THE GOLDEN DEER OF THE RUSSIAN STEPPE

SCYTHIAN AND SARMATIAN TREASURES

EGYPTIAN ART AT ETON COLLEGE

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ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS

VIA EGNATIA: RESTORING A ROMAN ROAD

ALI PASHA'S EXCAVATIONS AT NICOPOLIS

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHAUCER'S PILGRIMS

One of four large wooden stags covered with gold excavated at Filippovka in the Russian Steppes. 4th century BC. H. 49 to 51 cm; L. 39 to 41 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa
EGYPTIAN LARGE LIMESTONE MASK FROM A SARCOPHAGUS
Well detailed, with portrait-like features. Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd Century BC. H: 43.2 cm (17 in.)

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NEWS FROM EGYPT

New finds from the Valley of the Mummies

This past season brought new discoveries in the continuing excavations at the Bahariya Oasis, located about 365 kilometres south-west of Giza, where four tombs containing 105 mummies, many gilded and ornately decorated, dating to the Ptolemaic and especially the Roman periods, had already been uncovered in four tombs belonging to a huge necropolis (see Minerva, September/October 1999, pp. 9-14). The necropolis, four miles in length, was initiated during the brief reign of Psammetichus III (Ankhare), 526-525 BC, the last king of the 26th Dynasty, who was defeated by the Persians at Pelusium. The majority of the burials, estimated to be about 10,000, are of the Roman period.

Seven more tombs, carved out of solid rock, have now been opened to the west of the first group of tombs, revealing 102 additional mummies. One large tomb contained 42 mummies in several burial chambers. One of the female mummies wore a gold mask and had a band of flowers on her head. The garish polychrome wooden panel accompanying another female burial (see illustration), in the form of a temple facade with a relief sculpture of the deceased and topped with a row of uraei (cobras), is typical of the exaggerated style found in the later Roman period. The mummy of a young child was placed on the stomach of yet another mummy.

In another tomb nearby, covered until now by a group of houses which had been demolished in order to conduct the excavation, Dr Zahi Hawass, the Under-secretary of State for the Giza monuments and the director of the Bahariya excavations, found a limestone anthropoid sarcophagus weighing twelve tons and decorated with figures of Osiris, Isis, and the deceased. It bore hieroglyphic inscriptions containing the name of Zedu-Khonsu-ef-ankh, an important vizier of the 26th Dynasty pharaoh Wahibre (Apries), 598-570 BC. The funerary chapels of his tomb complex had been found by the noted Egyptian archaeologist Ahmed Fakhry in 1947, but his actual tomb had never been found until now. Upon opening the sarcophagus Hawass found an inner sarcophagus of alabaster, and nested inside was the deteriorated wooden coffin and mummy of this regal governor. The tomb itself was decorated with wall paintings of the vizier and Anubis.

More Old Kingdom Tombs Reopened at Giza

Three sandstone tombs close to the Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops), originally discovered in the 19th century as evidenced by the graffiti left on the walls by English tourists, were opened to the public in October. Painted reliefs in the tomb of Dua-en-Re, a 4th Dynasty priest, depict the occupant, dressed in a panther skin garment, receiving gods and linen. The 5th Dynasty tomb of another priest, Lymer, is covered with colourful representations of daily life such as fishing with nets from boats on the Nile, wine-making, and a cow giving birth.

A passage leads to the tomb of his son, Nefer-bau-Ptah, who is shown sculpted in relief at the entrance to the tomb. In a wall painting he is being presented with provisions of sheep, fish, and grain for the afterlife. Another painting is of his wife and two children.

Jerome M. Eisenberg Ph.D.

To our readers:

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4th CENTURY BC GOLD WREATH
FOUND IN NEA APOLLONIA, GREECE

In August a unique gold wreath (Fig 1), found by a farmer, was presented to Dr Polyxeni Adam-Veleni, archaeologist of the 16th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Thessalonike. The wreath was discovered accidentally in the vicinity of Nea Apollonia, a small village in the great lake area east of the Macedonian capital. The wreath is made up of 30 ivy leaves, 15 on each side, symmetrically growing on a circular gold stem, diameter 19 cm, and weighs 193.6 g. The front part of the wreath is decorated with two korymbai (bunches of grapes) made of 19 hemispheric berries. Both the stem and the 30 leaves are hammered with the central line of each made in the repoussé technique; the berries appear to have been moulded. Crowns of this type were the property of noble archons of the Greek aristocracy or priests of Dionysos, and were worn at symposia or other ceremonies in honour of the god.

According to Dr Veleni, the gold ivy wreath is identical to two earlier wreaths from Hellenistic Macedonia. One was found in a tomb at Sebaste, a Pierian village in central Macedonia, and the other was bought at auction. The dating of these wreaths is placed in the third quarter of the 4th century BC. The new find is considered very important because ivy wreaths of this type, although frequently depicted on vases as early as the Greek archaic period, are not usually found in archaeological excavations.

The gold wreath was found on the site of Apollonia’s necropolis, whose geographical boundaries were known to archaeologists, but no digs had been planned to explore the area. In the light of this find, Dr Veleni reports, in September 2000 the Ephorate instantly commenced excavations at the site pinpointed by the farmer who found the wreath.

Apollonia was a Mygdonian colony of the Chalcideans probably built in BC 433/432 by Perdikkas II, who had convinced the Chalcidians to abandon their cities by the sea and move inland to Olynthus and Lake Volvi. At that time, the Macedonian king was at war with the Athenians. Apollonia was one of four cities granted the privilege to mint bronze coins by king Philip V in 187 BC. The ancient city lay on a flat rise between two rivers, Olynthus and Ammites, which provided a natural defence from the east and the west, whilst the north was protected by strong fortifications. Long before Perdikkas II built Apollonia, an older citadel existed on the site, whose boundaries have been delineated. The city seems to have prospered in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, and was still important at the time of the Roman conquest of Macedonia by Aemilius Paulus, in BC 168. As it lies on the axis of the Via Egnatia from Thessalonike to the Middle East (see pp. 40-41), Apollonia was rebuilt on a neighbouring site during the early Christian and Byzantine periods.

The wreath is soon to be exhibited at:
The Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike
YMCa Square, 546 21
Thessalonike - Greece
Tel. ++ 30 (0) 31- 830 538
email: protocol@stepka.culture.gr

Additional Finds
Just 20 miles west of Nea Apollonia, on the north-west branch of the new Egnatia Hodos, several archaeological and archæozoological finds have been unearthed in the last two months, among them a pair of horse burials at a Roman farmhouse dating to the first century AD at Laggyna, west of Lake Volvi. Dr. Aikaterini Tzanavari of the 16th EPCA and Dr Antikas are preparing a full report for Minerva.

Theo Antikas & Laura Wynn-Antikas

Fig. 1. Gold wreath with 30 leaves and two korymbai, d. 19 cm, wt: 193.6 g. Found at Nea Apollonia, Greece in August 2000. Photo: Dr. P. Adam-Veleni.

STATUE OF DIONYSOS:
Rightful Owner Sought

Ms Sara Dayman of BDO Stoy Hayward is to seek a High Court adjudication as to the ownership of a bronze statue of Dionysos.

The statue is slightly under life-size, and of late Hellenistic or early Roman date.

Any person claiming to have an interest in this statue must write to Ms. Dayman or Mr Barnes at:

BDO Stoy Hayward
8 Baker Street
London W1M 1DA

All claims, together with supporting evidence, must be received by 15 December 2000.

All interested parties will be notified of the Court listing when the Applicant is informed of such.
It was reported in the New York Times that a team of archaeologists from Guatemala and the United States has determined that a structure in Guatemala previously identified as a minor palace is not only one of the largest and most elaborate residences of ancient Maya kings discovered but also one of the best preserved.

The vegetation-covered royal palace sits in the centre of the ruins of an ancient city named Cancúen, which means ‘place of serpents’. It is located in a remote area of the Petén rainforest of Guatemala that has been largely overlooked by archaeologists.

With more than 170 rooms built around 11 courtyards in three storeys, this eighth century royal palace is about the same size as the central acropolis in Tikal (Guatemala), says Arthur Demarest, the archaeologist from Vanderbilt University who heads the expedition with Tomas Barrientos from the Universidad del Valle in Guatemala. ‘But what is most incredible about this site is that most of the palace is buried virtually intact. No one has found anything like this since the turn of the century.’

Cancúen was first visited by archaeologists in 1905, but characterized as a minor centre; the expedition went within 100 metres of the palace but failed to see it for dense vegetation. The site was visited again briefly in the mid 1960s by a group of Harvard graduate students. It was this team that first identified the palace, but their sketches and maps underestimated its size and covered only a small fraction of the ancient city’s extent.

Arthur Demarest suggests that the scale and importance of Cancúen were left unrecognized for several reasons. Cancúen is situated in a region bordering the Guatemalan highlands that has been largely overlooked by archaeologists. As Demarest notes, temples are frequently taken as an indication of a major site and the presence of tombs. However, the Maya built no temples in this area. Natural, cave-filled towers of limestone could be used for burials and for religious purposes.

One of the Cancúen kings had an area of about two square kilometres around the palace paved with stone. This kept the farmers from using the area to grow crops. Over time, jungle trees pushed through the stones and established an isle of dense rainforest, complete with trees 16 feet in diameter and troops of howler monkeys. The area became an oasis as the rest of the rainforest was cleared for farming.

The walls of the 270,000-square foot palace are built of solid limestone masonry, rather than the concrete and mud typical of other sites. As a result, it did not collapse as other Maya structures did when enveloped by jungle. A preliminary survey of the palace has found that it contains a densely packed labyrinth of hundreds of small rooms with extravagant, 20-foot, corbel-arched ceilings. This design, combined with small courtyards that were easily filled in by jungle vegetation, had disguised the palace for more than 1,000 years.

The palace was so well camouflaged that Demarest and his colleagues did not recognize its true size for their first two weeks at the site. Like previous visitors, they also thought large parts of the palace were solidly covered with jungle. Then, one day when walking along the ruin’s highest level, Demarest fell up to his armpits in vegetation filling one of the courtyards and realized that ‘the entire hill was a three-story building and we were walking on top of the roof.’

This party of archaeologists first visited Cancúen in 1999 to follow up a lead from a 10-year dig in northern Guatemala. Excavations at Dos Pilas and several other sites had given them a wealth of information about a highly militaristic city-state called Petexbatun. Among the Petexbatun records, they found a description of a marriage alliance between a Dos Pilas prince and Cancúen princess. The small palace where the princess lived was one of the most exquisite structures at the Dos Pilas site. Arthur Demarest observes the similarity between this small palace and the newly discovered palace at Cancúen:

’It looks as if the princess brought her own artisans, because the stonework on her palace is just like that at Cancúen and far superior to anything in the Petexbatun region.’

At Cancúen, where the archaeologists expected to find a minor centre, they were surprised to find evidence of a much larger, richer and more powerful kingdom, one based on control of the trade in precious commodities: jade, pyrite for making mirrors, and obsidian for razors and knife blades. Thousands of people apparently lived at the centre during its peak. The palace was surrounded by the homes and workshops of artisans, which the archaeologists have explored. It seems that even the workmen at Cancúen were well off. They had teeth filled with jade inlays and were buried with fine ceramic figurines with beautiful headdresses.

While the archaeologists were mapping the site, Guatemalan epigrapher Federico Fahsen was reconstructing the history of the site by deciphering its monuments. The city’s stonework had been looted in the past, so he tracked down some of it in private and public collections. The story he has found is likely to cause major revisions in the scholarly views of Maya civilization.

Cancúen was ruled by one of the oldest Maya dynasties, one that was already well established by AD 300. So far, the researchers have found no evidence that Cancúen conducted any major wars with its neighbours. Instead, Cancúen’s rulers appear to have been primarily dedicated to commerce. Their location, at the beginning of the navigable stretch of the Pasión River, the major waterway used by the Maya, allowed them to control the trade in precious commodities between the Guatemalan highlands and the jungle lowlands. The record shows that they used their wealth to form alliances throughout the Maya world. The researchers think that the palace had such a large number of rooms to house visiting royalty from their many allies.

The fact that Cancúen appears to have prospered for hundreds of years without warfare and that commerce appeared to play a far more important role in everyday life than religion contradicts the widespread view among scholars that religion and warfare were the sources of power for Maya kings, particularly toward the end of their dominance, after about AD 600.
THE VENUS OF BEREKHAT RAM: A LOWER PALAEOLITHIC FIGURINE FROM ISRAEL; THE EARLIEST KNOWN WORK OF ART

A crude female figurine made of volcanic stone, found in basalt layers in the northern Golan Heights, Israel, has been confirmed to be at least about 250,000 years in age, making it by far the earliest known work of art. Until recently it has been generally accepted that the first evidence of prehistoric portable art and cave drawings were made by modern man, *Homo sapiens sapiens*, in the late Stone Age, the Upper Palaeolithic period, about 35,000 years ago. In the past several years reports have been published about findings of earlier efforts of image-making in such disparate parts of the world as France, China, and India, and one of rock art in Australia which dates, according to thermoluminescence tests, to about 75,000 to 100,000 years in age.

The Berekhah Ram figurine was part of an Acheulian occupation site, uncovered in a level about 25 cm thick, sealed between two basalt flows, the upper one dated by argon testing to be about 233,000 years in age, the lower one about 800,000 years old. It was associated with an assemblage of lithic materials, splendide flake tools, that are characteristic of the Levantine Late Acheulian tool industry, thus confirming it to be about 250,000 to 280,000 years in age. The assemblage included such tools as end-scrapers and burins that are typical of the Upper Palaeolithic period. Of the over 6,800 artifacts found at this site, all but two, a basalt biface tool and the figurine, were made of flint.

The tiny figurine, just 35 mm in height, is made of a volcanic material, an indurated reddish basaltic lapilli tuff with scoria inclusions, presenting a brownish yellow surface formed by impregnation and coating in part with mineral matter containing iron and sulphur. It is a natural, partially weathered rock fragment, a pebble that has apparently been modified to form a human figurine. It had been carved intentionally to form the neck groove and the slightly curved grooves on the sides, possibly made to indicate arms.

Excavated by Naama Goren-Inbar in 1981 and first published by her in 1986 (Mi'tekufat Hae'ven 19, pp. 7-12), it had since been attacked by several scholars as being an accidental product of nature - the form being produced aerodynamically when the ejected pebble was still hot and not yet hardened. Alice Marshall made a careful examination of the figurine and published a study in 1997 (Antiquity 71, 1997, pp. 327-37) which demonstrated its man-made origin.

A definitive paper by Francesco di Salvo and April Nowell, just published (Cambridge Archaeological Journal 10:1, 2000, pp. 123-67), proves beyond a doubt that the figurine is a work of early man. An analysis was made of the material and the picture was given by optical and SEM microscopy, then compared to over 3,000 pieces of raw volcanic material from other sites in Israel, including 30 pieces with natural grooving. Samples were experimentally grooved with flint flakes, producing results similar to the grooves on the figurine. They noted that in addition to the grooving mentioned above, there was possible abrasion on a significant part of the front of the figurine, as well as some on the back. They also pointed out that the base was intentionally abraded to form a small flat surface on which it could have stood upright.

This fascinating little figurine is part of a special exhibition, 'The First Artists', now on display at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. It includes a flint plaque from Quneitra, also in the Golan, incised with a rainbow symbol, which dates about 55,000 years in age. Also on exhibit is the well-known stone plaque incised with a horse from the Hayonim Cave in the Galilee, about 30,000 years old and, until recently, considered to be the oldest work of art found in Israel.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Dr. Eisenberg,

This is in response to your query in Volume 11, Number 5, as to whether or not what happened recently to Joel L. Malter at the hands of US Customs constitutes 'proper justice'. I have known Joel Malter since I was thirteen years old. I am currently forty-six. What struck me then, as a child, still holds true for me today, as an adult. Joel's background as a history teacher has given him a scholarly interest in, and a passion for, ancient civilizations that goes far beyond making a profit. The goal of a business is to try and remain in the black, but that always seemed secondary to Joel's fascination with what sort of people crafted the items, how they were made, what they were used for, and their aesthetic and historical appeal.

It is my understanding that when Bruce McNall dissolved his professional association with Joel, one of the reasons was that Bruce always wanted to go after the big-ticket customers with big-ticket items, while Joel's preference was, and would always remain, the smaller collector, who might not have a thick wallet, but who shared a kindred passion for archaeology and classical numismatics. I am one of those smaller collectors.

I do not pretend to understand the complexities of the laws surrounding the importing and exporting of antiquities, but I do feel, in my heart, that persecuting a person of Joel Malter's considerable qualifications somehow constitutes a greater injustice than bringing in $400 worth of beads and trinkets. But this is just one man's opinion.

Sincerely,

Steve Stoller
Studio City, California
SCOTTISH ISLANDS REVEAL THEIR PAST

Pictish Metal-Working Finds in The Shetland Islands

Coastal erosion at Burland on the tiny Shetland island of Trondra has revealed remains of an Iron Age/Pictish complex including what was probably a smitby. Indications are that the site spans the period between native Pictish people and incoming Norsemen, whose earliest appearances in Scotland, as traders and invaders, date from around AD 800. Work is incomplete but already there have been exciting and unusual finds, especially that of the smitby and signs of Pictish metal-working.

Work began when local farmer Tommy Isbister recognised pottery and metal-working fragments as indicating a previously unknown site. Excavation of a nearby low mound provided confirmation and established the character of the remains.

Other finds are a stone anvil and remains of a broken pot containing bone traces. The pot is of a design usually associated with the Orkney Islands, seen as further evidence of early north-south contacts. That those contacts existed enhances curiosity about why brochs do not appear in the south.

Other pottery fragments include black-burnished ware dating from about AD 500. It is all of good quality and the presence of so much high-grade ware, coupled with the scarcity of items of a lesser standard, hints at a high-status site. The quality of the ware and an unusually large number of quernstones (Fig 1) have brought suggestions of ritual activity there, though Val Turner emphasises the lack of supporting evidence.

Quernstones normally served to grind barley and other grains. They were originally saddle-shaped for use with rubbing-stones but were superseded before the first millennium AD by rotary designs. The Burland stones, though, were metal-working tools for grinding ores.

A nearby building may be part of a Viking or Norse byre and another, beneath the smitby and therefore not yet studied, may be a very early roundhouse. Roundhouses, some entirely of timber, others with stone walls, were the normal construction technique for Pictish and other homes in the first millennium BC, though by the middle of the next millennium both round and straight-sided houses existed together. Further investigation of the roundhouse will be a highlight of the resumed excavation.

The Burland work is funded by Historic Scotland and extends their coastal erosion survey in Shetland. Initiated in 1994, that programme set out to identify important coastal sites threatened by sea-storms and other eroding factors and to protect or stabilise them for short-term display and longer-term academic study, expediting excavation of those which could not be saved.

The survey identified active erosion on Burra and Trondra. Burland especially is eroding rapidly – by a metre a year in some years, and fears are that only about five metres of the complex, one of several Shetland examples of an Iron Age Structure, survive.

Dr Sally Foster, Historic Scotland’s Senior Inspector of Ancient Monuments, sees Burland as one of the key sites identified by the coastal survey.

She is especially excited at the opportunity which the smitby gives to further our understanding of early metal-working technology in its social and economic context.

Continuing erosion still threatens the site though back-filling this year’s work has stabilised the position while Historic Scotland considers the options for further work there. A re-start in 2001 is regarded as probable.

Historic Scotland’s concerns about coastal erosion are not restricted to the northern islands. They fund the Shorewatch programme under which the Council for Scottish Archaeology seeks groups and individuals to help in monitoring erosion anywhere along the Scottish mainland and island coasts.

Geoffrey Borwick

Iron-Age Burial on Trondra, one of the St Kilda Islands

Gaps are gradually closing for a Hebridean island story which may stretch back 5,000 years. Researchers found Neolithic pottery a few years ago on Hirta, the main island in Scotland’s settlement there, including an amazing well-preserved house dated by nearby pottery to about 300 BC.

The house remains are about 1.5m high and indicate a small cell-like structure with a corbelled roof. Though sites of this kind are not unusual in the Western Isles this is the first domestic building of the era to be found on Hirta. On its floor were several large bucket-shaped vessels resembling others found on Lewis and South Uist, distant neighbours of St Kilda.

The latest finds are especially exciting because of their quantity and nature. Despite considerable excavation input, island finds have been restricted so far chiefly to shallow deposits representing only the last two centuries. Several previous teams have regarded themselves lucky to find anything at all. So the collection – filling several boxes with large pieces of decorated pottery, stone tools, and environmental samples – is seen as justifying earlier efforts.

St Kilda may take its name from the Norse skildir, meaning shields, and Hirta from hirtir, meaning stags. The group consists of three islands, 120 miles from mainland Scotland and forty miles from its neighbours in
the Outer Hebrides. It has long had a magnetic fascination for historians and archaeologists attracted by the unique life-style of the islanders and by the departure almost exactly seventy years ago of the last 36 inhabitants. They were unable to continue life under the rigours of an almost inaccessible Atlantic homeland and by the unceasing loss of the younger generations to mainland employment and interests.

The islands are now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland. This year’s work received generous financial support from the Seven Pillars of Wisdom charitable trust and from Scottish Heritage USA. The excavators were volunteer members of NTS working parties led by a team from Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division. GUARD’s project director, Bob Will, identifies the find as by far the largest group of Iron Age finds on St Kilda. ‘It will greatly enhance our knowledge of the lives, diet and technology of those prehistoric inhabitants’ he says. ‘The more we look the more evidence we find that these remote islands were constantly occupied over the last 5,000 years or more’.

Robin Turner is the NTS Senior Archaeologist and is closely involved with St Kilda and its archaeological researchers. He too is delighted by the importance of the find and insists that St Kilda has many more secrets to reveal if searchers look in the right places.

Robin was one of the speakers at the recent Glasgow conference convened to mark the 70th anniversary of the 1930 exodus from St Kilda. Presenters from several UK universities and other bodies outlined recent archaeological and conservation work on the islands.

One conference feature was the launch of a new web site, a collaborative effort between NTS and Glasgow Museums. St Kilda is now certified as a World Heritage Site although because of its remote position only a few hundred people visit it each year. The website provides summaries of the main natural and cultural features of the islands and will be a useful study resource. It is sponsored by Historic Scotland and Scottish National Heritage and has had further funds from interested groups including NTS supporters in the USA. Hopes are that kilda.org.uk will be a focus for worldwide interest in this remote island group.

Geoffrey Borwick

TRACES OF ANCIENT HABITATION BENEATH THE BLACK SEA

Remains of an ancient structure discovered 311 feet below the Black Sea may prove to be concrete evidence that a Black Sea flood gave rise to the story of Noah’s Ark.

Robert Ballard, an explorer famous for finding the Titanic, and his research team have identified a wooden structure on a gently sloping shelf near the intersection of two submerged ancient river beds. This find, off the coast of northern Turkey, consists of the remains of a single building with a hewn beam and wooden branches, forming the walls and roof of a structure.

The structure represents the first evidence of human occupation of the Black Sea coast before its flooding. The wooden structure is the only building sighted so far during the expedition. As the search continues, the team hopes that additional finds will suggest a settlement pattern along the ancient coastline.

Last year, Ballard and his colleagues found proof that floodwaters inundated the Black Sea in the region north of Turkey. The place and date of the flood, which may have occurred c. 5500 BC, correspond to the time and location of the Old Testament account of Noah’s Ark.

Ballard searched for evidence according to a theory proposed by two marine geologists. William Ryan and Walter Pitman suggested that the Black Sea, which was originally a freshwater lake, filled rapidly with saltwater splitting from the Mediterranean Sea about 7,500 years ago. The flood, probably the result of thousands of years of meltwater collecting in the Mediterranean following the end of the last ice age, would have spread over a vast area of land and may have buried coastal settlements as it engulfed the ancient landscape.

During the 1999 expedition, Ballard’s team discovered a submerged ancient shoreline with a flat beach area beneath about 550 feet of water. The results of this expedition supported Ryan and Pitman’s theory.

RADIOCARBON DATING and paleontological evidence from a sample of shells and sediment collected from the site suggested that a massive flood occurred about 7,500 years ago.

Among the sediment samples was a piece of obsidian used by people in the ancient Near East to make blades and arrows. This suggested that the area had been inhabited. Ballard returned this year to search for further signs of human occupation.

Early this September the team noticed the rectangular feature at the intersection of two ancient river channels. The structure, approximately 12 metres long and 4 metres wide, appeared to be made of wood.

It is likely that the original structure was made of wattle and daub. This particular type of construction accounts for the wood not being carried away by the deluge. Mud would have quickly been dissolved by the rising waters leaving the wooden supports, sunk firmly into the ground, behind.

Although the structure does not lie within the Black Sea’s deep, oxygen-free waters, the site is well preserved due to its proximity to them. This prevented wood-consuming organisms from devouring the site as would have been the case in shallower waters.

Ballard’s team has been granted permission from the Turkish government to remove artefacts from the sea from their expedition. This co-operation allows the possibility of confirming the date of the structure, and perhaps of establishing a more precise date as to when the flooding of the Black Sea took place.
THE GOLDEN DEER OF THE RUSSIAN STEPPE

A sensational find of gold and silver objects dating from the 5th to 4th century BC was excavated from burial mounds at Filippovka in the southern Ural Mountains region of Russia between 1986 and 1990. Jerrold M. Eisenberg describes this important discovery and selects some of the most interesting objects in their first public exhibition now taking place at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Scythian and Sarmatian Treasures from the Russian Steppes.

In the late 1980s 25 kurgans (burial mounds), some belonging to tribal chieftains, were excavated at the burial site of Filippovka. The site is at the confluence of the Ural and Ilke Rivers, close to several other major Sarmatian sites in the Ural Mountains–Volga River region of Russia. At Filippovka the kurgans are spread out over a distance of about four miles forming an irregular curve. They were built over a period of some 30 to 50 years. The three principal kurgans are certainly royal burials and range in size from over 19 feet to over 22 feet in height. The others are only about one to five feet in height.

Most scholars have attributed such sites from the late 5th century and the early 4th century BC to the Sarmatians. However, Anaolii Pshenichenk believes that they were the creation of an independent nomadic tribe associated with the Sarmatians that lived in this area in the 4th century BC, and that they originated from the Sakas-Massagetae nomads to the east. Ann Farkas suggests that the people of Filippovka were instead members of a Sarmatian tribal confederation. The Sarmatians, who spoke an Iranian language, practiced a nomadic life similar to that of the Sarmatians and Scythians to the west.

Greek and Roman authors used the name Sarmatian to refer also to the Sarmatian tribes. The Greek historian Herodotus, in the 5th century BC, wrote that the Sarmatians were pastoral nomads who descended from the intermarriage of Scythians and Amazons. According to Herodotus, the Amazons who were put on board ships as prisoners of the Greeks following a battle, broke loose, killed their captors, and sailed to the Crimea on the far side of the Black Sea where they plundered the Scythians. Some of them soon married into the local nomadic tribes, thus bringing about the Sarmatians. The Sarmatian tribes probably descended from a similar intermarriage between the Sauromatians and invaders from the east. Some of the Sarmatians moved west during the late 4th century BC, displacing many of the Scythians of the northern Black Sea region.

Though K. F. Smirnov had suggested about 40 years ago that the Filippovka kurgans might be of Sarmatian–Sarmatian origin, excavations did not begin until 1986 by a team from what is now the Institute of History, Language, and Literature of the Ufa Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. During five seasons in the field 17 of the kurgans have been excavated, and only one large, kurgan 4, is yet to be explored. The larger and mid-sized kurgans were apparently family burials – they contained three or four people; in one, kurgan 7, eight people were interred. Tent-shaped superstructures built from the dead covered over a shallow burial chamber, with an entryway leading to the south. They were then covered with branches and finally with blocks of turf.

The largest burial mound, kurgan 1, was about 394 feet long and 338 feet wide. The number of the dead was from 59 to 66 feet wide; its entryway, leading to a gate, was 57 feet in length. The wooden superstructure, 72 to 82 feet in diameter, was held in place by bronze brackets. The treasure pits were just 31 by 20 inches and about three feet in depth. Even though the central burial chamber of kurgan 1 had been twice plundered in antiquity, the robbers missed two important funerary deposits located in a wooden structure above the tomb of the chieftain, which rose over 22 feet above the ground. Four large bronze cauldrons were also found in the burial chamber. An unusually large number of gold and silver artefacts remained; over 600 objects in gold and silver were excavated from this one kurgan, not counting the smaller gold plaques and other ornaments. The most exciting discovery, however, was that of 26 large deer carved from birch and willow,
The principal Eurasian cultures and nomadic groups during the 1st millennium BC. From the exhibition catalogue.

Fig 3 (right). Iron long sword with gold decoration. 4th century BC. L. 87.5 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/1212). Cat. no. 5. The pommel and cross guard are inlaid with gold wire in geometric patterns; the hilt is bound with very fine gold wire. The blade is inlaid with strips of gold and three pairs of stylized stag heads. Found at the entrance to the burial chamber of kurgan 1.

Fig 4 (bottom right). Iron aikakes (dagger) with gold decoration. Late 5th–early 4th century BC. L. 45 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/425). Cat. no. 6. This richly adorned weapon is composed of several plates of iron inlaid with undulating gold strips and griffin heads. The griffin heads on the pommel and cross guard are covered with gold. The midsection has been restored; the original dagger would have been about 55 cm in length. Found at the entrance to the burial chamber of kurgan 1.

The Golden Deer of Eurasia

engraved with ornamental patterns, topped with exaggerated, highly stylized antlers, and covered with sheets of gold (Figs 1-2, 5). They all once stood on silver-covered wooden bases.

The treasure pit 1 of kurgan 1 was originally filled with wooden vessels. These have greatly deteriorated, leaving nearly 350 gold plaques with both natural and fantastic animals which were used to decorate the bodies, rams, and handles of the various bowls, drinking cups, dippers, and ladles (Figs 7, 8, 15). An Achaemenid silver amphora with inlaid strips of gold, missing its handles, was also found in this treasure pit. An Achaemenid gold amphora (Fig 16) and two Achaemenid silver rhyta (Figs 17, 18), as well as a gold cup and a gold stand, were uncovered in treasure pit 2. This second pit also contained hammered gold plaques in animal style, including 20 of argali (wild sheep) (Fig 5), 29 of Bactrian camels (Fig 6), 54 of recumbent stags, and 63 heads of lion-like predators, all of which were probably attached to belts, straps, or cloaks.

Among the objects found on the floor to the entryway to kurgan 1 were a double-edged iron long sword inlaid with gold (Fig 3) and an iron aikakes (dagger) also richly adorned with gold (Fig 4). Found with them were a sandstone ‘whetstone’ with a gold cap and various horse trappings including a gold buckle, gold bridle decorations,
and gold-covered bronze rein dividers, all apparently belonging to an elite warrior-horseman.

The various objects excavated from the kurgans surrounding the main burial, such as weapons and horse trappings, are close in style to burial objects from the Volga-Ural Steppes, identified as Sarmatian. Until the Filipppovka excavations this type of art was thought to date from the end of the 1st millennium BC, but these new finds prove to be much earlier, dating to the early 4th century BC.

Although stags were overwhelmingly the favourite artistic subject of the finds, images of bears (Fig 6), boars, camels (Figs 14-16), elk, horses, leopards, rams, wild sheep (Fig 15), wolves (Figs 10, 14), birds of prey (14), fish, and griffins (Figs 4, 9) were also used. This is the largest variety of animal images ever found in a steppe burial. Stylistic affinities typical of eastern cultures, such as spiral-shaped decorations on the bodies of the animals, combined with several common stylistic characteristics of Scythian art found to the west, on the shores of the Black Sea. Several of the gold and bronze plaques also show similarities in style to those from Bactria and the region of present-day Kazakhstan.

Nearly all of the subjects used are common to those of Scythian art of the same period and to those of the later Sarmatian art. The static or ‘frozen’ pose of the Filipppovka animals, so evident in the stags, is unlike the action of most of the Scythian and Siberian animal depictions. The vitality and exaggerated decoration of these animals, however, have no parallel in this area and relate more closely to the distant art styles of the Altai Mountains of Siberia and to those of western China. The bronze and wood animals found in the excavations at Gordion, near modern Ankara, Turkey, c. 700 BC, are also very close in form to the stags of Filipppovka.

In addition, some of the gold and silver treasures unearthed appear to be of Iranian origin in classic Achaemenid style (Figs 11-13). These were the only obviously foreign objects found at Filipppovka and may have belonged to a Achaemenid dignitary who attended the funeral ceremonies. These and many of the fine pieces found in the excavation were used during the funeral and then were buried in the two treasure pits (Figs 5-16).

**THE GOLDEN DEER OF EURASIA: SCYTHIAN AND SARMATIAN TREASURES FROM THE RUSSIAN STEPPES.**

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, and the Archaeological Museum, Ufa.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
12 October 2000 - 4 February 2001

Palazzo Reale, Milan
Spring 2001

An exhibition organised by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, and the Archaeological Museum, Ufa.

Catalogue, edited by Joan Aruz, Ann Farkas, Andrei Alekseyev, and Elena Korolkova. 320 pp, 335 illus, 280 in colour of all objects; paperback $45, hardback $65.

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Fig 5 (above). One of nine wooden stags covered with gold, the reverse with silver. 4th century BC. H. 41 to 42 cm; L. 21.5 to 22 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/1217). Cat. no. 21. They are each carved from a single piece of wood; the varying patterns and carving techniques betray the hands of several artisans. A total of nine of these smaller figures were found in treasure pit 1 of kurgan 1.

Fig 6 (below). Gold plaque attachments for a bear-shaped vessel. 4th century BC. H. of head 9.8 cm, L. 17.2 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/1-6). Cat. no. 23. The bear's head, inlaid with red and blue glass, of which only one side is preserved, fit over a wooden core and was pinned to a wooden vessel that was probably about 30 cm in diameter. The legs 'formed the feet of the vessel. All of the various vessels found at Filipppovka - drinking cups, dippers, and ladles - are of simple wooden construction; their beauty lies in the gold decorations in which they were clad or to which they were attached, such as the bear's head and feet.

Found in treasure pit 1 of kurgan 1.

Fig 7. Two gold stag-shaped plaques. 4th century BC. H. 3.8-3.9 cm; W. 5.5 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/29, 30). Cat. no. 28. These plaques adorned the rim of a wooden vessel. The spiral patterns resemble those of the larger wooden stags.

Found in treasure pit 1 of kurgan 1.
The Golden Deer of Eurasia

Fig 8 (left). Seven gold stag-shaped plaques. 4th century BC. H. 2.2 to 2.4 cm, W. 4.3 to 4.5 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/84-88, 90, 91). Cat. no. 39. The highly stylized and contorted foreparts form dramatic patterns. Found in treasure pit 1 of kurgan 1.

Fig 9 (above). Gold griffin head handle. 4th century BC. L. of head and neck 20.2 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/241a-c, 247). Cat. no. 72. The head and neck were formed separately. One of the blue glass inlaid eyes is still preserved. The handle and connecting gold plaque probably were attached to a wooden ladle. Found in treasure pit 1 of kurgan 1.

Fig 10 (above). Gold handle in the form of a wolf-like predator. 4th century BC. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/246). Cat. no. 76. The inlays are missing from this handle which was hammered over a wooden mould and attached to a wooden vessel. The teardrops enclosing spiral coils represent the haunches and shoulders; the deep curved lines, the fur. A similar handle was attached to an openwork plaque with two stags covered with spirals and facing one another. Found in treasure pit 1 of kurgan 1. A related Sarmatian gold vessel with a handle in the form of an elk with turquoise, coral, and glass inlays, dating to the 1st century AD, was found at Novocherkassk in the lower Don River area. Now in the Hermitage, it shows the extended use of this handle type, though the teardrops now enclose glass inlays rather than spiral coils (Cat. no. 132 in the related exhibition of Scythian and Sarmatian treasures).

Fig 11. Achaemenid gold amphora. 5th century BC. H. 23 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/384). Cat. no. 93. This impressive double-walled Iranian vessel weighs 1.3 kg. Each of the two hollow handles are in the form of a monstrosus, its hind legs grasping a cylinder terminating in the forepaw of a lion. Found in treasure pit 2 of kurgan 1.
The Golden Deer of Eurasia

Fig 12. Achaemenid silver rhyton. 5th to 4th century BC. H. 21 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/386). Cat. no. 94. This horn-shaped drinking cup, another Iranian import, is joined to a protome in the form of a calf. The small hole for pouring is at the base of the protome. Found in treasure pit 2 of kurgan 1.

Fig 13. Achaemenid partially gilt silver rhyton. 5th to 4th century BC. H. 14.4 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/388). Cat. no. 95. The cylindrical rhyton, also an Iranian vessel, has horizontal bands of fluting above and a lotus petal design below, all gilded with alternating stripes. There is a small pouring hole at the bottom. Found in treasure pit 2 of kurgan 1.

Fig 14. Gold openwork ornament (both sides are shown). 5th to 4th century BC. H. 4.8 cm; D. 9.5 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/389). Cat. no. 96. This massive (0.6 kg) object may have served as a shield or quiver ornament. It is decorated with two Bactrian camels following one another, with a wolf and a bird of prey in between. Found in treasure pit 2 of kurgan 1.

Fig 15. Seven gold argali-shaped plaques. 4th century BC. Average H. 4.6 cm; average W. 5.2 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/433, 576, 582, 583, 590-592). Cat. no. 97. Spiral elements predominate on these plaques of wild sheep. The hollow heads and horns were each soldered together from two parts. Twenty of these plaques were found in treasure pit 2 of kurgan 1.

Fig 16. Three gold plaques depicting fighting Bactrian camels. 4th century BC. Average H. 4.1 cm; average W. 5.2 cm. Archaeological Museum, Ufa (831/440, 448, 450). Cat. no. 98. Tiny holes pierced along the edges probably indicate that they were sewn onto a garment. In treasure pit 2 of kurgan 1 29 of these plaques were found.
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SCYTHIAN AND SARMATIAN TREASURES FROM THE HERMITAGE

In order to demonstrate the relationship between the people of Filippovka, creators of the 'golden deer', and both neighbouring and far away cultures, the State Hermitage Museum of St Petersburg has lent the Metropolitan Museum of Art a further 100 works of art for the exhibition The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Scythian and Sarmatian Treasures from the Russian Steppes, including some of their most spectacular objects from the fabled Gold Room.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Editor-in-Chief of Minerva, selects some of his favourites, most of which he first viewed in Russia some 30 years ago.

Scythian art

The art of the Scythians, found primarily in the Pontic Steppes in the Crimea, bordering the Black Sea, was limited primarily to recumbent deer and mountain goats, and felines both coiled and with lowered heads. In the 5th and 4th century BC the image of the wolf was taken from Sarmatian art and the elk was adapted from the representations in the art of southern Siberia. The bodies of the animals usually have large, distinctive planes and the features were often exaggerated. The recumbent position of the stag, with their legs folded beneath the body (Fig 1), the dominant image of this animal style, could either represent galloping animals or those destined for sacrifice. Artists from other regions, such as Assyria, Urartu, and Ionian Greece (Figs 3-6) produced many of the Scythian's treasures and their heritages are reflected in the various styles.

The ornate scabbards and gorytos covers (Figs 5, 6), the so-called 'Trojan' pieces, were most probably produced in a workshop in the Cimmerian Bosporus, perhaps Pantikapaion, which was the capital of the Cimmerian Bosporus kingdom, since they were found in an area surrounding it. Andrei Alekseyev, in his catalogue entry for the gorytos, suggests that the production and distribution of such precious ceremonial works from Pantikapaion to the kings and chieftains of the region was partially the result of ambassadorial delegations sent by the Bosporan ruler Parisades I, in the 340's BC. If the scene on the gorytos cover does indeed represent a Greek interpretation of a Scythian or Iranian coming-of-age epic, then the various rulers may have been presented with these golden objects on the occasion of their becoming leaders of their people. It should be noted that the young ruler is being presented with a bow rather than a sword, thus it becomes a representation of a Scythian scene rather than a Greek one.

By the 4th century BC the representation of the animal was secondary, the most important consideration was now the ornamentation and the animals became two-dimensional and more simplified. A simplified linear engraving was often substituted for the intricate executed spirals in relief on the bodies of the animals. Their superb sense of composition enabled them to convey the full might of the animal even though the image of the animal itself might have

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Fig. 1. Gold shield emblem in the form of a stag. Scythian, late 7th century BC. H. 19 cm; L. 31.7 cm. The State Hermitage (GE 2408/1). Cat. no. 140. This dynamic, stylized animal, so emblematic of Scythian art of the period, combines elements of both realism and abstraction. Herodotus (4.60) describes Scythian sacrificial animals in such a pose - a posture of defeat, with the head raised and the legs folded beneath the body. There were once inlays of coloured glass in the eye and ear. Excavated in 1897 by N. I. Veselovskii in the Kostromskai kurgan, Krasnodar district of the Kuban region, Russia.

Fig. 2. Gold vessel depicting Scythians. Scythian, 2nd 1/2 of 4th century BC. H. 13 cm. The State Hermitage (GE KO 11). Cat. no. 146. This famous gold vessel features a Scythian strunging his bow. This scene is flanked by two others depicting Scythians, all bearded and also wearing typical garb: long belted jackets over leggings tucked into boots; two are wearing pointed helmets. All wear gorytos with bows suspended from their belts. In one a warrior wraps a handgrip around the foot of another warrior; in the other a warrior examines a jaw wound of his companion. D. S. Raevskii considers it illustrative of Herodotus's account (4.9-10) of the divine origin of the Scythian kingdom. The youngest son of Herakles, Scythes, became the ruler after he successfully strung his father's bow. His two brothers were wounded in the foot and jaw in their unsuccessful attempts to accomplish the feat.
Scythian Gold

been completely overpowered by the intricacy of the composition.

The art of the Altai nomads
There is little record yet of the nomads of the Altai, who occupied the easternmost part of the Eurasian steppes, bordering on the Altai Mountains southwest of Mongolia, although Herodotus possibly alludes to them in his account of the Arianspans, who forced out the Issedones. Their grave sites were in the mountains, where they went in the winter to avoid the snow and to graze their cattle. The elite burials at the mountain valley of Pazyryk, 6th to 5th century BC, so remarkably preserved due to the permafrost of the area, presented the world with a remarkable record of these people (Figs 7-10). The excavations, begun in 1929 by M. P. Grizanov and continued from 1947 to 1949 by S. I. Rudenko, and expanded by Rudenko in 1950 and 1954 to the central Altai region, are referred to as the big Altai kurgans.

Liudmila Barkova, in describing the kurgans and their amazing finds in the exhibition catalogue, notes that all of these kurgans had been plundered. In addition to the bodies of the chieftains and their wives or concubines in decorated sarcophagi carved from tree trunks, there were many horses buried together with their decorative trappings and felt saddle covers (Fig 10). Felt rugs also were used to cover walls and floors.

Nearly all of the objects found in the Altai region are decorated with elaborate zoomorphic images including stags, elks, mountain goats, tigers, and quite often griffins or griffin heads, representing the forces of...
Carved from cedar wood and commonly combined with antlers or other attachments cut out from leather, the animals often acquired a fantastic appearance, joining elements from different animals, for example a tiger with antlers (Fig 7), adding plant forms such as lotus buds atop their heads, or, as in one carving, creating a triskele form out of three elk heads. Much of the Altai art is executed in wood and bone and many of the techniques used for carving these mediums were transferred to their metalwork. Fabrics were well preserved in these kurgans and many examples were found made from local and Persian wool, Chinese silk, and their exceptionally thin felt. A finely knotted (3600 knots per square inch) wool rug found at Pazyryk, dating to the 5th or 4th century BC, is the oldest example of a knotted rug yet found.

As a result of contacts with the peoples of Iran, India, and China during the 5th century BC, these animal representations underwent changes. Animal combat, introduced from Iran, entered the repertoire (Fig 9) as did the Achaemenid geometric patterns, which were executed in colours brought in from Siberia. The animals were decorated with paint and inlaid with coloured felt and leather, as well as gold and tin. With their simple tools the Altai nomads produced works of such artistry that even today, as Barkova states, they can be considered masterpieces of the applied arts.

Bronzes from the Minusinsk Basin
In eastern Siberia, far north of the Altai, the tribes of the Tagar culture occupied a steppe zone of the Yenisei River in the Minusinsk Basin from the 7th to 3rd century BC. Their kurgans were marked by tall stones at the corners and were easily visible, thus they were robbed not only in antiquity, but also in the 18th century when Siberia was settled by the Russians. Since the area was rich in copper and tin, nearly all of their objects were cast from bronze or copper. Most of the items found were finials, knives, and plaques adorned primarily with images of stags, elk, and mountain goats. The latter, a significant animal to the Tagar people, was usually posed as if it were perched on top of a mountain (Fig 11). The shoulder blades and hips of the animals were emphasized, as were their large round and hollow eyes. The depictions were limited primarily to single animals or animal heads. There were no mythical animals in their repertoire, nor were there scenes of combat – the Tagar apparently were free from such overtones of religion and strife.

Goldwork from the Siberian collection of Peter the Great
The famous collection of gold objects belonging to Peter the Great (Figs 12, 13), now housed in the Gold Room of the State Hermitage, was instituted by Prince Marvei P. Gagarin, the governor of Siberia, who first sent an assemblage of these treasures to the Czar in 1715. Peter had requested that Gagarin find more objects like those originally sent and he fulfilled his orders most admirably. Following the death of Peter in 1725 the collection was housed in the Kunstkammer, where it remained until 1859, at which time it was removed to the Winter Palace. The following year it was transferred to its permanent home, the Hermitage. Three of these magnificent objects are included in the present exhibition.

The collection was not properly published until 1962 when S. I. Rudenko described most of the objects in his Sibirskake kollektsii Petra I. Since most of these objects were accidental finds they lack proper documentation, however recent excavations in western Siberia at the Tuurinskii cemetery, yeti unpublished, have produced similar gold and silver objects, so that soon scholars will have significant information on the material found in this region.

The reader should note that it is the writer's contention that a number of the treasures sent to Peter the Great
were produced for him by order of Gagarin, or by Nikita Demidov, a wealthy Siberian mine owner, who, according to some writers, presented part of this collection to Catherine the Great in 1715 upon the birth of her son. He also believes that other gold pieces were manufactured for Russian archaeologists at later dates in order to insure their funding for future excavations. This occasioned his visit to the Gold Room in 1970, at which time the curator graciously allowed him to spend several hours to study the objects. See his article ‘The Aesthetics of the Forger’, Minerva, May/June 1992, pp. 10-15, in which he discusses at length the Kul Oba gold stag supposedly found in 1830 and now in the Hermitage.

Fig 8. Cedar and leather stag-shaped finial. Altai culture, 5th century BC. H. 11.5 cm. The State Hermitage (GE 1684/154), Catalogue no. 194. This powerful though small wooden sculpture has a realistic body, but the leather antlers are highly exaggerated. The resulting figure is a masterpiece in miniature. The stag was originally covered with gold and served as the head of a large pin. One of four such sculptures excavated in 1947 by S. I. Rudenko from kurgan 2 at Pazyryk in the Altai Mountains, Russia.

Fig 7. Leather applique of tiger with antlers. Altai culture, 6th century BC. H. 13 cm; L. 14 cm. The State Hermitage (GE 2179/912), Catalogue no. 185. Fantastic animal and animal forms were a specialty of the Altai. Cut-out applique animals with spiral, triangular, and teardrop shapes figure prominently in their repertoire. Similar animals have been found on southern Siberian and Central Asian petroglyphs, as well as on Tuva metalwork, ranging in date from the 5th to 3rd century BC. Excavated in 1954 by S. I. Rudenko from kurgan 1 at Tuetsk in the Altai Mountains, Russia.

Fig 9. Cedar and leather finial of a head of a griffin holding the head of a stag in its beak. Altai culture, 5th century BC. L. 23 cm; W. 16.5 cm. The State Hermitage (GE 1684/169), Catalogue no. 195. The purpose for this magnificent carving is unclear; it may have been a decorative headdress for a horse. The antlers, wings, crest, and ears are made of leather. Each antler branch ends in the head of a rooster. These bird head terminations are common in animal style art. Excavated in 1947 by S. I. Rudenko from kurgan 2 at Pazyryk in the Altai Mountains, Russia.

Fig 10. Felt hanging fragment with a winged stag-demon. Altai culture, 5th–4th century BC. H. 110 cm; W. 80 cm. The State Hermitage (GE 1687/1), Catalogue no. 196. This demon, combining the features of a human, a stag, and lion, and a bird, probably has its origin in the Near East. In some of the reliefs at Persepolis the Iranian kings battle a similar monster. On the other hand, the phoenix facing him, of which only a small fragment remains, is of Chinese origin, probably based upon silk embroideries. It was excavated in 1949 by S. I. Rudenko from the burial chamber of kurgan S at Pazyryk in the Altai Mountains, Russia, the same chamber in which a large wooden chariot and horses were inferred.
Scythian Gold

Bronzes from the Minusinsk Basin
Fig 11. Bronze finial in the form of a mountain goat. Siberian, 8th-7th century BC. H. 18.8 cm. The State Hermitage (GE 1121/7). Catalogue no. 201. This pose of an animal with its hooves drawn together, as if about to leap off a cliff or mountain, is typical of finials from the eastern steppes. Such finials are often found in burials with chariots or horses. This lively animal and its mount are hollow and were cast by the lost wax process. From the Yenisei district of the Krasnoyarsk region, Russia; acquired in 1735 from the G. F. Miller collection.

Fig 12. Gold, turquoise, and coral neck ornament. Central Asian, 5th-4th century BC. D. 14.8 cm. The State Hermitage (GE 11727 1/67). Catalogue no. 208. Four recumbent felines are attached to the top of this ornament composed of three tubes with strips in between of turquoise and coral inlays set in gold diamond-shaped and round hollow forms. Similar feline forms, often gold covered, are set on wooden necklets found in Big Altai kurgans. This neck ornament was presented to Peter the Great in 1716 by the governor of Siberia, Prince Matvei Gagarin.

Fig 13. Gold belt plaque. Siberian, 5th-4th century BC. H. 12.1 cm; W. 15.2 cm. The State Hermitage (GE 11727 1/61). Catalogue no. 212. This remarkable openwork composition, cast in high relief, depicts a man and a woman sitting beneath a tree, a second man lies on the ground, his head in her lap. Her tall headdress and coiffure appear to be bound into the tree. The seated man holds the reins of two horses standing by his side. Certain characteristics of their dress, the gorytos hanging from the tree, and of the horses' manes, bridles, and collars, connect the nomadic tribes of the Altai to their Siberian contemporaries. In one interpretation, M. P. Gribanov suggests that the scene represents a tale in a Turkic-Mongolian epic: a dead hero, lying beneath a poplar tree, is brought back to life by his wife and sworn brother. This was an accidental find in 1716 which entered the collection of Peter the Great.

Photographs by Bruce White, © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Figs 1-4, 7, 10-11, 13), and by Leonard Kheifits and Vladimir Terebenin, © State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (Figs 5-6, 8-9, 12).

The text and captions are based upon those published in the exhibition catalogue, which were written by Liudmila Galanina (Fig 1), Liudmila Maradulov (Fig 2), Andrei Aleksyev (Figs 3-4), Liudmila Barkova (Figs 7-10), Leonid Maradulov (Fig 11), and Maria Zavitukhina (Figs 12-13), all of the Department of Archaeology, The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg.

MINERVA 18
EGYPTIAN ART AT
ETON COLLEGE:
Selections from the Myers Museum

Catherine H. Roehrig

The Myers Museum at Eton College possesses one of the world's finest collections of ancient Egyptian decorative arts. The majority of the collection was acquired by Major William Joseph Myers, who attended Eton between 1871 and 1875. Posted to Cairo in the 1880s, Myers developed a passion for the exquisite small works of art that the ancient Egyptians produced for more than three millennia. During his five year sojourn in Egypt and on three subsequent visits, Myers acquired a collection of such renown that he was among the first to be approached when the Burlington Fine Arts Club organized its first exhibition of Egyptian art in 1895.

After leaving Eton, Myers retained close ties with his old school, and he bequeathed his collection of Egyptian art to the college, where it has been housed since his untimely death in 1899, during the Boer War. In the succeeding years, the collection has been used primarily for teaching purposes, and thus is little known outside the Eton community, although Egyptologists fortunate enough to be acquainted with the collection have cited individual pieces in articles and borrowed them for exhibitions.

In the autumn of 1999, a special exhibition 'The Collector's Art' (20 September 1999-30 June 2000) opened at Eton to commemorate the centenary of the Myers bequest. In the summer of 2000, a group of approximately 150 objects travelled to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for the exhibition 'Egyptian Art at Eton College: Selections from the Myers Museum' (26 September 2000-21 January 2001). In these exhibitions, the quality and scope of the Myers collection has been presented to a broad audience for the first time.

The Myers collection includes works that span the entire history of ancient Egypt, from the Predynastic era to the Roman Period. Indeed, one of the finest pieces in the collection is the mummy portrait of a Roman army officer from the time of the emperor Lucius Verus (Fig 2). Myers was not a student of Egyptology, and he collected pieces that were pleasing to the eye, and of a size that could be displayed in a Victorian drawing room. He was particularly attracted to works of Egyptian faience, which he chose for their delicate detail, graceful shape, and brilliant glaze.

He was able to acquire a number of almost perfectly preserved faience chalices, some imitating the form of the blue lotus (Fig 3) and others the more open white lotus (Fig 4). For the New York exhibition, eight examples have been chosen that trace the development of both types from their earliest appearance in the 18th Dynasty to the zenith of their production in the 22nd Dynasty. Myers also assembled an enviable collection of New Kingdom faience bowls decorated with motifs connected with the goddess Hathor (Fig 5), nine of which are included in the Metropolitan exhibition.

Not surprisingly, the 3rd Intermediate Period, one of the high points for faience manufacture, is especially well represented in the Myers collection. A series of five faience counterpoises, each decorated with the head of a goddess, are particularly interesting for their varied interpretations of the same motif (Fig 6). The more delicate openwork counterpoises, a pair of openwork bead spacers, and a fragile, but perfectly preserved openwork ring are noteworthy for the intricate detail of their decoration.

Myers also focused on pieces that were rare or historically important.
Perhaps the best known piece in the collection is the electrum pectoral from the 12th Dynasty (Figs 8, 9). Once inlaid with semi-precious stones, the pendant depicts Horus as a falcon-headed sphinx confronting Seth. Although most of the inlays are missing, the exquisite detailing of the back is as fine as that on the Metropolitan’s own inlaid pectoral of the same period. Also from the 12th Dynasty is the fragment of a glazed steatite sistrum inscribed with the names of Senwosret I (Fig 10). From several centuries later, a large tube in the form of a papyrus column is inscribed with the names of Amenhotep II of Dynasty 18 (Fig 11). Around the bottom of the tube is a register with four horses, each with a name written above his back.

More unusual are a pair of bronze cattle brands from the time of Akhenaten (Fig 12), and an interesting wood frame for a round-topped stela that is inscribed with the names of Thutmose II and of Hatshepsut as ruler (Fig 13). Considering when the piece was acquired, more than a century ago, this must have been one of the few objects at that time which preserved part of the titulary of Hatshepsut.

Although Major Myers was particularly fond of objects made of faience, he also acquired several fine pieces of sculpture. The most exquisite is the upper half of a wood statuette of a middle-aged official from the Middle Kingdom (Fig 14). Also of interest is the almost perfectly preserved, painted wood statue of a female offering bearer with an inscription naming Hapikem, an official from the area around Meir (Fig 15).

The Myers collection is also rich in cosmetic vessels (Fig 16), inlays, shabtis, scarabs, and other amulets (Fig 17, 18), a large selection of which are on view in New York. Notable among these are a tiny amulet of a cat perched atop a papyrus column (Fig 18), and a superb red jasper inlay from the time of Seti I of the 19th Dynasty (Fig 19). There are also several pieces in the collection that have no exact parallels in Egyptian art. One is a rectangular box made of thick bevelled slabs of faience (Fig 20). The immediate impression one gets is of a miniature coffin – perhaps for a shabti. Another unique piece, added later to the collection, is the small flax ‘doll’ with hair of faience beads (Fig 21). This was presented to Eton by Percy Newberry, an Egyptologist who worked on the Myers collection in the 1930s.

EGYPTIAN ART AT ETON COLLEGE:
Selections from the
Myers Museum
Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York
Tel: +1 (212) 535 7710
A full colour catalogue is available highlighting 100 of the objects on view at the two venues. Essays by Stephen Spurr, Nicholas Reeves, and Stephen Quirke. The exhibition and catalogue have been jointly organized by The Myers Museum, Eton College, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Catalogue $16.95 or £10.00 (at the Myers Museum).
Fig 6 (left). Faience counterpoise with the head of a goddess. 3rd Intermediate Period, 22nd Dynasty, c. 945 BC. H. 5 1/8 in. (13 cm.) ECM 1670. Catalogue no. 67.

Fig 7 (left). Faience openwork counterpoise. 3rd Intermediate Period, 22nd Dynasty, c. 945 BC. H. 3 1/2 in. (9 cm.) ECM 1669. Catalogue no. 67.

Fig 8 (below left). Obverse of an electrum pectoral ornament with remains of lapis lazuli, carnelian, and amazonite inlay. Middle Kingdom, mid-12th Dynasty, c. 1997-1841 BC. H. 1 1/2 in. (3.8 cm.) ECM 1585. Photo Clarissa Bruce. Catalogue no. 8.

Fig 9 (bottom left). Reverse of same. Photo Clarissa Bruce.

Fig 10 (above). Glazed steatite sistrum element with the names of Senwosret I. Middle Kingdom, early 12th Dynasty, c. 1971-1926 BC. H. 2 1/2 in. (6.5 cm.) ECM 1588. Photo Bill Barrette. Catalogue no. 7.

Fig 11 (below). Glazed steatite cosmetic tube with the names of Amenhotep II. New Kingdom, mid-18th Dynasty, c. 1427-1400 BC. H. 6 1/4 in. (16 cm.) ECM 1631. Catalogue no. 20.
**Egyptian Art**

Fig 14 (right). Upper half of a wood statuette of a man, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, c. 1825 BC. H: 5/16 in. (13.5 cm.) ECM 1474. Catalogue no. 10.

**Catherine H. Roehrig** is Associate Curator of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and curator of this exhibition in New York.

Fig 15 (bottom right). Painted wood offering bearer. Late Old Kingdom, c. 2150 BC. From Meir. H: 17 3/8 in. (44 cm.) ECM 1591. Catalogue no. 4.

Fig 13 (below). Wood frame of a stela with the names of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut. New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, reign of Hatshepsut, c. 1473-1458 BC. H: 11 5/8 in. (29.5 cm.) ECM 1888.

Fig 12 (above). Bronze brand, New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, reign of Akhenaten, c. 1349-1336 BC. H: 3 in. (7.7 cm.) ECM 1771. Not in catalogue.
Fig 16 (right). Faience cosmetic dish in the shape of an oryx. New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, c. 1375 BC. L: 4 3/8 in. (11 cm.) ECM 799. Catalogue no. 34.

Fig 17 (left). Faience amulet of Isis and Horus. Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 22, c. 924 BC. H: 2 1/8 in. (5.5 cm.) ECM 1532. Catalogue no. 76.

Unless otherwise indicated, all photographs by Oi- Cheong Lee of the Photograph Studio of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photographs by kind permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

Fig 18 (right). Faience amulet of a cat on a papyrus column. Third Intermediate Period, 22nd Dynasty, c. 945 BC. H: 4.5 cm. Not in catalogue.

Fig 19 (below). Red jasper inlay. New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty, reign of Seti I, c. 1294-1279 BC. H: 1 3/8 in. (3.5 cm.) ECM 1655. Catalogue no. 61.

Fig 20 (bottom right). Model coffin of faience. 17th - early 18th Dynasty (?), c. 1633-1525 BC. H: 2 in. (6.5 cm.) ECM 1852. Not in catalogue.

Fig 21 (below). Flax doll with faience beads. Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, c. 1991-1783 BC. H: 3 in. (7.5 cm.) ECM 1843. Photograph by Clarissa Bruce. Catalogue no. 11.
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EGYPTIAN MAGIC at the Louvre

The exhibition ‘Heka: Magic and Enchantment in Ancient Egypt’ explores one of the most interesting aspects of Egyptian magic: the heka; an understanding of which is key to not only understanding Egyptian magic but also Egyptian society as a whole.

Marc Etienne

Most of the items in the exhibition are from the Louvre’s Egyptian department, including some from their reserve collections. Pieces are also on loan from other departments of the museum, other French museums, and also from the Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire in Brussels, the Kestner Museum in Hannover, and from the Ägyptische Sammlung in Munich. These generous loans allow the Louvre exhibition to display some famous monuments for the first time in France, and provide an opportunity to examine aspects of magic not represented in the permanent collection. Around 260 objects are displayed in four rooms and recreate the magician’s universe. The exhibits also show how elements of Egyptian magic evolved in Greek, Roman, Coptic, and Arabic magic.

‘Guard this spell, let no one watch it or know it!’ This small exhibition has had to break this common warning found in Egyptian magical texts, but perhaps the exhibition will help change people’s perceptions of Egyptian magic and its implications in Egyptian society, and dispel some of the erroneous and misleading clichés about ancient Egypt so frequently expounded today.

What is the heka?
‘He (the sun-god) gave them (mankind) the heka as a weapon in order to ward off the effect of dangerous events’. This is probably the most precise definition of the heka and is found in the Middle Kingdom teaching of Amenemhat I. The heka is divine creation, a gift from the sun-god to mankind (his offspring). It empowers man to create something on the basis of words or speech, just as the heka helped the sun-god to create the universe. The god Heka appears among the crew of the solar bark, represented as a bearded man wearing the nemes headdress and also as a hieroglyph used since 1000 BC to write his name: the hindquarters of a lion (Fig 1). This sign is also used to write the words ‘god’ and ‘power’. Heka can also be depicted as a young child with a solar disk on his head, and in this case he is often considered to be the son of the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet.

Visualizing the enemy
Heka magic is a weapon for protection, but who or what is the enemy? The Egyptian universe was divided into several worlds: the realm of the dead, the divine world, and the mortal world. The enemy could come from any one of these worlds, in a tangible shape if he came from our world, but without shape if he came from one of the other realms. In this case, the Egyptian magician had to trap his opponent in a solid and precise shape in order to be able to fight him. For this reason enchantment figures were made (Fig 2). These figures quite literally captured these intangible external forces, trapping them in a solid shape for the magician to act upon.

The divine opponents
Among the Egyptian divine entities, only two of them are qualified in the magical texts as an ‘enemy’: Apophis and the god Seth. Apophis is the great enemy of Ra the sun god. He
tries to stop the sun rising and so plunge the universe back to its original inertia, by trying to stop the movement of the solar bark of the night by hypnotising the crew. Only the fierce god Seth can stand his glare and slay him, allowing a new dawn to occur. But Apophis is immortal and, after each sunset, the ‘great fight’ has to start again.

The god Seth is far more ambiguous. He plays a positive role in the daily preservation of the solar cycle, but is also known for his ‘great crime’: the murder of his brother Osiris. In the exhibition several Late Period bronze and stone figures portray the various steps of his dramatic story.

Religion and magic
Anthropologists have maintained that magic was a primitive or degenerate form of religion, something typical of a non-evolved society where private concerns came before those of the group. However, in pharaonic Egypt the distinction between magic and religion is difficult to define. Organised religion included numerous magical rituals in its daily liturgy and in great feasts. Rituals and ritual objects were often closely linked with the god that presided over them.

This interconnection is illustrated in the exhibition by the ritual of the four balls from the temple of Osiris in Abydos. The corpse of the god, Osiris, desecrated by his brother and murderer Seth, was said to be buried in the desert necropolis of this city. His body had to be guarded from evil attack and preserved for eternity.

Therefore a daily magical ritual was performed with four clay balls. Each ball was associated with one of the violent lion-headed goddesses charged with the protection of one of the directions of the compass: Udjaty, Sekhmet, Bastet, and Sechemet. Each goddess represented an aspect of the sun god’s eye (Fig 3) and each name was written on a clay ball. The priest would throw these balls to the south, the north, the east, and the west. Some excerpts of the spell were also used by individuals worn around the neck as a magical protection against snakes, and some scribes would copy magical texts for their own use or to make individual amulets on request.

State and magic
In Ancient Egypt magic was not only the concern of individuals performing rituals on their own behalf, the state was also closely linked with magic. Egypt was regarded as the birthplace of the world, and was thought to be closely modelled on the cosmic world. Beyond Egypt’s boundaries, chaos and disorder threatened. In practice the threat came mainly from Egypt’s neighbours in the Middle East and Africa. But social order within the country was considered a necessity to fulfill Egypt’s sense of itself as close to the divine; if Egypt’s peace was threatened then, it was believed, the entire peace of the Universe was at threat.

It was one of the pharaoh’s functions to be keeper of this cosmic order on earth. Any enemy of Egypt was seen as an ally of the divine opponents Apophis or Seth. The decoration of the temple facade of the royal

Fig 3. ODJFAT EYE. Carnelian and glass. New Kingdom. 1150-1069 BC. W: 4.1 H: 3.5 cm. Louvre E 1121.

Fig 4. Nubian prisoner: decorative tile from Ramesses III’s palace at Tell el Yahudiah. Faience. New Kingdom. 20th dynasty. H: 14.2 cm, W: 9.7 cm. Louvre E 7651 B.

Magic, a user’s guide
How to use heka magic? Two essential components were involved in an Egyptian magical spell: spoken word and movements of the body. Thus, any one who could write and speak could, in theory, perform magic.

The speaker, the ‘magician’, would identify himself to the god
The everyday opponent
Heka magic could also help mankind ward off the evil effects of naturally occurring events. Some of the fears of the Egyptian man are explored in the last room of the exhibition.

Divine wrath
Among all calamities, divine wrath was the most feared. It was thought to be responsible for illness, death and calamities. The lion-headed goddess Sekhmet embodied the god's rage because she was created by Ija when he was angry with mankind after their rebellion. She was seen as the god's eye - created to exterminate rebels. Plagues were thought to be the effect of her arrows, and her activity was especially dangerous at New Year's Eve. The goddess had to be appeased during the whole year with offerings in order to restrain her dangerous nature.

The Egyptians also sought protection from other means. One of them was by using a divine decree written on small papyri rolled up and worn around the neck as an amuletic pendant. The text inside listed the possible kinds of danger that could harm the wearer and how the gods would keep them away.

Disease and bad luck
Egyptian physicians had a great reputation in antiquity. Precise diagnoses and magical spells to expel disease can be found on medical papyri. Magic was thus used as a complementary technique to help to cure illness. Disease was thought to be caused by a harsh wind often compared with Sekhmet's breath. It could also be caused by dead people if their corpses had been destroyed and their ba, similar to the soul, was unable to find its way back to earth from the Netherworld after its 'anchor' to the world (the body) had been taken away. The ba, depicted as a human-headed bird, would then have to try and settle in another body if it could not return to the original one. It could enter the human body through the natural apertures of the head. The visible manifestation of this parasitic presence was thought to be disease. Anyone could be possessed in this way, and to prevent attack people wore a small amulet with a papyrus text. The house could also be protected against these harmful creatures. Windows or the door jambs were often painted in red or bore spells or the image of protective gods. Among these, the grinning dwarf Bes (Fig 5) and the monstrous hippo goddess Taweret were the most popular. They are often represented on headrests holding knives or shooting arrows at the enemy to protect the sleeper against the attack.

Dead people could also be responsible for bad luck if the living did not look after their tombs and prevent any danger to the preservation of their bodies. They could generate avarice and use illusion to compel people to act to their advantage. They could also appear as ghastly floating in the air and speaking. From the end of the New Kingdom they often appear as the main subject in folk tales, and, generally, if the ghost gets what he wants he ceases to torment the living.

Bad luck could also be the result of the evil eye, compared to the mesmerizing and dreadful look of Apophis. People who possessed this evil eye could be kept at bay by amulets bearing the image of the good eye of Horus.

Venomous animals
Poisonous animals were a daily risk in ancient Egyptian daily life. Snakes and scorpions were considered to be the accomplices of Seth and Apophis and thus deserving of an exemplary punishment. The king was thought to be an efficient defender and this concept is found in the image of the god Ched. Whose name means 'the saviour' or 'the conjurer'. He is represented as a young prince with a side-lock holding a bow and arrow and trampling over animals of the desert. He could also grab snakes in his fist
and hand them to Isis his mother. Ched was one aspect of Horus: Harpocrates, 'Horus the child' (Fig 6) especially on the so-called 'cippus of Horus stela'. The name of these monuments derives from the representation of their front side: the god Horus as a naked child grasps poisonous animals (scorpions, snakes) and temaples upon crocodiles. The mask of the god lies on guard against his scary face. The healing powers of these stela are due to the engraved texts on all its sides. They allude to various episodes of the defeat of Apephils and more generally to the healing of the young Horus bitten by a poisonous animal by the god Thoth. The Horus stela have various sizes and are made of various materials. Some of them are carried by a statue covered with magical texts. The 'healing statue' of the Louvre known also as the Tyszkiewicz statue (Fig 7) is one of the most famous examples of this kind of monument. It also gives a precise description of the way it should be used: 'the sick man must drink water that has been poured over this monument'. The water acquires healing powers after its contact with the magical texts. A statue such as this would be placed in the chapel in the forecourt of the temple and was for public use.

The magicians of the Louvre

Anyone could use heke magic: a simple written or spoken spell was a powerful charm. Nevertheless there were also professional magicians (Fig 8) who had a specific field or a speciality linked to the deity they served.

Magicians often numbered amongst the influential men advising the pharaoh. A picture by the French classical painter Nicolas Poussin, 'Moses changing Aaron's rod into a snake', is displayed in the exhibition to recall the most famous event where Egyptian magicians took part. These were the chief lector-priests whose knowledge of magical texts was the source of their powers. Other magicians had specific fields of activity: the wab priest of Sekhmet was specialised in medicine as he knew how to prevent danger from the goddess. The conjurer of Setet, the scorpion goddess, was able to cure stings and bites from poisonous animals as the venom obeyed the divine will of his mistress.

The magician was often the hero of tales such as Khaemwaset, one the famous sons of the pharaoh Ramesses II, known for his erudition and love of archaeology. He could even be worshipped as a god. In the Late Period, Imhotep, the famous scribe and architect of Djoser, builder of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara in the 3rd Dynasty, was considered the divine son of Pah, the great god of Memphis and patron of books and libraries.

Survivals

Other ancient civilizations had magical rituals of their own, but Egypt was always considered the homeland of magic and an inexhaustible reservoir of magical energy. This belief was enhanced by the mysterious nature of hieroglyphs which were to some extent already beyond understanding by other peoples. The combination of typical Greek magical rituals with Egyptian gods on papyri, magical gems, or astrological documents show how Egypt's legacy to magic was important. The spread of Christianity and later Islam in Egypt did not threaten these magical practices, even though they were severely condemned by religious authorities. Pharaonic gods survived as names in spells to heal or bring misfortune, and even in some secret signs and handshakes amongst which one can sometimes recognize a deformed hieroglyphic character.

Egypt continues to play a leading part in contemporary magic. Whether used to perform black or white magic, Egyptian artefacts are still said to be charged with magical energy which can be manipulated by the magician or used to charge a talisman. The belief inherited from the Greco-Roman period goes on. Modern charms found under some statues of the Egyptian collection of the Louvre during the refurbishment of our galleries and displayed at the end of the exhibition are a vivid proof thereof.

Fig 7. Horus on the crocodiles: detail of the healing statue known as the Tyszkiewicz statue. c. 4th century BC. II: 67.7 cm. Louvre E 10777.

Marc Etienne is a curator in the Egyptian Department of the Louvre, and curator of this exhibition.

Fig 8. Hetepi, chief of magic. Wood, Middle Kingdom, end of the 11th dynasty, c. 1963 BC. II: 43.1 cm, w: 18.3 cm, d: 38.1 cm. Louvre E 123.

Heka, Magic and Enchantment in Ancient Egypt

Paris, Louvre Museum, Richelieu wing, entrance by the pyramid


Catalogue available at the Louvre bookshop, 140 FF with the support of Mrs Mary Lawrence Porter.

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Pilgrims and Pilgrim Badges

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHAUCER’S PILGRIMS

John Clark

According to a now-obiterated inscription that was once to be seen on the tomb of Geoffrey Chaucer in the south transept of Westminster Abbey, it was on 25 October 1400 that Chaucer died, presumably in the house he leased in the Abbey precincts. This year, the 6th centenary of the death in Canterbury of England’s greatest medieval poet, has occasioned a number of commemorative events. The Museum of London’s contribution is a small exhibition, to run from 13 October to 7 January, under the title ‘Chaucer’s Londoners’. The title pays deliberate homage to the exhibition ‘Chaucer’s London’ organised nearly 30 years ago for the then London Museum in Kensington Palace by Brian Spencer, at that time in charge of the museum’s medieval collections – an exhibition that brought together an astonishing range of 14th-century documents and objects. The ‘Hand List of Loans’ (there was no published catalogue) included some 280 loans from over 70 lenders. In the preface to a booklet accompanying the exhibition the then director of the London Museum, John Hayes, paid justifiable tribute to Brian Spencer’s ‘timeless energy and historical knowledge and imagination’. Many people remember the 1972 exhibition with affection.

One of the Museum of London’s treasures was shown in public for the first time in the ‘Chaucer’s London’ exhibition in 1972, and it will be included in the new exhibition. It is a carved wooden panel, part of the front of a chest, which illustrates the story of greed and murder told by the Pardoner in Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales: the three drunken young men who find a hoard of gold coins and by plot and counterplot bring about their own deaths (Fig 1). It is a unique example of an illustration to The Canterbury Tales dating to within a few years of Chaucer’s death – or possibly within his lifetime. A Canadian scholar has recently suggested that the carving might have been commissioned by Chaucer himself.

In spite of its similar title and the inclusion of a very few of the same items, the new exhibition makes no claim to the scale and magnificence of its predecessor. It contains few loans – though it includes a Canterbury Tales manuscript from the British Library and documents illuminating key events in Chaucer’s life, from the Public Record Office, the Corporation of London Records Office, and Westminster Abbey. Instead, the exhibition concentrates on a select few of the characters in Chaucer’s best-known work. It draws on the resources of the Museum of London’s collections and the results of recent archaeological work in London to illuminate them as pilgrims and as typical Londoners of the time.

Chaucer himself was born and brought up in London. There has never been an excavation on the site of the house in Upper Thames Street (under the modern north carriageway near Southwark Bridge) where he lived as a boy. However, in 1973 one of the earliest large-scale archaeological excavations in London uncovered traces of the Custom House where he worked as a customs official between 1374 and 1386. More recently excavations at the Vintry have revealed the quays where Chaucer’s father John carried on his trade in wine. Indeed, many of the excavations carried out by Museum of London archaeologists over the last 25 years have been concentrated in the area of London’s riverside where Chaucer might have come across the prototypes of his Merchant – always talking of his profits but secretly in debt – and his Shrimpman – not above stealing from the cargo entrusted to his care. Excavations on monastic sites in and around the city have thrown light on the lives of the church people so prominent among the pilgrims in The Canterbury Tales. For example, from burials at St Mary Spital came the skeletons of three middle-aged men suffering from a bone condition (diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis) that arises from a diet over-full of calories – models perhaps for Chaucer’s Monk ‘full fat and in good condition’.

Archaeological finds of horse equipment (and indeed of horse skeletons) have illustrated the practicalities of the journey from London to Canterbury. Recent discoveries throw light on individuals among Chaucer’s pilgrims – the Prioress’s pampered little dogs, for example, or the alchemical gear used by the Canon in his fraudulent transmutation of mercury into silver.

However, most evocative of Chaucer’s ‘compaignye of sondry folk’ must be the pilgrim souvenirs,

John Clark is Curator of the medieval collections, Department of Early London History and Collections, Museum of London.
Pilgrims and Pilgrim Badges

![Image of Canterbury pilgrim badge](image1)

Fig 2. Canterbury pilgrim badge, 14th century. Thomas Becket riding in triumph to Canterbury on his return from exile.

![Image of Canterbury pilgrim badge](image2)

Fig 4. A group of Canterbury pilgrim badges: St Thomas on a ship returning from exile; the sword with which he was killed (a miniature that can be removed from its scabbard); the head reliquary, inscribed ‘THOMAS:AS: the shrine itself, with the reliquary chest containing Thomas’s bones above.

![Image of Pilgrim ampulla](image3)

Fig 3. Pilgrim ampulla, 13th century. A figure of Archbishop Thomas Becket in the centre, and an inscription around "OPTIMVS EGRDVM MEDICVS FIT Toma Bonor[Vm]" - 'Thomas is the best doctor for good sick people'.

Brought back by Londoners who had travelled 'To ferne halves, kowthe in sondry londe' [To far-away shrines, famous in sundry lands]. Most of these took the form of pewter badges, which pilgrims wore prominently in their hats. Others were ampullae, small tin or lead-alloy flasks to contain holy water. Studied by Brian Spencer over many years, and many of them brought together in his invaluable book on Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, the badges and other souvenirs found in London reflect the wide range and the long distances travelled by medieval pilgrims.

The much-married Wife of Bath was also the most-travelled pilgrim of those who set off from the Tabard Inn in Southwark on that spring day in about 1387. Most of the shrines she had visited are well represented among badges found in London - St James of Compostella; Our Lady of Boulogne; Cologne, where the relics of the Three Kings were housed in a magnificent gold shrine; and Rome, where badges showing St Peter and St Paul had been on sale ever since 1199. In addition, when describing how she once fooled one of her husbands, she swore by the rather obscure 'seint Jocie' [St Judoc or Jos], a Breton saint. She had probably visited his shrine at Saint-Josse-sur-Mer (near Boulogne) on one of her journeys. Badges found in London show the hermit Jos dressed as a pilgrim, with a book and a staff.

The Wife of Bath claimed to have been to Jerusalem three times, but few relics from the Holy Land have yet been identified in Britain. Very recently, however, the significance of a large ampulla (found some years ago in spoil from a London building site) has been recognised. It bears a striking resemblance to items made in Acre (now 'Akko), Israel, where a workshop in which they were produced in the 13th century has recently been excavated. River Jordan water was always a popular souvenir of a visit to the Holy Land. But the preponderance of souvenirs from Canterbury found in London confirms Chaucer's claim:

'And specially from every shires ende
Of Engelond to Caunterbury
they wende.'

An extraordinary range of types and designs of badge and ampulla reflect pilgrimage to the shrine of the murdered Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Badges showing the saint himself on horseback must have been particularly popular with those who had ridden from London (Fig 2), and Chaucer's pilgrims would have had no difficulty in selecting an appropriate reminder of their visit. The Doctor, learned in the writings of the great physicians of the past, might have noted with disapproval the ampulla of holy water - though no longer as popular as souvenirs as they had been in the past, when particularly ornate ones had carried a Latin inscription advertising their usefulness in time of illness - 'Thomas is the best doctor for good sick people' (Fig 3). The Knight (whose status as a perfect image of courtesy and chivalry has been questioned in a book by Terry Jones) might have been attracted by the murder weapon displayed to pilgrims on the spot where Becket had been killed. This was commemorated by miniature swords made of pewter, complete with their scabbards (Fig 4).

![Image of Becket's shrine](image4)

Fig 5. Becket's shrine. A 14th century pewter badge of the tomb shows the recumbent effigy of the saint and the reliquary above it containing his bones, surmounted by two model ships.

![Image of Becket's head reliquary](image5)

Fig 6. Becket's head reliquary. A fragment of Thomas's skull was preserved in a bust-shaped reliquary commemorated by this badge. It is inscribed 'S CAPVT THOM.' - "Image of Thomas's head."
Pilgrims and Pilgrim Badges

Other badges pictured either the shrine itself (Fig 3), or the reliquary bust which contained a fragment of Becket's skull (Fig 6). These are a reminder that the ultimate purpose of pilgrimage was close personal contact with the physical remains of the saints, or in some cases their personalities (like Our Lady's girdle at Westminster Abbey, or one of her nightgowns at Aachen, commemorated by a fragmentary badge found in the Thames by Customs House Quay). Chaucer's Pardoner did a brisk trade in fake relics (including a pillow-case masquerading as 'Our Lady's veil'), as well as indulgences 'come from Rome all hot', promising relief from penance and from time in Purgatory. Few individual medieval indulgences survive. However, it is intriguing to note that at the same time as he was producing the first ever printed edition of The Canterbury Tales in 1476, William Caxton was printing indulgences on behalf of the papal nuncio, the Abbot of Abingdon. If indulgences rarely survive, there is evidence for them in the form of the lead papal seals, or bullae, which authenticated them. About twenty bullae have been found in London, most of them of 14th-century date—Gregory XI, Pope in Avignon from 1370 to 1378, is particularly well represented (Fig 7). Several of these have been found in medieval graves, lying on the dead person's chest. So perhaps the deceased Londoner took a papal indulgence to the grave, as a sort of passport to the afterlife.

Geoffrey Chaucer's career did not follow the course, in trade and civic politics, that might have been expected of the son of a London merchant. Yet his writings continually throw unexpected light on the workaday city and its people. Archaeological research can do the same—and just occasionally the two beams of light converge.

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DEATH AND BURIAL IN ROMAN LONDON

Sadie Watson reports on the latest burials found outside the walls of Roman London

During the Spring of 1999 attention within archaeological circles in London was focused on the Roman stone sarcophagus discovered during excavations conducted by the Museum of London Archaeology Service at Spitalfields (see Minerv, Jul/Aug 1999 and Jan/Feb 2000). While this was an incredibly rare and significant find, there was yet another discovery to the west of the Roman town which was to prove to be equally exciting: a previously unknown part of the West London Roman cemetery. Two timber coffins, naturally preserved within sealed waterlogged deposits for nearly 2,000 years, were uncovered during rescue excavations prior to redevelopment.

The site, Atlantic House, lies to the west of Farringdon Road, directly to the north of Holborn Viaduct (Fig 2). Excavations funded by Prudential Portfolio Managers Ltd. began in March 1999. During the initial removal of spoil and modern intrusions at the onset of archaeological works, a single Roman cremation vessel was observed. A further five urns were discovered in the course of the excavation of the trenches, and it became clear that the site may yet contain more funerary remains. It was decided to open an area in the centre of the site, where the deepest foundations for the new building were to be constructed. It was in this central area, which had been less disturbed by modern building, that the most important discoveries were made.

Roman law forbade the burial of the dead within the city walls and as a result Roman London’s cemeteries are known to spread out along the routes of major roads leading from the town (Fig 1). To the west, the burial area is centered on the modern Smithfield and Holborn areas and, as early as the 16th century, John Stow records the discoveries of burials in the area. More recently, 20 inhumation burials were found at excavations at St Bartholomew’s Hospital in 1979, and 127 burials were found during a large-scale rescue excavation at Giltspur Street in the late 1980s. However, little is known of Roman activity to the west of the river Fleet; one of the ‘lost’ rivers of London.

which now flows in a culvert below Farringdon Road to join the Thames at Blackfriars.

The site at Atlantic House lies some 500 metres north-west of the Roman city wall at Newgate. Nearby, a major road had been constructed soon after the Roman conquest which led from London to St Albans and Silchester. It is thought to have run along the line of the present Holborn Viaduct, but as yet little trace has been found of it. The recent excavations revealed that Roman activity on the site began by the consolidation of the steep river banks, adding substantial amounts of brickwork and clay to raise and level the site. It was later to become part of a cemetery area.

The inhumation burials and cremations were all found within an area measuring roughly 40m by 30m. There were a total of 29 cremations, 22 of which were contained within cinerary urns and the others may have been buried in organic containers, which have not survived, or solely as cremated bones. Several of the cremations contained bone fragments large enough to be identifiable, allowing for the possibility of further research. There were 19 inhumations and generally the bones were well preserved, having been buried in the damp clay of the bank of the Fleet. After initial osteological analysis, it has been possible to establish that six were male adults and four were female.

The excavations have shown that the cemetery lay very close to the river Fleet. The burials took place on the western bank, which would probably have been sloping (albeit gently) towards the river edge. It is this close proximity to the river itself and the high natural water table which provided the ideal preservation conditions for some of the timber coffins discovered on the site. It was thought that the discovery of the first complete coffin was a unique find, a claim soon undone by the discovery of a second.

Fig 1 (above top). Reconstruction of Roman London showing the Fleet river outside the city wall (left). The road leading west from Newgate can be seen further up river.

Fig 2 (above). The excavation area protected by plastic sheeting (centre). Holborn Viaduct can be seen to the left.

Fig 3 (right). The skeleton within the first timber coffin is recorded prior to removal.
These two coffins were discovered separately quite a distance from each other. The first was found at the beginning of the open area excavation (Figs 2, 3) and the second about 20m to the south as the excavation drew to a close in June 1999 (Fig 7). The timbers were kept damp and covered to avoid any damage by either heat or light while they were being recorded (Figs 4, 6). The excavation team recorded and lifted the timbers of each coffin one by one. This was thought to be a safer method of removal rather than attempting to lift the coffin as a complete structure. Once removed from site, the timbers were carefully washed and examined for any signs of inscriptions or other surviving evidence which provide further clues as to the origins and identity of the persons buried within them.

Both coffins were then examined by the Museum of London’s Ancient Woodwork Specialist, who found that the planks of both examples were made of oak, simply butted together and fastened with small iron nails. The first coffin (Fig 5) had been constructed from at least one second-hand (or re-used) timber, indicated by the presence of six crudely cut lap joints (which bear no relation to its use as a coffin timber) along the edges of the base plank. The end planks were set with the grain running vertically and had decayed, although the sides and base timbers were moderately well preserved. There was no evidence to show that the side or end planks had been re-used. This coffin, therefore, was a very crudely constructed box without any external embellishments. Interestingly, the weight of the soil above the coffin had pushed the bones of the skeleton down onto the soft wet wood and clear indentations made by the ribs could be seen on the base planks. This featured in Minerva News (Jan/Feb 2000).

The second coffin, by contrast, does not exhibit any evidence of containing re-used timbers. The base plank is made of better quality timber than the sides, and in this example the lid also survived but in a badly decayed condition. The planks had been cut from the outer edges of the tree trunk. This part of the tree contained the most sapwood and the largest knots which produced the lowest quality timber.

This re-use and the relatively poor quality of both of the coffins has led to the suggestion that they were made for low status individuals. The second coffin (Fig 7) was constructed using better...
Roman Timber Coffins

quality materials than the first, perhaps giving some indication of the relative wealth of the interred individuals and their families. However, the evidence from all the cemeteries of Roman London has shown that it is not possible to generalise, or even assume, that the poorest sectors of Roman London’s society would have been buried without a coffin or in one of inferior quality. Burial rites were connected with personal and religious beliefs and the methods of burial may have no clear links with social status or wealth.

There were two other examples of timber coffins associated with adult inhumations on the site, although in these cases the wood was too badly decayed to be lifted and the presence of the coffins was merely recorded. Stains left by nails were also discovered around two of the three juvenile skeletons, indicating they too had been buried in coffins. One of these also had a coin placed beneath the jaw which will provide valuable dating evidence as well as conforming to the pagan belief of the deceased paying Charon, the ferryman, for their journey to the underworld across the River Styx.

The provision of grave goods with burials was a recognised burial rite during the Roman period. Approximately one quarter of those burials excavated from Roman London have been found to be accompanied by grave goods. In the second coffin there was a complete flagon next to the skull (Fig 8) which dates from the second half of the first century AD. It was made in kilns at Breckley Hill (near modern Elstree), a roadside settlement equi-distant between London and St Albans. Pottery sherds found within the fill of the first coffin indicate a burial date some time in the mid 3rd century. Ceramics from the other graves and cremations on the site suggest that the cemetery had been in use throughout the Roman period.

Initial analysis of the skeletons within the surviving coffins has shown that both were male adults, and further work is underway on the pathology of the Individuals. The data recovered from the female skeleton at Spitalfields provided detailed information as to her diet, health and relative prosperity. Both the skeletons at Atlantic House were in good condition and it is hoped that the skeletal information will be able to elaborate upon the archaeological evidence recovered from the coffins.

Unlike Spitalfields, the area under excavation was small and although the number of graves was not large, there were several examples of graves cutting into earlier burials. No examples of grave markers were found, although these may have long since deteriorated, if made of wood, or have been robbed, if of stone. The seemingly confused alignment of the graves at Atlantic House is in contrast to that at St Bartholomew’s Hospital, on the other side of the Fleet valley, and also at Spitalfields, to the north of Roman London, where the regular spacing of graves suggests the burial area was planned and well organised.

There was one crouched burial at Atlantic House, two other possible examples of which were seen at Spitalfields and more in the eastern cemetery, suggesting some parity in funerary practice, despite the apparent difference in the organisation of the burial areas.

After the conservation of the timbers is completed, the better preserved of the two coffins will go on display in the Roman London Gallery at the Museum of London. Timbers from the other example will be sampled for dendrochronological dating in an attempt to achieve a more precise date for its construction. Specialist research is now in progress on all the discoveries from Atlantic House, both on a localised site-wide basis and within the parameters of the research on Roman London’s cemeteries as a whole. It is hoped that the evidence recovered about the coffins, in particular, will contribute greatly to our knowledge of burial practices in Roman London.

Sadie Watson is a Senior Archaeologist at the Museum of London

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PRIVATE COLLECTIONS WANTED: TOP PRICES PAID
The Balkans have always been a home to larger than life tyrants, infamous for their brutality. None, however, was more remarkable than Ali Pasha (1740-1822) (Fig 1), the Albanian from Tepele, who savagely ruled northern Greece as a Turkish governor. A brilliant, resourceful, and vindictive chief, who fought and served the Sultan, Ali assisted the Ottomans in their war against Austria in 1787. In 1788 he seized Ioannina, then a town of 35,000 inhabitants, in 1797 he allied himself with Napoleon, and then, the following year, Monsieur le Brigand de Tepele, as the French called him, took the port of Preveza from France.

In the space of a few days, he can raise 30,000 troops,' Sir William Hamilton informed the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Hawkesbury. 'He is prompt in his measures, full of energy, and professes a very quick and nice discernment of Individual Character; but his want of education, and a life spent in arms, have rendered him in his Government cruel and despotie.'

Byron made him familiar to the British, calling him the 'Muslim Bonaparte', and featuring him in Childe Harold after visiting the governor in 1809. In this period, too, Colonel William Martin Leake, the distinguished topographer of Greece, was British resident at Ali's court and Henry Holland served as his physician.

These connections led him to ally himself with the British in seizing the port of Parga. An insatiable lover, yet often brutal towards his spurned mistresses, the old Ali met a violent death at the hands of the Sultan who, angry at his relations with Britain and France, stripped him of his title and besieged him in his fortress at Ioannina.

Byron was not the only westerner to pay a visit to Ali Pasha, as a new monograph from the Danish Institute in Athens elegantly shows. Peter Oluf Bremstedt (Fig 2), a Danish academic, who like so many of his generation, was fascinated by Greece and its monuments. He set out on the Grand Tour in 1810 from Copenhagen, arriving in Italy during May. Travelling to Corfu, his party suffered a shipwreck and the group only reached the Epirot port of Preveza in August. Their first archaeological expedition was to Nicopolis (Figs 3-5), the City of Victory founded by the Emperor Augustus after the battle of Actium in 31 BC. Following this Bremstedt and his party travelled on to Athens and then the islands, where he excavated at Kea.

His journeys in Greece, like so many at that time, were full of incidents. However, it is Bremstedt's return to Preveza and the mighty Roman ruins of Nicopolis in December 1812 that is the substance of this book. While at Preveza Bremstedt had the opportunity to interview the Albanian tyrant, as well as to scrutinise at first hand his interest in archaeology. Bremstedt's account, as he recognised at the time, illuminates a fascinating aspect of Ali Pasha's larger than life interests. Bremstedt describes visiting the Pasha's court at Preveza where he was presented to Ali with whom he conversed in Greek. The conversation after some time turned to archaeology. Ali Pasha said: 'Well I see that you must be well skilled in old stones; I am


Fig 2 (below). Peter Oluf Brønsted, from an oil painting by C A Jensen. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
Ali Pasha Excavates

sometimes, to Nicopolis. I added that, according to my opinion, this had been the arx, or fortified building, destined to contain a guard-house, barracks, magazines of arms, etc.; in short that this immense square had been to the city of Nicopolis, built in a plain, that which the Acropolis were in the Greek cities, situated upon or contiguous to mountains. The Vizier (Ali Pasha) admired the fine masonry, spoke not without intelligence, of the Roman method of building, and inquired if we had yet, in our countries, artisans who knew how to make such bricks, and to prepare a cement so strong and binding?'

Brønsted and Ali Pasha walked on to the small theatre 'from whence there is a fine view over almost all the ruins'. There they spoke about the great theatre which dominated the near horizon. Ali Pasha, it seems, had believed that this theatre was a camp or fortified guard-house. He then asked Brønsted to show him some places where he might dig for ancient marbles and other curiosities. At this, Brønsted became agitated. 'I therefore repeated to him, what I had already said, that I did not believe excavations made at Nicopolis, would even produce results in any impor-

Fig 3. Nicopolis seen from the Actium monument.

Fig 4. City gate in the walls of Nicopolis.

Fig 5. Remains of the theatre at Nicopolis.

The visit took place two days later. Arriving at the ruins with a hundred-strong guard, they alighted at a shepherd's hut. Ali Pasha spoke in provincial Greek, mixed with Albanian. He invited Brønsted to give his opinion about the ruins. Brønsted recounts that his description accorded well with an Englishman, almost certainly Martin Leake, who had introduced Ali Pasha to the site.

Ali Pasha then asked to walk around the ruins. 'We first proceeded to the great square of walls nearest to us. This great square, of the time of Augustus, of a very fine and strong masonry, is in the enclosure of the ancient city. The Pasha demanded my opinion on the object of these fortifications. I answered that I considered them as the enclosure of the residence of the Roman Emperors, when they came,
Brønsted suggested that he show the Pasha some temples where fragments of sculpture had been found. On arriving at a ruin, Ali Pasha charged one of his guards to find some workmen.

'Instantaneously about twenty peasants hastened... with mattocks, shovels, axes etc. Having known nothing of these preparations, I began seriously to be afraid, that I was about to become an Excavator in spite of myself. My apprehensions on this subject increased, when the Vizier made them bring the cushions and his pipe from the huts where we had breakfasted.' Before long, though, Brønsted had joined the Pasha's excavators.

'Obliged, as I was, to assist at this odd kind of excavation, and being neither able nor willing to proceed in order, I proposed, at least, to clear away the earth under two niches on the long side of the building, which the Pasha approved of. His people set themselves stoutly to work, which became however, very laborious, as I had foreseen, from the want of necessary implements; especially of iron levers, indispensable to move the large stones fallen from the entablature; the strong ropes, besides, to draw out the other masses, which incommode the workmen; and finally, the large baskets, to take away the earth. I observed to the Vizier that all this was nearly labour lost, without the proper tools. He comprehended it, and gave orders that everything requisite should be brought the next day, and a shed constructed to hold the implements, and the things we were going to find. In the mean time they continued, for better or worse, to dig amongst the rubbish in two places. At the expiration of an hour in penetrating, by one of these excavations, to the soil, three fine square marble slabs were found, probably part of the ancient pavement of the building. The Vizier had them placed, with the greatest care upon a sort of rolling/sedan-chair and covered with straw, to be conveyed to Prevesa. In the other cavity were found two insignificant bronze medals [ancient coins] in tolerable good preservation, both of them of Nicopolis; the one struck under Commodus, the other under Caracalla. The Vizier gave me the last, and pocketed the other himself, laughing at this augmentation of his treasury.'

At this point the impromptu excavation ended and they returned to the Pasha's palace at Prevesa. On the following day Brønsted paid a last call on the great leader and over coffee and pipes they spoke about Nicopolis. Ali Pasha told him about a quantity of great ruins in the northern provinces of Albania, where 'we should, doubtless, find magnificent things, if I would remain with him some six or seven months.' Brønsted offered the first excuses that came to mind and took his leave. Ali Pasha entreated him to return.

'Ali was one of those volcanoes of a hundred aspects, which providence makes use of in its moral administration as in the physical world, to execute its designs. But these volcanoes do not always throw out torrents of fire, and I know of delightful gardens on the sides of Etna, and of Vesuvius, which each year put on the finest verdure, close to those horrible heaps, which have borne on their burning waves death and destruction.'

Like any British, French or Danish grandee of the Napoleonic age, Ali Pasha, notwithstanding his legendary barbarism, was captivated by the buried history and treasures of Greece.

References:

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Rebuilding a Roman Road

VIA EGNATIA

Ancient Greek Cities Along a Restored Roman Road

The 'Egnatia Hodos', the ancient road joining Greece and the Balkans to Europe on the west, and Asia on the east, is being rebuilt for 2004, in time for the Athens Olympics.

Theo G. Antikas and Laura Wynn-Antikas have visited sites along its 680 km course through most parts of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, and have interviewed the chief archaeologists involved in rescue projects at the many construction sites en route.

The ancient Egnatia, marked with mile stones for a distance of 535 miles from Epirus to Thrace, was an extension of the existing road joining Rome to Brindisi that had been built by the emperor Trajan, and the new 'Via Egnatia' linked the Adriatic and Ionian coasts to the eastern provinces as far as Byzantium. Effective control over the northern Greeks in their forests and glens was thus achieved by that most distinctive of Roman devices, the great military road. The Via Egnatia was marked with mile stones for a distance of 535 miles from Epirus to Thrace, presently under construction. At the moment it takes about 12 hours to cross Greece from east to west. Once the modern highway is completed, the same drive by car will be less than seven hours.

Fig 1. Plan of the modern Egnatia, from Epirus to Thrace, presently under construction. At the moment it takes about 12 hours to cross Greece from east to west. Once the modern highway is completed, the same drive by car will be less than seven hours.

Fig 2. View of the two-are excavation site at Polymylos near the Egnatia road construction. The ancient city unearthed during the work may be Diodorus' 'Eisla'.

Twenty years after the Roman conquest of Macedonia, pro-consul Gnaeus Egnatius, (c. 146-120 BC), built an important road to serve the commercial and military needs of the Vast Roman empire whose mighty span then reached from Rome to Asia. It was an extension of the existing road joining Rome to Brindisi that had been built by the emperor Trajan, and the new 'Via Egnatia' linked the Adriatic and Ionian coasts to the eastern provinces as far as Byzantium. Effective control over the northern Greeks in their forests and glens was thus achieved by that most distinctive of Roman devices, the great military road. The Via Egnatia was marked with mile stones for a distance of 535 miles from Epirus to Thrace, presently under construction. At the moment it takes about 12 hours to cross Greece from east to west. Once the modern highway is completed, the same drive by car will be less than seven hours.

Much of the Via Egnatia, from its Ionian start to Thessalonike, crossed important ancient cities and kingdoms, including Lychnidos, reconquered by Philip II in 358 BC; Herakleia built after Philip's conquest of the Pelagonians; and the kingdoms of Orestis, Eordala, and Eholmna. A 237-mile long stretch of the Egnatia to link most parts of Western Macedonia in modern Greece is now being reconstructed at a budget exceeding one trillion drachmas (almost three billion US dollars), partly funded by the European Union.

This colossal task, however, is nothing compared to the numerous secrets revealed or hidden under the path of the road for millennia. Among those revealed recently are two sizeable Neolithic settlements at Xerolimne ('dry lake') and Kolada ('valley') in the vicinity of Kozani. The most important new discovery, however, is a city whose life span extends from prehistoric to late Hellenistic periods and whose name still remains enigmatic. Excavated by archaeologists Di Gregoria Karametrou-Mentsisid, Director of the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities based at Kozani, the ancient Macedonian city is located west of the modern village of Polymylos ('many mills'). The discovery was made when the axis of the modern Egnatia Hodos between Kozani and Berreheia was under construction. Rescue digs funded by the consortium responsible for its construction started in 1995 and are about to come to an end.

Excavations on the north part of the Egnatia site (Fig 2) unearthed the foundations of the city walls, 2.5 m wide and 36 m long. Hand-made pottery and stone tools found in the lowest strata document the existence of settlers in the Late Bronze Age or earlier. Structural remains of buildings at that strata have identified two major phases of Hellenistic urban periods, as indicated by the thick walls (50 cm wide) made of limestone and mud with plastered surfaces, some of which have survived.

The floors in certain houses and shops were found to contain some elaborate and very important elements, such as round and square fireplaces and kilns (Figs 3-4), as well as millstones to grind grain for bread. Unfinished marble artefacts, including a grave stele, indicate the presence of sculptor's workshops. Hellenistic
buildings on the western part of the excavation were few, probably due to destruction by the ploughing of local farmers. Digs at depths reaching 2.5 metres have hit upon alluvial stone and soil debris, proving the existence of a stream which crossed the city in ancient times. The lack of buildings at the lower parts of the hills may be due to the flooded stream. This has been further attested by the discovery of the skeletons of a 12-year old mare and a 5 or 6 year old colt (Fig 5). The horse skeletons were found in disarray and against a wall, indicating accidental death. Both animals were probably drowned in a flood.

Despite the extensive damage caused to the site by the flooded stream, three sections at depths not exceeding two metres led to the discovery of ceramic sherds and two intact vases (a kyathos and a kantlius) made in Alani workshops nearby and bearing black decorations, dating to the 14th century BC. In the remaining south part of the excavation site two Hellenistic phases have been documented. A large house with several rooms and a patio measuring 17.5 x 12 metres found in situ is thought to belong to the second Hellenistic phase. Water was brought to the ancient city from the nearby Mount Bermon with the aid of ceramic pipes, parts of which have been found within the city limits along with a square sewage pipe made of flat stones.

The four-year excavations on the north and south sides of the Via Egnatia have also yielded rich and unique portable grave goods, including coins, pottery, jewellery (Fig 6), handsome figurines carved on bone, miniature vases, and a stèle bearing inscriptions dating to the Hellenistic period. The finds indicate an occupation of the site by early settlers in the Bronze Age, which evolved into an organised, affluent city from the 4th to the 1st centuries BC. Geographically, the city lies within the limits of the kingdom of Elimiotis bordering Eordaia, and must have occupied a key position on the southern pass that joins Upper and Lower Macedonia.

As to the name of this Greek city, which remains enigmatic, archaeologists and epigraphists hope that more inscriptions will be found in the near future. It must be noted that two adjacent cities have already been identified based on inscriptions found in the early 20th century. Chiselled on the marble base of a statute unearthed in the near-by village of Tetralophos is the name of the first city, Megara. The name of a second city, Graia, figures on a stèle found near the modern village of Kollada and contains a letter written by the Macedonian king, Philip V (221-179 BC), which refers to the 'Evestai' (Evia citizens). In the opinion of Dr Karametrou, the enigmatic city unearthed on the west side of the Egnatia leading from Berborea to Kozani may be 'Evia' mentioned in a passage of Diodorus who refers to it as a battlefield on which the united armies of Olympias and Polyperchon faced the soldiers of Euridice and Philip III Antidattes in 316 BC, seven years after the death of Alexander the Great. Finally, an inscription dating to the 2nd century AD found in Berborea four years ago refers to the west 'Eusthaste yle' (= Evia gate).

The location of this latest site on the Via Egnatia – on the south-eastern border of the Elimiotis linking that kingdom to the western entrance of Hemathia via the 'Eusthaste' gate – therefore supports the hypothesis that the name of the city may well have been 'Evia'.

Thus, this old Roman road now being rebuilt may also offer the opportunity to learn of an ancient city where Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, could have ranged her troops against her enemies over 23 centuries ago.

Illustrations: Fig 1: Ministry of the Environment and Public Works, Athens; Figs 2-16: 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Kozani.

NB The finds from rescue archaeology projects along the construction of the Egnatia highway in the vicinity of Polymylos and Kozani are exhibited at the new museum of Alani, 20 km south of Kozani.

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THE PICENE: Peoples of Europe

D. Patanè

Recently in Italy, there have been an increasing number of exhibitions devoted to the many and varied peoples that settled in the Italian peninsula around the year 1000 BC. They were peoples who flourished independently with their own original and homogeneous cultures before they were unified under the rule of the Roman Republic in the first century BC. Recent archaeological investigations enable us to understand more of the specific characteristics and identities of these peoples, in all their variety, encompassing the Apulians, the Lucanians, the Bruttians, the Campanians, the Samnites, the Latins, the Sabines, the Siculi, the Sardinians, the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Piceni, the Ligurians, the Veneti, the Reti, the Camuni, the Marsi, the Volsci and others. Among these there were cultures that opted for city-states and some that quickly adopted a written language while others were slower to advance. This cultural diversity survives to this day in modern Italy and makes a journey through its regions, many of which have kept their ancient names, a continuously surprising and rewarding experience.

This winter two major exhibitions on the Etruscans will take place in Bologna and in Venice while the Sacani were recently the subject of an exhibition in Rome. (See Minerva, May/June, pp. 28-31). In addition, the Picene, who had their own language and settled in areas close to the Samnites, were the focus of a major exhibition for the first time in Schirn Kunsthalle at Frankfurt Romerberg. The exhibition was subsequently split between three museums in Italy, at Ascoli Piceno, Chieti, and Teramo, cities near the regions of the Marche and the Abruzzi in Central Italy where the Picene mostly spread, and will remain on show throughout winter 2000. The exhibition is the result of co-operation between 38 museums and archaeological sites who have cooperated to illustrate the links between artefacts and their production sites, and grave goods with original burial grounds.

On show are about 650 pieces excavated from Picene sites of the 9th to 4th centuries BC. They range from funerary goods, arms, items of clothing, to ceramics, and all testify to the high level of prosperity and sophistication reached by the Picene aristocratic elites. The variety of artefacts and the differences in style between them is explained by the fact that the Picene inhabited vast regions located along the trade routes that reached northwards through the mountain passes over the Alps, thereby allowing them contact with Central Europe and the amber routes to the Baltic Sea, and eastwards linked them by sea with the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts. The statue of a warrior found in Hirschlanden (Fig 4) and that of a warrior found at Glauberg (Fig 5) in Germany are proof of the cultural influence of the Picene in Northern Europe. These stone statues are amongst the most spectacular objects on show, together with that of the warrior from Capestrano, the most impressive of the group (Fig 3). Also remarkable are the head of the Numana warrior (Fig 2), the stelae with inscriptions from Novilara and from Penna Sant'Andrea, Guardiagrele and Bellante, bronze statuettes like the Hercules from Castelbellino, beautifully decorated weapons, refined objects made of amber and ivory (Fig 6), ceramics and other goods...
imported from Greece and the Near East. This is just a sample of the enormous amount of material, still comparatively unknown, gathered by archaeologists since the last century but especially in the 1980s and the 1990s.

To coincide with the exhibitions an international conference on ‘The Picene and the lands of central Italy along the Adriatic Sea’ was held in April 2000 with one study day each at Ascoli Piceno, Teramo, l’Aquila and Ancona.

The overall Picene project was launched some years ago by Professor Sabatino Moscati, the great Italian scholar who in 1990 headed a team to promote research on Picene settlement areas. Professor Moscati’s last book, Storia degli Italiani dalle origini al’età di Augusto (History of the Italians from their origins to the age of Augustus, Bardi, Rome, 1999), concentrates on all the different peoples who inhabited the Italian peninsula before and at the time of the foundation of Rome as well as such contemporary colonisers as the Phoenicians, the Greeks and the Celts. The book is compulsive reading and provides essential background information for the Picene and Samnites exhibitions. Above all it unravels with remarkable clarity the complicated and fascinating story of how so many diverse peoples fought with each other or lived peaceably together until they meshed over the centuries to eventually become Romans, and ultimately the Italians of today who are still as regionally diversified as they were so long ago.

There are references to the Picene from the 4th century BC onwards in the works of Greek and Latin writers: Strabo, Polybius, Pliny, and Livy, who record the reputation of the Picene as strong warriors and the excellence of their produce: wheat, olives, wine. Visitors to the Picene exhibitions will have the opportunity to sample these same excellent products, and by taking up the archaeological itineraries devised for the exhibition will discover the same landscapes with their rugged high mountains, low hills and a gentle coast which the Picene warriors saw when they migrated to the region with their followers and their flocks, following the flight of a bird sacred to the god Mars, the picus, from which they took their name.

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Fig 3 (above left). Warrior from Capes-trano, found in 1934. The warrior wears a large round hat and elaborate armour. He holds in his right hand an axe. There is an inscription written vertically on the supporting plaster which identifies the warrior as King Nevius Pompeuleius, 7th century BC. H: 194.5 cm. Chieti, Museo Archeologico.

Fig 4 (above centre). Warrior from Hirschblenden. Limestone. H: 150 cm. c. 500 BC. Stuttgart Wurttembergisches Landesmuseum.

Fig 5 (above right). Warrior from Glasherg. Limestone. H: 186 cm. 5th century BC. Darmstadt. Hessisches Landesmuseum.

Fig 6 (left). Ivory Pyxis from Pitino, Monte Penna, tomb 14. H: 16.8cm. Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Late 7th-early 6th century BC.
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Defacing Roman Portraits

TYRANNY AND TRANSFORMATION
in Roman Imperial Marble Portraits and Coins

Eric R. Varner

With their vivid associations of decadence and depravity, the personalities and policies of Rome's 'bad' emperors such as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, and Elagabalus continue to excite the popular imagination. An exhibition entitled 'From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture', organised by the Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University explores what befell the sculpted, glyptic, and numismatic images of these rulers after their assassinations and the consequent condemnation of their memories. As potent and portable instruments of imperial propaganda, in an era lacking mass media, Roman coins played an integral part in the process of historical condemnation and censure, a practice known as damnatio memoriae (28 coins are included in the Carlos exhibition).

The Roman cultural preoccupation with the concepts of memory and posthumous reputation is amply reflected by the destruction or alteration of commemorative monuments belonging to condemned emperors, empresses, or other members of the imperial circle. Condemnations could include the declaration of a 'bad' emperor as an enemy of the Roman state (hostis), the consequent erasure of the condemned emperors', and empresses' names and titles from honorary inscriptions, official lists (fasti), and even papyri, the declaration of the birthday of the condemned as a day of evil omen to the Roman people (diei nefasti), and the celebration of the anniversary of the condemned's death with public rejoicing. Monuments such as triumphal arches were destroyed or dismantled following an emperor's overthrow and condemnation. Representations in stone or bronze were destroyed, mutilated, or transformed into the more acceptable likenesses of victorious successors or revered predecessors. Coins commemorating 'bad' emperors were effaced, countermarked, or even melted down.

Indeed, the earliest surviving piece of physical evidence concerning condemnations in the imperial period are coins from Bilbilis in Spain. These coins originally commemorated Rome's second emperor Tiberius and his powerful Praetorian Praefect, Sejanus. However, Sejanus was accused of plotting to overthrow the emperor and executed on the Senate's orders in AD 31. As is to be expected, the obverses of these coins feature portraits of Tiberius, while the reverses include laurel wreaths, originally surrounded by the legend NV AVGSTA BIBILIIS TI CAESARE V L AELIO SEIANO, intended to celebrate the joint consulship of Tiberius and Sejanus in AD 31. As a powerful mark of his posthumous denigration, Sejanus's tria nomina have been eradicated on the coins, and on one example, the abbreviation COS (Consul) within the laurel wreath has also been obliterated. The attacks on these Spanish coins provide the earliest evidence for numismatic damnatio in the imperial period, and they recall the mutilation of Sejanus's portraits as described in Cassius Dio and Juvenal as well as predicting the destruction and alteration of the coinage of later emperors beginning with Tiberius' successor Caligula.

Caligula receives the dubious distinction of being the first of Rome's rulers whose memory was condemned. After Caligula's assassination on 24 January AD 41, his uncle and successor Claudius refused to allow the Senate to pass formal sanctions against the murdered emperor. Nevertheless, Claudius did allow his images to be removed by night from public display. The resulting de facto damnatio memoriae included the destruction and alteration of his images, as for instance images transformed into Augustus (Fig 1) as well as the violent disposal of his miniature bronze and marble portraits in the Tiber River, such as a bronze bust in the Levy White collection (Fig 2).

Caligula's coinage did not escape his condemnation and was deliberately attacked, often with the C for Gaius effaced. Caligula's likeness has also been intentionally defaced on aes (brass) coinage from lower Germany. Chisels, hammers, and files were all used to mutilate the Caligulan coins. The eradication of Caligula's praenomen Gaius recalls
Defacing Roman Portraits

Fig. 3. Countermarked coin (as) with portrait of Caligula. Cat. 11. Photo courtesy of the Collection of the American Numismatic Society (1953.171.1082).

Fig. 4. Countermarked coin (as) with portrait of Caligula. Cat. 12. Photo courtesy of the Collection of the American Numismatic Society (1953.171.1079).

As the sister of one emperor, Caligula, wife of another, Claudius, and mother of a third, Nero, Agrippina the Younger achieved an unprecedented degree of prominence in the Roman imperial coinage. After her murder at Nero’s instigation, ostensibly for attempting to overthrow his son, Agrippina’s memory was condemned. Tacitus records that her birthday (6 November) was declared a dies nefastus and Dio records that her portrait statues were removed from public display at the capital. The historical evidence for the destruction of Agrippina’s images is confirmed by an aureus in which her portrait features have been slashed.

Fig. 5. Coin (sestertius) with portrait of Nero. Cat. 22. Photo courtesy of the Collection of the American Numismatic Society (1957.158.472).

early legal sanctions associated with damnatio memoriae, which forbade a family’s continued use of the condemned individual’s praenomen as vividly illustrated in the Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater inscriptions.

Caligula’s coins also suffered official forms of defacement in terms of countermarking, as in an as from the American Numismatic Society (Fig 3). In Caligula’s Vesta aes coinage, the countermark TICA celebrating the new emperor Tiberius Claudius Augustus often obliterates the condemned emperor’s name. Countermarks are also used to efface Caligula’s portrait features, as in another example from the American Numismatic Society (Fig 4). Countermarked coins may have been used to pay Roman soldiers. Although probably limited to the mint at Rome, the Senate also reportedly mandated the melting down of Caligula’s bronze issues in AD 43. The scarcity of certain Caligulan coins in hoards may support the notion of some form of official de-monetization. Caligulan bronze coins which remained in circulation continued to be closely linked to the defamed reputation and failed regime of Caligula and, as a result, were held as valueless.

Fig. 6. Portrait of Nero, reworked as portrait of Vespasian. Cat. 27. Photo courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund (1929.439.2).

Agrippina’s name has also been eradicated from certain inscriptions and a portrait dedication from Epidaurus.

Nero himself would not prove immune to damnatio memoriae, after his suicide on 9 June AD 68, for the Senate formally declared him an official enemy of the Roman state and his memory was condemned. Like Caligula before him, Nero’s commemorative monuments, such as the triumphal arch erected on the Capitoline Hill in Rome in honour of the Armenian victories (Fig 5), were destroyed and his portraits were mutilated or often transformed into images of the succeeding Flavian emperors, such as Vespasian (Fig 6), Titus, or Domitian (Fig 7).

Nero’s coinage was also targeted in the condemnation and countermarks are frequent. SPQR (Senatus Populusque Romanus) has been prominently stamped on Nero’s neck on a dupondius from the American Numismatic Society as if to symbolically cancel the coin’s Neronian associations and reclaim it for the Senate and People of Rome (Fig 8). During the revolt of Vindex, SPQR has been similarly stamped on Neronian aes minted at Lyon. Successive countermarks with the monograms of Nero’s successors Galba, Otho, and Vespasian were employed at Tripolis. The countermark GAIΛBA appears on several obverses, frequently eradicating Nero’s facial features. A denarius from Spain has been entirely overstruck. City names could also be used

Fig. 7. Portrait of Nero, reworked as portrait of Domitian. Cat. 28. Photo courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Benjamin F. G. and Jeanette Moynihan Cheney Fund (88.639).
as countermarks at Thessalohika, Prusa, Caesarea in Maris. The local Senate of Nicopolis may have instituted a wholesale recall of Nero's coins. Countermarks not only revalued Nero on issues but they effectively proclaimed the sovereignty of Nero's successors to the Empire's inhabitants.

Domitian, the last of the Flavians, is the third emperor whose memory was condemned. Domitian was assassinated on 18 September AD 96 in a plot spearheaded by his wife and probably involving his successor Nerva. The Senate immediately voted to condemn his memory and Pliny the Younger vividly describes the destruction of his images. Domitian's images were also rampantly recycled, usually into representations of his two immediate successors, Nerva, as for instance a portrait from the Getty (Fig 9) and Trajan. One of Domitian's portraits in Boston was not recarved for centuries when it was transformed into an image of Constantine or one of his sons (Fig 10).


In a pointed act of denigration, Domitian's image, name, and titles have been obliterated on an as from Cibyra in Phrygia. The obverse originally consisted of facing busts of Domitian and Domitia. Domitian's portrait and the accompanying inscription (DOMITIANOS KAISAR) have been eradicated with a chisel, contrasting starkly with the untouched representation of his wife. The Cibyra as is an unusual example of numismatic damnatio against Domitian as his coinage is largely allowed to remain intact.

Subsequent evidence for numismatic damnatio would not occur for over one hundred years until the condemnation of Geta, which stands as the most virulent in Roman history.

Septimius Severus intended that both of his sons, Caracalla and Geta, should rule the empire jointly after his death. Indeed, the two attempted to share power after the death of their father at York on 4 February AD 211. However, their apparent enmity for one another erupted in Caracalla's murder of Geta on 26 December AD 211, and Caracalla immediately compelled the army to declare his brother a hostis. The murder was justified through allegations that Geta had been involved in a plot to assassinate Caracalla.

Cassius Dio was an eyewitness to these events and he recounts that in addition to destroying Geta's portrait statues, Caracalla also insisted that coins which carried his brother's image be melted down. Nevertheless, Geta's issues survive in enough quantities to suggest that destruction of his coinage was not widespread. However, Geta's name and likeness have been eradicated on numerous coins from the eastern portion of the Empire, including issues from Clazomenae, Miletus, Nicea, Pergamum, Perperuna, Smyrna, and Stratonicea. Three bronze coins from Stratonicea from the collection of the American Numismatic Society eloquently attest to the obliterating of Geta's numismatic portraits (Figs 11-13). These coins have also been countermarked with a small helmeted female head, likely of Roma or Minerva, and/or the inscription ΘΕΟΥ.
Defacing Roman Portraits

Fig 11. Defaced and countermarked coin portrait of Geta. Cat. 45. Photo courtesy of the Collection of the American Numismatic Society (1953.171.830).

Fig 12. Defaced and countermarked coin portrait of Geta. Cat. 46. Photo courtesy of the Collection of the American Numismatic Society (1944.100.4080).


Fig 14. Portrait of Plautilla. Cat. 41. Photo courtesy of Vatican Museums, Vatican City (Magazzini 731, Inv. 4275).


(of the god) probably referring to Caracalla’s position as the son of the deified Septimius Severus. The destruction of Geta’s coin images recalls that of his sculpted images and those of his sister-in-law, Plautilla, as for instance an intentionally mutilated portrait in the Vatican (Fig 14). The scope of Geta’s numismatic damnatio is unprecedented and attests to the sweeping nature of Geta’s condemnation.

Caracalla was himself eventually assassinated near Carthage on 8 April AD 217 by his Praetorian Praefect, Marcus Opellius Macrinus. The reign of Macrinus, however, proved short lived, as he was defeated by a maternal cousin of Caracalla, Elagabalus, and the Severan dynasty was restored to power. Upon learning of the death of Macrinus and his young son and co-Augustus, Diadumenianus, the Senate moved quickly to declare them enemies of the Roman state (hostes) and condemn their memories. As with earlier condemned emperors, their portraits were defaced, including a marble head at Harvard (Fig 15) and their names erased from inscriptions and papyri. Their coins may also have been effected by the damnatio; C. Clay has plausibly suggested that any eastern issues celebrating Diadumenianus’ elevation to the rank of Augustus may never have been circulated and eventually melted down.

Elagabalus met a similar fate to that of Macrinus, and he was assassinated together with his mother, Julia Soemias, on 22 March AD 222. His memory was also condemned and his images destroyed or altered into representations of his young cousin and successor Severus Alexander, as happened to a head in Kansas City (Fig 16). A numismatic portrait of Elagabalus, from Nicea, was also attacked with a chisel. Coins from Nicea, as well as Neapolis, Pleria, Sebaste, Sidon, and Tyre have been countermarked with a small male bust, perhaps representing Severus Alexander, the letter A, or symbols associated with the cities minting the coins.

The practice of attacking or countermarking coins continues in the 3rd century. Maximinus Thrax, who succeeded Severus Alexander in AD 235, was eventually defeated and killed, together with his son Maximinus, in AD 238. As with Macrinus and Diadumenianus, the Senate proclaimed the father and son hostes. Their sculpted images were destroyed, their honours were revoked, and their names obliterated in inscriptions and papyri. Herodian
records that the names of Maximinus and Maximus were erased from African inscriptions at the time of the Gordians' revolt and their portrait dedications were removed and replaced with images of the Gordians. Numismatic representations of Maximinus and Maximus were also attacked. Facing portraits of the father and son from Elaea and Pergamum have been entirely eradicated. As in the past, these effacements are forceful and graphic reminders of the emperor's denigration. The continued destruction of the coinage associated with Rome's 'bad' emperors functioned as an effective way of denigrating overthrown rulers as well as graphically affirming loyalty to the new regime. In addition, numismatic damnatio underscores the enormous communicative power of Roman coins.

Eric R. Verme is Assistant Professor in the Departments of Art History and Classics Emory University, and the Curator of 'From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture'.

Fig 16. Bust of Elagabalus altered to represent his young cousin and successor Severus Alexander. Cat. 52. Photo courtesy of The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (Purchase: Nelson Trust, 45.66).

FROM CALIGULA TO CONSTANTINE: 
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THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Peter Clayton reports on an important International Colloquium held in London

On 27 and 28 July, the British Museum and the Department of Egyptian Antiquities hosted an important colloquium on aspects of the great Theban necropolis. The number of delegates was such that it was held in the large Brunel Lecture Theatre in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. A total of 18 papers were given and the selection of speakers from major areas of study and current work enabled them to be presented in a broad chronological sequence that also put the development of the Theban necropolis in perspective.

After a welcoming address by Vivian Davies, Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, the following session, chaired by Malcolm Todd, Director of the Theban West Bank Necropolis, spoke very briefly on ‘The Theban necropolis today’, and the present situation regarding the move of the inhabitants of the local village largely built above the tombs to the new village of New Gourna, located north of the modern entrance to the Valley of the Kings.

Thebes came to prominence in the Middle Kingdom, so it was appropriate that the first paper, by Friederike Kampp-Seyfried (Leipzig) presented an overview of the tombs and tomb development in the necropolis from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside period. She outlined the sequence from the Saff- and corridor-like tombs of the Middle Kingdom which were adopted in the Second Intermediate Period and were still evident in the early 18th Dynasty. The elaboration of the tombs, and the number of burial places within them, plus their various forms, either as shafts or sloping passages, combined to enable a trend to be recognised from a ‘house of the dead’ during these periods which culminated in the Ramesside period as a private ‘mortuary temple’.

Still in the Middle Kingdom, James P. Allen (New York) showed how, within only the last 20 years, the chronology of early Middle Kingdom history at Thebes has had to be revised. It was now seen that

some high officials previously thought to be in office under Mentuhotep II had, in fact, served under the earlier Amenemhat I. This had a ‘knock on’ effect in relation to the careers of other known Theban high officials. He concentrated on the offices of Treasurer, Chief Steward, and Vizier – people easily recognisable by the structure of their extended titles. Redating some of these important men shed light on the national policies of the Theban pharaohs and also how some of them apparently moved from one position to another – the notable stela of the Treasurer Teti (British Museum), who served under three Mentuhotep pharaohs, records his offices in great detail (Fig 1). There was a certain amount of overlapping of both careers in his position in the Middle Kingdom, with 12 Viziers (second only to pharaoh) known, eight Treasurers, and 10 to 12 Chief Stewards. Whilst some high officials might move from one position to another, none held more than two offices at a time, and there were not usually two in the same office.

Francesco Tiradelli (Milan) drew attention to Luigi Vassalli’s archaeological season in Western Thebes in 1862-3; he was Auguste Mariette’s assistant. Vassalli’s virtually unknown manuscripts and drawings, now in Milan, are an important record of important finds at this time, especially relating to the Second Intermediate burials and those of the 25th Dynasty family of priests. Vassalli had an extremely fine hieratic hand, invaluable for reassessing his finds, and he also dealt in antiquities, some of the papyri he found ending up in the British Museum.

One of the very few intact tombs discovered in the Theban necropolis was that of Ramose and Hathor, the parents of the famous architect Senenmut, discovered by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in the 1933-6 season. Peter Dorman (Chicago) outlined the evidence that revealed Senenmut had, in filial piety, moved the bodies, once he had achieved a prominent position under Hatshepsut, providing a tomb for them near his own. In the latter, he even included his parents in the funerary rituals in his own offering chapel. Much work had been carried out on the two elderly mummies, and this had been addressed at an earlier conference by Joann Fletcher (see Minerva, July/August 1999, p. 37).

An overview of the decoration of 18th Dynasty private tombs at Thebes was given by Lise Manniche (Copenhagen). She noted how, over the last sixty or so years, the interpretation of certain motifs in private tombs had been substantially changed by several scholars examining them in detail. The daily life scenes were to be seen in the context of funerary decoration as a whole – a view presently not unanimously accepted.

Professor Jan Assman (Heidelberg), who the previous evening had given the Raymond & Beverly Sackler Foundation Distinguished Lec-
tured in Egyptology on 'The Rames- side Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space', returned to the platform to report on recent work on Theban Tomb 183. This tomb, on which work had been done since 1998, was at the core of his discussion of the use of space and reinterpretation of the deeper meaning and concepts that are being revealed by in depth study of the tomb structure, layout and location.

An intriguing reinterpretation from an architectural point of view was put forward by Nicholas Reeves (Eton). He noted that little was known of the burials of 18th Dynasty queens, it was only early in the 19th Dynasty that the Valley of the Queens began to be used. There were well known female tombs, such as that of the Three Princesses (of Tuthmosis III), and the earlier one of Hatshepsut, both outside the Valley of the Kings. He put forward the hypothesis that rooms with a single pillar in some royal tombs might have been intended to receive the body of the queen.

He noted that KV22 (Amenophis III) had a fifth chamber off the burial hall that might represent a tomb within a tomb. Possibly KV21 and KV32 were intended for queens. In KV21 Belzoni had found two female mummies on the ground with the left arm across the chest, just like the Elder Woman found in the cache in KV32 (Amenophis II), and now identified by some as Queen Tiya. KV38 (Tuthmosis I) has a single pillar — was it originally intended for Hatshepsut's burial, and then reused for Tuthmosis II? In KV56, the 'gold tomb' found by Ayrton and Davis, probably the burial of a female child of Queen Tauret, there was an unfinished cutting — was it to have a single pillar? The single pillar in a room could well be a diagnostic feature used to denote a royal female burial.

Erhart Graefe (Münster) re-examined the 1881 famous cache of royal mummies. At the time, the clearance and recovery of the royal corpses was done so rapidly because of circumstances that the rough plans given by Brugsch (who was the first to examine the underground tomb) and Maspero were misleading in important details. The shaft had been opened in 1938 to enable Professor Jaroslav Cerney to copy the graffiti, and then re-blocked. In 1998 shaft and gallery were recleared to make a new and proper plan. It was found that some 20 to 30 cms of rock had fallen from the roof and that the whole was very fragile due to the variations in the quality of the rock. In the main burial chamber blocks of up to a metre had fallen, and this was obviously post 1881 since the coffins found there were intact.

Two main points came out of the re-examination. First, contrary to some opinions, the cache was not a tomb enlarged for Pinedjem I; it was a family tomb for some of the members of the family of the High Priests of Amun, beginning with Neshkons and her husband Pinedjem II. Only later was it decided to use it as a cache for other, earlier, royals. Secondly, the thesis that there had been a governmental policy under Piannkh to recover valuables from the royal bodies at a time of economic problems whilst in their Valley of the Kings tombs was only thought to be partly true. Rather, there had been an element of plundering before Piannkh, and then subsequent governmental robbery. The view that the tomb had originally been that of the 17th Dynasty Queen Inhapi was challenged — her mummy had been found in the coffin of the Lady Bay, but nothing else of her funerary equipment.

Numerous coffins and sarcophagi of the priests of Montu and their relatives (largely now in Cairo) were recorded as being discovered by Mariette in 1858 at Deir el Bahari, apparently as a 'cache'. The evidence of the literature was variable since there were no contemporary records. Cynthia May Sheikholeslami (Cairo) had examined the material in detail and come to the conclusion that there was no 'cache' as such, although there appears to have been some cache — largely from the upper terrace of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahari. There had been numerous references to Montu priests in the area in the writings of 19th century travellers and excavators.

Winlock, in his excavations in the southeast corner of the temple in the 1920s had found two 3rd century AD Roman burials that incorporated the lids from coffins of priests of Montu, evidencing the plundering of the tombs even at that date. An intact burial of a priest of Montu, found in the southwest corner, now has its outer wooden sarcophagus and two inner coffins displayed in Oxford (Fig 2). From examination, it was now possible to suggest reconstructions of 'family tombs' of the priests of Montu.

An intrusive Third Intermediate Period cemetery consisting of four shafts with the remains of disturbed burials, found when cleaning the pavement of the Northern Chapel of Amun in Hatshepsut's temple, was discussed by Miroslav Barwik (Warsaw). Fragments from one coffin or cartonnage were found scattered in the filling of two or even three shafts. The conclusion drawn was that here was the dumping ground from earlier excavations. Despite the extremely poor state of the material, it had proved possible to reconstruct a number of large fragments. Arising
pathological examination of human remains from the Theban necropolis, Andreas G. Nerlich (Munich) offered unique insights into contemporary living conditions, diseases, and their treatment. His investigations concerned the human material from four Theban tombs (TT 84, 85, 95, and 183) of the New Kingdom that were used (reused) into the Late Period. At least 566 individuals were investigated, ranging from new born infants to older individuals with a mean age at death between 20 and 40 years. Males comprised 55% of the adults. There was a high incidence of dental caries observed, plus evidence of trauma, and 12% and 22%, depending on the burial place. Use of DNA produced a surprising result of tuberculosis in bone samples in six out of 28 individuals, a high proportion of morbidity from this disease in an ancient population.

Some evidence of distinct medical treatment such as surgical amputations and also concern and care for disabled people during their life was also observed. One male had a wooden big toe replacement. Christina Riggs (Oxford) had studied the archaeological and art historical evidence for Theban funerary practices from the late first century BC to the late third century AD. At the latter date, traditional mumification burials taper off. Much reuse was made of existing tombs, pits, and shafts, and it was interesting to note that, even at these later periods, ancient Egyptian motifs and iconography were still much stronger than Hellenic or Roman elements.

Ceramic studies have for long been the poor relation of work on the Theban necropolis, as Pamela Rose (Cambridge) pointed out. However, it must be realized that the humble sherds, cast aside first by tomb robbers and later by many excavators, both through lack of interest, are invariably associated with the original burial. Even if it has been cleared, they are invariably relocated close by. An example was the Theban Tomb 99 where three shafts produced a mass of 320 kg of potsherds, plus what was found in the tomb's courtyard. A closer study of this ceramic record can make major contributions to the chronology of the tomb, its use and reuse, the status of the burials, and also the purpose of the vessels themselves.

Anthropological and palaeo-

out of this was the discovery of the hitherto unknown custom of covering the entire surface of a coffin or cartonnage with bitumen, or oil - the cartonnage of Pa-en-khara had its incised decoration obscured by covering it with a black substance (probably an oil).

The paper on the Ramessseum necropolis by Monique Nelson (Paris) was read by Nigel Strudwick due to her unavoidable absence. Whilst, to the visitor, the upstanding ruins of Ramesses II's mortuary temple are well known, the later history of the site and the brick vaulted secular buildings at the rear (Fig 3) being used for the location of the monuments and tombs of the Theban priesthood and their families, is not so well known. Quibell had found over 200 tombs here in 1896, all robbed, but located along what is now known to be the old procession way. The area got so crowded that even the earlier mud brick store rooms were modified; burial shafts were two to three metres deep and on either side of the doorway were often found representations of a striding goddess or the deceased before Atum. There were stele of priests of both Amun and of Montu. A particularly fine Book of the Dead with chapters of the Saite recension might indicate that there were Saite tombs also in the area; further excavation was obviously required.

Different chapel plans, and the use of the western and northern procession ways, showed how there had been adaptations made for the needs of various funerary cults, all the while keeping well clear of the major Ramesside temple structure. Since the lessons learnt

Fig 3. The ancient brick-vaulted storerooms behind the 19th Dynasty mortuary temple of Ramesses II (the Ramessseum) in Western Thebes. It was in this area, not implying on the temple structure, that several hundred later burials were made, often at the bottom of deep shafts. Photo: Peter Clayton.
practices. Thus it was possible to ascertain the sequence of application of the ground layers and paints (Fig 5). Significant evidence was obtained for the position and orientation of the coffin lids during their manufacture, e.g. the coffin of Esnut was stood upright when it received its covering of resin varnish. It was observed that a similar paint palette was used on both coffins.

Jaromir Malek (Oxford) posed the question, 'We have the tombs. Who needs the archives'. As the editor of *The Topographical Bibliography* he well knows the answer, but his paper was an extremely objective presentation that made one think. There are 'four estates' in Egyptology: monuments in situ; material in museums; publications in libraries and electronic media; and archives, both historical and modern. Modern technology has made much available, but it still is not enough. For example, to continue at the present rate of publication of the Tutankhamen fascicles by the Griffith Institute will take another 200 years to complete!

Archaeology is the chief provider of information, but it is essentially destructive, and it is only through meticulous recording that knowledge may be passed on. But, it is not all published, so archives are the final resource. Questions can well rise in the future on points not covered in a publication, so it is back to the prime source, the archives. The reason why archives are particularly important for the non-royal tombs at Thebes is the destruction of the monuments. Much deterioration has taken place in the last 200 years which can only be retrieved, if it exists, from the records of earlier Egyptologists, e.g. Vassalli and his meticulous copies mentioned above. It is therefore essential that records made during the excavation and recording of Theban tombs are preserved in archives. There is no question but that future Egyptological archives will be heavily influenced by modern technological developments, but their durability has yet to stand the test of time. Further information regarding the Griffith Institute archives can be found on the Internet at: www.ashmol.uk.ac.griffith.instr

The value of archives and earlier records was amply demonstrated by Caroline Simpson (London) when she spoke on 'Pieces of the Qurna historical jigsaw'. The village stands in the midst of what must surely be the most intensely studied and recorded small area in the world. But there are no histories of the village itself; there is a random collection of myths, half truths, even lies, but little else. The Qurnawi are mindful of their history and, currently with the moves to protect the tombs of the nobles upon which the village sits, they are being moved away. Much work has been done on the ground in recent years, recording information and clues, oral history and the like.

A major project in hand at the moment is to make a permanent exhibition of Robert Hay's incredible panorama of Thebes drawn in 1826 in two 360 degree panoramas and other drawings of the Theban necropolis. They are a unique record which is held in the British Library and have never been published. The BL has generously given a set of photographic copies to the people of Qurna to display in the village. They will be shown in the Omada's (Mayor's) House at Qurna. This family house, which is no longer lived in, is an ideal place, being only a few yards away from the small mound by the tomb of Ramose where one of the panoramas was drawn. The detail is incredible. The owner of the house is keen that his old family house will be the home of the permanent exhibition to show the history of the village. Three of the ground floor rooms are to be refurbished and decorated for the displays. Such a project needs money, the overall estimate is £10,000, and a charity account has been opened in Britain, and one with the National Bank of Egypt in Cairo. Details of the project, which is being widely supported from many different areas, are available via e-mail: Caroline@forbury.demon.co.uk

It is anticipated that the texts of the papers delivered at the Colloquium will be posted on the internet, and a more formal, traditional, publication will follow.


MINERVA 53
The major news in the ancient coin market as the autumn season begins is the general lack of good material. Dealers in Europe and America are complaining that there is simply very little of quality available on the market. In the first week of October, fairs were held in London, Munich, and Vicenza, and at each location the situation was the same. "Ordinary" coins – common Roman silver denarii, low quality Greek bronzes, Roman provincial bronzes from the Balkans, and other coins that have long been available in quantity – are still available in quantity. However, better coins are not on offer. Even dealers who ordinarily keep a substantial stock are finding that they cannot replace the coins they are selling.

There are apparently several explanations for this situation. Fewer new finds are making their way to market. Few collections are being sold. When collectors do sell, they are tending more and more to co so by auction, rather than through dealers. Many owners are selling directly via the Internet. The effect of these various factors is to channel business through the auction houses and through the Internet, rather than through dealers. This combination of developments has put dealers in a difficult position, and many are scrambling to find coins to satisfy their customers.

Speaking of the Internet, here the amount of material on offer has risen. Not only have many traditional dealers now opened web sites, but a great many collectors and other sources have now discovered that they can sell directly via eBay or one of the other auction sites. In the early days of the Internet, there was more demand than supply. Although use of the Internet is rising in every respect, recently the quantity of ancient coins being offered has increased faster than the number of new buyers. Internet buyers tend to be highly price-conscious, and the greater supply has meant that overall prices have stabilized or moved slightly lower. This is a welcome development, as new buyers on the Internet now have the opportunity to choose from a wide variety of material at competitive prices.

The first auction of the season was the UBS sale in Zurich. Good coins were in demand. A beautiful silver tetradrachm of Athens, dated 465-460 BC, sold in UBS sale for SF13,500 against an estimate of SF8,000 (1.5:1). A gold aureus of Marc Antony and Octavian, struck at a military mint in 41 AD, fetched SF17,000 against an estimate of SF8,000. It was purchased by the house Aine style gold aureus of Titus, 77/78 AD, sold to Geneva dealer Alain Baron for SF13,750 against an estimate of SF6,000. A rare gold aureus of Caracalla, 215 AD, depicting on the reverse a temple of Antoninus, sold to Classical Numismatic Group for £2,000 against an estimate of £1,500. The sale was strongest in Roman gold, which brought consistently good prices.
A HOARD OF CONTEMPORARY ROMAN FORGED DENARIII

Italo Vecchi

A n old central Italian find of 55 ancient false denarii of the Roman emperor Severus Alexander (AD 222-235) and Julia Mamaea, his mother, owned by a private collector, was lent to the British Museum exhibition ‘Illegal Tender: Counterfeit Money Through the Ages’ in September this year (see Minerva, Sept/Oct, pp. 54-5).

The hoard consists of two blank planchets (Fig 1), 42 Julia Mamaea denarii, and 11 Severus Alexander denarii, with only one type for each issuer, each of which are struck from the same paired obverse and reverse dies.

The coins are all struck on debased silver planchets from well-cut dies that could be mistaken for original, except that there are only two sets of dies used. The two blank planchets weigh 4.19 gm and 3.11 gm respectively. The average weight of silver denarii of this period is slightly over 3 gm, while the average weight of these unofficial denarii is slightly under 3 gm. The date of their manufacture must be soon after AD 227, when Alexander received the tribunician power for the sixth time and they would have been good enough to pass as genuine once dispersed in commerce.

The forgery of coins with intent to deceive for profit by low weight and fineness is as early as the invention of coins itself in about 650 BC. In times of financial stringency, as during the reign of Claudius (AD 41-54), the Roman state seems to have tolerated imitations, but in theory the counterfeiting of gold had long been regarded as sacrilege and severely punished. Cicero and later sources speak of a Lex Cornelia testimonia nummariarum, also called de falsis, ascribed to the dictator Cornelius Sulla in a general programme of legislation in 81 BC, dealing with the falsification of wills, documents, titles, and coins. An interesting anecdote in Stevenson, A Dictionary of Roman Coins, (1964 reprint), p. 295, quotes Pliny’s mention that in his time, 1st century AD, false pieces were prized for the ingenuity of their fabrication, and states that many true denarii were often exchanged for a forged example.

Severus Alexander was proclaimed as emperor in 222 by the Praetorian Guard after the disastrous reign of Elagabalus (218-222). He ruled the empire wisely and the condition of the state was much improved, but he was very much under the influence of Julia Mamaea, his mother and mentor, made Augusta in 223 and greatly resented by the army. On 22 March 235, during a military campaign against the Germans, they were both murdered at their camp near Mainz by mutinous troops.

The 220s AD were a time of reduced taxes and renewed building throughout the Empire of roads, bridges, and aqueducts, as well as financing wars in Germany and the East. There was, as now, never enough money to go round.
In the mid-1950s there appeared in the Seaby Coin & Medal Bulletin an advertisement for the post of a young numismatist with an interest in ancient coins to join the Ancient Coin Department under Lieut.-Colonel J. Kozolubski; preferably he would have completed his National Service (conscript:on was still in force), or be exempt. The young man who successfully applied was David R. Sear, and thus began an association with Seaby that was to lead to a large number of books on the ancient series that can only be properly described as the sive maeum, or Bible, of each area covered. The ‘flagship’ of the many books that David Sear produced in an outstanding career in numismatics has been RCTV, as it is colloquially known. Seaby had published their first Catalogue of Roman Coins in 1936, then an enlarged edition by Gilbert Ashew, FSA, in 1948, listing 3,400 coins (128pp, costing 5 shillings - 25p); the 1954 edition, now by H.A. (Bert) Seaby, had 3,629 coins, plus five photographic plates of casts of coins to add to the line drawings in the text (132 pp, for 14 shillings - 70p). Then, in 1969, the second and present edition was produced by David Sear — the coins listed had risen to 4,312, line drawings illustrated the text and there were now eight plates photographed from the actual coins (288pp, for 30 shillings - £1.50). This edition went through many revisions until 1988, when the line drawings in the text (except for a few particularly rare and difficult coins to find) were replaced by coin photographs by the present reviewer. The RCTV 1988 edition soon became the most popular and useful one volume guide to the Roman coinage, and it continued to be as the four revisions and many reprints proved.

With the present volume of RCTV David Sear has performed an incredible task in producing a new and, indeed, much finer book. It was easily realised by the present publishers, Spink, that David’s revisions and enlargements of the text could no longer be contained in a single volume, and it was decided to divide into two volumes. There is now virtually a complete listing of the Republican series, ordered by chronology (no longer by the old Cohen sequence). The bronze coinage features large in this new section and is a valuable innovation and addition.

Because of the unprecedented expansion, it was felt that a good, sensible, division in the sequence of the Roman series would be to finish with the Twelve Caesars, i.e. the reign of Domitian (81-96 AD), last of the Flavians, and his family. This lists 2931 coins — up to this point in the 1988 edition there were 948! Not only has the number of the coins been substantially increased, their condition is given in two states, VF and EF, and values in £ sterling and US dollars. There are many useful notes appearing under a number of the Republic and Imperatorial issues particularly, explaining their sometimes enigmatic allusions to either the moneyer’s ancestors or events. For even more detail on the Imperatorial period, readers should consult David Sear’s other recent book, The History and Coinage of the Roman Emperors 49-27BC (Spink, 1998; see also Minerva November/December 1998, p. 47). Even with the, literally, world-wide numismatic resources placed at David’s disposal to acquire illustrations (sources are acknowledged on p.7), it has still proved to be impossible to photographically illustrate some of coins, and good line drawings have been used so there is at least a visual record.

Expansion in the Imperial series has meant more attention has been paid to the Greek Imperial/Roman Provincial issues, notably of Alexandria. These are featured in another Sear book, Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values (1982), but then only in proportion relative to the revised mints that existed. The coins from Roman Alexandria have become more popular in recent years, so this area is, yet again, a most welcome expansion in the volume.

The coin listings are, naturally, the major part of the volume but the well illustrated introductory sections on denominations, Imperial reverse types, countermarks, mints from Augustus to Diocletian, mint marks, and dating are a concise and valuable guide to the many vagaries of the Roman series that can often confuse, or confound, the beginner (and also at times the more adept).

In the previous editions, where appropriate, the chronological criteria of a reign i.e. the TR P, COS, etc. titles were given at the head of each reign with the concise biography of the main points of the relevant emperor’s reign. Here they have been incorporated into a single table (pp. 305-9) which gives a much wider view of how it all ‘works’. Notable as well here is the addition of a 5th column with the Alexandrian regnal year dates — always a cause of some confusion with their commencement in August, and counting even a few months prior to the new year of an emperor’s accession as being the emperor’s year 1.

The old adage, the advice always given to any beginner in a series, is, first, get the books, then go and buy the coins. RCTV volume 1, is something that no one interested in the Roman series can afford to be without. The second volume, probably due later this year or early next, will take the history on to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West in the 5th century. Greedy as all numismatists are, in welcoming volume 1, we can only echo Virgil’s words in Aeneid Book V, looking towards the publication of volume 2 — Expectate veni.
NUMISMATIC CALENDAR

AUCTIONS FEATURING ANCEINT COINS
1 November, Glendining's, London. Auction (44) 20 7493 2445
8 November, Warwick & Warwick Auction, Coins & Banknotes (44) 1926 499031
15 November, Spink Auction, London, English & Foreign Coins and Commemorative medals (44) 20 7563 4000
18-19 Numismata, Berlin (49) 89/26 8359
20 November, Numismatik Lanz Auction, Munich
21 November, Croydon Coin Auction 020 8656 4583
22 November, Gerhard Hirsch Nacht Auction, Munich. (49) 89 29 2150
25 Spink Auction, Hong Kong, Coins & Banknotes (44) 20 7563 4000
26 November, London Coin Auction (44) 1322 861228
30 November, Spink Auction, London (44) 20 7563 4000
30 November, Dix Noonan Webb, London, Auction (44) 20 7499 5022
2 December, Jean Elsen, Brussels, Auction (32) 2 734 63 56

5-6 December, Classical Numismatic Group, Tucson IV Auction (44) 20 7495 1888
6 December, Renaissance Auctions, New York (44) 20 7930 7597
7 December, Baldwin's Auction Ltd, New York (44) 20 7930 9808
11 December, Spink Auction, New York (1) 212 486 3660

FAIRS
4 November, London Coin Fair, Cumberland Hotel (44) 20 7831 2080
11 November, Kensington Fair, London, Commonwealth Institute (44) 20 8656 4583
12 November, The Midland Coin Fair, National Motor Cycle Museum (44) 24 7671 6587
17-19 November, Bay State Coin Show, Boston, Radisson Hotel
10 December, The Midland Coin Fair, National Motor Cycle Museum (44) 24 7671 6587
16 December, Kensington Fair, London, Commonwealth Institute (44) 20 8656 4583

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Bronze figurine of seated Eras holding grapes.
Greco-Roman, 1st century BC/AD. Height: 525mm.

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**Book Reviews**

**Phoenicians**
Olmea Markoe
224 pp, 12 colour pls,
74 b/w illus, 2 maps.
Hardback, £24.99.

The Phoenicians, along with the Etruscans, are perhaps the most enigmatic, least understood and least known peoples of the ancient world. Why should this be? The answer lies in the lessons of history - in both instances what we know of them, knew of them, comes largely from ancient sources written from an antagonistic point of view. After all, it is the victors who write (rewrite) history and, to the classical world, both these peoples were an anathema.

Only in recent years, literally the last three decades (Donald Harden's seminal book was published in 1971), have the Phoenicians begun to emerge in their own right and take a rightful place in the ancient world. They had no homeland as such, although their major base was a series of great cities along the Lebanese/Palestinian coast. In effect, they were a confederation of widely scattered merchant communities, not a defined territorial entity. As the first merchant ventured the Mediterranean was their oyster; trading took them to the furthest points west (possibly even to Cornwall for tin), and their colonies were founded accordingly. Great cities with a Biblical ring to them like Tyre and Sidon were Phoenician, as were Cartaghe and Cadiz and many colonies on Mediterranean islands like Tharros. Phoenician trading cities and outposts were, in effect, a necklace of pearls around the Mediterranean.

The Phoenicians were the greatest sailors of the ancient world, they had to be in order to maintain their trading and economic empire. Herodotus (mid-fifth century BC) tells us that they were the first to circumnavigate Africa, and there is no cause to doubt this. For some 1200 years, from c. 1550 BC in the Late Bronze Age until the end of the Persian Empire in 300 BC, Phoenician trade, art, religion, and language suffused and influenced with various degrees of emphasis the vast majority of the major civilisations of the ancient Near East who were busy, as usual, fighting each other. It is from the Phoenicians, at a couple of steps removed, via great centres such as Ras Shamra (Ugarit) that our present alphabet is derived. Phoenician art was, in essence, a chameleon - it could change and adapt to suit requirements - the 'bug-eyed' glass beads from Cartaghe (founded from Tyre) are almost a type fossil illustration of the Phoenicians; carved ivories found at Nimrud in Assyria betray Phoenician craftsmen working there in their own idiom but reflecting and adapting Egyptian motifs.

There are so many strands to the Phoenicians, their complex history, culture, trading and political relationships, art, language, and religion that archaeology has only just begun to sort it all out. The Phoenicians received a particularly bad press on the religious aspect with the stories recounted of their sacrifice of the first born child to the gods, and cemeteries of cremated infant remains have been found, particularly the tophet at Carthage with its pathetic small urns and carved stele.

Dr Markoe has skilfully presented all these multidimensional aspects of a multi-talented yet virtually homeless people in a series of seven well-balanced yet concise chapters, the latest a chapter in a recent series about seven chapters about the empire in the area, now the empire is transformed, moving from paganism into Christianity.

Rome in the East:
The Transformation of an Empire
Warwick Ball
Routledge, 2000. xix + 523pp,
162 pls, 126 figs. Hardback, £65.

'Gives Romanus sum' has all the connotations to the modern mind of being a citizen of the Roman Empire, but it is in the European vision. So many of Europe's institutions, legal systems, roads, coinage, etc., have their antecedents in Rome that an 'eastern perspective' has for long been neglected at best or, invariably, ignored. Warwick Ball has now transformed this in a well thought out and presented treatise. A former Director of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, he has excavated mainly there and in Jordan where he has also been closely involved with the restoration of monumental Roman remains - the Roman sites in Jordan are so often overshadowed by the Nabataean marvel of Petra.

In this truly remarkable and wide ranging survey, Dr Ball essentially presents the question - did Rome conquer the East, or did the East conquer Rome? It is an interesting question which he then proceeds to answer by laying the evidence before the reader. Rome herself was fascinated with the East, and it all begins to fall into place and make valid sense. Rome's fascination could, at times, have an undertone of fear of the potential, as seen in the episode of Antony and Cleopatra where the 'Conscript Fathers', as the Senate liked to term itself, feared Antony was heading towards setting up a rival eastern empire with his exotic queen.

By comparison with the west, few of the great cities of the eastern Roman empire are well known, or recognised, outside of the likes of Constantinople, Antioch, Palmyra, etc. Here the whole conception of the eastern Roman empire is changed - it is now seen not as in a series of eight substantial chapters that, after an historical background, go on to examine the client kingdoms, the cities, towns, and countryside, and the Imperial veneer cast overall to the point where the voice of the East is lost, and the empire is transformed, moving from paganism into Christianity.

The question of Rome's influence in the east is an interesting one: there is the basic tenet of trade (highlighted over 40 years ago in Sir Mortimer Wheeler's *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*) - Pliny decried the good Roman gold coins (aurei) that were swallowed up in the eastern trade.

Then there are many other influences brought about indirectly by the employment and use of Roman prisoners; as many as 10,000 were taken at Carchae in S3 BC, and over 60,000 in AD 260 in the campaigns against Shapur I when even the emperor, Valerian, was captured. Triumphal reliefs at Bishapur and at Naqsh-i Rastam show Shapur's triumphs over Gordian III, Philip I, and Valerian. Despite a modern interpretation put on such scenes, Persian treatment of prisoners was far more humane than Rome's which tended to consign them to the slave market or the arena. The Persians settled their prisoners in cities and put them to
work on construction projects, and it does show in so many buildings. Artistically, Ball's examination of Gandharan sculpture in relation to European Roman sculpture, 'Romano-Buddhist' art, is quite enlightening.

An invaluable adjunct to an extremely well composed and balanced text is the fine selection of photographs (especially the site and architectural views), largely the author's own and thereby totally apposite to the text. Together with a good series of clear line drawings and plans, it all adds up to present a book that, without any doubt, is premier in this new view of Rome in the east. Nor must we forget that even St Paul could stand on his rights as a Roman citizen, through his father. Warwick Ball's basic argument is that the story of Rome is the story of the East, more than the story of the West – and he presents a very cogent case.

Peter A. Clayton

Heart of the City: Roman, Medieval and Modern London Revealed by Archaeology at 1 Poultry.


To accompany the stunning exhibition 'High Street Londinium' at the Museum of London (see Minerva, July/August, p5), an interesting, well illustrated and lively book has been produced. It is the story of the hard work and dedication of the many people and organisations that were involved in the development of one of the City's most prominent landmarks, the Victorian Mappin & Webb building and others associated on the site at No 1 Poultry. The battle that raged regarding the proposed development is told here as part of the history of the site; indeed, one chapter is entitled, 'A new building that might just be a masterpiece' - only time will tell.

The sense of commitment to doing something out of the ordinary at Poultry led to a remarkable agreement between Sir Jocelyn Stevens, then head of English Heritage, and Lord Pakenham of the City Acre Property Investment Trust, to jointly fund the archaeological work. This book celebrates the results of that work, revealing the remarkable finds and the story of early commercial Roman London, then following upwards, through the layers of its medieval and later occupants on the site. Here are recorded the results of the excavations and of the work that showed how archaeology can reveal aspects of history that cannot be discovered by any other means. The story written in the stratification of No. 1 Poultry is the story of the City of London, revealed, stripped away almost like the layers in a jam sponge cake, to present the evidence.

Peter A. Clayton

Monasteries in the Landscape

Mick Aston


Although published seven years ago as Monasteries, a change of publisher has led to revisions, corrections, a new format, and the addition of 30 good colour plates.

In the Middle Ages monasteries were amongst the greatest owners of land in Britain. Today, their influence on the landscape can still be seen, but largely in the majestic monastic ruins such as Fountains Abbey, but there is also evidence in the earthworks, patterns of land holding, and even in some industrial remains.

Mick Aston examines here the place of the monasteries in the landscape - why they were built, how they affected, how they were used, and in their turn were affected, by the countryside in which they built. He first explains how monasticism arrived in Britain, outlining its origins in the deserts of Egypt, and how it grew from those austere beginnings into rich and powerful estates. He looks at why abbeys and priories were sited where they were, together with all the other aspects of their activities outside the essential religious one that was their raison d'être. There were so many involvements: estate management, coupled with farming policy; industrial and commercial operations, both in the countryside round about and also in the nearby towns. The story, however, does not come to a halt with the Dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII in the 1530s - it goes on. Aston discusses the 'aftermath', how many of the monastic estates and buildings were bought, or given, to private owners and turned to new uses.

Monasteries and abbeys have amongst the highest numbers of visitors to heritage sites in Britain and this book will make the reader look at them from a different view point, seeing them more in their context and thus being able to understand them better. Mick Aston is, of course, better known as the touseld, white-haired 'front man' in the hugely popular TV series 'Time Team', but here he shows his true colours as Professor of Landscape Archaeology in the University of Bristol. His 'other self', and how he got into archaeology, and especially landscape archaeology, is well told in his recent autobiography, Mick's Archaeology (see Minerva, September/October 2000, p. 64).

Peter A. Clayton

Minotaur: Sir Arthur Evans and the Archaeology of the Minoan Myth


'Minotaur' is a modern critical biography of Arthur Evans, and is to be welcomed as it fills a gap in the existing literature. One of the strengths of the material it encompasses has of course been published elsewhere. Joan Evans' biography of her half brother, Time and Chance (London 1943) is an important source, but has long been recognised as a partial account, underpinned by familial affection. As MacGillivray notes, it is highly selective in what it includes, and as a result 'lacks depth and reads flatly'. Other biographical sketches or commentary in articles or general books lack the scope and space of this work here for the first time, a complete and fully-documented biography of Evans is presented.

There can be no doubt that this book will be useful, though readers may find themselves puzzled by its tone. This is perhaps because, in these revisionist times, they expect a hatchet job. In the mould of Schleimann's life-history as retold by Calder and Traill, the battles were unfurled to Schliemann's (or represented) as psychopath, charlatan, and liar. This world could either agree, disagree violently, or wait for the dust to settle and realise that an important re-balancing of our view of Schliemann was the result. Here, though Evans has also been the subject of writing, if not of hagiography in popular literature, the issues are not clear.

MacGillivray does adopt a revisionist stance, but it is not based quite so directly on the personality of Evans. Rather he sets out his argu-
ment in the more generalist terms of 'archaeology as creation', claiming this as a new and original way of viewing the archaeological process. Evans is an exemplar, who before he went to Crete, according to MacGillivray, already had in his mind many, or even most, of the elements of the Minoan culture that he was going to find. The thrust of the initial argument is that Evans exemplifies on a grand scale a more generally recognisable phenomenon, common to archaeologists and archaeology as a whole.

This makes an interesting and challenging introduction, but neither the history nor the consequence of the phenomenon really comes through as a consistent theme as the work progresses. Instead we find ourselves led through logically and somewhat footedly, through Evans' life and achievements. MacGillivray certainly allows that the achievements were very real, saluting Evans' creative energy and strength of personality. He is, though, often rather guilting in tone. This might be a result of his own struggle for detachment, and for a place to stand that sees his subject clearly, fairly, and in the terms of 'creative' or 'relative' archaeology that he has propounded. However (since amateur psychology is catching!) surely most readers will be startled by the bitterness of MacGillivray's tone as he describes his reaction on his first visit to Kno-ssos - 'bewilderment and disappointment mixed with a sense of betrayal and shame.'

'The moment refers specifically to the reconstructions of Kno-ssos - the fact that the columns are concrete, the wall-paintings restored. Clearly this is an author who has found some of Evans’ actions hard to forgive. Yet he, of all people, cannot find them hard to understand. He is himself a distinguished 'Minoan archaeologist' - whatever he might now think the term implies. He is a field-worker who has both followed quite literally in Evans' wake, re-examining evidence for the Old Palace at Knossos, and has directed fruitful and important excavations at the east Cretan site of Palaikastro. Presumably he views himself as part of the process of 'archaeology as creation', and as contributing to a modern version of 'the Minoan myth'.

Had there been space, I would have liked to see more of MacGillivray’s own view of the Minoans, however relative or even 'mythical'. It strikes me most forcibly that 'myth' in this context is just a more romantic word for 'hypothesis'. Evans had big views, some right, some wrong. He cast a long shadow, but the world has had more than fifty years to evaluate his work. We no longer need to be warned that he was prone to be superman - his 'creation' of the 'Palace of Minos' (from the name he gave to the building onwards) is certainly embedded in archaeological thought, and quite familiar to a broader public, too. We do, though, need to replace his hypotheses with our own. MacGillivray recognizes and describes this process, but he does not venture onto the territory of telling us what he personally thinks of Minoan life and times. Perhaps he will be persuaded to do so elsewhere. In the meantime, he has written a full and detailed biography that will certainly be useful. It is scholarly and interesting, but also rather eccentric - a combination which perhaps it has in common with its subject.

J. Lesleyl Fitzon
Department of Greek and
Roman Antiquities, British Museum

**Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology**


Much of our historical portrait of medieval Ireland stems from documentary sources. The last decade has, however, seen an upsurge of archaeological investigation of the physical evidence for Ireland during this period (covering the five centuries from AD 1100 to 1600). This new book sets out to provide a fresh synthesis, drawing on the most recent archaeological evidence (things and places), and in this it succeeds well. The contents are divided into six main themes covering the subjects of earth-and-timber castles, stone castles and defensible houses, country life (landscape, settlement, and farming), towns and urban life, craft - trade - industry, and the church. O'Keeffe not only looks at physical remains, outlining their main developments (illustrated by some case histories), but also looks at the historic environment, blending geographical and landscape perspectives with place-name evidence.

The text is well-written and wide-ranging, and the author raises many questions about our understanding of the medieval period. For example, should 'towns' in medieval Ireland be defined by the presence of an enclosing wall or rampart, as either enabled careful regulation of activity within the settlement? Where did the major city of the Gaelic-Irish live in the later Middle Ages? Were Decorated and Perpendicular styles first adopted by old Anglo-Norman families because they expressed links with England (in the same way that adoption of Romanesque expressed alignment of patrons with the spirit of church reform)? In the section on 'craft - trade - industry', pottery is given wide coverage; a good selection of the finer pottery wares (mostly imports) are illustrated - though a minor quibble is the lack of cross-sections on the jug handles. Of interest is the observation that when the Anglo-Normans moved into Ulster in the late 1100s, they were too busy to set up their own kilns, and were happy to use native wares. This can be paralleled, for example, during the early Norman phase at the Tower of London, when no French fabrics or forms displaying strong Norman influence were identified from the excavations of the western defences of the inmost Ward. Such evidence may reflect the nature of life at this period, as a post-invasion emergency enclosure concerned primarily with military rather than civilian supply.

A number of books which have recently appeared in print have focused on particular themes such as lime stone towers and castles, or individual sites (for example, the author's own study of Bridgetown Priory and the architecture of the Augustinian Canons Regular in Ireland). It is now over a decade since the publication of the ground-breaking *Archaeology of Medieval Ireland* by Terry Barry, and O'Keeffe's book provides a valuable synthesis of the new, and diverse, archaeological evidence which has been discovered since.

Inevitably in a book of this size, some subjects are not treated in great detail, such as ornamental metalwork, stone or (though some monumental sculpture is illustrated), objects of bone, wood, and glass. While some typographic errors could have been avoided (such as the incorrect numbering of chapter 7, and the occasional spelling errors), the author is to be congratulated on providing a valuable and fresh insight into the rich archaeological evidence for life in medieval Ireland. The text is supported by excellent line drawings and clear photographs. This reviewer would, in fact, have liked a few more, such as town plans of Armagh, Fethard, and Kilkenny, and a map showing the sources of imported pot-

**Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology** concludes with a brief forward look at the potential for future studies, suggesting, for example, further study of the archaeological evidence for the
Gaelic-Irish people, and the challenge posed by the issue of ethnicity and its definition. As with many other publications by Tempus, the book is well-produced and excellent value for money. It is a thought provoking book, and well worth reading.

Dr Mark Redknap National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

Books Received


This is a welcome return into print of one of the most useful books written on the practical aspects of the ancient world. Dr Landel's combination of knowledge of the classical world (he was Senior Lecturer in Classics at Reading University), an enquiring practical mind (coupled with helpful collaboration from his University's engineering department, who took up many challenges to make things work), produced a book 20 years ago that opened many eyes. The main text of that first edition has been reprinted without change, but the great advance made in the mean time, has been the building of a full size, seaworthy replica of a Greek trireme, the Olympia. Dr Landels had earlier remarked that such a project 'would be prohibitively expensive' - it was, about £750,000, all put in motion by the Trireme Trust. A new Appendix added on the trireme has interesting practical information about its building, manning, speed, and sea trials. Elsewhere, 'Some Further Thoughts' have been added to comment on or enlarge where necessary, plus an enlarged and updated bibliography.


Short on pagination this book may be but, as usual with Shire books, it is packed with concise information. The author has previously dealt with Samian ware pottery in this series, so here it is only touched upon to complete the picture of pottery in Roman Britain. The essence here is the coarse wares from Roman Britain, both local British manufactures and imported wares found here, often quite exotic in form and fabric. Fragments of pottery are, of course, the most ubiquitous of finds from a Romano-British site and it is quite amazing how much information can be gleaned from the most unprepossessing pieces when properly identified. Evidence of trade, technology, industry, life style, etc, can all be interpreted once the basics are recognised and understood.

All these aspects, and more, are integrated in the text with the discussion and descriptions of the various wares, including especially many of the localised products that are now recognised. Tiles, terracotta figurines, lamps, and graffiti on pottery also all find a place here. An invaluable aspect of the book is the wide ranging selection of illustrations that include some excellent and useful line drawings. There is little doubt that excavators on Romano-British sites will want a 'best copy' in their study and one, soon to be dog-eared, in their pocket on site for quick reference.

Peter A. Clayton

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MINERVA 65
UNITED STATES

ANNE ARBOR, Michigan

VILLA OF THE MYSTERIES: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 716 425-4531 (www.umich.edu/unma/) Until 19 November.

ATLHENS, Georgia

PERSEUS SILVER AND SILVERSMITHS. About 80 examples of silver objects from Pre-Columbian times until the present, GEORGIA MUSEUM OF ART (1) 706 542-4662 (www.uga.edu/gamuseum) 4 November - 14 January 2001.

ATLANTA, Georgia

TYRANNY AND TRANSFORMATION IN ROMAN POTTERY. This important international exhibition is the first to focus on the purposely damaged and altered portraits of such emperors as Caligula and Nero. It includes a number of 'damaritio' coins from the American Numismatic Society, MICHAEL C. CARLOS MUSEUM, EMORY UNIVERSITY (1) 404 727-4382 (www.emory.edu/carlos) Until 10 December. (See Minerva, pp. 45-49).

BLOOMINGTON, Indiana

THE SPINDLE AND THE SHRINE: DAILY LIFE OF WOMEN IN CLASSICAL TIMES. "More than 250 objects from the museum's collection illustrating aspects of their private, social, and religious life." INDIANA UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM (1) 812 855-4455 (www.indiana.edu/~iam) Until 17 December.

BOSTON, Massachusetts

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

THE ART OF AFRICA, OCEANIA, AND THE ANCIENT AMERICAS. A series of new galleries opened in December 1997 including an exceptional collection of pre-Columbian polychrome ceramics, Olmec stone sculptures, and Andean textiles, as well as an unusual group of terracotta figures made by the African比较多 of the African New World peoples, some nearly as early as the first millennium BC. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON (1) 17 267-9300. Ongoing exhibitions.

BROOKLYN, New York

GOLD OF THE NOMADS: SCYTHIAN TREASURES FROM ANCIENT RUSSIA. BROOKLYN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 718 638-5000. (www.brooklynart.org) Until 21 January 2001 (then to the Royal Ontario Museum, Canada on 18 February 2001) Catalogue £6 hardback 25/95 paperback. (See Minerva Nov/Dec 2000, pp. 24-33; repr. in Minerva from 0 and at the venue for $5 each).

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts

NUZI AND THE HURRIANS: FRAGMENTS FROM A FORGOTTEN PAST. The exhibition features over 100 pieces from the Museum's collection of more than 10,000 finds excavated at Nuzi, including cuneiform tablets, seals and seal impressions, fine metalwork, clay figurines, bronze weapons and tools and pottery. SEMITIC MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY (1) 617 495-4631, www.fas.harvard.edu/semitic An ongoing installation until 2001.


CHICAGO, Illinois

CHINA: RULE THE UNIVERSE: MING AND QING DYNASTIES FROM THE PERMANENT COLLECTION. A large selection from the permanent Chinese textile holdings, which have never before been featured in a major exhibition. MUSEUM OF ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO (1) 312 443 0849 (www.artic.edu) Until 2 January 2001.


TAOSIM AND THE ARTS OF CHINA. The first major exhibition ever held on art-works related to Chinese Taoism. Approximately 130 works of art will be on view to explore conceptual and artistic achievements in the history of Taoism, including scroll paintings, sculpture, calligraphy, textiles, ritual objects, and rare books borrowed from nearly 70 lenders in more than 10 countries. THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO. (1) 312 443 0849 (www.artic.edu) (4 November - 7 January 2001) (then to the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco).

TREASURES FROM THE ROYAL TOMBS OF UR. ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO Objects excavated from the Royal Cemetery of Ur, the 5000-year-old city mentioned in the Bible and in the stories of Abraham, presented by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology (1) 733 1210 9520 Until 21 January 2001 (then to Chicago). Catalogue. (See Minerva, March/April 1999, pp. 14-20).

CLEVELAND, Ohio

CIRCLES OF REFLECTION: THE CARTER COLLECTION OF CHINESE BRONZE MIRRORS. Over 90 mirrors from the 3rd century BC to the 19th century from a collection unique in the West, with emphasis not only on the Han (206 BC-220 AD) and Tang (618-907 AD) Dynasties, but also most unusually on those produced in the Song (AD 960-1279) and post-Song (AD 1279-c. 1800) periods. CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART (1) 216 421-7340. (www.clevelandart.com) Until 26 November

EGYPTIAN GALLERIES. In the recent reinstallation of the galleries, the rooms are thematically arranged to reflect the evolution of the gods, Public and Private Life, and, with special emphasis, the Afterlife. CLEVE-


GALLERY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN & BYZANTINE ART. Reopened on 15 September. CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART (1) 216 421-7340.

COLUMBIA, Missouri

ART OF DEVOTION FROM GANDHARA. About 43 objects from the museum's collection. MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI (573) 882-3591. (www.missouri.edu/museum) Until 10 December.


HUNTSVILLE, Alabama


KANSAS CITY, Missouri

SNAKE GODDESSES OF ANCIENT INDIA. The exhibition displays monumental sandstone Naginis (sculpture of Snake Goddesses) amidst panoramic photographs of India. Until 7 January 2001.

LOS ANGELES, California

ANCIENT ART FROM THE PERMANENT COLLECTION. A temporary exhibition, including some of the recent acquisitions from the Fleischman collection, until the Paul Getty Museum in Malibu is reopened, now scheduled for 2003. THE GETTY CENTER (1) 310 444-7300 (www.getty.edu)

MALIBU, California

J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM CLOSED. It should be noted that the Getty Villa Museum, which houses the noted collection of Greek and Roman antiquities, closed on July 1990 for an extensive renovation and will probably reopen in 2003 as a centre for comparative ancient and modern culture. (See above.) THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM (1) 310 459-7611.

NEW YORK, New York

CULTURE AND CONTINUITY: THE JEWISH JOURNEY. Jewish culture and history from antiquity to the present with over 900 objects. The antiquities include a recently acquired 4th century Roman gold glass bottle base with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions. THE JEWISH MUSEUM (1) 212 423-3271. (www.thejewishmuseum.org) A new permanent installation.

DRINK AND BE MERRY: WINE AND BEER IN ANCIENT TIMES. Organized by the Staatliches Museum für Archäologie zu München, this exhibition presents over 180 drinking and serving vessels, reliefs, mosaics, wooden models of breweries, and ritual scenes from Mediterranean cultures. THE JEWISH MUSEUM (1) 212 423-3200. (www.thejewishmuseum.org). Until 5 November

EYPTIAN ART AT ELON COLLEGE: SELECTIONS FROM THE MUSEUMS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA. In the United States, many of the select ancient Egyptian objects in this 19th CE...

NEW BYZANTINE GALLERIES. The Mary and Michael Jaharis Byzantine Galleries will open 14 November in a dramatically expanded space. It will include some of the latest imagery developed by the Christian church, and provincial Roman and barbarian jewellery beyond the western borders of the Byzantine empire. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212879-5500. (See article in forthcoming Minerva)

THE GOLDEN DEER OF EURASIA: SCythian and Sarmatian Treasures FROM the RUSSIAN TUPPERS. Spectacular finds of gold and silver objects recently excavated at Filippovka in southern Russia along with related objects from the collections of the Museum are on view. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879 5500 (www.metmuseum.org). Catalogue. Until 4 February 2001. (See pp. 8-18)

NEW CYPRUS GALLERIES. The reinstatement of the famous Cnossos Collection and many other Cypriot works of art phase 3 of the renovation of the classical galleries. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500. (www.metmuseum.org) Opened 4 April. (See Minerva, May/June 2000 pp. 18.23)


SILVER IN ANCIENT PERU. 150 silverobjects from the early first millennium AD to the 16th Century, Iro public and private collections in the United States. Including an important group of silver vessels in the form of human and animal figures from the Museum's collection. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500. (www.metmuseum.org). Catalogue. 3 November - 22 April 2001. (See the next Minerva)

THE YEAR ONE. An extensive selection of works of art c. 50 BC - AD 50 including not only Roman portraits, architectural elements, frescoes, silver vessels, and bronze sculptures, but also contemporany objects from other European cultures, the Near East, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500. (www.metmuseum.org). Catalogue. Until 14 January 2001.

PASADENA, California
INDIAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN GAL- LERIES REINSTALLED. The renovation of the museum, which reopened on 3 October 1999, included a complete reinstallation of the galleries by Dr Fratapaditya Pal. It includes the largest collection of South Indian sculptures outside of India. There are 14 gal- leries devoted to about 3000 Asian works of art, a number of which are being exhibited for the first time. NORTON SIMON MUSEUM (1) 626 449- 6636 (www.nortonsimon.com) (See Minerva, Mar/Apr 2000, pp 26-30)

SAN FRANCISCO, California
CHINESE BRONZE AND BUDDHIST ARTS. 120 of the most exceptional pieces from the museum's permanent collection dating from the early Neolithic period to recent times, the first major installation of the Shatzie collection in over two years. ASIAN ART MUSEUM OF SAN FRANCISCO. (1) 415 392-2000 (www.asianart.org) An ongoing exhibition.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
CHARLES LANG FREER AND EGYPT. An important collection of 17 Egyptian glass vessels of the 18th Dynasty acquired by Freer in Cairo in 1909, part of his 1400-piece ancient glass collection, with three other cases of faience vessels, amulets, iryls, and jewellery, moved from the excavations conducted in the 1930's. A Roman dining room has been reconstructed. FREDERICK ART MUSEUM (1) 508 799-4406. (www.freer.org). Until 7 January 2001 (then to Cleveland in March and Baltimore in September). (See Minerva September/October 2000, pp. 8-17)

AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY

BELGIUM
 CHARLEBOI REDISCOVERING INCA MEDICINE. Pre- Columbian medicine practices as they were performed by religious rituals and magic. A dialogue between archaeologists, doctors, and historians. MUSEE DES BEAUX-ARTS (32) 71 861 136. Until December.

CANADA
QUEBEC CITY, Quebec
SYRIA: CRADLE OF CULTURE. This major travelling exhibition features about 400 antiques from the national museums in Damascus and Aleppo, the Palmyra Museum and regional museums at Deir ez-Zor, Idlib and Suweida. Until 14 January 2001. Catalogue. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 2000, pp. 8-17. Reprints are available from Minerva at $5.)

TORONTO, Ontario
ANCIENT MARINERS OF THE ADRIATIC. Permanent exhibition of Bronze Age Greek and Roman artefacts uncovered by a R.O.M. archaeological expedition to Palagruza, a Dalmatian site on the Adriatic Sea, accompanied by objects on loan from the Archaeological Museum of Split, Croatia. THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM. (1) 416 386-8000. (www.rom.on.ca).

SOUTH ASIAN AND EAST ASIAN RELIGIOUS SCULPTURE. A display of stone sculptures from the museum's holdings, from the 2nd to 16th centuries, in the new Asian Sculpture Gallery. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (1) 416 586-8000. Until the end of Autumn 2002.

THE JOEY & TORY TANENBAUM GALLERY OF BYZANTINE ART. A new gallery devoted to Byzantine antiquities from the 4th to 15th centuries, including over 300 objects: sculpture, mosaics, frescoes, liturgical objects, jew- ellery, and coins. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (1) 416 586-5549. An ongoing exhibition.

CHINA
SHANGHAI
SHANGHAI MUSEUM. Opens 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. (86) 21 63 72 35 00.

DENMARK
ROSKILDE VINTAGE IN VAILAND. VIKING SHIP MUSEUM. (45) 46 30 02 00. Until 30 December

EGYPT
CAIRO
THE ROYAL Mummies. Eleven pharaonic mummys from the New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty to the 21st Dynasty, 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
THE MUSEUM OF MUMMIFICATION. A small new museum, close to the Temple of Luxor, devoted to mumified humans and animals, with separate displays for mummies and reflexes. The stages of embalming, the materials, and a large collection of the surgical tools used are also on display. MUSEUM, Luxor. (20) 9538 0269. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1998, p. 40)

FRANCE

AVIGNON
THE GREEKS IN ITALY. An exhibition concentrating on South Italian vases. MUSEE CALVET. (33) 49 86 33 84. Until early March 2001.

BORDEAUX, Gironde
THE BRONZE AGE IN AQUITAINE. MUSEE D'AQUITAINE. (33) 5 56 06 31 10. December - 1 April 2001.

BIBRACIE, Burgundy
CELTIC MUSEUM. A new museum of the Celtic civilisation, includes objects not only from France, but also Switzerland, Germany, belgium, Budapest, and the Mediterranean region. Bibraite is part of a huge Celtic fortified oppidum, with most of its fortifications still in place. MUSEE CELTIQUE DE BIBRACIE, Saint-Leger-sous-Beuvray. (33) 85 86 52 35.

CAEN, Calvados
REDISCOVERING THE PALACE OF CAEN. The palace was built nine centuries ago by William the Conqueror. The Anglo- Norman palace was subsequently used as a fortress, a prison, barracks, and finally as a museum, as shown by archaeological objects and archival documents, MUSEE DE NORMANDIE (33) 231 86 06 24. (www.caen Ville.fr/mn1) Until 31 December.

THE WINGS OF GOD. The angel as a devotional object and messenger of God from ancient Greece to 19th Century France. MUSEE DE NORMANDIE (33) 2 31 86 06 24. (www.caen Ville.fr/mn1) Until 31 December.

CANNES, Alpes-Maritimes
FROM EXCAVATION TO MUSEUM: THE MUSEUM OF THE ILLE SAINT-MARGUERITE. Permanent exhibition showing Roman wall paintings dis-


GREECE, ABDERA, Thrace. NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. Thessaloniki museum houses a major collection of Greek sculptures from Piraeus as well as from southwest Attica and Salamis. Recent finds include those from the Minoa sanctuary on Kythera and the Mycenaean sanctuary at Methana. Also on display are vases from the Corinthian collection, Daphne. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF PIRAEUS. (30) 1 452 1598.


DRAMA. Open Tuesday to Sunday, 8.30am to 1.00pm.

IOS, The Cycladic Islands. NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. A new archaeological museum was inaugurated on May 30. The majority of the collection consists of offerings found at the Prot-Cycladic settlement of Anaxos dating to 3000 BC. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM CHORA. (282) 91246.

POLYCYGROS, Chalkidiki. TROYAN ANCIENT COLONIES OF ANDROS ISLAND: ACANTHOS, SANE AND FLOUNIA. The exhibition was officially inaugurated on October 24. Contains the most important artefacts found in these three cities of Chalkidike. POLYCYGROS ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. (30) 371 22269. New permanent exhibition.

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


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

MEDITRE. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND (353) 1 6777 444. Until 1st December.

VIKING AGE IRELAND. Recently opened galleries tracing the impact of the Viking invasion on Ireland, AD 800-1000. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND, (353) 1 6777 444.

LIMERIC. THE HUNT MUSEUM. A new museum housing the renowned and wide-ranging collection belonging to John and Céntre Hunt. The collection is particularly strong on Medieval material, but also includes Egyptian, Greek and Roman items and an important collection of Irish archaeological pieces including the 8th century Antrim Cross. THE HUNT MUSEUM. (353) 61 31 2 833. (See Minerva, Nov/Dec. 1998, pp. 36-40.)

ISRAEL. JERUSALEM. THE CRUCIFIED MAN FROM Gat-Ha-MITIT. The ossuary of a crucified man 26-28 years old, exhibited with a replica of his heel bones pierced by an iron nail. ROYAL TOMER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. (972) 2 28-22-21.

A DAY AT QUMRAN: THE DEAD SEA SECT AND ITS SCROLLS. This permanent exhibition commemorates the 150th anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls. A unique 1st-century AD document from an ostraca discovered in Qumran in the winter of 1945-46 is exhibited between the connection site and the scrolls discovered in the caves. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, (972) 2 6708-811.

THE FIRST ARTISTS. A special permanent exhibition of rare objects recently found at prehistoric sites. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, (972) 2 6708-811.


THE LADY FROM BEREKIT RAM. FIRST LADY OF THE ARTS. Now on exhibition is a tiny (3.4 cm) volcanic rock figurine found at an early Stone Age site in the Golani Heights, confirmed by scientific tests to be about 250,000 years old (the oldest known image made by man was previously thought to be about 35,000 years old). ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 6708 811. (See p. 5.)

SACRED ANIMALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT. A small exhibition including BC to the BC to the mummiﬁed animals. ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 6708 811. Until March 2001.

THUNDERING HIGH ON IMAGES OF THE CANAANITE STORM GOD. Statues, stele, organic mirrors, cylinder seals and jewellery relate to the storm god of Western Asia, also worshipped by the Canaanites about 3500 years ago. ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 6708 811. Until December.

TRULY FAKE: WILHELM MOSES SHAPIRA, MASTER FORGER. In the second half of the 19th century this antiquities dealer in Jerusalem also created some masterful forgeries including 15 rolls of parchment from Deuteronomy. TICHO HOUSE, ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 6708 801. Until December. (See article in next Minerva.)

ITALY. ADRIA, Rovigo. VIA POPILIA; VIA ROMA. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. (39) 42621612. Until 30 November.

BOLOGNA. AEMILIA ROMANA. Roman culture in Emilia from the third century BC to the age of Constantine. This exhibition presents results of excavations made in the last 30 years in the region of Aemilia, Romagna. More than 500 never before exhibited objects documented everyday life in the region. PINOTTECA NAZIONALE (39) 051 233849.


BRESCIA. THE LOGOBARDI. Part of a series of international exhibitions concerning Charlemagne and the making of Europe, and, an occasion to visit the newly opened archaeological museum housed in the great monastery of San Salvatore-Santa Giulia which includes important Roman and medieval antiquities. MUSEO DELLA CITTÀ IN SANTA GIULIA. (39) 030 297870. Until 19 November.

MUSEO DELLA CITTÀ IN SANTA GIULIA. The recently opened first phase in a long term project, which will include a new museum for the 8th and 12th century convent of Santa Giulia, and the creation of an extensive archaeological park. The Greek and Venetian sections in the museum have just opened. Amongst the many important objects on view are the superb bronze statue of a winged Victory, mosaics, and wall paintings and a precious cress that belonged to the Longobard king Desiderius. MONAS TERO DI SANTA GIULIA. (39) 030 2807 540.

BRINDISI. FROM THE SEA TO A MUSEUM. On permanent display after careful restoration two rare Roman sarcophagi, a late republican period found in 1992 in the sea near the Apulian coast. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO PROVINCIALE F.RIBEZZO. (39) 083 15635 45.

CAMERINO, Macerata. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO GIROLAMO DEI GIOVANNI - CONVENTO DI SAN BENEDETTO. The archaeological museum has moved to new premises and was re-opened last June with an interesting iconographic exhibition centred on the relationship between Celts and Romans: 'Victories over the Celts.' The permanent collection includes Greek and Roman objects. Catalogue. (39) 0737 402 310. An ongoing installation.

CRECCHIO, Chieti. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM - CASTELLO DUCALE. The museum is now open to the public and includes 6th and 7th century artefacts excavated locally which demonstrate previous Byzantine influences: jewels, bronzes, ceramics and glass objects. There are also a considerable number of Etruscan artefacts from the Franca Maria Faracci collection recently bequeathed to the museum. (39) 087 194 1392. Ongoing exhibition.

MONTAGNANA, Padova. MUSEO CIVICO E ARCHEOLOGICO. The museum, created in 1980 following the discovery of the Roman necropolis of the gens Vassillio nearby, has been reorganised, and objects on view range from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages. (39) 042 980 4128. An ongoing exhibition.

NAPLES MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. The section containing erotica from Pompeii, Herculaneum has now been reopened to the public. Catalogue. (39) 0815441494.

ROME. CAPITOLINE MUSEUMS. The Tabularium and Capitoline museums have re-opened after renovation respecting ancientual remains of the temples of Viviaus and Jupiter into the new complex. English language tours of the museums and of other major archaeological sites in Rome are available. (39)0639749907.

MUSEO NAZIONALE ETRUSCO DI VILLA GIULIA. The reorganisation of
MEETINGS, CONFERENCES, & SYMPOSIUMS

8-11 November. ON THE CUSP OF AN ERA: ART IN THE PRE-KUSHAN WORLD. Featuring 24 of the world's top scholars of South Asian Art, an International Symposium addressing the formative stages of Buddhist art and sculpture developed in a vast territory of South and Central Asia during the 2nd century B.C.-100 A.D. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. (www.nelsonatkins.org/symposium.htm) Contact: Symposium Coordinator (1) 816 751 1396. E-mail: prekushen@nelson-atinson.org.

16-18 November. AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, ANNUAL MEETING. Nashville, Tennessee. Contact: A.S.O.R.: (1) 617 533-6570. E-mail: asor@bu.edu.


22 November. THE OLD C/OIRO WASTE WATER TREATMENT PLANT, Portico. University of Cambridge Egypt Seminar. Lloyd Room, Christ's College, Cambridge. 5.30pm. Contact: Sarah Clackson. E-mail: sjc48@cam.ac.uk Tel: (44)1223 334399.

LONDON

1 November. SOCIETY LADIES: WOMEN IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES 1840-1940. I undi Effie with British Archaeological Association (at the Society of Antiquaries). 5pm.


6 November. THE PETRIE MUSEUM OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES. Stephen Quirke. London Centre for the Study of the Near East (at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Room GC3). 6pm. (Part of a series on Near Eastern Collections, Collectors and Archives in London. See also 20 November and 6 December.)

6 November. THE AUCHILIUM OF MINERVA 70
CALENDAR

GESHER BENOT Y'AGOV, ISRAEL. Naama Goren-Imbar. Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society. UCL, Lecture Theatre 2 Cruciform Building. 6.00pm.


8 November. AERIAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE LEVANT. Bob Bewley. Palaestina Exploration Fund lecture. UCL, Lecture Theatre 2 Cruciform Building. 6.00pm.

8 November. WRITING ON GREEK POTS: AN OVERVIEW AND SOME PROBLEMS. Lucilla Burn. Institute of Classical Studies. 5.00pm.


20 November. THE PETRIE PALESTINE COLLECTION. Rachel Sparks. London Centre for the Near East (at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Room G3). 6.00pm.

29 November. GREEK ART. Nigel Spivey. London Association of Classical Teachers (at Senate House). 6.00pm.

5 December. THE CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF CYRAENICA. Joyce Reynolds. Society for Libyan Studies AGM. British Academy. 5.00pm.

5 December. FACES FROM THE JERUSALEM ARCHIVE. Kay Prag and John Prag. Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society Lecture. UCL, Lecture Theatre 2 Cruciform Building. 6.00pm.

6 December. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WESTERN ASIA COLLECTION AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Margaret Oliphant. London Centre for the Ancient Near East (at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Room G3). 6.00pm.

6 December. EXCAVATIONS AT TELL BRAK. Miss Helen McDonald. British School of Archaeology in Iraq AGM. British Academy. 5.00pm.


7 December. THE MASK IN GREEK TRAGEDY. David Wiles. Open University London Region Classics Seminars (at Parrsfield College). 7.30pm.

12 December. SEX AND MAGIC IN ETRUSCAN PAINTING AND ART. Professor Larisa Bonfante. Institute of Classical Studies/Accordia Research Institute Anniversary Lecture. 5.30pm.


MANCHESTER

13 November. THE TOMB OF SENEFERI - FURTHER DISCOVERIES. Dr. Helen Strudwick and Dr. Nigel Strudwick. Manchester Archaeological Society. Renold Building, UMIST, Sackville Street, Manchester, England. Contact Victor Blunden, Tel: (44) 161 225 0879

11 December. FRENCH EXPLORERS IN EGYPT. Gerard Pfirsch. Manchester Ancient Egypt Society. Renold Building, UMIST, Sackville Street, Manchester, England. Contact Victor Blunden, Tel: (44) 161 225 0879

FRANCE

6 December. THE VILLA GIULIA, ROME: RESTORATION AND ETRUSCAN FINDS IN THE VIRGIN COLLECTION. Anna Maria Moretti, the director of the Villa Giulia and Francesco Scopella, the architect of its restoration. Auditorium, Musee du Louvre, Paris. 12.30pm Tel: (33) 40 20 51 31 (www.louvre.fr)

11 December. CURRENT ARCHAEOLOGY: EXCAVATIONS AT PINCIO HILL, ROME. Latest findings of research carried out by the French School in Rome. H. Truoup, M. Dewailly. Auditorium, Musee du Louvre, Paris, 12.30 pm.


18 December. AFTER THE ANTIQUE: THE ANTIQUITIES OF ROME. In conjunction with the exhibition of the same name. J. du Bellay. Auditorium, Musee du Louvre, Paris. 8.30pm.

UNITED STATES

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

11 November. REMARKABLE OLD KINGDOM LENSES AND THE ILLUSION OF THE FOLLOWING EYE: A Recent Analytical Study on Egyptian Statuaries at the Louvre. Dr. Jay M. Enoch, School of Optometry, U.C. Berkeley. Valley Life Sciences Science Dep. Campus. 2.30pm. Contact: (01) 910 5277946. E-mail: pakhet@ucrlk4.berkeley.edu

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI


NEW YORK, NEW YORK


WASHINGTON, D.C.


WORCESTER, Massachusetts

18 November. THE PEOPLE OF ANTI- OCH. Glen W. Bowersock. Worcester Art Museum, 7pm.


AUCTIONS

6 December. CHRISTIE'S NEW YORK. ANCIENT JEWELLERY. 2.00pm. (1) 212 636-2245.

7 December. CHRISTIE'S NEW YORK. ANTIQUITIES. 10am and 2.00pm. (1) 212 636-2245. Enquiries (01) 212 636 2245. Catalogue (01) 212 636 2500. (New York) (44) 20 7389 2820 (London).

8 December. SOTHEBY'S NEW YORK. ANTIQUITIES. 10.15am and 2.00pm. (1) 212 774-5390

APPOINTMENTS

Miguel Angel Elvira, Professor of Classical Art at Complutense University in Madrid, has been appointed director of the city's Museo Arqueologico Nacional, following the brief stints of Maria Chinchilla and her predecessor.

Jocelyn Rosethall has been appointed Executive Director of the Archaeological Institute of America.

Sheby White has been appointed to the United State Cultural Property Advisory Committee.

Exhibition dates are subject to change.

Before planning a visit, contact the museum to confirm the dates and opening times.

Listings are free.

Please send details of UK and other European exhibitions, conferences, lectures, and auctions, except for France & Germany, at least 5 weeks in advance of publication, to:

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