2TT. Tel: (44) 121 414 5502. E-mail: k.a.wardle@bham.ac.uk. 13-14 January. CURRENT RESEARCH IN EGYPTOLOGY. For graduate students in Britain. Griffith Institute, Oxford. E-mail: angela.mcdonald@oriel.ox.ac.uk or christina.legg@worc.ox.ac.uk.

18-20 February. SOMA 2000: SYMPOSIUM ON MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY, University of Sheffield. Contact: SOMA 2000, Research School of Archaeology andArchaeological Science, University of Sheffield, West Court, 2 Mappin Street, Sheffield S1 4DT. E-mail: soma@sheffield.ac.uk. Web page: http://usit.shef.ac.uk/soma.

28 March-3 April. EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EGYPTOLOGICAL SOCIETIES, St Andrews Conference Centre, St Andrews, Scotland. Contact: Dr Zahi Hawass. Fax: 00 20 2 340 7239 Tel: 00 20 2 383 4519.

7th-6th April. THEORETICAL ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE 2000, University of Archaeology, University of London. Email: trac2000@ucl.ac.uk.

LECTURES

UNITED KINGDOM

LONDON


17 January. THE CLAY OF THE AMARNA TABLETS AND THEIR PROVENANCE. Yuval Goren. London Centre for the Ane research seminar, SOAS, Rm 3, Russell Square, WC1. 5.15pm.

18 January. ETRUSCANS IN THE ORIENTALISING PERIOD: CROSSROADS AND TRANSFORMATIONS. Annette Ratthe. Institute of Classical Studies. 5.15pm.


26 January. EARLY DYNASTIC EGYPT. ISIS Spring lecture meeting. Toby Wilkinson. Institute of Archaeology (lecture theatre G6). 1.30pm.

26 January. (HALF) A CENTURY ON IMAGE AND TEXT: THEATRE IN SOME ANTIQUITY MOSAIC FESTIVALS. Robert Huskinson. Institute of Classical Studies. 5.15pm.

1 February. ITALIAN BRONZES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM: REAPPRAISAL OF THE BRONZE AGE AND IRON AGE COLLECTIONS. Anna Maria Giusti Sestieri, Constanzi and Ellen Macnamara. Institute of Classical Studies. 5.15pm.


1 March. NOT THE PARTHENON FREEZE: TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEWS OF ALTERNATIVE ATTIC FRIEZES. Olga Palagia. Institute of Classical Studies. 5pm.

MANCHESTER

22 January. EGYPT AND ITS MONUMENTS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHS. Jaromir Malek. The Egypt Exploration Society Northern Branch. Albert Arts Theatre, University of Manchester. 7pm. (44) 161 275 2647.

UNITED STATES NEW YORK


30 January. ECHOES FROM THE ANCIENTS: THE DISCOVERY AND STUDY OF A 1ST CENTURY GELIANE CITY. William Scott Green. 92nd Street Y. 7.30pm. $20. Tel: (1) 212 996-1100.

22 February. DEEP WATER ROMAN SHIPWEAR FROM SKEPTER BEACH, NEW YORK SOCY, Archaeological Institute of America. Location to be announced. 6.30pm.

COSTA MESA, CA

25 January. ARCHAEOLOGY: EXODUS AND CONQUEST. Robert R. Stieglitz and Zonya Zevitt. Jewish Community Center of Orange County, 1pm. 3.30pm. Contact: (1) 714 755-0346, ext. 274.

FRANCE

PARIS

27 January. UNPRECEDENTED DISCOVERIES IN PREDYNASTIC HIERAKONPOLIS. Barbara Adams. Department of Egyptian Antiquities, The Louvre.


APPOINTMENTS

Larry Berman, just recently appointed Curator of Egyptian and Ancient Near East Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, has been named as Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Denise Dozey has been appointed as Assistant Curator in the department.

Kenneth Bahr, formerly Curatorial Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Near Eastern Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, has been named as Acting Department Head.

Rita Freed has been appointed Norma Jean Calderwood Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, and joint appointed, with a new Head curator, the John F. Cogan and Mary L. Cornille Curator of Classical Art, of the Department of Art of the Ancient World at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. [Ed.: How simple curatorial titles used to be!]

Christopher Lightfoot, Director of the Amorium Excavations (see Minerva, September/October 1999, pp. 16-19) has been appointed Associate Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Aaron J. Paul, formerly Curatorial Associate of the Department of Ancient Art at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, has been appointed Richard and Mary Parry Curator of Classical Art at the Tampa Museum of Art, Tampa, Florida.

Ellen Reeder, formerly Curator of Ancient Art at the Walters Art Gallery, has been appointed to a newly created position, Deputy Director for Art, at the Brooklyn Museum.

Meeting listings are free. Please send details of UK and other European exhibitions, meetings and conferences, lectures and auctions, at least 6 weeks in advance of publication, to:

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