ETRUSCANS AT THE PALAZZO GRASSI

ETRUSCAN BRONZE RELIEF FORGERIES

CLEOPATRA AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

IRANIAN TREASURES IN VIENNA

VILLA MURECINE: POMPEII UNCOVERED

AUTUMN 2000 ANTIQUITIES SALES

IMAGES OF POWER ON ANCIENT COINS

EARLY ETRUSCAN CURRENCY

‘FORGERY CULTURE’ REVIEWED

---

Latona, wearing a chiton and himation, carrying the infant Apollo. From the terracotta group of Latona and Apollo, Temple of Apollo, Portonaccio sanctuary, Veii, c. 510-500 BC. H. 166 cm. Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome.
EGYPTIAN GREEN FAIENCE HATHOR HEADED SISTRUM HANDLE

The cow-cared goddess wearing a tripartite wig and broad collar. Handle inscribed: Psametik, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re, Wahibre sa Neith, live forever. XXVIth Dynasty, 664-525 BC.
H. 18.4 cm. (7 1/4 in.)
 Cf. F. Friedman, Gifts of the Nile Ancient Egyptian Faience, no. 91.

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The Earliest Etruscan Cast Currency and Coinage
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The New Byzantine Galleries at the Metropolitan Museum
EDITORIAL

In this issue of Minerva we are pleased to present reviews of three very important exhibitions, all of which contain some controversial objects, and two articles which dispute the alleged authenticity of some of these pieces. The challenge of questioning in print the character of antiquities that have been accepted in the past as real is one that few scholars will tackle. By contrast, in our very first issue we stated that 'articles of a controversial nature would be encouraged' and that 'the continuing problem of forgery and the technology at the forger's disposal will be among the topics covered.' Minerva has since published many controversial feature articles concerning forged works of ancient art and will continue to be at the forefront of this challenging field.

We also stated in the first issue 'that Minerva will endeavor to present all aspects of the problems involved in the international antiquities market and will offer a forum for the exchange of ideas that may help to eliminate the illicit trade in cultural property.' Is the writer immodest in saying that we have fulfilled these two goals to a greater degree than most of our readers anticipate?

Hopefully our readers will forgive the excessive amount of material written in this issue by the Editor-in-Chief. Two of the exhibitions in which he has a particular and personal interest opened at the same time. In addition, one of our commissioned articles did not arrive in time. The Editor-in-Chief will do his best to ensure that this does not happen too often in the future. The report on the Archaelogical Institute of America annual meeting, which has traditionally appeared in the March/April issue, will now appear in May/June.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

NEW ANTIQUITIES LEGISLATION

Restrictions Placed on the Import of Italian Antiquities into the United States

A Memorandum of Understanding to protect Italian archaeological material was signed on 19 January by the United States and Italy. Italy thus becomes the first major European country to request the cooperation of the United States under Article 9 of the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. Previous bilateral agreements have been made with Bolivia (now expired), Canada, Cyprus, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mali, Nicaragua, Peru, and, most recently, Cambodia.

These restrictions, which went into effect on 23 January 2001, apply to all archaeological material from Italy listed below which is not accompanied by a license or other documentation from the Italian government certifying that the exportation was not in violation of its laws (unless satisfactory evidence can be supplied that such material was exported from Italy on, or before, 23 January). The Memorandum of Agreement includes the following archaeological material from Italy (as summarised by the writer):

I. Stone
A. Sculpture
1. Architectural elements of all types, including mosaics, from about the 7th century BC to the 4th century AD.
2. Architectural and non-architectural relief sculpture from about the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD.
3. Monuments, including altars, shrines, and funerary steiae, from about the 7th century BC to the 4th century AD.
4. Sepulchres (as termed by U.S. customs), including urns, caskets, and sarcophagi, from about the 7th century BC to the 4th century AD.
5. Large statuary, primarily in marble, including fragments, both of human and animal figures, from about the 6th century BC to the 4th century AD. (Large scale is interpreted as statuary about one metre in height or larger, and thus includes adult heads that are about two-thirds life-size or larger.)

II. Metal
A. Sculpture
1. Large statuary, including fragments of statues in bronze and other metals, including human and animal figures, and life-size metal busts or portrait heads, from about the 6th century BC to the 4th century AD.
2. Small statuary, specifically Iron Age Etruscan and Etruscan figurines in bronze and other metals from about the 8th to 3rd century BC.
B. Vessels
All vessels in bronze, gold, or silver, including lamps, from about the 8th century BC to the 4th century AD.
C. Personal ornaments
Etruscan and Etruscan jewellery, buckles, pins, and chains of gold, silver, bronze, and iron from about the 8th century BC to the 4th century AD.
D. Weapons and Armour
All types of body armour and weapons, and also horse armour, from about the 8th century BC to the 4th century AD.
E. Inscribed or Decorated Sheet Metal
From about the 7th century BC to the 4th century AD.

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**III. Ceramic Objects**

A. Sculpture

1. Architectural elements in terracotta, including acroteria, antefixes, and relief plaques from about the 7th century BC to the 1st century AD.

2. Monuments. Altars and urns with scenes in relief from about the 5th century BC to the 1st century AD.

3. Large statuary. Large-scale human and animal figures, including fragments, life-size portrait heads, and life-size votive objects from about the 7th to the 1st century BC.

4. Objects with relief decoration - including tables, plaques, and other terracotta objects, such as masks, with relief decoration, from about the 6th to the 4th century BC.

B. Vessels

1. Local vessels:
   a. Etruscan pottery, such as Volterrana, Bucchero, Etruscan, Italo-Geometric, Italo-Corinthian, Pontic, and Caeretan, from about the 9th to the 3rd century BC.
   b. South Italian and Sicilian, such as Apulian, Campanian, Daunian, Faliscan, Gnathian, Lucanian, Messapian, Paestan, and Sicilian from about the 8th to the 3rd century BC.

2. Imported vessels:
   a. Attic black figure, red figure, and white ground pottery, from about the 6th to the 3rd centuries BC.
   b. Corinthian pottery from about the 8th to the 6th century BC.

IV. Glass

A. Architectural Elements

Including mosaics and glass windows from about the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD.

B. Sculpture

1. Intarsia. Cut or carved glass decorative elements for furniture from about the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD.

2. Small statuary including animal statuettes and amulets from about the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD.

V. Paintings

A. Wall painting

1. Domestic and public wall painting from about the 5th century BC to the 4th century AD.

2. Tomb paintings from about the 6th century BC to the 4th century AD.

Unlike previous sanctions, each of which was concerned with just one or a few specialised categories, this new legislation places an unusually wide range of antiquities under restriction. Most of these - including marble architectural elements, relief sarcophagi, large statuary, large bronze statuary, metal vessels and personal ornaments, weapons and armour, and Attic and Corinthian pottery - can be found throughout the Ancient Greek and Roman world, from Britain to North Africa, from France to eastern Europe, from Greece to Turkey, Syria, and beyond. It is not just a question of the objects being exported from Italy in antiquity - there were, for example, marble and bronze workshops throughout the Roman Empire. It would seem that the US government will be entering a legal morass.

The agreement also appears to overstep the previous sanctions in that it includes ceramics specifically produced in Greece, not in Italy. While one can understand the Italian government’s rationale for the restrictions requested in this action concerning Attic pottery, most of which was imported into Italy from the 7th to 5th centuries BC, the logic of including Corinthian pottery, which is found primarily in Greece, is difficult to fathom. And if small marbles, bronzes, terracottas, and coins are not restricted, why are not all, or most types, of small vases?

In the testimony that the writer gave before the US Cultural Property Advisory Committee in October 1999 concerning the Italian government’s restrictions, he warned the committee of the problems involving a blanket ban of material and recommended that the restrictions, if any, should be limited to site-specific material such as architectural marbles, frescoes and mosaics, gold and silver items, and inscribed objects - specific categories that truly have a meaningful bearing on the Italian national patrimony. Unfortunately, the presence of two fervent field archaeologists on the committee and the lack of input from museum curators and dealers in this field (there were none on the committee for several years, even though they were supposed to be represented - one collector has finally been appointed recently) has led to a near-total restriction on objects from the entire Roman world!

Perhaps this hopelessly complicated situation will be rectified, at least in part, when the agreement comes up for review in five years. Meanwhile, according to US Customs, all imports of such material will be handled on a case by case basis.

The full text of the Memorandum may be found on the following website: (http://exchanges.state.gov/education/culprop/whatsnew.html). For further information on the import restrictions for Italy and the other eight countries listed above, see the Cultural Property Advisory Committee’s website: (http://exchanges.state.gov/education/culprop/database.html).

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

**United Kingdom Wreck Amnesty**

The Ministry for Shipping in the United Kingdom has initiated a wreck amnesty, whereby any individual (diver, beachcomber, salvor, treasure-hunter) who has taken possession of any material illegally removed from a wreck site may report the find without the risk of prosecution under section 236 of the Merchant Shipping Act (1995). In normal circumstances a finder is liable to be fined up to £2,500 for failure to declare wreck material.

The three-month amnesty runs until 24 April 2001 and authorities are hopeful of recovering a substantial part of the thousands of artefacts believed to have been removed illegally from wrecks in the UK. The amnesty has been initiated to "bring in from the cold" individuals who have unwittingly handled wreck material without being aware of the legal consequences, to determine the unknown location of hundreds of ships (38,000 sites of various character, modern and historic, are known the UK’s territorial waters), and to restore objects of historical value to the public domain.

For further details on reporting finds, contact: the Receiver of Wreck, Maritime and Coastguard Agency, Spring Place, 105 Commercial Road, Southampton, SO15 1EG; tel: 24 hour information hotline: 0870 600 6505; e-mail: row@micga.gov.uk; www.micga.gov.uk/row.

Sean A. Kingsley

**CYRENE MARBLE HEADS PLUNGERED**

Sometime late in 1999, or early in 2000, the storerooms of the University of Pennsylvania at the Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene (present day Shalateh) in eastern Libya were broken into by a gang of thieves and 14 marble and limestone heads and busts, and a limestone seated statue, were stolen. These comprised part of a large group of sculptures unearthed during the excavations initiated by the University of Michigan’s Kelsey Museum from 1969 to 1972, which was continued from 1973 to 1981 by the University of Pennsylvania’s Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology under the direction of Dr. Donald White. Due to the political unrest between the governments of Libya and the United States fieldwork ceased at that time.

All of the stolen pieces, except two, had been published by Dr. White, mostly in his series of preliminary reports of 'Excavations in the Demeter Sanctuary at Cyrene' and 'Excavations in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene' in the *American Journal of Archaeology and Libya Antiqua* between 1975 and 1977.

An e-mail accompanied by photos...
of the stolen objects was sent to the writer and other concerned parties on 22 January by Dr Susan Kane of Oberlin College, who has been working with Dr White on the publication of the finds. The writer immediately sent the illustrations of the stolen objects to several of his colleagues and auction houses. By the following day he was able to tell Dr White that one of the heads (not illustrated here), a life-size bearded male portrait head with Libyan features, had been relocated. It had appeared in a European auction several months ago which the writer had attended. During the same week a Swiss dealer reported that he had acquired a second piece, an early Hellenistic limestone bust of a goddess (not illustrated). Since the Cyrene theft is now being followed up by Interpol, further information cannot be released at this time.

However, it is probable that the stolen pieces were brought across the Libyan border to Egypt soon after the theft; from there one or more were then smuggled out of Egypt. The head described in the catalogue of the European auction listed it as of Egyptian origin! The thirteen pieces still missing are illustrated on pages 4 and 5.

The writer wonders whether the thieves were the same ones who broke
into the nearby Shahat Museum on 11 October 1990 and stole five ancient Greek and Roman marble heads: two Archaic Greek marble male (kouros) heads, one c. 560-550 BC, the other c. 500 BC, an Archaic Greek marble female head, c. 480 BC, a Roman marble head of Asklepios, and a Roman marble satyr head (all of which were published by the writer in Minerva, January/February 1995, 'Looting in Africa', pp. 19-24, where photos of two marble heads stolen from the Sabratha Museum in Libya, a satyr head, and the head of a boy were illustrated). The writer has just been informed by Dr Emanuela Fabbriotti of the University of Chieti that heads have also recently been broken off a relief at Pтолemaic, and that we will be able to publish photographs of these lost pieces in the next issue of Minerva.

If any of our readers have any information concerning the whereabouts of any of the sculptures illustrated here, please contact: Dr Donald White, Mediterranean Section, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 33rd and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6324 (tel: 1215 898-4087; fax: 1215 898-0657; e-mail: donwhite@asupenn.edu); or contact the writer at Minerva, 153 East 57th Street, New York, NY 10022 (Tel: 1212 355-2033; fax: 1212 688-0412; e-mail: ancientart@aol.com). For detailed descriptions and documentation by Professor White for each piece, visit the website http://www.cyrene.thfts.org.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D

Stolen Greek Vases Returned to Greece from Australia

A group of 31 small Attic 6th and 5th century BC vases, mostly lekythoi, as well as two Byzantine icons from the Byzantine Museum, were recovered by accident in a raid conducted by the Australian Federal Police on two houses in Melbourne owned by a Peter Pylarinos. The vases, stolen on 12 January 1994, originate from the excavations conducted during the construction of the new underground metro in Athens (see Minerva, September/October 2000, pp. 18-27). This recovery was particularly fortuitous since, as usual, the Greek Ministry of Culture had not announced the theft. Apparently the lekythoi and icons were taken from a laboratory where they had been sent for conservation. They were returned to Greece in July 2000.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D

Excavations in Nicosia

Plans to build the Republic of Cyprus's new House of Representatives on a site in the south-west of the Greek-Cypriot sector of Nicosia have been put on hold as archaeologists conduct major excavations of what could turn out to be the ancient settlement of Ledra - the yet undiscovered city-state of the Archaic period on which the island's capital now stands. The site, called St George's Hill and associated with an eponymous chapel, is located near a complex of modern government buildings and in a central area enclosed by Demosthenis Severis Avenue to the west.

A seventh excavation season was completed in 2000 and work is set to continue. So far, vestiges have been revealed of a settlement dating back to the late Chalcolithic period (2700-2500 BC) in the area where the theatre is to be built. As a result, plans have been revised to incorporate the site in the new building. The excavation team, led by Antonis Hadjisavvas, has uncovered a variety of Roman and medieval remains, including a mosaic floor and a large number of pottery sherds.

Roman townhouse in the Panayia Field, southeast of the Forum at Corinth, have revealed nine small 4th century marble sculptures of Roman deities: Aphrodite, Artemis, Asklepios (2), Dionysos, Europa, Herakles, Pan, and Roma (see illustration above). Several still bear fragments of gold leaf and much of the red adhesive used to bond it to the marble. A large quantity of fresco fragments were also recovered last year which belong to two half-size frescoes of Nike excavated in 1996.

Coins uncovered in the building indicate that it was destroyed by fire c. AD 365-375, possibly due to a large earthquake which took place at that time. A preliminary report on the Panayia Field excavations by Dr Guy D. R. Sanders, Director of the Corinth Excavations, appears in the Winter 2001 Newsletter of the American School. Lea Sterling of the University of Manitoba will publish the group of sculptures.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D

Excavations at Ancient Corinth

Roman 4th century marble sculpture of an enthroned Roma uncovered during the 2000 Corinth excavations. Photo: ASCSA.

Stolen Cyrene statue (left). Excavation inv. no. 71-217. Light brown limestone enthroned female statue. Mid to late 6th century BC. H. 18.5 cm.

RECOVERED ANTIQUITIES

Corinth Museum Marbles Recovered

All three of the Roman marble heads still missing as of September 1999 (see Minerva, November/December 1999, p. 5) from the theft of about 285 objects from the Corinth Museum in 1999 have now been recovered. A total of 274 objects, including a Roman marble statue of Pan and 14 Greek and Roman marble heads, were received by the Greek government from the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation in a ceremony which took place on 22 January. However, contrary to previous reports, about 11 of the minor objects from the theft, which apparently were not listed in the original report of the loss published by the writer (see Minerva, September 1999, pp. 23-25), are still unaccounted for. Hopefully a list will be obtained for publication in our next issue.

At least four thieves, all Greek citizens, were involved in the theft. Two of them, Tryfonos Karahalios and his son Tryfonos Junior, were scheduled to be put on trial in January 2001. Another son, Anastasios, and a friend, Yannis Lionis, have fled and are thought to be in Venezuela. Two of the four had previous criminal records. Both the FBI and Major Tzallas of the Greek security police are still working on the case in the hope of recovering the remaining pieces and, of course, of apprehending the two fugitives. The writer takes great satisfaction in having been able to assist the FBI in solving this case.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D

EXCAVATION NEWS

Corinth Excavations Reveal Nine Sculptures

Last year's excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens on the remains of a large
BC), with continuous habitation in evidence from the Cypro-Archaic era (6th century BC) until the Hellenistic period. Other stratified remains date continuously through to Medieval times. The earliest structure excavated on the hill is a circular hut from the late Chalcolithic period. Extensive walls have been unearthed, with evidence of early material being 'recycled' for the construction of later buildings. Prior to the current large-scale project, earlier small-scale excavations conducted by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities revealed a large cistern and an olive-press installation associated with the remains of a sanctuary, chronologically ranging from the late Cypro-Archaic period to Hellenistic and Roman periods. Recently excavated pits have yielded a mass of finds from various strata, notably stone tools such as grinding stones and pounders, cooking ware, pots, Archaic burnt pottery, human and animal figurines, model chariots, animal bones, pottery sherds, coins, lamps, and sherds of amphorae, pithoi, a clay bathtub, hearths associated with metalworking, and other utilitarian types of pottery.

A rock-cut drainage channel linking the site to the nearby Pediaeas River has also been uncovered (a certain indication of a settled settlement as well as a large cemetery, kilns, and workshops geared toward the manufacture of loom-weights for weaving). Remains of Late Roman, Byzantine, and Medieval churches occupy part of the site and traces of a rectangular building on the hill's summit belong to the first church built by the Christians on their arrival in Cyprus during the 19th century. The discovery of a large cannon ball and lead bullets attest to the hypothesis that this site was used as a base by the Turkish army during its siege of Nicosia in 1770. (The latest of the Medieval churches are believed to have been among those demolished by the Venetians for the reconstruction of the walls of Nicosia prior to the Turkish attack.) According to Dr Despo Pilides, the Department of Antiquities archaeologist directing the excavations, 'Although it is too early for a conclusive assessment of the finds, they may perhaps be interpreted as the remains of the activities of a well-organised, self-sufficient social group which may have been related to a sanctuary. The excavations are providing new evidence of the little known, but long, history of Nicosia. The excavations have priority and the politicians support this. The site must be excavated to the extent that we can comprehend what it represents. Who knows? It may be part of the city of Ledra, which has never been located'.

Christopher Follett

The foundations of a circular building on St George's Hill, Nicosia, thought to date to the late Chalcolithic period.

Marble Heads Excavated in the Royal Palace of Agrippa II at Banias, Israel

Recent excavations within Roman Caesarea Philippi (modern Banias in Israel) have revealed a sanctuary and ancient city of immense historic importance and interest. Located in an area of outstanding natural beauty along the south-western slopes of Mt Hermon, cut by ravines, the site is under excavation by a Joint Expedition (Prof. Vassilios Tzaleris of the Israel Antiquities Authority in collaboration with a consortium of American universities directed by Dr John Wilson, representing Pepperdine University).

The city lies within a natural catchment area, blessed with abundant water, along a major Roman road which linked Tyre to Damascus. The site is renowned for its grottos associated with the worship of the god Pan. The 'Sacred District' (4000 square metres) is located alongside a rock scarp into which the Sanctuary of Pan, various semi-circular and rectangular shrines, statues, and inscriptions were cut and inserted mainly under Antiochene rule. The city's urban district covers 300 x 300 metres and is separated from the grotto by large artificial water-pools fed by a spring.

Alongside the 'Sacred District' the royal palace built by Herod in white marble has been identified. The excavated complex, preserved to a height of ten metres at some points, is believed to be a later palace which belonged to Agrippas II (Herod's grandson), who transformed Banias from a relatively simple administrative town into an impressive Greco-Roman city. A marble head of a child unearthed in this palace (illustrated above) has been tentatively identified as being of royal lineage.

The excavation of a building's hall next to the cliff sanctuary has also encountered numerous fragmentary statues, which had been removed from their primary context and redeposited during the Early Islamic period. Statuary cleared out of the 'Temple-Tomb of the Goat' included a figurine of a tree-trunk with pan-pipes hanging on it, as well as part of a calf.

Finds from the palace of Agrippa II at Banias (marble heads, jewelry, bronze bowls) are currently on exhibition at Pepperdine University in the US. Recently, excavations in Caesarea Philippi, the Ancient City of Pan presents the results of 12 years of excavation for the first time outside Israel (until 4 May at the Frederick R. Weisman Museum of Art, Malibu: see calendar listing p. 66). Sean A. Kingsley

DNA Test for Tutankhamun

A team of doctors and scientists from Waseda and Nagoya Universities in Japan, working in co-operation with a group of researchers from Elin Shams University in Cairo, will be the first to take samples of hair, bones, or nails from the mumified body of Tutankhamun to determine if he is indeed the son of Amenhotep III (the king's body still rests in his gilded wooden coffin in the Valley of the Kings). The DNA will be compared to that of two of Amenhotep's sons, whose mumified remains are in the Egyptian Museum.

Earliest Artificial Body Part Found on a Mummy

A group of scientists from Maxmil- lians University in Munich have found a prosthetic wooden big toe on a 3000-year-old female mummy from the Neolithic period. It is believed to be the earliest artificial body part found to date known to have been specifically fitted during the lifetime of the individual for actual use. Dr Andreas Nerlich, writing in The Lancet, points out that the big toe bears about 40% of a person's walking weight, so that its replacement would have been highly MINERVA 6
important. The toe was not only carefully crafted, but it was shaped like a real toe, even including the toenail, and was painted to match the skin. It was attached by tying two wooden plates around the foot with leather strings and shows clear traces of wear.

**Director of Cairo Museum Transfered to Information System**

Dr Mohamed Abdel el Hameed al Shimi has been transferred from his position of Director of the Cairo Museum to become President of the Steering Committee of the Egyptian Antiquities Information System of the Supreme Council of Antiquities.

A temporary Director has been appointed and will be announced shortly. Dr al Shimi will be in charge of developing databases for all Egyptian antiquities, including papyri and other documents, as well as manuscripts, in the museums of Egypt. Records will include the exact provenance and photograph of every item. The collections of some of the newest museums, such as the Aswan Museum, the Luxor Mummification Museum, and the Kom Oshim Museum in the Fayum have already been recorded. All of the antiquities at sites in the Sinai are being photographed *in situ* and records will include maps specifying the locations of antiquities. Maps and architectural plans of the most important Islamic buildings are also being entered.

The establishment of a Geographical Information System (an electronic map), under the direction of Dr Nagib Amin, is being funded by Finland. A bibliography is being compiled of all periodicals relating to antiquities presently in Egypt. Two volumes are already available and may be purchased from the Supreme Council. The Director of the Computer Section, Amr Mhamoud, is preparing a web site which will include news items on current projects and on new sites. There are also plans to produce a journal for the academic community concerning foreign missions and the sites they are excavating.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

**LETTER TO THE EDITOR**

Dear Dr Eisenberg:

Excuse me for my anxiety, but I have reason to write to you...As far as I know there is a problem concerning Italian antiquities. They have begun to be delivered in the spring of 1999 by smuggling them into the countries of the CIS. They go through the Ukrainian seaports of Odessa, Sevastopol, and Reni. Then some of them are brought to Moscow. As far as I know, up to the present time about 50 Apulian vases have been sold in Moscow, 30 in Kiev, and about the same number in total in other cities in the Ukraine and in the Crimea. A lot of them are subjects of a very high artistic level. The customs laws of Ukraine and Russia do not prohibit the importation of artifacts. I think that my information should interest you, for while the Italian authorities are occupied with the dealers in Europe and the USA, the pirate market has moved to the Eastern European countries. I consider this to be a problem for Italy and not of other countries. I am dispatched photos of some that were purchased by honest people to confirm my facts, but I do not want them to have problems.

Yours faithfully,

(Name withheld)

Kiev, Ukraine

[This letter has been edited for clarity as the writer used a computer program translator.]
ETRUSCAN MASTERWORKS
AT THE PALAZZO GRASSI

The Editor-in-Chief of Minerva, Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D., presents a selection of some of the masterworks from the exhibition ‘The Etruscans’, on view in Venice until 1 July 2001.

The Etruscans inhabited all of modern Tuscany, an area stretching from Rome along much of the coast north to Florence and inland east to Perugia. They later established settlements reaching to Bologna, and perhaps as far north as Mantua (west of Venice), and southward to Cumae and Naples. The true origin of the Etruscan people remains obscure, but their culture derived from Villanovan culture during the 9th-to-8th centuries BC. It is still uncertain whether the Villanovans were an indigenous group or were comprised, at least in part, of an influx of peoples from the east (perhaps the northeast Aegean).

The Villanovans rapidly exploited the region’s rich natural resources, especially iron, copper, and tin, and soon became very skilled metalworkers who turned out a wide range of products. The Villanovans are particularly renowned for their pottery mortuary urns, which resembled houses with thatched roofs. Their art was highly stylized and usually featured animal motifs such as horses and ducks, simplified human figures, and geometric designs.

By the middle of the 8th century BC, Villanovan culture had become strongly influenced by early Greek colonies in Italy, such as Cumae and Naples, and had begun to adopt their taste for Greek art and culture. During the Orientalising period of the 7th century BC much art in the western Mediterranean was influenced by luxury goods imported from the eastern Mediterranean, especially Phoenicia. However, a local burnished black pottery, bucchero ware, was predominant in Etruria during this time. By the later 7th century much of their decorated pottery imitated Corinthian vase painting.

The Etruscans were especially attracted to Attic vases, large quantities of which were imported during the Archaic period of c. 600-480 BC. Through their religious customs, especially building elaborate tombs, often rock-cut, they approached the afterlife fully furnished. The Etruscan alphabet itself, which later became the source for the Latin alphabet, was based upon that of the Greeks. It was during this time that even Rome came under their control due to a political coup, but at the end of the 6th century BC the Etruscan kings were expelled from Rome having suffered defeat during a key naval battle near Cumae in 474 BC.

The Classical period, c. 450-300 BC, witnessed a decline in the production and quality of Etruscan art, except for the magnificent bronzes, especially at Vulci. During this period the League of Twelve Etruscan city-states failed to contain the rising power of Rome, which successfully laid siege to Veio in 396 BC, followed later by the conquest of Tarquinia in 351 BC, and Cerveteri in 343 BC.

Following their defeat in a major battle against the Romans in 295 BC, the Etruscans’ power was greatly diminished, and by the mid-3rd century BC most of their principal cities had fallen into Roman hands (through trade and the domination of settlement growth, not war). By the beginning of the 1st century BC all of the Etruscan cities had been integrated into the Roman Republic. The Etruscans’ Hellenistic period of c. 300-100 BC is noted primarily for its revival of painted tombs, whose art-work was more realistic than the earlier counterparts. This realism is especially evident in terracotta votive heads, forerunners of the Republican portraits.

‘The Etruscans’ at the Palazzo Grassi
Over 700 antiquities from about 80 museums and other collections in 13 countries, including more than 400 from Italian museums, are included in ‘The Etruscans’ exhibition in Venice, making it a must for any scholar, student, or aficionado of Etruscoology. A number of the objects have been especially conserved for the exhibition, including the painted Campana slabs from the Louvre, the painted slabs from the Bruschi Tomb of Tarquinia, and the ivory lyres from the Tumulus della Pania (Fig 8). The show occupies all 36 of the exhibition rooms of the Palazzo, an area encompassing nearly 4000 square metres. Again, as with the ‘Magna Graecia’ exhibition in 1996 (see Minerva, July/August 1996, pp. 43-47), an extraordinary amount of printed information, charts, and illustrations covers several hundred metres of wall space.

In selecting some of the finest works of art for this photographic survey, one notices the obvious strengths and weaknesses of the exhibition. The...
Etruscan Masterworks

Fig 4. Gilt silver lebes. Palestrina, Bernardini Tomb, c. 675-650 BC. The engraved decoration, from the top, consists of a row of geese, then two rows of warriors on foot and on horseback, females in chariots; finally various scenes of an archer on horseback (framed by palm trees), lions attacking men, cows and a calf, grazing horses, and peasants at work. The serpent gostrones were added at a later date. Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 61566. Catalogue no. 83.

Fig 5. Wooden male head. Vulci, c. 700-650 BC. H. 21.3 cm. The surface of this sensitive sculpture was covered with gold leaf, traces of which remain. The eyes were once inlaid in enamel or ivory and he wore a headgear and earrings. It was once thought to be the cover of a canopic jar, but was more probably part of a statue or cippus. Milan, Civico Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, inv. A987.01.01. Catalogue no. 137.

Fig 6. Black-figure amphora. Caere, c. 670 BC. H. 46.5 cm. The name vase of the Painter of the Heptachord, it features five figures performing an acrobatic dance accompanied by an armed kithara player, interpreted by Erica Simon as Orpheus and the legend of the Argonauts. Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, inv. ZA 66 (loan from Takahito Fujita, Tokyo). Catalogue no. 207.

Fig 7. Bronze warrior. From a votive deposit found on a farm at Montecchio, Brolio (Arezzo), c. 550 BC. H. 36.2 cm. This, and two other warriors found in the same votive deposit, are in the exhibition. All of the warriors, attributed to a Chiost workshop, are in a descending stance with the head at a right angle to the body. They are solid bronzes cast in the lost wax process. Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 562. Catalogue no. 272.

Fig 8. Ivory pyxis. Chiost, Tomb of the Pania, c. 650-625 BC. H. 19 cm, D. 14.6 cm. This masterwork of the late Orientalizing period, found in 1873, was probably part of the grave goods of a female. The top register illustrates primarily two episodes from the myth of Ulysses: Scylla and the flight from the cave of Polyphemus. The second register depicts the departure of a warrior accompanied by ritual dancers; the third, a horseman with two centaurs and wild animals; the last, real and fantastic animals separated by Phoenician palmettes. Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 73846. Catalogue no. 170.

Fig 9. Terracotta wall slab. Church of the Santissima Stimmate, Velletri, c. 530 BC. H. 37.2 cm, L. 70.7 cm; H. 29 cm, L. 170 cm. The first of these stamped terracotta tiles depicts a chariot race and the second a procession of chariots, one pulled by winged horses. They still bear some of the original polychromy. These, and two other slabs in the exhibition, were found in an Archaic temple excavated beneath the chapel of the church. Museo Archeologico, Naples, inv. 21608, 21606. Catalogue nos. 167, 168.
Etruscan Masterworks

Inclusion of a number of impressive terracotta acroteria and pediment sculptures and reliefs from Veio (Fig 13), Orvieto (Fig 22), and Orbetello (Fig 26), certainly being an element of majesty to the exhibition. The difficulty of exhibiting any of the famous tomb frescoes is understandable - but this entire genre is represented only by a section of a polychrome fresco from the back wall of the Bruscchi tomb in Tarquinia depicting a procession of men, daemons, and a horseman, and four small polychrome figured scenes on Campana slabs from the Louvre (and they are also poorly illustrated in the catalogue).

There is a superb selection of bronzes, though one misses the famous early 4th century BC bronze chimaera from Arezzo, even though the Museo Archeologico in Florence loaned well over 150 other pieces to the exhibition. Its absence, as well as that of the Mars of Todi from the Vatican, can be forgiven by the inclusion of the famous life-size ‘Arrigatore’ from Cortona (Fig 28). The superb group of 5th century bronze cistae produced in Palestirna is completely lacking and one would expect to see several major bronzes thymiateria from Vulci workshops. There are no significant works in gold jewellery, despite the great finds from Palestirna. It is also surprisingly weak in its representation of top quality bucchero pottery and Italocorinthian vases, although imported pottery is well represented, such as a superb Attic red-figure krater by Euphranous found in Cerveteri, loaned by the Louvre.

The full-colour catalogue is 671 pages long and weighs nearly three kilos. Edited by Mario Torelli and published by Bompiano for Fiat, the patron of Palazzo Grassi, it is truly impressive and typical of those produced for the Palazzo Grassi exhibitions. Its lengthy text, written by over 30 scholars, covering every conceivable aspect of Etruscan civilisation, is divided into three sections. The first focuses on social, economic, and political institutions within a historical context. It includes essays on the origins of the Etruscans and of the Villanovan culture, economic structures, coins, trade, the aristocracy in the Orientalising period, political forms in the archaic and Republican periods, the role of women, the spread of the Etruscans into neighboring territories, and on the Hellenising of Etruria.

In his essay on this last subject, Mario Torelli points out that ‘their assimilation of Greek religion, politics, figurative art, literature and daily customs was such that the Etruscan world might virtually be seen as an offshoot of the Greek universe.’ Of course the Etruscans had their own distinct social make-up, clearly evident from both their artistic development and the basic structure of society. Torelli then makes an interesting comparison between the impact of Greek culture on the Etruscans and Romans and the rapid absorption of western culture in recent years by the Japanese. Much of the former was caused by the large Greek colonies in Italy and trade along the Tyrrenian coast. During the Archaic period the Etruscan aristocracy no doubt had much in common with their Hellenistic counterparts in Euboea and Ionia.

The second section is devoted to culture and the arts, with excellent contributions on religion, town-plan-

Fig. 10. Etruscan black-figure hydria, c. 520-510 BC. H. 52.1 cm. This striking vase is the only Etruscan depiction of an episode from the myth of the abduction of Dionysos by pirates, as related in the seventh Homeric Hymn. On-board the ship Dionysos was magically freed from his bonds and was changed into a lion. The frightened pirates, diving into the sea, were transformed into dolphins in mid-air. Toledo Museum of Art, inv. 1892.134. Catalogue no. 52.

Fig. 11. Caerean hydria by the Bursiris Painter (detail). Calabrese excavations, Cerveteri, c. 510 BC. H. 45 cm. This is the name vase for this artist, who has depicted Heracles in his encounter with the Egyptian king Bursiris, who made a practice of slaying all foreigners who entered his country. On the bottom register is a boar hunt. Caerean pottery is so named because its unique style is found primarily in Caere. Antikenkabinet, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. IV 3576. Catalogue no. 213.

Fig. 12. Carnelian scarab. Perugia, c. 500-480 BC. 1.66 cm x 1.22 cm. This superb gem, known as the ‘Gemma von Stosch’, presents a scene from the myth of the Seven against Thebes, the oracle, predicting the death of Amphiarous, is shown with five of the heroes, all of whose names are inscribed on the gem. Antikenkabinet, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, inv. FG 194. Catalogue no. 259.

Fig. 13. Terracotta group of Latona and Apollo. Temple of Apollo, Portonaccio sanctuary, Veio, c. 510-500 BC. H. 166 cm. Latona, wearing a chiton and himation, carries the infant Apollo (only the bottom part is preserved) in her arms. Some of the polychromy still remains. It was one of the acroteria of the temple, along with Apollo, Hermes, and Heracles with the Ceryneian hind. Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome. Catalogue no. 219.
Etruscan Masterworks

Fig. 14. Ivory candelabrum group. Valdese Tesiba, Tomb 614, Spina, c. 450 BC. This charming sculpture of a nude youth holding a maenad, who wears a chiton and himation, rests atop a bronze candelabrum with four lotus flower arms and a base with three lions' paws, total height 100.5 cm, Museo Archeologico, Ferrara. Inv. 2290. Catalogue no. 192.

Fig. 15. Bronze candelabrum with dancer. Vulci, c. 500 BC. H. 55.6 cm. A nude dancing youth wearing only bracelets and flaring boots supports the candelabrum stem. On festive occasions such youths performed on tables. Three small ducks perch on the lion's paw base. Badische Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe. Inv. 62993. Catalogue no. 231.

Fig. 16. Bronze Minerva, c. 500-475 BC. H. 21.5 cm. This goddess is the Etruscan equivalent of the Greek Athena Promachos (later to become the Roman Minerva). Although she wears an Attic helmet, this statuette was probably executed in a Vulci workshop. Museo Estense, inv. 12016/14 F, from the collection of the Dukes of Este. Catalogue no. 198.

Fig. 17. Bronze Ajax. Populonia, c. 480-460 BC. 24 cm. The nude Ajax, wearing a crested helmet, throws himself on his sword which is embedded in the ground. Museo Archeologico, Florence. Inv. 12193. Catalogue no. 79.

Fig. 18 (below). Bronze Tinia. Populonia, c. 480 BC. 17.2 cm. This elegantly groomed bearded deity wears a toga and once held a torch or staff in his right hand. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, inv. 55.AB.12. Catalogue no. 195.

(there are a number of tomb groups and hoards) suffers, as did the ‘Magra Graecia’ catalogue, by being compressed into just 110 pages, including several short essays. Most of the objects are reduced in illustrations to just 2-4 cm in size - ‘postage stamp’ pictures. How can one appreciate a 4 cm Euphronios vase or a 2 cm Laconian bronze krater? Many of the objects are illustrated in magnificent half to full page photos in the first three parts of the catalogue - distributed among the appropriate essays (and with their appropriate catalogue numbers) - but are not correlated to any of the texts. They are sometimes mentioned in the text, but it is not noted that there is an illustration. Worse yet, these large photos, with many illustrated objects blown up to 20-25 cm, are not referred to in the catalogue entries. Also, the large photo captions and the catalogue entries were written by different authors, leading to different spellings and other variations. The English edition, while a blessing for many (including the writer), is riddled with errors (such as ‘hippocampus’ translated as ‘hippopotamus’). Hopefully, the planned reprinting will correct some of these problems, as this publication is perhaps the most comprehensive and up-to-date view of Etruscan civilization yet published between two covers.

An English version of the catalogue is to be published by Thames & Hudson (with corrections). Two CD ROMs have been produced for the exhibition: ‘Etruscan Civilisation’ and ‘A Virtual Tour of Etruria’. The Palazzo Grassi website, www.palazzograssi.it, now features an archaeological section on the Etruscans.
Fig 19. Bronze spoon. Tomb of the Boncìa, Chiusi, c. 480-470 BC. L. 14.4 cm. This elegant spoon is in the form of a swimming nude female holding a scallop shell, strongly reminiscent of Egyptian New Kingdom wooden spoons with similar handles. It was found in 1881 in a chamber tomb richly furnished with other locally produced bronzes, as well as fine Attic and Etruscan vases. Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 97802. Catalogue no. 86.

Fig 20. Bronze warrior representing the Etruscan deity Larun, c. 450-400 BC. This fine warrior in elaborately decorated armour is the name piece of the Master of the Florence Warrior 586. It is a solid lost wax casting produced in a North Etruscan workshop. Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 586. Catalogue no. 196.

Fig 21. Pietra fetida (‘fetid stone’) cinerary statue known as the Mater Matuta. Pedata necropolis, Chianciano Terme, c. 450-425 BC. H. 90 cm. The matronly figure holds a young child and sits on a throne with sphinx armrests. One of the finest of the Chiusi cinerary statues known, it was found in 1846-47 in a chamber tomb. In addition to the ashes of the deceased, which were placed in the top of the bust just below the head, it contained an Attic oinochoe head vase and some gold jewellery. Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 73694. Catalogue no. 145.

Fig 22. Terracotta bearded head of an old man. Late 5th-4th century BC, Belvedere Temple, Orvieto. H. 16 cm. The features of this bald elder are remarkably realistic, especially with so much of the original polychromy remaining. He holds his head in an attitude of deep concentration. Nine exceptional terracottas from the temple pediments are included in the exhibition. Museo C. Faini, Orvieto, inv. 1348. Catalogue no. 285.7.

Fig 23 (below). Bronze cinerary statue of a reclining youth. Perugia, early 4th century BC. H. 42 cm, L. 69.5 cm. The ashes of the deceased youth, who once held a goblet, were placed inside this magnificent sculpture. Found in 1843, it was acquired for the Hermitage in 1862 as part of the Curnpia Collection. The gold diadem and bulla, as well as a bronze sheet with a sphinx, are in the Louvre, Hermitage, St Petersburg, inv. B.485. Catalogue no. 144.

Fig 25. Silvered terracotta chalice krater, c. 350-300 BC. H. 52 cm. One of 12 silvered vessels in the exhibition for a symposium, including two amphorae and a large situla. A silver-gray coating still partially covers the orange slip. Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 87528. Catalogue no. 1911.

Fig 26. Large polychrome terracotta fragment of a pediment. Temple B, hill of Talamonecchio, Talamone, temple, Orbietello (Grosseto), 2nd century BC. H. 147 cm. W. 882 cm. This fragment of the back pediment from the temple depicts Amphiaras in a chariot about to be swallowed by the Underworld, part of the myth of the Seven against Thebes. A partial reconstruction and integration of the entire pediment is presented at the exhibition. Museo Archeologico, Florence. Part of catalogue no. 307.

Fig 27. Bronze haruspex (soothsayer). From a sanctuary in the area of Siena, late 3rd-2nd century BC. C. 12 cm. The youthful figure wears the soothsayer’s conical leather headdress with chin strap and a toga and mantle. He probably once held a liver for divination. Archäologisches Institut der Universität, Göttingen, inv. M 15. Catalogue no. 155.

Photo credits: Andrea Baguzzi, Milan: Figs 1-5, 7, 8, 12-15, 18, 19, 21-23, 25, 27, 29; K. Oelven: Fig 6; Luciano Pedicini: Fig 9; Ingo Kühnitzka: Fig 11; Johannes Lavenius: Fig 13. All others are courtesy of the loaning institutions.

Fig 28. Bronze statue of Aule Metell, the so-called ‘Arrigatore’ (‘Orator’). Valle di Sanguineto, near Lake Trasimeno, Cortona (Arezzo), late 2nd-early 1st century BC. H. 180 cm. This majestic life-size figure wears an exquisitely praeexta toga over a toga bordered with an augustus clavus. An inscription on the bottom of the toga bears his name and a dedication ‘to the god Tct Sans’. It is a combination of solid and hollow lost wax casting from an Arretine workshop. Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 2. Catalogue no. 306.

Fig 29 (below). Terracotta male portrait. Sanctuary of the Manganello, Cerovetti, c. 100-75 BC. H. 32 cm. The realistic modelling of this mature male is typical of the late Etruscan period, a tradition that continues with the better-known Republican portraits. Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 56513. Catalogue no. 304.
THE ETRUSCAN BRONZE RELIEFS FROM PERUGIA:
Their 19th Century Companions and 20th Century Relatives

The seventh in a series of articles by the Editor-in-Chief of Minerva, Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D., dealing with the problem of forgeries and ancient art.

The Etruscan chariot bronzes from Perugia, now featured in the Etruscan exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi, Venice (until 1 July 2001), have been subjected to detailed research by the author. Results demonstrate that part of the group, from the Museo Archeologico in Perugia, are genuine, and the other part, from the Antikensammlung in Munich, are early 19th century forgeries. In view of the undue publicity given to the proposed reconstruction of the chariot in the Venice exhibition, readers may find the following discussion of interest. They will have the unique opportunity to examine the Perugia and Munich groups side by side for the first time.

A group of late 6th century BC Etruscan repoussé bronze reliefs were found at Castello San Mariano near Perugia in 1812. They were promptly published by G. B. Vermiglioni in Saggio di bronzi etruschi trovati nell'ago Perugina (Perugia, 1813) and are now found in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia. The writer studied the reliefs at Perugia at length in 1971, but was not able to obtain permission to examine them outside the dealers' shop.

A second group, said to be associated with the same find, had been sold in Rome sometime before 1820 to an antiquity dealer, L. Vescovalli, who soon resold them to an English dealer residing in Rome and Naples, Edward Dodwell. In 1820 Dodwell sold them to King Ludwig I of Bavaria with the assistance of Johann Martin von Wagner, an artist and sometime dealer, who also acted as an agent for the king. They were published several years later by F. Inghirami in Monumenti Etruschi o di Etrusco nome III (Fiesole, 1825). They are now in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen in Munich, where the writer was graciously given the opportunity to examine and photograph them in the museum laboratory in 1971, shortly after they had been cleaned and stripped of their "patinas." A paper on the two groups of Perugia bronzes, condemning the Munich pieces and attributing them to a 19th century forgery workshop, was presented by the writer in 1996 at the 13th International Bronze Congress at Harvard University, but the proceedings are still in press (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Special Monograph no. XX, 2001) and will not be available before the end of the Venice exhibition. The present article, therefore, discusses the results of the research and introduces some new observations and 14 additional illustrations, and demonstrates that most, if not all, of the larger repoussé reliefs in Munich from this second group were created sometime in the 1810s, following the publication by Vermiglioni in 1813. Due to space restrictions, observations here are limited to a few of the more obvious errors of the forger, applying the writer's principles of "the aesthetics of the forger" (see Minerva May/June 1992, pp. 10-15). The main premise is that a forger makes a number of errors in the creation of a forgery which the ancient artists would not ordinarily perpetrate. Perhaps some may have been committed by an unskilled ancient artist or apprentice, but normally this lack of skill would be reflected in the overall quality of the work. The ancient artist would not deliberately make any of these errors because of his intuitive dislike of stylistic principles which were foreign to his own culture. The basic errors, amongst several others, include a misunderstanding of the harmony in ancient design, which is reflected in the personal style of the forger and the time in which he lived; an inability to imitate the consistent technique in execution of the ancient artist; and the copying, often in mirror image, of similar objects. Several of the Munich bronze reliefs exhibit a number of these and other inconsistencies.

The Gorgon
For over 150 years the bronze Gorgon plaque in Munich appeared to be a relatively complete, though obviously restored, relief (Fig. 1). In 1971, after the old restorations were removed, it presented a different appearance (Fig. 2). The forger had produced what appeared to be a genuine, but restored antiquity, a common ruse. But this is not an ancient Gorgon. The typical protruding fangs of the Gorgon head, essential for its apotropaic effect, are especially evident in Etruscan terracotta Gorgon heads of the late 6th century BC and effectively in Greek and Etruscan bronze reliefs of the same period (Fig. 3). In these ancient works the incised fangs are fully developed and separated from one another. However, they are crudely indicated on the Munich bronze plaque (Fig. 4) by bisected quadrangles, displaying both sets of the fangs oddly in the upper row of teeth. The forger had obviously never encountered a Gorgon! Compare this to one from another forgery, the
Etruscan Chariot Forgeries

Fig 4 (above). Bronze Gorgon plaque forgery (detail, after conservation), Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich.

Fig 3. Greek bronze Gorgon plaque fragment. Note the protruding fangs, characteristic of ancient Gorgon depictions. Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig 5 (right). Detail of the Gorgon head forged into the shield on the left panel of the Monteleone bronze chariot. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 03.23.1.

Fig 6 (below). Detail of the center of the left side of a second hollow Etruscan bronze kore, showing extensive corrosion, Perugia, late 6th century BC. Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich, inv. 42.

Gorgon head on the large central panel of the Monteleone chariot in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig 5), which also features bisected quadrangles as fangs (also entirely within the mouth), and was seemingly inspired by the Perugia bronze forgery executed some 90 years earlier (see below).

The peculiar, deeply suspended, pendulous "breasts" (actually meant to be an animal skin garment) of the Gorgon on the Munich plaque (Fig 2), with their incised panther heads, appear to be a misinterpretation of the paws of animal skin garments hanging over the backs of two genuine, hollow bronze Etruscan kore figures from Perugia, now in Munich (Fig 7). These two korai are ancient, as can be seen by the advanced corrosion of the bronze (Fig 6). Although the scene of a Gorgon grasping two lions is unknown from Etruscan mythology, it is acceptable as a theme of ancient origin. But what can be the reason for the crane-like bird to its right, other than a forger's horror vacui (fear of the void)?

A simple technical examination of this, and the other forgeries in Munich described below, is sufficient to attribute the reliefs to an antique, not ancient, source. The surface of the Gorgon plaque is heavily acid-etched, with rills and depressions all over the surface, especially at the bottom. The drilled holes, originally made to imitate damage, were once partially masked with an artificial patina. Also, the edges are knife-sharp, and signs of the corrosion that is present on the ancient bronzes from Perugia are entirely lacking.

The hunters and the merman
A bronze chariot section in Munich depicting a unique hunting scene (Fig 8) and a merman (Fig 9) is obviously derived from the volute design of an ancient relief section from Perugia (Fig 11) and is meant to represent similar fragments. The bearded merman, strangely swimming behind two walking human figures, is based upon two fragments of flying (not swimming) females from Perugia (Fig 12), and, of course, the image is reversed. The "Disneyesque" figure has a large and overly realistic hand, exaggerated thumbs, large eyes, exaggerated eyebrows, large, fully exposed ears, and a disconnected, wig-like hair style - all earmarks of a forgery. The figures, typical of the Munich forgeries, were hammered up from the back and then engraved with a myriad of minute details, such as the stippled beard, showing off the abilities of the forger. These attributes are certainly not in keeping with other Etruscan bronzes. The water-bound hippocamp (based upon a genuine fragment from Perugia seen at the top center of Fig 11) follows the land-based hunting scene only to fill the narrow space, and is no doubt another example of the forger's imagination because its inclusion has no obvious connection to the rest of the scene. The same is true of the stoek-like bird on the right of the panel.

The boar in the hunting scene being attacked simultaneously by two animals and a hunter, who spears the boar right through the neck (Fig 8), can also only be attributed to the creative mind of the forger (inspired by a fragment from Perugia seen in the left center of Fig 11). The same is true for the man leading an animal by a leash. The giant hand and prominent thumb are particularly notable: the overlapping legs of the hunter and the attacking animal, both raised off the ground, and the second leg (with its distorted foot) overlapping the leg of the man with the animal on a leash, which creates a separate forward plane, are all inconsistent with Etruscan artistic concepts. The animals are now on tiptoes, with the paws elevated. Again, the human figures have large eyes, exaggerated eyebrows, large, fully exposed ears, and disconnected wig-like hair styles.

The Minotaur
The ancient Minotaur depicted on a bronze plaque from Perugia (Fig 10) is typical of the archaic period. Lively, with small hands and feet, it has highly irregular breaks formed by natural corrosion of the very thin metal sheet. The 19th century Munich Minotaur (Fig 13), a direct elaboration of the Perugia monster, but now in mirror image - a typical play of the forger - sports a full head of human hair (much like a female wig), a human neck, a very realistic and lean athlete's body, and, again, hands with oversized thumbs. The develop of the bull has been misinterpreted and has been turned into an ear-like formation, rather than the folds of flesh as seen on another plaque from
leashes, a scene which seems more suited to a circus. The strange hair style and the misdrawn dagger are grave stylistic errors, but more incriminating are the damaged areas, which were created by connecting a series of drilled holes. The surface is etched with rills and round shallow depressions. As usual, the lines are sharply incised with no signs of wear or oxidation. The ‘fractures’ in the metal were cut with a sharp instrument.

The gable-shaped plaque with two panthers

The panthers on this bronze gable-shaped plaque in Munich (Fig. 15) are not mirror images, but vary significantly in style and size, unlike pairs created by ancient artists. Compared to a typical ancient panther from Perugia (at top of Fig 11) and on one of the Leob tripods, they have exaggerated triangular faces with large brows, straight on one side, curved on the other, and disconnected ears; and above all, the usual raised tufts of fur on the brow have been changed into a semblance of a human wig parted in the center, all not unlike the panther mask on the central panel of the Monteoliveto Chariot forgery (Fig. 23).

Randall Hixenbaugh has recently pointed out to the writer the similarity between this bronze and the Gorgon plaque to the west gable pediment sculptures of the early 6th century BC Temple of Artemis at Corfu (Fig. 16). This boasts two panthers in similar stances, except that they are separated by a facing Gorgon, Medusa, in a running position. She is not dissimilar to the Munich Gorgon forgery, especially in the falling locks of hair, and appears to serve as a surrogate for the Near Eastern type of the ‘Mistress of Animals’. It is, therefore, quite probable that the Corfu pediment was a principal source for two of the Munich forgeries. True to the ‘aesthetics of the forgery’, these forgeries based on early Archaic Greek sculpture have been miniaturised, changed from one medium (limestone) into another (bronze), divided into two different pieces (the Gorgon plaque...
Etruscan Chariot Forgeries

The thymiatier plaques

The Juno Sospita and Herakles bronze thymiatier plaques in Munich (Figs 19, 20), supposedly from Perugia, were apparently made in the 1810s to imitate the ancient Perugia plaque with a veiled female (Fig. 21). They are currently on display at the Etruscan exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice (cat. no. 234). These ‘golden’ bronzes are in unusually high relief: 1 cm for Herakles and 1.2 cm for Juno Sospita, compared to the much shallower Perugia plaque. Their thickness is 1 mm, compared to the average of 0.5 mm for the genuine plaques. They are sharply cut and lack any signs of wear. The surfaces are acid-etched and pitted, with small rills and drilled holes.

The Monteleone chariot

There is a fascinating interplay between the ancient Etruscan reliefs, their early 19th century companions, and their early 20th century descendants. In 1904 a large bronze chariot, supposedly found at Monteleone, Italy, was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figs 22, 24). In an 80-page paper presented to the museum in 1968, and also delivered in a paper read at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1989, the writer demonstrated that it consists of a pastiche of small genuine rectangular bronze reliefs and three large false arched bronze panels. (The writer wishes to thank Dr Dietrich von Bothmer for the courtesy of allowing him to examine and photograph the chariot in detail in June 1971, at which time the writer submitted a 14-page report on his technical observations). The chariot combines genuine ancient reliefs of the late 6th century BC (the bottom row of reliefs, Figs 21, 23) - similar to some of the Perugia bronzes - superimposed by three large arch-shaped chariot panels which, except for parts of the rims, are entirely of early 20th century manufacture. These forged panels are based upon a variety of different ancient sources; the principal ones are listed below.

An ancient Etruscan bronze plaque in Florence (Fig 27) was the main source for the central panel (Fig 23), which depicts a female and a warrior holding a Boeotian shield (note the toothless Gorgon [for future ‘inlays’ by top has been misinterpreted as an alabastron. The forger has omitted the thumb and changed the two fingers depicted on the Perugia plaque into a single elongated one. A practiced eye can also detect the irregularity of the forged borders. The surface has been heavily acid-etched and has tiny pits, which have apparently been created by a punch; again, the edges are quite sharp.

The veiled female

The bronze Munich plaque of golden hue, depicting a veiled female holding an alabastron (Fig. 17), is a crude imitation of the very shallow Perugia plaque with two draped females, one of whom (Fig. 18) has a similar scarf-like fold in her garment and holds a small vessel or pomegranate; the other hand holds an alabastron-shaped flower. The elaborate headaddresses have been replaced with a simple veil and the graceful garment has been greatly and crudely simplified. The flower held by the female at the
the forger) and the panther with the 'human wig' apparently adapted from the forged Perugia gable). One of the panels of the three genuine Etruscan bronze three-sided Leob tripods in Munich (Fig 26), supposedly found in the area of Perugia, probably served as the principal inspiration for the left panel (Fig 22), with two warriors battling over a fallen wounded warrior below. The wounded warrior now lies face downward, but the rest of his body remains with knees bent upward as on the Leob tripod (for better placement!). A genuine Etruscan relief (Fig 26) from the original find of 1812 in Perugia, and the enigmatic 'Perugia' silver and gold plaque in the British Museum of the horsemen over the fallen 'Amazon'
Etruscan Chariot Forgeries

(Fig 25), most probably an early 19th century production, served as the principal sources for the right panel of the chariot (Fig 24).

Conclusion
It is the writer's conviction that once these 19th and 20th century creations are removed from the Etruscan repertoire, it will help to clarify some problems identifying attributes of Etruscan bronze workshops, without resorting to the excuse of Greek Influences to explain the many discrepancies. Unfortunately, denying some of the long-accepted icons of ancient art is an unwelcome vocation. A comprehensive monograph on the Perugia bronzes in Munich was written by Ursula Höckermann as a doctoral thesis: Die Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel San Mariano (Munich, 1982). It illustrates and describes all of the other known bronzes from Perugia, large and small, in Perugia, Munich, and several other museums, as well as the Montebole chariot. Unfortunately, as with all other publications previously written on this group, it does not question the authenticity of any of these bronzes. Hopefully the present paper will now lead to a re-examination and reattribution of the Perugia bronzes in Munich.

THE MINERVA AWARDS

Dr. Jerome M. Eisenberg, Founder, Editor-in-Chief, and Publisher of Minerva magazine is pleased to announce the inauguration of:

The Minerva Awards
for innovative and creative writing in the fields of archaeology and ancient art.

Applicants are invited to present original articles about current or recently completed archaeological excavations or survey work, post-excavation research, on-going or forthcoming museum exhibitions, or about eminent individuals who have made a significant contribution to archaeology or ancient art during the last 200 years.

Articles up to 2500 words in length, accompanied by a relevant selection of colour and/or black and white photographs with captions, should be submitted double-spaced and in duplicate to The Selection Panel, The Minerva Awards 2001, Minerva Magazine, 14 Old Bond Street, London W1S 4PP by 1st August 2001.

The successful applicant will receive an award of £1000. The winning article will be published in the November-December 2001 issue of Minerva. The runner-up will receive an award of £500. Any other articles accepted for publication will receive payment at the standard rate for contributors. The selection panel will consist of

Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg, Prof. Richard Hodges, Dr Sean Kingsley, and Mr Peter Clayton.

MINERVA 19
The famous Roman general Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus travelled to Egypt in about 140 BC as head of a fact-finding mission. A report on the visit observed that he was ‘astonished at the number of inhabitants of Egypt and the natural advantages of the countryside, they perceived that a mighty power could be sustained there if this kingdom ever found capable leaders’ (Diodorus Siculus 28b.3).

The ruler of Egypt at the time was Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Fig 1), whose belly was so vast he earned the nickname ‘Physkon’ (‘Fatty’) from his irreverent Alexandrian subjects. Having made Physkon sweat in a brisk outing to Alexandria harbour, Scipio laconically claimed to have done one thing for the Alexandrians: ‘I made their king walk’.

The Roman mission clearly had more capable leaders of non-Ptolemaic origin in mind. Already masters of most of the Mediterranean world in Scipio’s day, Rome was very nearly thwarted a century later by the last independent monarch of Egypt, Cleopatra VII (ruler from 51-30 BC), fabled even today for her beauty, ruthlessness, and cunning intelligence (Fig 2).

A newly developed exhibition, drawing upon collections from Europe, North Africa, and North America, re-examines classical antiquity’s most famous woman. With the aid of portraits in a variety of media, written documents, and coins, Cleopatra is set in an historical context in which her actions as queen may be clearly understood. By no means the first Ptolemy to be dependent on Roman authority for her throne, Cleopatra adopted a radical dynastic strategy: through her four children sired by Caesar (Fig 3) and Mark Antony (Fig 4), respectively dictator at Rome and master of the eastern Mediterranean, she sought a privileged position for Egypt within the sphere of Roman dominance. On the economic front, she debased an unrealistically valued coinage to attain parity with the Roman silver denarius, and Cleopatra of Egypt
Cleopatra of Egypt

Fig 5. South wall of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera, showing Cleopatra and Caesarion (right) making offerings to Hathor, Horus, Osiris and Ihy (left). Photo: Guy Weill Goudchaux.

Fig 6. Head and shoulders from a colossal granite statue of a ruler, perhaps Caesarion. Photo: Brooklyn Museum of Art.

Octavian in 30 BC by the wealthy Alexandrian Archibios, in which Octavian received the enormous sum of 2000 talents in return for an undertaking to spare the images of the defeated queen in Egypt, is a mark of the high esteem enjoyed by Cleopatra, the first of the Ptolemies to trouble to learn Egyptian. A graffito from Philae informs us that a statue of Cleopatra was being cared for as late as AD 373, after four centuries of Roman rule and when the Empire was nominally Christian. The exhibition contains six examples of Egyptian-style images not previously recognised as Cleopatra (Figs 7, 11): of relatively small scale and apparently intended for display in shrines, these may be survivors of Archibios's successful intervention.

In Italy, the Augustan court poets inveighed against 'the drunken harlot of licentious Canopus', and a wave of caricatures of the later first century AD (Fig 9) may represent a reaction to the decadence of Antony’s descendants Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, who succeeded Augustus’s stepson Tiberius, in belated recognition of the success of Antony’s own dynastic ambitions on his Roman side. (All three were descended from his daughters by Octavian’s sister Octavia, in a cynical political marriage contracted in 40 BC, when Cleopatra gave birth to his twin children, for just long enough for the girls to be born.)

For Antony’s biographer Plutarch,
Cleopatra of Egypt: from History to Myth is a travelling exhibition (already shown in Rome). Following its run at the British Museum, it will open in Chicago between 20 October and 3 March 2002. The catalogue accompanying the exhibition, edited by Susan Walker and Peter Higgs, is available from 9 April (British Museum Press: £40 hardback, £24.99 paperback).

writing in the early years of the second century AD, it was the doomed liaison between his subject and Cleopatra that provided a source of fascination and the first hint of romance, a theme so strongly reworked in Renaissance and later literature, art, and painting (Fig 12). However, Cleopatra the ruler was neglected, even by art historians who did not recognise her portrait in stone until the twentieth century. Instead, Cleopatra became an uneasy symbol of death and defeat, or alternatively - and more reflectively of her lifestyle - a player on the world stage: both aspects of her image are traced in the exhibition. Remarks made by Antony in correspondance to Octavian, faithfully - if surprisingly - recorded by the latter's biographer Suetonius, suggest that at that time romance came a poor second to Realpolitik.
Cleopatra Unveiled

THE FACIAL METAMORPHOSIS OF CLEOPATRA

Guy Weill Goudchaux discusses two marble heads from the exhibition 'Cleopatra of Egypt', on view at the British Museum until 26 August.

The travelling exhibition, 'Cleopatra of Egypt: from History to Myth', (Rome, London, and Chicago) introduces the public at large to two famous marble heads seldom placed next to each other because one belongs to the Vatican Museum in the Vatican and the other to the Alte Museum in Berlin. Their story deserves to be told.

The first marble head (Figs 1-2) was discovered in the area of Villa del Quirinale along the Appian Way on the outskirts of Rome on 17 April 1784. Until 1988 this head was used curiously to 'crown' the marble body of a huge statue of Charon on the Tiber at Rome. The height of the head made access for studying the head difficult. Furthermore, the nose was restored poorly and to say the head was coated with dust would be a generous understatement. Given these conditions we have to be grateful to Ludwig Curtius, a German archaeologist, who finally recognised the features of Cleopatra in 1933, almost 150 years after the marble head had been unearthed.

Indeed, her 'melen' hair style and the royal diadem are found on obverse of the queen's coins. Curtius, on the other hand, was the first scholar to perceive that the remaining fragment of her nose had a 'bourbonian' and strongly aquiline character. We may add that this head resembles (especially in profile) the marble head in the Louvre representing Ptolemy XII, Cleopatra's father (Fig 3). (This piece of statuary was recarved in antiquity at the time of the sitting.)

The Vatican head's left cheek has been attacked by stone disease which does not, fortunately, impede the identification of the sculpture. It remains to make one important observation, never remarked upon until now, concerning the treatment of the ears, which were executed with little care: such a feature is typical of an Alexandrian workshop. This peculiarity may seem surprising in a work which, after all, has been crafted with a convincing strength and obvious realism in the shaping of the lips. From the end of the 3rd century BC, at least until the reign of Tiberius, many examples of Alexandrian Ptolemaic sculptures with badly carved ears are known: the 'idealised hero' from the George Ortiz Collection in Geneva (perhaps a young Ptolemy XII, Figs 4-5), the so-called Apion from Stuttgart (Fig 6), and the portrait of a man from the Hanover Museum (Fig 7), amongst others. This is why we can now state that the Cleopatra in the Vatican has been carved by an Alexandrian artist and not by a Roman one.

The second marble, the Berlin Head (Fig 8), appeared on the Paris antiquities market in the early 1970s with absolutely no topographical provenance. In spite of desperate efforts to identify its origin, the head remains archaeologically contextless today. In 1976 the head was exhibited by the Berlin Museum. As early as 1978 Professor Fleming Johansen, then director of the collections of the Ny Carlsberg in Copenhagen, published an article asserting that this work was a 19th century fake. Being written in Danish, his text did not have as great an impact on the scholarly world as it warranted. In 1990 George Ortiz, the eminent collector, backed Johansen's opinion at a conference held at the Getty Museum: the Berlin Head was not ancient. The Getty subsequently published Ortiz's views.

Since then, thanks to Peter Higgs, the archives of the British Museum have revealed that the head was part of a collection in Majorca by the middle of the 19th century and was identified not as Cleopatra, but as a Roman empress. In the Spanish collection catalogue, published in 1846 by D. Joachim Maria Bover, the sculpture was attributed to Empress Lucretia, wife of Lucius Veturius. Later, recalls Peter Higgs, it was attributed to Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius. Only in the second half of the 20th century was it recognised as a likeness of the Queen of Egypt after it was hastily compared to the Vatican head. However, a similarity - even a perceived likeness - does not imply automatically...
that the second head was also genuine.

The time is ripe for a re-evaluation of these important marble heads. One has ears which were executed with little care. The surviving right ear of the other was executed perfectly. One has a strong, aquiline, 'bourbonian' nose; the other has a straight nose. Both have a similar chin, jaws, forehead, and eyes. One has clearly strong delineated features at the level of the naso-labial area, in harmony with what remains of the nostril and the rest of the face. The other one has shy, impersonal features at the naso-labial level in contradiction to the treatment of the rest of the face, especially the chin, jaws, forehead, and eyes.

In conclusion, the Vatican head incorporates strong structures in the tradition of the 1st century BC Alexandrian School and the features convincingly resemble a powerful ruler. By contrast, the Berlin head appears to combine an awkward 'cocktail' of features, of which neither the Alexandrian nor Roman arts ever produced examples.

Why is there such an unusual stylistic distortion between the apparently very 'Roman' naso-labial area and the very Alexandrian features of the rest of the face? The obvious implication is that the head with a structural unity has served as the inspiration for the other.

If the Berlin marble is a copy, when was it executed? At the time of the Cleopatra-like prototype? During the Julio-Claudian period in the first century AD? Or perhaps, much later, in the neo-classical period?

Following Peter Higgs' archive discoveries, a chronological approach to this mystery may be suggested: when the Vatican head was unearthed in the Villa dei Quintili in 1784, Roman artistic circles were flabbergasted by the face of the then unknown and noseless noble lady than by its extraordinary hair style with a bun and a large diadem. It became an irresistible temptation for artistic reproduction. Following the earlier example of L'Antico, an anonymous artist decided to reproduce the head ignoring who in fact he was reproducing.

Art historians and sculptors of the neo-classical period had no idea about what constituted Alexandrian art of Ptolemaic times. They were absolutely unable to understand what distinguished this style from their neo-classical vision of Roman art. Thus, the sculptor of the Berlin Head imposed his own peculiar touch, a meddling of two different styles (Alexandrian and neoclassical Roman). He reproduced the forehead, eyes, jaws, and chin faithfully. He modified the remaining ear, the lips, a part of the hair style, and the diadem. He invented the nose. Cleopatra had nothing to do with this creation. Indeed, it is not the fault of this anonymous contemporary of Canova (and probably one of his followers) if the myth of Cleopatra has engulfed his work.
7000 YEARS OF IRANIAN TREASURES IN VIENNA

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

Not since the Iranian Revolution of 1979 has a selection of treasures from the Iranian National Museum in Teheran been sent abroad. Now, a major exhibition being held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna until 25 March 2000, entitled ‘7000 Years of Persian Art’, rectifies this situation. The Editor-in-Chief of Minerva is pleased to present a select collection of objects from Vienna, several of which are published for the first time in the exhibition catalogue and in Minerva.

Iranian art in the exhibition

The earliest Iranian pottery, consisting of simply formed and low fired vessels, appeared during the Neolithic period (late 8th millennium BC), when communities first formed sedentary settlements. The earliest terracotta figurines, unearthed just 23 years ago, emerged soon after and have been dated to the second half of the 7th millennium BC. By the middle of the 5th millennium a variety of painted pottery was produced at several Chalcolithic period sites, some elaborately decorated with animals (Fig 2). Iranian pottery’s greatest ‘flourish’ occurred in the 4th millennium BC, by which time some of it was being turned on a potter’s wheel. The late 4th millennium BC also coincided with the development of written administrative records in south-eastern Iran, which was manifested in proto-Elamite, a pictographic script. Fine chlorite vessels decorated with animal and architectural designs were produced in the same area during the Early Bronze Age of the mid-3rd millennium BC.

By the late 3rd millennium BC a prosperous civilisation flourished in south-eastern Iran and produced expertly crafted bronze ceremonial axes surmounted with animal figurines, alabaster and copper vessels, and large terracotta half-figurines (Fig 3). By the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, about 1900 BC, the region experienced a rapid decline in the production of minor arts. In western Iran, however, at such sites as Tepe Gyan, pottery vessels - most often decorated with stylised bird designs - were produced steadily during the first half of the 2nd millennium BC.

South-western Iran, ancient Elam, is most famous for the site of Susa (Figs 11, 12), first excavated by the British in the mid-19th century. Spectacular bronzes, such as a life-size statue of a queen weighing 1750 kilos, and gold and silver figurines, were unearthed at a later date. A large number of terracotta figurines of a well-developed female deity holding her breasts, now in the British Museum, derived from this site, which reached its peak period of prosperity between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age I period, c. 1450-1100 BC.

It was during this latter time-span, from about 1400 BC to 900 BC, that a new type of pottery appeared, mainly in north-western and northern Iran: large undecorated vessels, often with long pouring spouts, many in the form of animals, primarily zebus; others were anthropomorphic, usually with exaggerated hips and thighs (Figs 7-9). These vessels were mainly placed in graves or tombs, accompanied by weapons and jewellery. An important group of gold, electrum (Fig 5), silver, and bronze vessels, and large quantities of bronze figurines (Fig 6) and animals, in addition to the pottery vessels, have been excavated from the site of Marlik. Another type of vessel, the so-called bridge-souped vessels, characterised by...
Fig 5. Electrum beaker with two animal friezes. Tepe Marlik, Grave 45 (Gilan, northern Iran), c. 1250-1150 BC. H. 17.5 cm. This magnificent vessel was discovered during the initial 1961/62 excavations at this major site by Zost o. Negahban, together with a silver beaker, two silver and one bronze spouted beakers, three glass mosaic vessels, and two bronze daggers. The upper frieze depicts three bulls and six rosettes; the lower frieze also depict three bulls walking in the other direction, but with only five rosettes. (Several forgeries similar to this masterpiece appeared on the market shortly afterwards and were sold to museums in the United States and Europe. Most of the museums, however, had already acknowledged them as forgeries in the 1970s and 80s.) Iranian National Museum 14609/7698 (Exc. no. 201M). Catalogue no. 78.

Fig 6. Bronze steatopygous female statuette. Tepe Marlik (Gilan, northern Iran), c. 1200-1000 BC. H. 21.8 cm. Though powerfully built, this figure has a very small head which was probably covered with a cap or wig. Iranian National Museum 25070 (Exc. no. 1340 - M. 381). First published in 1962. Catalogue no. 79.

Fig 8 (below left). Pottery vessel in the form of three wild tulips. Marlik Tepe (Gilan, northern Iran), c. 1200-1000 BC. H. 25.5 cm. Iranian National Museum 25117/8117 (Exc. no. 576 M). Catalogue no. 86. This elegant vessel, which closely resembles the New Kingdom Egyptian lotus beakers of the same time, certainly takes its shape from the wild tulips found in the springtime on the slopes of Marlik Tepe. (It remains one of the writer’s favourite vessels since he saw it for the first time in the 1964 Washington, DC, exhibition. He has examples of both the Iranian and Egyptian single beakers in his private collection, the former acquired in 1962.)

Fig 7. Pottery cult vessel in the form of a xeha on wheels. Tepe Marlik (Gilan, northern Iran), c. 1200-1000 BC. H. 34 cm. L. 39 cm. This unusually large animal sports two gold earrings and a third gold ring at its neck. A bronze counterpart, 12 cm in length, was also excavated at Marlik. Another wheeled vessel with two animals and a male driver, also from Marlik, is in the exhibition. The culture was first called Amlash, after a town north-east of Marlik, as dealers indicated that it was the source of the many objects, especially pottery vessels, brought to the market at that time. The market was also soon flooded with forgeries. Iranian National Museum 4412 (First published, without illustration, in 1996). Catalogue no. 84.

Fig 9 (below centre). Anthropomorphic pottery vessel with incised decoration. Origin unknown, probably from Gilan, northern Iran, c. 1000-800 BC. H. 25 cm. A wondrous creature with atrophied arms and greatly enlarged legs, the top of its head serves as the mouth of the vessel. The fancy garment relates to clothing still worn by Persian women in the 19th century. There is a similar example in the British Museum. Iranian National Museum 2440 (unpublished). Catalogue no. 96.

Fig 10. Bronze horse pectoral with master of animals. Hasanlu (western Azerbaijan and northwest Iran), c. 1000-800 BC. H. 22 cm. W. 42.8 cm. This impressive bronze was discovered in the so-called ‘Corridor Building’ between ‘Burnt Building IV’ and ‘Burnt Building V’ in the Citadel of Hasanlu. It was lost during the destruction of the city by the Urartians in their conquest of c. 800 BC and not uncovered until 1974. It was one of about 500 metal objects buried in the collapse of the building. Heavily corroded, it was sent to the Instituto Centrale del Restauro in Rome which uncovered its magnificent incised details. Iranian National Museum GM 8670 (Exc. no. Has. 74-241). Catalogue no. 98.
Fig 12 (right). Painted pottery rhyton in the form of a horse. Susa (Khuzistan, south-western Iran), c. 8th-7th century BC. The stylised red designs of two horses and four birds contrast strongly with the pale tan body colour of this elegant and well published animal. Iranian National Museum 1329/3179 (Exc. no. GS-788). Catalogue no. 42.

Fig 13 (right). Bronze incense stand. Ardashir (Khuzistan, south-western Iran), c. 800-600 BC. Total H. 69.8 cm. This masterpiece was discovered in the spring of 1982 by a construction worker about 10 km north of Behbahan. Three lions and three deities stand on a base resting on the backs of three couchant bulls and support a tall ornamented column terminating in a pomegranate, which itself is surmounted by a base with six lions supporting an incensarium. It bears an inscription: ‘Khusro-Husrab son of the Kursi.’ There is no known parallel to this impressive bronze which is obviously in Assyrian style. Iranian National Museum 3003-2867. Catalogue no. 50.

Fig 14 (left middle). Painted spouted vase. Tepe Sleikh (Isfahan, central Iran), c. 900-800 BC. H. 16 cm, L. 35 cm. The reddish brown decoration features a bull on either side, surrounded by geometric patterns. (The writer’s first graduate paper at Columbia University in 1961 for the late Dr Edith Porada, the noted Near Eastern scholar, was on a forgery of a vase of this exact type - the first of his many studies over the past 40 years on the subject of forgeries in ancient art.) Iranian National Museum 176 (Exc. no. 1312; 1376). Cat. no. 15.

Fig 15 (above). Ivory relief with a hunting scene. Ziwiyeh (Kurdistan, western Iran), c. 8th century BC. L. 8.3 cm, H. 4 cm. On the left a rider hunts a young bull, while a hero holds the bull by the horns and is about to spear him. To the right another rider hunts another bull. It is difficult to determine whether the style of some of these ivories is Assyrian, Phoenician, or Syrian, but this scene is a typical one. Iranian National Museum 5436. Catalogue no. 104.

Fig 16 (above). Gold bracelet decorated with lions, Ziwiyeh (Kurdistan, western Iran), c. 8th-7th century BC. Max. D. 9.5 cm. This massive piece of jewellery terminates in lion heads fastened to the arm-band with gold nails. Two pairs of young lions face one another on a diamond-shaped central element. There is a counterpart in a private collection. (Tomb robbers found the Ziwiyeh treasures in 1947 and sold much of the material overseas; however the National Museum has been able to repurchase most of it.) Many forgeries, especially gold strips, were sold in the 1950s and 60s. Iranian National Museum 5500. Catalogue no. 108.
red animal and geometric designs, dating to the Iron Age II period of c. 1000-800 BC, have been found at Tepe Sialk (Fig 14) in central Iran. Hasanlu, located in north-western Iran, was an important city of the Iron Age II period that flourished until it was destroyed by the Urartians in their conquest of the region in c. 800 BC. An impressive group of objects have been excavated from its citadel mound, the most impressive items between 1957 and 1974, including a gold bowl and a silver beaker, ivory ‘lion’ bowls, bronze and ‘Egyptian blue’ rhytons, large amounts of furniture fragments inlaid with bronze and ivory, and horse trappings, especially harnesses (Fig 10). Another rich site, Ziwuye, located in Kurdistan (western Iran), was excavated clandestinely in 1947. Fortunately, the government managed to purchase back many of the looted treasures, which include carved ivories (Fig 15), a large gold breastplate, and jewellery (Fig 16).

Formal excavations conducted in 1964 and in the late 1970s on the citadel and in a nearby cemetery have uncovered further objects. The most renowned objects from ancient Iran are the Luristan bronzes (Figs 17-19) from western Iran, an area which borders the Zagros Mountains close to Iraq. Dating from c. 1000 to 650 BC (thus extending into Iron Age III, c. 800-600 BC), they are often associated with horses - horse-bits often with elaborate cheek-pieces, usually shaped like horses or mythical winged beasts (Fig 18), and harness-rings. Also encountered are standards or finials decorated with animals or double-headed figures holding animals, often embellished with animal or bird heads, probably cult symbols. As for weapons and tools, there are spike-butted axes, often adorned with animals or animal heads, and whetstones with animal-head handles. A wide variety of pins with many different forms of openwork or solid heads have also come to light. These bronzes first appeared on the market in the late 1920s and soon after many copies and deliberate forgeries were produced. The Achaemenid period was established following the defeat of the Medes (c. 674-550 BC) - ruled by the Median king Astyages - by Cyrus the Great in 550 BC, who then became ruler of both the Medes and the Persians. Under Darius I (522-486 BC) this first Iranian empire expanded until it stretched from Libya to Egypt to the Indus River. Darius erected magnificent buildings at several known sites such as
Fig 23. Achaemenid gold rhyton with a winged lion protome. Ekbatana (Hamadan, west central Iran), catalogued as c. 500-450 BC. H. 22.3 cm, L. 19.5 cm. This magnificent gold vessel, the star of the exhibition and the coverpiece of the catalogue, was shown alone Teheran only in 1962. The superb variation of designs - the depiction of fur, the feathers, the bands of the cap, and the floral band below the rim - could only have been conceived by a master goldsmith. There are three Achaemenid gold rhyta known of this type, said to have been found together. Although at least two competent scholars, H. Koch and E. Rehm, have confirmed that the Teheran rhyton is authentic, others, including the late Edith Porada and O. Muscarella (see pp. 56-58) consider it a forgery; the latter gives no reasons for his condemnation in his book. The second example, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is apparently accepted by all; the one in the Louvre has, however, been questioned. Iranian National Museum 1388. Catalogue no. 114.

Fig 24. Achaemenid silver amphora with horizontal ribs and handles in the form of ibexes. Ekbatana (Ham-adan, west central Iran), c. 500-450 BC. H. 21.3 cm. Between 1920 and 1923 two large treasures from the time of Artaxerxes II (404-359 BC) were found in Hamadan, including presumably this amphora and the gold rhyton in fig 23. Both these pieces were exhibited in 1962 in Essen, when they were first published. Iranian National Museum 1388. Catalogue no. 114.

Fig 25. Achaemenid silver beaker with three rams' heads. Kalmakareh Cave at Pol-i Dohtor (Luristan, western Iran), 5th-4th century BC. L. 23 cm, D. of mouth 13 cm. An inscription reads: 'Given by the commander-in-chief of the ships for the life of our lords, the kings? It is one of three pieces in the exhibition that were recovered from a cave that was recently plundered - some of its treasures now appear to be in a Japanese museum. Iranian National Museum 5660 (first published in 1997). Catalogue no. 116.

Following Alexander's death, his empire was divided amongst his generals, with Seleucus ruling over Iran, Mesopotamia, and northern Syria. Few antiquities of note have been uncovered from the period of the Seleucid kings (312-175 BC); one notable exception is a large bronze head of a Seleucid ruler (Fig 26). The Parthians (Figs 27-28), once a nomadic Iranian tribe, established their dynasty in c. 238 BC and began to conquer parts of the region, later not only defeating the Seleucids but also the Romans. They ruled until AD 224, when they were conquered by the Sassanians under Ardashir I. The Sassanians built splendid palaces with extensive mosaics and stucco wall decorations (Fig 30), and carved magnificent rock reliefs. They were famed for their exceptional silver vessels (Figs 31-32) and textiles, especially silk. In turn, the Sassanians were conquered by the Arabs in AD 652. In terms of minor arts the early Islamic period is most noted for its prolific production of pottery at such sites as Nishapur (Figs 33-34), and for glass vessels and mosque lamps.

Previous exhibitions on Iranian art
Among the first exhibitions on Iranian art were those organized in Philadelphia in 1926 and 1939. The first International Exhibition of Persian Art was held at Burlington House, London, by
the Royal Academy of Arts in 1931, which emphasized the Islamic period. A Persian Exhibition in New York in 1940 also featured Islamic art. The first post-war Iranian exhibition took place in 1948 at the Musée Cernuschi in Paris. The following year Iranian Art Treasures from the Imperial Collections and Museums of Iran were featured at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Cincinnati Art Museum held a show in 1954. In 1956 Mostra d’Arte Iranica took place at the Palazzo Brancaccio, Rome.

However, it was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s, when antiquities started to flood out of Iran at the hands of dealers from Teheran and were exhibited in galleries in Europe and the United States, that early Iranian art was brought to the attention of the public. At the same time many museums and collectors acquired their first basic collections of Iranian objects from the prehistoric to Sasanian periods (including a good number of objects later found out to be forgeries).

Further exhibitions in Iranian art were held in New York, Washington, and Baltimore in 1960. The Foroughi Collection of Iranian art, based in Teheran, was then circulated in Europe as Sept Mille Ans d’Art en Iran, with the Musée du Petit Palais in Paris as the first venue in 1961-62. It went on to five other venues in Europe in 1962-63 including Essen, Vienna, and Zurich. The Smithsonian Institution then organized a major show by adding over 200

Fig 28. Limestone figure of an Elamite adorant. Kaloug (Masjidi-i Salamin, Khuzistan, southwest Iran), Partian period, mid-1st to 2nd century AD. H. 52.7 cm. He wears a typical Elamite garment - a long tunic with a sash and most probably a pair of trousers. It is held with a belt which appears to have a key tucked into it. Iranian National Museum GM 4923, Catalogue no. 139.

Fig 29. Glass flask with glass pellet decoration. Azerbaijan (north-west Iran), 2nd-early 3rd century AD. H. 19 cm. The continuous glass paste pellet application on the body and handle of this bottle has no parallel. It may have been made to imitate an east Asiatic jade vessel. It dates from the late Partian period to the early Sasanian period. Glass and Ceramic Museum, Teheran, inv. no. 623-A (unpublished). Catalogue no. 150.

Fig 30. Sasanian stucco bust of king Shapur II (AD 309-379), Hadjilabad (Fary, southern Iran), 4th century AD. H. 50 cm. Shapur defeated the Romans in several battles in Mesopotamia and Armenia, both of which the Sasanids had ceded to the Roman emperor Diocletian in AD 297-298. Iranian National Museum 8. First published in 1994. Catalogue no. 151.

Fig 31 (middle left). Sasanian silver plate with fishing scene. Rashid (Gilian, northern Iran), 6th-7th century AD. D. 20.5 cm, H. 4.1 cm. The artist has enhanced this scene of young fishermen catching fish with spears, fishnets, and by hand, with ducks, eels, and even four mythical beasts far out of their element. A small lion in the central medallion, a typical late Sasanian motif, observes the action. It is partially gilt, including the entire background. Iranian National Museum 4115 (unpublished). Catalogue no. 157.

Fig 32. Sasanian silver carafe with dancing females. Origin unknown (said to be from Kalardasht). 6th-7th century AD. H. 25.5 cm. The two dancing women are clothed in typical Sasanian garb and are surrounded by the ubiquitous birds and grape vines on floral columns. Two small boy musicians and two boy dancers are depicted below the neck of the vessel. The vase is executed in the usual repoussé technique and the background is gilded. On the base there are two masks with small spouts. The senmurv, a mythical animal often seen on Sasanian metalwork, adorns the bottom. Iranian National Museum 2500 (ex Golistan Museum, Teheran). Catalogue no. 158.

Fig 33 (above). Islamic ceramic plate with female figure. Nishapur (Chorasan, northeast Iran), 9th-10th century AD. D. 20.5 cm, H. 8.8 cm. (with base ring). A slip-painted plate of a female holding a goblet flanked by two birds, displaying the typical horror vacui (fear of the void) of this particular style. (The writer published a series of the Nishapur plates in 1960.) Islamic Museum, Teheran, inv. no. 22090 (unpublished). Catalogue no. 170.
The current exhibition

The present exhibition consists of 178 pieces, many of which were viewed by the writer in the Archaeological Museum in Teheran in 1961 and at the Washington exhibition in 1964. There are a number of objects, however, which have never been placed on exhibit before, some of which have been excavated in recent years, including some major discoveries. The exhibition’s emphasis extends from the prehistoric through to the Achaemenid periods, with just 18 objects from the Parthian period, 12 from the Sasanian period, and 16 from the early Islamic period. The Parthian and Islamic art appears to be a token representation - there are very few true masterworks at all from these two periods in the exhibition. While not as extensive in its scope as previous exhibitions on Iranian art, it does offer an opportunity to view objects that have not been seen outside Iran for an entire generation. In addition to the pieces from the Iranian National Museum, several items are on loan from other museums in Teheran: the Reza Abbasi Museum, the Islamic Museum, and the Glass and Ceramic Museum.

A magnificent catalogue illustrating the 178 objects in full colour has been published for the exhibition by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and Skira, Milan. Edited by Dr Wilfried Seipel, General Director of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, it includes essays on Iranian prehistory by Gerardo Gnoth, religion by Antonio Panaino, and on language by Carlo G. Cereti. Erika Bleibtreu presents a historical survey of the first 6000 years of Iranian art; Josef Wiesehöfer continues from the Achaemenids to the early Islamic period. Dr Bleibtreu also wrote all of the first 132 catalogue entries, through to the Achaemenid period; four other authors contributed the last 46 entries for the four later historical groups. Each group is preceded by a well-illustrated introduction to the art and architecture of the respective period. The 343-page catalogue includes an extensive up-to-date 12-page bibliography, with entries dating up to 1999. The illustrations for the objects, nearly all taken by E. Thiém, are superb, and mostly cover full pages. Unfortunately the catalogue numbers beneath the photos are minute and difficult to read, especially since there are no captions. (The illustrations for nos. 103 and 104 are reversed.) There is also an excellent series of photographs of Achaemenid and Sasanian coins. The catalogue, in German, is available at the venue priced 590 Austrian schillings.

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THE VILLA MURECINE: POMPEII UNCOVERED

Stephen Rossi reports on the recent excavations of an inn and its frescoes at the foot of Mount Vesuvius.

Authorities in Pompeii recently announced the discovery of a cycle of Roman frescoes depicting the Muses. The paintings were unearthed in connection with work on lane extensions for the Naples-Salerno motorway. The site, known as Villa Murecine, is located on the ancient banks of the Sarno River 600 metres outside the walls of the Roman city (Fig 1). Archaeologists believe that the building in which the frescoes were discovered served as a hotel or inn for merchants visiting Pompeii. The local Soprintendenza had already excavated at this site in 1959, before it was partially covered by the super-highway. That project was executed under very difficult circumstances due to high ground water levels that penetrated up to two-thirds of the excavation area. Existing technology was insufficient to prevent the site flooding, and the pressure to complete the excavation (without impeding the progress of the road) led to a hasty operation that received considerable criticism.

At that time, the archaeologists were limited to removing artifacts from the most recent strata and mapping as much of the floor plan as was possible (in excess of 4000 square feet). Some wall paintings were found, but the most important discovery consisted of 127 waxed tablets containing business records of the Sulpicii family. Once archaeologists had explored the area directly affected by the road works and the asphalt had been laid, the surrounding terrain was left untouched.

In 1999, when the director of the Società Autostrade Meridionali asked Superintendent Pier Giovanni Guzzo to resume exploration of the site in anticipation of their plans to widen the road. With adequate funding, and benefitting from advances in rescue archaeology, the authorities feel confident that the recently concluded dig has yielded all possible data regarding the Roman occupation of the site. Notably, the road builders participated actively by providing powerful pumps and by constructing a retaining wall to buttress the existing motorway while the scientists worked.

Although the frescoes represent the most spectacular discovery, more prosaic discoveries such as bowls full of provisions (Fig 2), a sort of ancient first aid kit, and wooden oars for rowing are also of considerable interest. Archaeologists also removed five skeletons that are under examination by pathologists at the University of Naples. Information on 1st century AD Roman building techniques is abundant. Architecturally the site consists of two attached buildings of different function. The inn, or hospitium, was constructed around an ample triporticus that opens to the south onto the Sarno River. A series of triclinia surround the peristyle and, of these, the three northern ones have been excavated. The triclinia are quite luxurious in appearance (Fig 3), with marble fittings and frescoed walls. Sections of the building were in the process of renovation by the Romans after sustaining damage during an earthquake in AD 62. At the time of its destruction the Romans were also engaging in adding new baths to the hospitium. During the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79 the buildings were buried by a mixture of ash and water that preserved the wooden elements of the structure to a remarkable extent. Wooden frames, presumably scaffolding, have come to light and excavators have also recovered a quantity of coloured marble slabs awaiting positioning were also found in the kitchen area of the building, "marked up" in charcoal with the letters SUL, followed by a number. Archaeologists hypothesize that the same Sulpicii mentioned in the waxed tablets were the new owners of the inn. According to Professor Salvatore Ciro Nappo, the site director, evidence points to a luxurious restructuring of the hospitium. This extravagance runs contrary to the belief that Pompeii was a city in decline just before Vesuvius erupted.

The wall paintings found in the excavated triclinia are varied. The theme of the decoration of the central triclinium is Helen and the Dioscuri and it unfolds against a black background. The side tricliniae, on the other hand, are decorated against a red background and are almost identical in

All photographs are courtesy of the Società Autostrade Meridionali.

An outstanding new book, Mitis Sarni Opes (Donato Libri Press 2000), edited by Antonio De Simone & Salvatore Ciro Nappo (sponsored by the Società Autostrade Meridionali) describes the recent excavations at Villa Murecine. For further details, tel. Italy 081 750 8237; fax 081 750 8214.
composition (Figs 4-7). The one on the west side depicts Apollo with the Muses, whereas the eastern one carries a personification of the Sarno River surrounded by genii and winged Victories bearing the attributes of Apollo and Athena (Fig 5). According to Prof. Nappo, the cycle of the nine Muses 'probably represent[s] a discovery second only to the frescoes of the Villa of the Mysteries'. The paintings belong to the so-called Fourth Style and are indeed charming. Although small, they are masterfully executed with nuance of shading giving depth to the billowing chitons and the pretty, if somewhat vacuous, faces of the Muses. The representation of Calliope, the muse of epic poetry (Fig 4), is particularly appealing as she holds a stylus to her pursed lips in search of the right rhyme.

The Società Autostrade has sponsored much of the excavations and conservation of the finds. They have also paid for the publication of a lavishly illustrated book on all the frescoes from Villa Murecine. Professor Guzzo, while grateful for the funding, is still uncomfortable about the lack of a comprehensive archaeological map of the area which could serve as a source to recommend where further construction could take place without damaging the archaeological record. Meanwhile, the Autostrada executives have suggested that the frescoes be displayed in a sort of rest-stop museum. Although this certainly must appeal to archeologists' love of contextuality, they will probably end up in Pompeii's museum.
WOMEN IN CLASSICAL GREECE
A review of ‘Pandora’s Box’
Jerome M. Eisenberg

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

THE WEALTH OF THE TIBRACIANS
A review of ‘Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Tibracians from
the Republic of Bulgaria’
Jerome M. Eisenberg

A 14-page illustrated review in Minerva (Jan/Feb 98) of a spectacular exhibition of ancient Thracian gold and

GIFTS OF THE NILE:
ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FINE ART
Florence Dunn Friedman

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

GLYPIC ART OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST
Jerome M. Eisenberg. 54/55

A two-part 16-page illustrated review in Minerva (May/June, Jul/Aug 98) of ‘A New Approach to Sumerian

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

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

EGYPT 2000 BC:
THE BIRTH OF INDIVIDUALISM
Prof. Dr. Dietrich Wildung, Director of the
Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin,
examines this unique and important exhibition in
an 8-page illustrated study (Minerva May/June 00).

THE LOST CITY OF ANCIENT ANTIQUOCH
The first international exhibition about Antiquo, travelling America throughout 2000 and 2001, is
described by the organiser and curator
Christine Kondoleon in a 10-page illustrated study (Minerva July/August 00).

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

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

PHARAOHS OF THE SUN:
AKHENATEN, NEFERTITI, TUTANKHAMEN
A review article
Yvonne J. Markowitz

A 14-page illustrated review in Minerva (Nov/Dec 99) of the major international
exhibition on Egypt’s Amarna Period (1353-1356
BC), organised by the Museum of Fine Arts in
Boston, examining the extraordinary 17-year reign of
the heretic Pharaoh Akhenaten.

SYRIA: LAND OF CIVILISATIONS
A review article
Jerome M. Eisenberg

A 16-page illustrated review in Minerva (Jan/Feb 00) of the major international exhibition of
antiquities from Syrian Museums.
THE AUTUMN 2000
ANTIQUITIES SALES


A n unusually large number of lots at the New York sales brought the 2000 auction year to a triumphant close. For the first time Christie's New York leaped ahead of Sotheby's New York with total annual sales of $19,646,332, compared to Sotheby's $13,317,025. This was in no small part due to Christie's June sales, which featured a large collection of Greek vases and two important Classical marble statues, all previously in the collection of Dr Elie Borowski (see Minerva, September/October 2000, pp. 28-37). The two auction houses continue to be by far the principal players in the field, grossing together $32,963,357, an increase of 8.7% over last year's sales in spite of the turbulent stock market in the last three-quarters of the year.

Christie's October sale in London features Alexander the Great

The 5 October Christie's London auction presented a large collection of antiquities relating to Alexander the Great that was formed by François Antonovich, a multi-faceted Russian dealer, collector, and scholar. Most of them were published by him in Les Métamorphoses Divines d'Alexandre (Paris, 1996). A pair of monumental Egyptian 30th Dynasty limestone sphinxes (Fig. 1, one illustrated), with the heads representing Nectanebo I (Nakhtnefert, 380-362 BC), who, according to one legend, was the father of Alexander, were part of a large series lining the sacred route to the Serapeum at Memphis. Their average length is 1.3 m. Six others are on display at the Louvre. This pair was originally acquired in the mid-19th century by Lord Roberts for Elstree Hall. Estimated at £70,000-£90,000, they were purchased by an English dealer for £91,750 ($133,679). [All prices realised include the buyer's commission.]

A Roman marble head of Alexander Helios (Fig. 2), c. 2nd century AD, h. 19 cm, estimated at £30,000-£40,000, was acquired by Royal-Athena Galleries for £47,000. A Roman marble bust of Alexander Cosmocrator (Fig. 3), c. 2nd century AD, h. 36.3 cm, reputedly purchased in Alexandria, Egypt, prior to World War II, was sold in London by Spink & Son in 1966. Estimated at £30,000-£40,000, it was also bought by Royal-Athena (who had previously sold it to Mr Antonovich) for £35,250. It recently appeared on the cover of Images d'Alexandre et des Ptolémées (Paris, 1999).

The majority of a consignment of 43 antiquities from a European collector were acquired in the late 19th and early 20th century. Featured among them was a handsome inscribed Egyptian limestone pair statue of the fan-bearer Mery and his wife Saty (Fig 4) dated from the late 18th dynasty, early in the reign of Amenophis III (c. 1390-1353 BC). Measuring 33.6 cm in height, it sold to a London dealer for £80,750. It had been estimated at just £50,000-£70,000 due to the damages on the lower half of the sculpture. A beautifully modelled, but fragmented, Egyptian limestone sculptor's model of a recumbent lion holding a pair of knives, 16.7 x 9.8 cm (Fig 5), from the same collection, was the cover piece of the auction catalogue. Bearing an estimate of £15,000-£20,000, it sold for £37,600. An unusually large (16.5 cm) Late Period Egyptian bronze head of a cat, also from this collection, and estimated at £25,000-£35,000, brought the same bid of £37,600.

An extremely sensitive wooden head of an Egyptian noblewoman, h. 14 cm (Fig. 6), dating from the late 18th-early 19th dynasty, c. 1300 BC, was purchased in 1945 by the famed actress Vivien Leigh while she was appearing as Cleopatra in George Bernard Shaw's Caesar and Cleopatra. Estimated at an inexplicitly low £5,000-£8,000, it was finally won for £49,350 by Royal-Athena after a long and intensive round of bidding from several attenders. A Greek marble female head with an intent gaze,
Fig 4. Detail of an Egyptian seated pair statue of the fan-bearer Mery and his wife Saty, reign of Amenophis III (c. 1390-1353 BC). H. 33.6 cm.

Fig 5. Ptolemaic period limestone sculptor’s model of the forepart of a recumbent lion, c. 4th-2nd century BC. 16.7 x 9.8 cm.

Fig 6 (left). New Kingdom wooden head of a noble lady, c. 1300 BC. H. 14 cm.

Fig 7. Female head fragment from a marble Attic funerary stele, 4th century BC. H. 29.2 cm.

Fig 8. The Minotaur, pursued by Theseus around an Attic red-figure stamnos, c. 510 BC. H. 24.5 cm.

Fig 9. Large Cycladic marble idol of the Early Spedos type, c. 2600-2500 BC. H. 17.2 cm.

Fig 10. Small Hellenistic rock crystal flask with a gold and garnet stopper and ancient gold chain, 3rd-2nd century BC. H. 4.1 cm.

Fig 11. Provincial style colossal marble head of the emperor Hadrian, c. AD 130-150. H. 41.9 cm.

Fig 12. Roman marble torso of the Sphinx (thorn remover), 1st century BC/AD. H. 48.2 cm.
Autumn Antiquities Sales

Fig 13. Roman marble relief with a Greek inscription, of fighting gladiators, c. 2nd century AD, H. 122.6 cm.

Fig 14 (right). Old Kingdom relief of a noble seated before a table of offerings, c. 2450-2150 BC, H. 80.7 cm.

Fig 15. Late Period granite relief of an unknown pharaoh wearing the Double Crown, 360-343 BC, W. 47 cm.

Fig 18. Roman marble torso of the Eros of Centocelle type, c. AD 150-200, H. 50.8 cm.

Rare Attic stamnos helps Christie's New York set record for year's sales

The star of the 7 December Christie's New York auction was an extremely rare stamnos without handles in Six's technique (the red figures are added after the vase was fired) attributed to the workshop of the Attic Stamnos Painter, h. 24.5 cm, (Fig 8), of c. 510 BC. Three figures are depicted spaced evenly around the vessel: Theseus wielding a sword pursuing the Minotaur, and to the monster's right Ariadne with her arms extended towards him. This threefold grouping is quite rare, if not unique. From the Ferruccio Bolla collection in Lugano, it was published by Cornelia Isler-Kerenyi in the exhibition, Stamnos, at the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1980 and later sold at the Münzen und Medaillen sale on 14 November 1986, where it brought about $180,000. Now estimated at $300,000-$500,000, it was sold to a European private collector for $490,000, outbidding Royal-Athena Galleries who was representing an American collector. Another important vase, an Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, from the same collection and published by Beazley and six other scholars, did not meet its reserve price, perhaps due to the bold estimate of $200,000-$300,000.

A Cycladic marble idol of the Early Spedos type, h. 17.2 cm (Fig 9), of c. 2600-2500 BC, from the collection of the late Japanese restaurateur and dealer Kojiro Ishiguro (died 1992), estimated at a surprisingly low $20,000-$30,000, brought $76,375 from a private bidder. A Late Hellenistic marble statue of Aphrodite of c. 1st century BC, h. 41 cm, from the estate of Lucille Ellis Simon, was estimated at $40,000-$60,000 but doubled its high estimate to bring in $127,000 from an American bidder.
matically, Roman marble relief, h. 122.6 cm, bearing a Greek inscription at the top, depicted gladiatorial combats between Samnites and Hoplo- machi (Fig 13). The Samnites wear high crested helmets with visors (pholus) and carry a long rectangular shield (scutum); the Hoplo- machi wear round helmets with broad flaps and carry a shorter shield. They both wear a protective arm band (monocere) on the right arm and a single greave (ocretum) on the left leg. Bearing an estimate of $40,000-$60,000, it brought $94,000 from a New York dealer. The highlight of the sale, a large 1st century AD Roman silver platter, highly decorative but lacking any mythological designs save for two small heads of Silenus (yet estimated at $500,000-$700,000) was bought in.

A Roman colossal marble head of the emperor Hadrian (AD 117-138), 41.9 cm high (Fig 11), is of a provincial style which suggests that it was probably executed in an eastern Mediterranean workshop, c. AD 130-150. It was acquired in the 1920s in the Near East by a foreign diplomat, and sold to an American collector for $138,000, slightly below its estimate of $150,000-$250,000. An excellent early Roman marble torso of the Spinario, h. 48.2 cm (Fig 12), c. 1st century BC-1st century AD and similar to the famous one in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, is based upon a Hellenistic prototype of a youth pulling a thorn from his foot. Royal-Athena Galleries purchased it for $70,500, in the middle of its conservative $60,000-$80,000 estimate.

A large, simplified, though dra-

{although the reviewer thought that the head appeared to be reworked}. A small Hellenistic rock crystal flask (Fig 10), dating to c. 3rd-2nd century BC and just 4.1 cm tall, mounted with an ancient gold chain and a gold and garnet stopper, both probably Roman in date, brought spirited bidding between a London and a Swiss dealer, with the latter finally winning it for $82,250, far over its $20,000-$30,000 estimate.

An Old Kingdom limestone relief, h. 80.7 cm (Fig 14), of the 5th-6th dynasty (c. 2465-2150 BC), from the Ishiguro collection, depicts a seated deceased male receiving offerings, including, according to the inscription, 'hundreds of loaves of bread and jug of beer' and 'choice cuts' of beef. It sold for $110,500, well over its estimate of $40,000-$60,000, to a European collector. A fine sunk-relief granite fragment, w. 47 cm (Fig 15), of the 30th dynasty (c. 380-343 BC), with the bust of a young pharaoh wearing the double crown and traces of two cartouches, from a European collection was estimated at $80,000-$120,000 and purchased by a dealer for $82,250. An Egyptian bronze cat of the 26th-30th dynasty, h. 23.5 cm, c. 564-343 BC, from the estate of Lucille Ellis Simon was estimated at an unrealistically low $25,000-$35,000, but also sold for $82,250 to a European dealer, much closer to its true market value.

The sale of 430 lots totalled $3,891,948, with 65% of the lots sold both by number and by value, a fraction higher than the Sotheby sale held the following day. But with the jewellery sale held the previous evening described below, it reached $4,704,343.

Fig 19 (left). Roman marble herm with the head of a Muse, c. 1st century AD. L. 167.6 cm.

Fig 20. Roman marble sarcophagus fragment with Medea departing with her dead child in a winged chariot, c. AD 130. 99.2 x 83.2 cm.

Fig 21. Hellenistic marble portrait head of an Alexandrian workshop style, c. 50 BC to AD 50. H. 31.8 cm.

Fig 22. Attic Geometric olpe (jug), allegedly from Corinth, c. 8th century BC. H. 2.7 cm.

Fig 23. Corinthian olpe with various animals shown in four bands, c. 640-625 BC. H. 33 cm.
Second Christmas jewellery sale held by Christie’s New York

Encouraged by their first ancient jewellery sale held in December 1999, Christie’s New York held their second sale on 6 December. A 24.1 cm string of Etruscan gold beads (Fig 16) of c. 6th century BC date, with nine of the eighteen hollow spherical beads encrusted with superb patterns formed by filigree and granulation, brought a lofty $52,875 from a Swiss dealer, soaring far over the extremely low estimate of $4,000-6,000. Consigned by the Ervika Foundation, they were from the collection of Marc Rosenberg, who had published three of the beads in Geschicht der Goldschmiedekunst auf Technischer Grundlage (Frankfurt, 1918). A pair of Hellenistic gold earrings, h. 3.8 cm (Fig 17), dating to c. 3rd century BC, each feature an eagle holding a thunderbolt and are both covered with dense granulation. From the same collection (of which only one was published by Rosenberg), they were estimated at only $10,000-$15,000, but were purchased for a healthy sum of $41,125 by the same dealer.

Three other pairs of Greek and Parthian gold earrings, a Greek gold Nike pendant, a Byzantine gold and garnet necklace, and two unusual Sumerian and Syrian cylinder seals brought winning bids of $21,150 to $35,250 each. The sale of 206 lots totalled a sum of $812,395, far exceeding the 1999 jewellery sale of $487,740. Some 67% of the lots were sold by number and 71% by value. A third sale is being planned for December 2001.

Sotheby’s New York sale features fine Roman torso

A superb Roman polished marble torso of the Eros of Centocelle type, h. 50.8 cm (Fig 18), c. AD 150-200, with a striking ancient polished surface, and based on a Greek prototype of the early 4th century BC, was acquired by Wright S. Ludington about 50 years ago. Published in 1966 in Greek Art in Private Collections of Southern California, it was donated to the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, who had now deaccessioned it. Estimated at an improbably low $60,000-$90,000, it brought a well-substantiated bid of $269,750 from a Swiss dealer, winning out over Royal-Athena Galleries. A tall Roman marble herm with the head of a Muse, wearing a himation draped over a chiton, h. 167.6 cm (Fig 19), dating to c. 1st century AD, from the Kulef Aleton collection, was sold for $148,750 to a European collector, well over its estimate of $50,000-$80,000.

A Roman marble sarcophagus fragment depicting a scene from Euripides’ Medea, 49.2 by 83.2 cm (Fig 20), of c. AD 130, has a publication history extending over 250 years, first appearing in A. F. Goze’s Inscriptions antique graecae et romanae in 1743. It depicts Medea holding her dead child over her shoulder as she departs in her winged dragon chariot. It sold for $28,500 to a telephone bidder, within its estimate of $75,000-$125,000. A fine Hellenistic portrait head, h. 31.8 cm (Fig 21), dated between c. 50 BC and AD 50 and most probably sculpted in an Alexandrian workshop, from a European collection, bore a very low estimate of $20,000-$30,000. However, it was acquired by an American collector with a phone bid of $75,500.

Very few top quality large Attic Geometric vases have been offered for sale in recent years. An 8th century BC Geometric olpe, h. 25.7 cm (Fig 22), said to have been acquired by a French collector at least 100 years ago. The extremely low estimate of $20,000-$30,000 did not deter the same two dealers from fighting over it; the winner, a dealer from Geneva, won out with a final offer of $137,550 (Royal-Athena Galleries again as the underbidder). A Corinthian pottery olpe, h. 33 cm (Fig 23), c. 640-625 BC, with four resisters of sphinxes, panthers, ibexes, deer, bulls, and rams, was estimated at $40,000-$60,000 and was sold to a Massachusetts collector for $72,625.

An Attic black-figure hydria by the Rycroft Painter, h. 47.8 cm (Fig 24), c. 500 BC, perhaps from the Ruspoli collection and later from the Tracagni and Silver collections, was published by J. D. Beazley in Paralipomena (Oxford, 1971, p. 140, no. 28 bis). On the body it depicts Peleus and Thetis in a quadriga surrounded by Apollo and two goddesses. On the shoulder Herakles wrestles with the Nemean Lion, flanked by lolaos and Hermes. A New York dealer bidding by phone purchased it for $92,750, just over its estimate of $60,000-$90,000.

An elegant Greek bronze helmet of the Chalcidian type, h. 28.6 (Fig 25), dating to the 6th century BC, from a New York private collection, was acquired by a European collector by a phone bid for $84,125. The present sale was weak in fine Egyptian antiquities, one exception being an Egyptian dark granite head of a youthful bifold-headed male, h. 19.7 cm (Fig 26) of the 30th dynasty, 380-30 BC. In Europe in the 19th century for a French private collection, it sold to a private collector bidding on the phone for $115,750, at the low end of its estimate of
$100,000-$150,000.

Several of the most important items were bought in, including a large Roman Imperial silver dish with a rim of sea monsters, a Sassanian silver-gilt plate with a royal hunting scene, and a small Roman Imperial bronze figure of a youthful priest, which bore the improbable estimate of $200,000-$300,000. Nevertheless the sale was a success. The 310-lot sale brought $3,832,230, with 74.6% of the lots sold by number and 81.6% by value.

Jean-Alain Mariaud de Serres Collection sold by de Ricqles

Part one of the collection of the late Jean-Alain Mariaud de Serres (1920-1999) was sold at the Drouot-Montaigne in Paris by François de Ricqles on 1-2 October. Mr de Serres served as a French officer in Beirut from 1941-42, at which time he started his collection, as a diplomat in Algeria and Rome from 1944 to 1947, then for an oil company in Baghdad, and later in Beirut again from 1962 to 1971. He continued to collect antiquities into the 1980s. The expert and catalogue of the sale was, of course, the son of the owner, Jean-Philippe Mariaud de Serres, who has conducted several successful sales for de Ricqles.

The first day of the sale, with 435 lots, was devoted to the de Serres collection. The cover piece of the catalogue, a choice Mesopotamian beld and bearded breccia bust of an orant (Fig 27), c. 2400 BC, 12.6 cm in height, estimated at FFr 400,000-500,000, was acquired by a Parisian dealer for her private collection for a healthy FFr 775,348. A very rare beige alabaster vase, h 10.4 cm (Fig 28), bears a bold Akkadian inscription of Doudou, the vael, master of the land of [Akkad], an offering to the god Nergal of Apiak'. Doudou reigned c. 2180-2169 BC. Bearing an estimate of FFr 350,000-400,000, it was preempted by the Louvre for FFr 443,056.

A well-endowed Roman marble torso of Aphrodite, lst-2nd century AD, h. 70 cm, once belonged to a noble Italian family. Its very low estimate of FFr 200,000-240,000 did not deter Royal-Athena Galleries of New York from buying it for FFr 830,730. A Roman topos of a faun draped with a goat skin of the same period, h. 71 cm, was approximately estimated at FFr 350,000-380,000, yet it brought the highest bid of the sale, a respectable FFr 886,112.

The second day of the sale consisted of other consignments. A Sumerian copper foundation nail surmounted by a male bust with clasped hands, c. 2500-2300 BC, h. 27.3 cm

(Fig 29), from the Georges Halphen collection, was bought in a sale in Paris in December 1935, when it passed at FFr 600,000. Now estimated at only FFr 500,000-550,000, it was sold to an American collector for FFr 498,438. A striking limestone mask with traces of bitumen (Fig 30), h. 12 cm, was once an inlay for a Sumerian statue, c. 2500 BC. It brought FFr 775,348 and again the Louvre exercised its right of preemption. A grayish-green Bactrian seated female ex-voto statue with a tiny white calcite head, c. 2500-2000 BC, h. 11.2 cm, brought FFr 498,438, well over its estimate of FFr 280,000-320,000. A superb mottled gray sculpture of a crouching lynx with inlaid black marble spots (nero antico) and yellow marble eyes (giallo antico) (Fig 31), l. 30 cm, was catalogued as 'Italie, Art Romain (??)', and bore a minimal estimate of just FFr 50,000-60,000 due to the indecision of the catalogue. After an extensive round of bidding, it was won by Royal-Athena Galleries for FFr 830,730, which turned out to be a great bargain, for the animal was indeed Roman, c. 1st century AD, from an old French collection. It was also described as Romar by the eminent French Classical scholar Jean Charbonneaux when it was published in the catalogue of the exhibition Le Cabinet de l'Amateur held in Paris in 1956.

A large (l. 90 cm) section of a Byzantine limestone capula in two pieces, 5th-8th century AD, was decorated with a lamb surrounded by bands of stylised vegetation and a cross. It was estimated for an extremely low FFr 10,000-12,000, but three bidders entered into a spirited contest to acquire it, with the winner paying a healthy FFr 443,056. The sale realised FFr 24,042,100, with more than 90% of the lots sold by value. The next de Ricqles sale, featuring the second part of the de Serres collection (jewellery, intaglios, and cylinder seals), as well as a large French collection of Egyptian antiquities, will be held on 22-23 April.
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The discovery of a hoard of 43 gold Roman coins (aurei) was made during archaeological excavations at Plantation Place near Fenchurch Street on 21 June 2000 (Fig 1). The coins were discovered by an archaeologist from the Museum of London Archaeology Service within an area where the remains of a large Roman stone building had been recorded. Large amounts of richly decorated wall plaster, mosaic tesserae, and fragments of tessellated floor indicated that the building was of high status and may have been residential. The coins were found adjacent to the remains of one of the walls. The close distribution of the coins implies that they were probably held together in some kind of a textile purse or bag; some staining in the soil also suggested that they had been held in a wooden container. This had been placed in the corner of a stone-lined area, possibly a deposit hole, underneath the floor of one of the rooms.

The 43 gold coins span a period of 109 years. The earliest were issued under the emperor Nero in AD 65-66 and the latest, an aureus of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, dates to AD 174. The hoard was solely of gold coins, which were not intended for everyday circulation but would have been used as bullion by administrators, bankers, or rich merchants. The coins are mainly in a very good state of preservation. The gold remained unaffected by the burial conditions and in the Roman period the gold content is usually at least 95% pure. The weights of the coins are variable, the lightest being a specimen of Vespasian (5.92gms), the heaviest an example of Antoninus Pius (7.42gms). The total weight of the coins is 303.83gms and an estimate of their current value lies in the region of £60,000 to £85,000. There are some less common types. The coins of Vitellius (Fig 2; Roman Imperial Coins 1, 100), Lucius Aelius (Fig 3; RIC II, 442) and Lucilla (Fig 4; RIC III, M Aurelius 774), for instance, are rare, and the coins commemorating Hadrian’s visit to Spain (Fig 5; RIC II, 305) and his return to Italy (RIC II, 320), are especially interesting.

The coins were struck in high relief and the standard of portraiture, especially for the earlier coins, exemplifies the art of the die engraver. Roman coins, Most are in a very fine condition, although the two coins of Nero show some signs of wear; it is known that coins of the 1st century remained in circulation well into the 2nd century. It is, therefore, possible to gauge an approximate date for the deposit of the hoard by looking at the latest coin, issued in AD 174. Thus, it is most likely that the coins were deposited in the last quarter of the second century.

The coins from Plantation House, although they span over 100 years, are thought to be a random selection of coins available to the owner/broker in 2nd-century London. They were not selected for their above-average weight (other hoards have consisted of coins all over 2gms in weight) and the implication is that the coins were gathered together and deliberately deposited within the building, rather than being accidentally lost. Future analysis of the excavation details may indicate whether they were hidden in an emergency, but currently there is no obvious evidence for this. Most certainly they were deposited with the intention of recovery.

Over 1500 hoards have been recorded from Roman Britain and they vary in the numbers of coins recovered and denominations of the coins buried. Although many hoards of silver coins are known from this period, when the silver content of coins was reduced, gold coin hoards are much rarer. Only four other hoards are known from 2nd century Roman Britain. A hoard of aurei consisting only of the emperor Hadrian was recovered in Cumbria in 1870. A hoard of 22 aurei of the emperors Nero, Hadrian, and the Antonine family was found in Wansborough in Wiltshire in 1888. A large hoard of 160 aurei, dating from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, came from Corbridge in 1911, but many of these were subsequently stolen. A more recent find of 120 aurei was made by a metal detectorist in Didcot, Oxfordshire in 1995. Like the London hoard the coins from Corbridge and Didcot began with issues under Nero but finished shortly before the London hoard, in AD 160.

This is the first hoard of gold coins found in Roman London and their probable association with a container within a building indicates that the coins were not accidentally lost, but were deliberately deposited with the intention of recovery. The original owner cannot now be traced. The hoard was excavated by an archaeologist in the employ of the Museum of London and, as such, there will be no finder’s claim to the hoard. At the onset of the excavation it was agreed that all the finds from this site were to be donated to the Museum of London by the developers, British Land. Outside the City of London, where objects are found during the course of a formal
**Roman London Coin Hoard**

*Fig 3. A rare aureus of Lucius Aelius as Caesar with reverse depicting Pietas, AD 113 (x2).*

*Fig 4. A very rare aureus of Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus, with reverse depicting Pietas, minted during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, AD 161-180 (x2).*

*Fig 5. An aureus of Hadrian which commemorates his visit to Spain with reverse depicting a reclining Hispania, AD 134-138 (x2).*

**Hoard Composition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lucius Verus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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**Numismatic Book Review**

**Lead Weights: The David Rogers Collection**

Norman Biggs and Paul Withers


Lead weights have so often in the past been shunned by numismatists as being para-numismatics, and by archaeologists because they were difficult to understand. Twenty years ago very little was known about them although they had been used in England for about 2000 years, since Roman times. That situation has changed radically with the publication of the collection formed by the late Dr David Rogers (tragically killed in a car accident in 1999). It is by far the largest and most important collection yet published. Rogers was a meticulous observer of things that many would rate as 'unconsidered trifles'. His interests included medieval small change, the farthings and halfpennies (and cut examples), and even Romano-British cosmetic grinders (this collection has gone to the British Museum).

Over a period of some 14 years Rogers scoured the trays of dealers, but more often the mixed bag that metal detectorists offered at various markets, seeking the unusual and the unexplained. He thus built up not only a large collection of lead weights, but also an unrivalled knowledge of them as his analytical, medically-trained mind observed the differences and relationships involved.

The present publication, brought to fruition by Biggs and Withers, presents nearly 300 examples divided into 11 categories, plus an 'unclassified' section. Roman weights are included as well as 13 rare pre-Norman Conquest pieces with embedded coins, and shield-shaped weights. Notable amongst the stamped weights is the series of the Plumbers' Company with their mark of an angel carrying a large pair of scales (lead weights were the province of that Company). Norwich, the second city in England, had a system of tradesmen's guilds that reflected those of London and the city set up an official standard for East Anglia. They are important in relation to London and are illustrated and dealt with in depth here.

The introduction to the catalogue is a meticulous survey of weights and weight-systems in use under the Romans, Anglo-Saxons, and in medieval times. Each section of the catalogue is preceded by introductory comments, and then every weight is illustrated at actual size with full information about it, description, its weight, size and thickness, plus any appropriate comment.

This book will be invaluable to all museum curators and collectors, as well as to metal detectorists who themselves largely responsible for the finds, thereby making such a publication possible. As Dr Geoff Egan writes in his Foreword, this guide 'is a milestone in the rational, carefully considered interpretation of a most difficult topic'.

*Peter A. Clayton*

MINERVA 45
FROM ALEXANDER TO MARK ANTONY: IMAGES OF POWER ON ANCIENT COINS

Andrew Meadows and Jonathan Williams describe a new exhibition at the British Museum celebrating a major forthcoming gift of 7000 Greek and Roman coins, the Charles Hersh Bequest, from the American Friends of The British Museum.

When Alexander succeeded to the throne in 336 BC he found the Macedonian monarchy at its high-water mark. Balkan Greece was at its knees before him. Greek intellectuals clamoured for him to march on the old enemy, Persia. The young king did not disappoint them. In 334 BC he crossed to Asia Minor (modern Turkey) and began to roll back the empire of Darius III, last of the Achaemenid Great Kings of Persia. By 330 Darius was dead, but by 323 Alexander was too. Exhausted by constant warfare that had brought him from Greece to India in 11 years, he died at Babylon, leaving the largest empire in the world with no clear, single successor.

Alexander had not just created a vast empire, he had also unified it. In this process coinage was a powerful instrument (Fig 1). It is easy to forget in today’s world of mass-production and world-wide communications that ancient rulers had no such simple, omnipresent means to convey their image, or even their existence, over vast territorial expanses. The single exception was coinage: the first and – until the 19th century – the world’s only mass-medium. Alexander saw the power of coinage and harnessed it. His imagery, despite complex religious and propagandistic; it was simple, brute unity. Across his empire from Greece to Iran, some 20 mints were set up or reorganised to produce coinage to financie Alexander’s conquest and empire. The designs at each and every mint were identical and unique to Alexander: a head of the hero Herakles (Fig 2) and a seated figure of Zeus (king of the gods) on the silver issues (Fig 3), and a head of the goddess Athena and a figure of Nike (Victory) on the gold.

The legend read ‘Of [King] Alexander’.

From the Balkans to Babylon, and beyond, these images and this name circulated persuasively. They provided tangible, omnipresent evidence of the existence of Alexander’s empire, its extent and its unity – as potent an image of power as any king could desire (Fig 4). Not surprisingly, these images survived him in a number of ways. Upon Alexander’s death, everything and nothing changed. At a stroke the unifying force was gone and none could, or dared, to try to take his place. Struggles broke out between his generals; his young son Alexander IV and half-brother Philip III were murdered; but for 17 years no one claimed the title of king and, to begin with, no one tampered with the designs of Alexander’s coinage. In part the reason was economic, since the coinage was widely recognised and accepted, a useful feature in a primitive economy. But the reason was also political, for the unified coinage created the illusion of continuing unity where it no longer existed.

When this mould was finally broken, the effect was to strengthen Alexander’s presence. Alexander now stood fatherly above the fledgling dynasties that were born in Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Each in their own way laid claim to his image, drawing power from it for their own royal ambitions. In Thrace, Syria, and Egypt the new kings Lysimachus (Fig 5), Seleucus, and Ptolemy began to place Alexander’s portrait – not their own – on their coins, with symbols of his divinity. Further east in Bactria (modern Afghanistan), King Agathocles misunderstood the head of Herakles on Alexander’s coins as being a portrait of Alexander himself, and placed it on his own coinage, claiming him as a predecessor. It no longer mattered, of course, fact and fiction had become inextricably intertwined. Alexander’s badge and his own image were indistinguishable, since Alexander had himself become both the image and symbol of power.

No less than the Greeks of the Hellenistic successor kingdoms, the Romans lived in the shadow of Alexander’s extraordinary achievements. The Romans had something like a corporate inferiority complex – they could not bear to think that they were second in greatness or importance to anyone or any people, past or present. Yet it took them a long time to seriously rival Alexander, until the last generation of the Roman Republic in fact when, in the 60s BC, they began to conquer the Middle East under the generalship of Pompey ‘the Great’, as he called himself in conscious imitation of Alexander the Great. In the triumphal natural celebration of his eastern conquests, he had a float decorated with figures representing the World – Pompey as world conqueror, and the Roman Alexander. Pompey’s portrait showed him with the same hair-style as Alexander, the famous anastole, the hair rising up at the front and falling back down over the temples (Fig 4). Details like this were highly symbolic.

Julius Caesar, Pompey’s great rival, went in the other direction for his conquests, to the West, Gaul, and Britain –
Fig 7 (above). Silver denarius of Julius Caesar, 44 BC, showing an unmistakable bust of the Dictator with his scruffy neck, high forehead, and the bald patch to which the biographer Suetonius referred. Caesar's head is covered by a metal laurel wreath which the Senate granted him the right to wear at all times. Dm. 1.5 cm.

not quite so resonant as the exotic Orient, but also representing the world that Alexander had precisely not conquered, thereby suggesting that Caesar had gone beyond him and surpassed him. Caesar's portrait eschewed Alexander imitation - by the time of his final victory in the 40 BC he was in his fifties, too old and too bald (Fig 7) to pretend to be an eternal, Apolline youth in his early thirties like Alexander. But he was apparently making plans shortly before his assassination in 44 BC to conquer Persia by going north of the Black Sea - another attempt at rivalling Alexander, the ultimate role-model and benchmark of world-beating achievement for all aspirant great men in the ancient world.

Octavian, the future emperor Augustus (lived 63 BC-AD 14), Caesar's adoptive son, played the Alexander game at various points in his career. He was fortunate to begin his public life very young, at about the same time as Alexander in fact, and he was about the same age at the time of the battle of Actium (31 BC) as Alexander had been at his death, 32 years old. He too could pose as the youthful victor, an image he obviously found hard to give up as over the course of his reign he scarcely grew any older on his coins, or in his portraiture in any other medium for that matter, despite the fact that he lived into his seventies. Augustus used the image of Alexander as his personal seal for a time and he too had a go at conquering Persia, though in a more risk-free manner than launching a great expedition. In 19 BC he recovered by diplomacy some legionario standards that had been lost in a previous, unsuccessful Roman attack on the Parthian Empire of Iran. A clever strategy - it allowed him to claim that the Parthians had submitted to Roman commands and were in some sense under Roman imperium, a word that meant 'orders' but was also coming to mean 'empire' in a territorial sense.

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Origins of Etruscan Coinage

THE EARLIEST ETRUSCAN CAST CURRENCY AND COINAGE

Italo Vecchi

The origins of Etruria's coinage can be sought in the central Italian bronze currency system of the 1st millennium BC, for which we only have literary evidence from Roman sources that preserved earlier oral tradition. These sources are anachronistic and tend to invent historical as well as monetary events. It has long been evident that Rome's early political and cultural development is more closely linked to that of its northern neighbour Etruria than to the Greek colonies of southern Italy, where a silver coinage had been introduced in the mid-6th century BC based on a weight standard of about 8 g. This Greek coin, Aristotle informs us, was called a nomos in the city of Taras and is found nowhere else as a weight standard; in fact it seems to have had no influence on the bronze weight standard of central Italy.

The evidence of primitive bronze (aes rude) currency hoards in the Po valley, Etruria, Umbria, Campania, and Sicily confirms the use of primitive bronze currency, as distinct from coinage, at a very early date (Fig 1). A group of such bronze pieces has recently been found on a wreck of 600 BC off the Isola del Giglio, together with iron bars that may have functioned as proto-currency (in the form of roasting spits used in ritual sacrifices of animals). Ephorus of Cyne, in his universal histori, credits Phaidon, the early 7th century BC tyrant of Argos, with striking the first Greek coins (the celebrated 'tortoises' of Aegina) and dedicated to Hera the iron spits previously current (in pre-6th century BC terminology the following terms had these original meanings - obolos: spit; drachm: handful of spits; didrachm: two handfulls). In 1895 a bundle of 180 iron rods 1.2 metres long with an average weight of about 405 gms each was discovered in the ruins of the Argive Heraion (fig 2).

Modern numismatic chronology does not favour the traditional interpretation. Yet an inscription discovered at Delphi does speak of a Pheidonian measure for grain, from which it could be argued that in the Peloponnesse a system of measures, and perhaps also of weights as in Italy, was in use and called Pheidonian. Later this may have been employed as a weight standard for silver, which led to the assumption that Pheidon was responsible for the first Greek coins. Roman tradition also placed the beginning of coinage in a respectably antique context, by incorrectly associating it with king Numa Pompilius of Rome (715-673 BC).

Pliny (Natural History 33, 34), quoting Timaeus, states that Servius Tullus (later identified with the Etruscan Mastarna) was the first king to adopt marked bronze in Rome. This statement probably reflects the designation of a bronze unit of weight in some form in the middle of the 6th century, so that commodities - not only of bronze - could be calculated in their bronze value by weight in asses. Fibulae, adzes, aes rude, and aes signatum of the ramo secco or 'dry branch' type (Fig 3) were hoarded and constituted the bronze which needed re-weighing with each transaction (alongside a probable stone counterweight), a process that was still in use after the introduction of aes grave in the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The Latin linguistic tradition produces a clearer understanding of the function of bronze currency. Legal acquisitions were confirmed by
the formula per aes et libram, 'by bronze and scales', in a transaction called mun
cipium, 'laying one's hand on something acquired', as early as the period of
the XII Tables (451-450 BC). Libra, from the Greek ἱβρα, is also attested
and may derive from southern Italy.

The central italic libra or pondus was
known as an as, 'pound', and was
weighed (i.e. pesum) and not counted
(numeratum) by weighers or cashiers
(dispensatores). Soldiers' pay, stipendium,
was heaped and weighed; payments,
experas, were weighed out. The etymology
of as is probably the Greek word
ἀξία: 'weighed' or 'what draws down'.
The early aes rude, 'coarse unfinished
hunks of bronze', were weighed out in
aestimatio, 'appraisal', or 'estimate'. All
these terms lasted well into Imperial
times (by when their origins had been
forgotten) and have passed into mod-
ern languages with little change in
their meaning.

There are several terms from this
early period which relate to later coin
striking activities and have come down
into modern European parlance. Num
imus perhaps derives from Numa Po
millius, owing to the tradition that this
king initiated the use of currency in
bronze, and so came to mean a coin; it
has no connection with the Greek
nomos meaning custom or law. The
word moneta, 'coin', derives from the
temple of Juno Moneta (from the root
monere, to admonish or remind) dedi-
cated in 344 BC, which was built in
Rome on the site of the older shrine
where the sacred geese of Juno had
been kept. This became the location ad
Monetam, 'the mint', during the war
against Pyrrhus (281-272 BC). Salarium
was originally the money given for salt,
hence allowance or pay; the aeronius,
'place of bronze', was the public treas-
ury.

That Etruria must have had a similar
economic system is evident from the
bronze hoards in its territory and from
the extraordinary occasion recorded by
Dionysius of Halicarnassus which is tra-
ditionally dated to 508 BC. Then Lars
Porsenna, the Etruscan king of Clu-
sium, narrowly escaped assassination
by Mucius Scevola when he oversaw
the payment of stipendium (various
metal 'heaped up') to the Etruscan
army, which was besieging Rome in an
attempt to reassert the Etruscan Tar-
quinius Superbus, Rome's last king,
who had been expelled in 510 BC.
Later accounts are dotted with Etruscan
numismatic evidence. For example,
between 295 and 293 BC, Livy (Book X,
30.3) informs us about 1740 Peruvian
prisoners who were ransomed for 310
asses each. Persia and Arretium (Book
X, 37.4) were fined 5000 asses each,
and the Faliscan settlement fined
100,000 asses of heavy bronze (Book X,
46.5). It was in the context of the
bronze-using economy of central Italy
that Etruscan coins appeared in the
early 3rd century BC on a weight stan-
dard and with marks of value compati-
ble with the contemporary Roman
system. Today, Roman issues are well
understood, but they have a long his-
tory of misinterpretation owing to
Pliny's mistaken dating of the introduc-
tion of the denarius to the 48th year of
Rome (269 BC), with all the misleading
implications this has had for the
chronology of the early coinage of the
region. The curious delay in the
appearance of coinage at Rome has
been ascribed to the economic collapse
that followed the sack of Rome by the
Gauls, traditionally in 390 BC, and the
slow recovery thereafter.

Tarquinia (Etruscan Tarq[n]ina) is
the earliest attributable mint, according
to finds evidence, with the weight stan-
dard based on a bronze as of about 300
scruples (300-350 gms) in about 280-
260 BC. Tarquinia, by repute the oldest
city of the Etruscan Federation, was in
myth founded by Tarchon (the brother of Tyrhenus), who led the Etruscan out of Lydia and was an ally of Aeaces. In Roman history, two kings were said to have been from Tarquinia: Tarquinius Priscus, the son of the Corinthian Demaratus and fifth king of Rome (616-579 BC), who transformed Rome into a modern polis, and Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last king. Early in the third century BC a remarkable series of cast currency bars (aes signatum) and cast coins (aes grave) was issued (Figs 3-4, 6, 7). In this context the Pinie family tomb, known today as the Giglioli tomb and dated to about 300 BC (Fig 5), is particularly informative as it contains a singular painted decoration of great historical interest. It consists of arms, spears, swords, daggers, pinnate Phrygian helmets, and palaicumbata, all hanging from rails alongside shields decorated with a set-square (similar to that on the aes signatum) and a boar (similar to that on the aes grave; Figs 4, 6). After a long and glorious period as a leading member of the League of Twelve cities, Tarquinia finally made peace with Rome. In about 287 BC Roman colonies were founded in her territory, after which Tarquinia fades from history; we only know that as an ally of Rome she furnished sails for Scipio's fleet in 203 BC.

Volterra (Etruscan Velathri), the defensive fortress of northern Etruria, which was under Roman control by the early third century, issued three series of cast bronze broadly on the Roman semi-liberal weight standard in about 217-214 BC. In 218 BC Hannibal crossed the Alps into northern Italy with his army and elephants and by 217 BC had invaded Etruria, causing a military and economic crisis which compelled the Roman Republic to devalue its bronze coinage by 50%. The youthful male janiform head wearing a pointed cap obverse type common to all three issues (Fig 8) is directly influenced by the contemporary Roman quadrigati depicting the janihead heads of the Dioscuri and the bronze axes characterised by the head of Janus. The Volterranean janihead is Culsans, as attested by the celebrated statue from Cortona (Fig 12), the Etruscan equivalent of Janus. The three reverse types feature marks of value, a club (Fig 8), and a dolphin, surrounded by the name of the city of origin; these follow exactly the Roman bronze denominational repertoire of dupondius, as, semis, triens, quadrans, sextans, and uncia.

The remarkable so-called 'augur' series, attributable to Clusium (Etruscan Clysevino-Chamars, modern Chiusi) on find evidence, depicts a facing young male head on the obverse wearing a pointed cap; on the reverse is a sacrificial knife and axe with crescent (Fig 9). They were cast in the standard Roman denominations of as, semis, quinarius, sextans, and uncia on the Roman semi-liberal bronze standard in about 217-214 BC. Clusium, located at the end of the Val di Chiana and on the Via Cassia, was one of the oldest of the 12 cities of the Etruscan Federation. It is first mentioned in literary tradition as one of five Etruscan cities that helped the Latins against Tarquiniius Priscus, but is best remembered as the city of Larsa Porcenna who, in the 6th century, championed the cause of the detached Tarquiniius Superbus who would have captured Rome but for the bravery of Horatius at the bridge. Clusium, at the heart of some of the most peaceful and arable land in central Italy, and a centre of high quality bronze-working and stone carving, was responsible for Etruscan expansion in central and northern Italy and was the probable origin of some of the wheel-series cast bronze issues.

Emanating from a mint or mints in the now dry Chiana Valley are seven accomplished light-liberal and semi-liberal weight standard issues characterised by wheel obverses (Figs 10, 11) reminiscent of Rome's head of Roma/wheel series of the 220s, and Populonia's early silver with archaic cart-wheels of the same period. The issues bear initials rather than the city name of the minting authority. Find sites indicate possible mint attributions to Chiusi, Arezzo, and Cortona which, as allies of Rome along the strategic Via Cassia during the crucial Second Punic War period of 217-214 BC, may have acted in unison in a monetary league employing Roman types of weight standards and denominations (tessis, dupondius, as, semis, triens, quadrans, sextans, and uncia). The reverse types are mostly common classical objects in which no abstruse allusions need be sought: spoked wheel, krater, bipennis, amphora (Fig 10), anchor (Fig 11), archaic cart-wheel, and three crescents.

Although Etruria was never to become seriously involved in the production of coins in a comparable way to its Greek and Latin neighbours, her contribution during the 3rd century BC was noteworthy. It echoes a glorious past with a refined and ostentatiously luxury-loving feudal aristocracy, which had not felt the need for coined money, as neither had the great empires of Phoenicia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt.
Egyptian Bronze Cat
Sacred Eye of Horus Engraved on Chest
Dynasty 22-26

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THE ANCIENT COIN MARKET
A strong end to 2000, but an uncertain 2001

Eric J. McFadden

The New York International Numismatic Convention provided the customary year end climax in December. The fair itself was as active as usual, although dealer stocks were rather low and there was a noticeably smaller number of really important coins than has generally been the case in recent years. The best coins were seen in the auctions.

Triton IV, a joint auction by Classical Numismatic Group, Freeman and Seator, and Numismatica Ars Classica, offered a broad range of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine coins. Among the Greek coins, many of the smaller but attractive pieces sold for strong prices. The bargain of the sale, however, was the Flamininus gold stater, 196 BC, struck in honour of Flamininus' 'liberation' of Greece and the first coin to bear the portrait of a living Roman. Estimated at $75,000, it sold for just $52,500. In last year's Triton sale a better example brought $220,000. Roman gold, in contrast, showed consistently strong prices. A beautiful aureus of Galba, AD 68-69, from the Boscoreale find (buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79) and formerly in the Metropolitan Museum collection, fetched $35,000 against an estimate of $25,000 (Fig 1).

A high grade aureus of Vitellius, AD 69, sold for $37,500 again: an estimate of $25,000. A Titus aureus, struck in AD 75, again from the Boscoreale find and the Metropolitan Museum collection, brought $12,000 against an estimate of $7,500. An aureus of Aelius, AD 136-138, fetched $14,000 against an estimate of $10,000. An exceptional aureus of Carus, AD 282-283, sold for $26,000 against an estimate of $20,000. Roman bronze was also in demand. A wonderful sestertius of Agrippina Senior, struck by her son Caligula, brought $28,000 against an estimate of $30,000. Two Iudex Capti sestertii of Vespasian, AD 69-79, sold for $18,000 and $20,000 against estimates of $10,000 and $20,000. A fine collection of Byzantine gold coins brought consistent competitive prices for the common pieces as well as for the rarities.

Two weeks prior to New York, Hubert Lanz of Munich held the third and final sale of the Benz collection of Roman coins. Although quality was mixed, prices were strong throughout, as the aura of the collection pulled along even the ordinary coins. Prices for bronze medallions were especially strong. The cover coin, a bimetallic (bronze and orichalcum) medallion of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea struck in AD 231, fetched DM50,000 against an estimate of DM30,000 (Fig 2). A handsome medallion of Septimius Severus, struck AD 194-195, sold for DM26,000 against an estimate of DM20,000. Rarities also fared well. A silver denarius of Uranius Antoninus, AD 253-254, just the second known example, sold at the estimate of DM20,000. An antoninianus of Dyantilla, AD 260, brought DM28,000 against an estimate of DM25,000.

A few days later, Alain Baron (Numismatica Genevensis) held his first auction in Geneva. Although ancient coins comprised only a fraction of the sale, some fine Greek gold coins were included. A gold stater of the Aetolian League, 279-168 BC, fetched SF15,500 against an estimate of SF5,000. A gold stater of Panticapeum, c. 345-320 BC, sold for SF60,000 against an estimate of SF25,000 (Fig 3). A gold stater of Lambdacus, c. 350 BC, brought SF33,000 against an estimate of SF15,000. Dr Baron confided to me that he found the auction a great deal of work, but he is to be congratulated for producing a splendid catalogue, and we can hope that this will be the first of many such sales.

The year 2001 looks to be an unpredictable one for the coin market. As the year begins, the downturn in the US economy and the weaker dollar must cast a shadow over the market, which has recently been dominated by strong US demand. However, the very limited supply of quality coins means that there will nevertheless be keen competition for sensibly priced material. Sellers will continue to expect top prices, while buyers - especially those smarting from recent share losses - will be cautious with their funds. Dealers may be caught in the middle, having to pay strong prices for stock yet facing buyers who expect good value for money.
Gornay & Mosch

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NUMISMATIC CALENDAR

AUCTIONS FEATURING ANCIENT COINS

5-6 March. Gorny & Mosch. Auction nos. 107-109. Munich, Germany. Tel: (49) 89 2422 6430; fax: (49) 89 2285 513.

6-7 March. Münzen und Medaillen AG. Basel, Switzerland. Tel: (41) 61 272 75 44.

13-14 March. Künker. Osnabrück, Germany. Tel: (49) 541 96 2020.

14 March. Spink. London. The ‘Viking’ Collection of Dark Age Coins. Tel: (44) 20 7563 4000.

17 - 19 March. Elsen SA. Brussels, Belgium. Including the Louis-Robert collection of bronze coins from the Roman Empire. Tel: (32) 2735 77 78; e-mail: numismatique@elsen.be; web: www.elsen.be.

28 March. Classical Numismatic Group. Mail bid sale no. 57. Tel: (1) 20 7390 9194; fax: (1) 20 7390 9978.


23-25 April. Schulman. Hilversum, Netherlands. E-mail: L.schulman@worldonline.nl.

25-28 April. DR Busso Peus Nachf. Frankfurt. Auction no. 368. Tel: (49) 69 959 6620; fax: (49) 69 55 59 95.


8-9 May. Baldwin’s. London. Auction. Tel: (44) 20 7930 6879; fax: (44) 20 7930 9450.

16 May. Leu Numismatik. Zürich. Greek Coins. Tel: (41) 1 211 47 72.

FAIRS

3-4 March. Numismata 2001. Munich. Tel: (49) 89 26 83 59.

9-11 March. Asia Money Fair. Singapore. Tel: (65) 297 2822.

16-18 March. Bay State Coin Show (Semi-annual). Radisson Hotel, Boston. Contact: Ed Alee; tel: (1) 781 729-9677.

31 March. Spring Coinex. Harrogate. Tel: (44) 20 8398 4290.

24-29 April. Chicago International Coin Fair, Rosemont, Illinois. Tel: (1) 619 299-0400; fax: (1) 619 299-6952.

EXHIBITIONS

ITALY

Aosta
Andrea Pautasso’s Coin Collection. Museo Archeologico (39) 016 53 27 78. Now on permanent display.

Rome
The Numismatic Collection of the King of Italy. Priceless numismatic collection bequeathed to the Italian nation in 1945 by the late King Victor Emanuel III of Savoy. Museo Nazionale Romano Palazzo Massimo Alle Terme (39) 06 520726.

FRANCE

Toulouse
Rich Like Croesus: 1000 Years of Money. Musée St. Raymond (33) 5 61 22 21 85. Until 13 May.

UNITED KINGDOM

Cambridge
Between East & West: Influence & Change in Coinage. Fitzwilliam Museum (44) 1223 333290. 2 April - 17 June.

London
Counterfeit Ancient Coins

COUNTERFEIT ANCIENT COINS

Peter A. Clayton reviews some of the papers presented at a recent international symposium.

In September last year the British Museum and the Royal Numismatic Society held a joint two-day symposium on counterfeit and unofficial currency under the title of Counterfeiting: Ancient and Modern, at the Society of Antiquaries of London. A total of 23 papers were presented, and delegates also had the opportunity of viewing the newly opened exhibition at the British Museum, ‘Illegal Tender’ (see Minerva Sept/Oct 2000, pp. 54-5), during the course of an evening buffet reception at the Museum. Of the papers presented, covering such a wide spectrum, nine were of particular interest regarding ancient coins. Many of the papers were the product of co-operation between several people, and acknowledged as such in the symposium programme I think; however, those papers were usually presented by only one of the names cited, and they will be referred to as below.

After the proceedings had been opened by Professor Harold Mattingly, President of the Royal Numismatic Society, the first paper was given by Michael Cowell on ‘Roman siliquae forgeries in the Hoxne Treasure hoard’. The Hoxne Treasure, found in November 1992, included one of the largest Roman coin hoards found in Britain (see Minerva, May/June 1993, pp. 15-16). Although there was a large content of gold solidi in the hoard, over 14,000 of the coins were siliquae (a silver denarius), and the coin found under Constantius II of the late 4th and early 5th centuries. Amongst this vast number of specimens, examination showed that there were several examples of plated forgeries in the hoard, and around 300 made of good silver. The use of the scanning microscope and other scientific techniques, showed that there were two types of plated forgery. One had been made by sandwiching a copper core between silver foil (Fig. 1). The other method used was the ‘cliqué’, where a genuine coin had been used as a form, i.e. a genuine coin had been hammered into sheets of silver to produce an impression that was then cut out and soldered together. ‘Self-soldering’ was the method used to join both types of forgery. To keep the forgeries being made in register, since they were so thin, was obviously an extremely difficult problem. The form of the ‘sandwich’ was examined to see if a plated sheet had been manufactured from which several pated blanks could then have been cut. Such blanks would then have been struck with forged dies. It was noted that the composition of the silver used in both types of forged coin was similar to that of the official coins, and these, no doubt, were the source that the forger had used for its raw material.

Excavations at the Roman site of Rottweil/Neckar (ancient Arae Flaviae) in southern Germany produced a number of ceramic coin moulds for denarii in which there were still some traces of the metal used. Ulrich Zwicker discussed the cast forgeries of Roman denarii of silver-tin-copper, and copper alloys in the light of the analyses carried out. The sample analysed showed a composition of 62% silver, 30% tin, and 10% copper. Curiously, no forged denarii of this composition were found in the excavations, but a forged denarius with a similar composition came from Mainz (Moguntiacum). It started to melt at about 300°C when it was immersed in liquid sodium hydroxide in order to remove surface sand stuck to the coin.

Most cast ancient forgeries of denarii do not contain such a high percentage of silver. However, more than 100 cast forgeries of denarii from three different sites (Rottweil, Rottenburg/Neckar, and Deutschalben/Donau) analysed by X-ray and EDX analysis showed that at least 20% of them had a tin content greater than, or equal to, 20%, and were therefore potin forgeries of denarii. Many of the coins, with the composition described above, had the appearance of bronze, and even lower percentages of tin-produced coins that looked like copper. Quadrantes and semisses of Augustus were respectively of copper and brass, so these lower tin-content coins may have been intended to pass as the appropriate small change coins, which would have showed the forger some 50% profit.

Jargon Kraut described a project of the Geochemical Laboratory, Basel University, that had, for the last three years, been investigating Roman gold coins from the time of Augustus (27 BC-AD 14) down to the mint reforms carried out under the Byzantine emperor Alexius I in the 11th century. The coins came largely from the collection of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier, Germany, and the methods used included non-destructive element analysis by energy-dispersive and wave-length-dispersive X-ray fluorescence, and measurements of the metal lattice by X-ray diffraction (the latter provides information about the melting process). Amongst this large group three ancient forgeries of 4th century gold coins were discovered. Two had come from a hoard found in 1993. The three coins had been made by two different methods: by silver-plating a silver core, and by fire-gilding. The original coins which they copied were respectively of Constantius II (323-361), Valentinian I (364-375), and Theodosius I (375-395). Comparisons were made between the official issues and the ancient fakes, describing both similarities and differences in the distribution of gold, silver, and copper on the surfaces of the official and the fake coins. The method of production of the ancient forgeries revealed by X-ray analysis, and the special aspects of fire-gilding, where traces of quick silver remained on the surfaces, were examined.

David Sellwood drew attention to plated Parthian drachms. He noted that the Parthian Empire (c. 240 BC-AD 220) had succeeded to the monetary traditions of the Seleucids, themselves the heirs of Alexander the Great. It was surprising that plated Parthian coins had not previously been particularly noticed since they were relatively common, and they were to be expected as plated coins were such a noticeable feature of Hellenistic coinage. The Parthian Empire covered approximately the present areas of Iran and Iraq, and the Parthian issues divided essentially into two silver circulation areas: tetradrachms in Iraq (Mesopotamia), and drachms on the plateau of Iran (Persia). Sellwood only discussed the drachms, the methods of their production, and the core materials involved.

Amongst the most common of first century AD bronze coins found in Britain and Wales are stray finds, hoards, and as small finds in excav-
Counterfeit Ancient Coins

Continuing the theme of copying denarii, Chris Lockyear noted the large numbers of Roman Republican denarii that were produced in pre-Roman Dacia, either by casting or by striking. Curiously, these copies were of very high quality and largely indistinguishable initially from the original coins. This produces questions in terms of the interpretation of these coins, and a degree of dispute as to how many of them are copies – a point not previously subjected to formal investigation. The forensic and archaeological analysis has been extremely useful in attempting to identify what proportion of these Roman (Dacian) coins are copies.

Still in the area of eastern Europe, Evgeni I. Paunov noted that in recent years a great number of ‘strange’ Roman denarii and antoniniani had been found in the Roman province of Moesia Inferior, modern northern Bulgaria. As the coins were widespread amongst private collections and small museums a full assessment had been difficult, but some 100 Imperial denarii and antoniniani had been closely studied. In chronological terms they ranged from coins of Vespasian (AD 69-79) to Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251-153), and of a very high quality that was largely distinguishable from the official issues. This was realised, was because they had been carefully cast from moulds taken from genuine pieces, a point that could be readily confirmed from the degree of wear shown on the original coins from which they were cast. Initial investigations had shown the copies to be of zinc and lead, with fewer examples of copper. Another aspect of copies from Moesia Inferior were those which imitated the local provincial coinage. A large hoard of these small copper denominations, numbering about 600 specimens, found at Sokolari in the Vrasta area, had been studied. They included copies of coins from towns in Moesia Inferior and also Thrace; only a few were cast copper denarii copies, some were also brockages. Their distribution largely at Roman sites along the Danube suggests that one explanation of these phenomena might be the troubled political and economic situation in the area in the middle of the 3rd century AD. Metallurgical analyses of a few selected pieces were of interest for the archaeological and numismatic evidence produced by these copies.

Marion M. Archibald described four die block portraits presented to the British Museum. Three of them were 19th century die-blocks that had been cut with false dies of Archbishop Aelred of Canterbury (870-889) and of Stephen (1135-54). They had been used to strike forgeries with intent to deceive collectors. The fourth die purported to be an official obverse die made in the 1170s for the Tealby coinage (Fig 2) of Henry II (1154-89). This die (Fig 3) had previously been accepted as authentic and it had the look of appropriate antiquity, but its numismatic detail was not the original nor right (Fig 4). The suggestion put forward was that, although the die itself was a genuine tool, probably later in date and probably not of English origin, it was fraudulently recut about a century ago with the intent to create an English die that was, at that time, earlier than any known English die.

Since the symposium was on counterfeiting, ancient and modern, it would not have been complete without a paper on Carl Wilhelm Becker, perhaps the most notorious of the master forgers of earlier years. Ken Peters described how Becker is still held to be one of the most skilful forgers of his time. Becker was born in Speyer, Germany, on 28 June 1772. He was noted as being artistic, incredibly patient, and meticulous – so much so that in the latter instance that some of his forgeries gave themselves away by being better than the originals (Fig 5). Originally a wine merchant, the young Becker was a keen collector of ancient coins and bought an expensive Roman gold coin from a nobleman in Munich. When the piece proved not to be authentic, Becker attempted to return it to the baron, foolish him into buying a ‘Becker’. Becker moved easily in society and was known to many, notably to the poet Goethe. Beginning with copying some Visigothic coins acquired in Spain by Prince Carl von Ysenburg, one of Napoleon’s generals, he soon realised his aptitude in this field. It is said that he would ‘antique’ and age his forgeries by carrying them in a box tied to the back axle of his carriage as he drove. Becker’s output was extensive, and he was the subject of a study by Sir George Hill (report of 1855). When he was finally unmasked, his machinery and dies were confiscated and became part of the Berlin Museum’s numismatic collections. Today, a ‘Becker’ can still command large sums; from time to time they are catalogued as genuine pieces in auction catalogues and, no doubt, there are still some coins that might well yet be recognised as being amongst his oeuvre.

It is hoped that it will be possible for some appropriate record of the symposium to be made available in the future in some form or another.
A MISGUIDED SCHOLAR AND HIS ‘FORGERY CULTURE’

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D., presents an editorial review and commentary on:

The Lie Became Great: The Forgery of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures - Oscar White Muscarella
548 pp., 301 pls. Hardback, $100.

Originally the writer had not intended to review this volume, which contains a fascinating compillation of forgeries of Near Eastern antiquities, the greater majority of them produced and sold from the 1950s to the early 1970s, when expertise in this field was not as developed as it is now. However, a review by Ellen Henrichs, spread out over a surprising five pages in the bi-monthly Archaeology, appeared days following its publication and was swiftly posted on the magazine’s website, sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America. The one object illustrated in the review, a ‘Perianth’ silver head, was accepted as a forgery and taken off display in the 1980s by the museum that had acquired it, yet the caption states that it ‘has now been accepted as a modern forgery’ (no doubt in order to make the review newsworthy). The current cover of Archaeology, designed with rework sales in mind, sensationalizes the subject of forgery in ancient art, which appears in no less than three feature articles within its covers.

Furthermore, an illustrated article in the London Sunday Times on Muscarella’s book also appeared before the book’s publication. Finally, Muscarella briefly, but vitriolicly, attacks Minnig. Thus it is difficult for the writer to ignore, especially since the study of forgery in ancient art has been his specialty for over 30 years and was, in fact, the subject of his doctoral dissertation.

To say that this book is sensationalist would be a greatly understated observation. Muscarella, in his first 22 pages, condemns not only objects, but academics, museum directors and curators, dealers, collectors, and many of his own colleagues. His fury, like buckshot, spares few. Much of what he writes is purely anecdotal, pages of which contain not a single name, with pure gossip often quoted from an unnamed third party. He writes of a ‘clandestine order that includes individuals with the will, determination, and financial and political power to control information, people, and institutions.’

From the very beginning we will be aware that while the forgery culture and the collection culture may in theory be considered to be discrete, they share the same environments and personnel...Its inhabitants include professors, curators, scientists, museum officials and trustees, dealers, smugglers, auction house employees, collectors, and forgers.” He refers to those who acquire antiquities that are not scientifically excavated as ‘mother-earth rapists.’

As for passing judgement on any object without a provenance, ‘I suggest accepting it with the understanding that it suffers from the doubt that any unexcavated artifact merits.’ He thus questions or condemns hundreds of thousands of artifacts that have entered museums and private collections over the past two centuries and more without what he would consider proper documentation.

There are well over 1000 entries catalogued in his book, most of them confined to single-sentence listings, and many without any explanation as to why they should be condemned. It appears to be a random collection of notes that he has taken over many years. In hundreds of instances he does not actually condemn the object — either an object is listed without comment or he questions its authenticity without actually condemning it. Of the more than 300 objects illustrated, most were then modern forgeries or copies which are easily determined by anyone knowledgeable in this field. Very few would still be accepted today as authentic by scholars or curators and, where owned by museums, nearly all have been removed from public exhibition many years ago. It must be emphasized that nearly all of the objects listed were produced and sold between the 1950s and early 1970s, when most museums in Europe and the United States were forming or expanding their Near Eastern collections in this area, and the few scholars working in the field either lacked sufficient expertise to identify a forgery, or were unwilling or unable to share their knowledge.

Since Muscarella lists many hundreds of pieces as forgeries or as suspicious without any explanation, one wonders how many pieces he has actually personally examined rather than merely used photographs or catalogue illustrations. Often his entries are accompanied by comments such as: ‘Without examination one cannot automatically condemn them.’ Or, ‘...photographs do not always allow for a determined conclusion that they are genuine or forgeries.’ Then why list them at all? A typical comment (the only one) on a bronze rhodon in an American museum pointslessly reads: ‘As stupid as they are.’ On another, ‘...with stupid designs on the vessel walls...’ On remarking about the designs on an amorphous all a horror.’ On an ‘Onyx’ plaque sold at auction: ‘...a horrible copy.’ For a bronze identified as an Assyrian priest: ‘A non-descript lump of a statuette.’ On a silver beaker offered at auction: ‘...one-horned animals not from this planet.’ Perhaps his most elegant condemnation was aimed at a Luristan bronze jar: ‘To post an imaginary ancient workshop behind this stay object sitting on a shelf in Tokyo is to undermine the reality of archaeological research.’

To be fair, there are excellent, though brief, presentations of some of the problems still involved in distinguishing between forgeries and authentic objects, such as the gold and silver vessels from Marlik in Iran and of the Urartian bronzes from the Lake Van area, but unfortunately insufficient illustrations of the genuine objects for comparative purposes prevent the reader from drawing any definite conclusions. In sharp comparison to some of Muscarella’s much earlier work, this book is completely lacking in serious scholarship except for some short notes for a very small number of entries.

In 1977 Dr Muscarella published ‘Unexcavated Objects and Ancient Near Eastern Art’ as a paper in Mountains and Lowlands, which contained a long list of Near Eastern objects that he
either condemned as forgeries or that he suspected to be so. Two years later he published a lengthy addenda, at which time he retracted several of his observations, many of which were made solely on the basis of photographs. The following year he wrote another article 'Excavated and Unexcavated Achaemenian Art.' In 1984 he contributed 'On Publishing Unexcavated Artifacts' to the Journal of Field Archaeology. 'Bazaar Archaeology,' a short article published in 1995, was apparently his most recent outburst at museum curators, academics, dealers, and collectors.

The book makes it perfectly clear that Muscarella is not the great savior of forgery detection that he would like the world to respect him as. Paradoxically, although he admits that he has 'no expert knowledge' in the field of cylinder seals, he proceeds to list 15 examples from just one collection that 'are most probably forgeries, at least suspicious.' The same hypocrisy occurs in relation to other fields. In the field of Sasanian art he says that he is a 'non-specialist' and has 'no secure knowledge of the art and artifacts of that period', but he does not hesitate to illustrate ten pieces, supplying no rationale whatsoever as to why he condemns any of them. He states that he has no opinion about the age of the silver bust of a Sasanian king in the Metropolitan - but then blithely cites criticisms made about it by four unnamed scholars. Is this science or mere tabloid-style gossip?

In the case of Sialk B style painted pottery vessels with animal headed protomes from Iran he writes: 'I confess that I have problems determining authenticity in these cases.' This reviewer modestly notes that Muscarella should refer to a paper that the reviewer wrote specifically on the subject of Sialk B style forgeries for Dr Edith Ponàda at Columbia University as a graduate student in 1962. In mentioning briefly the very obviously forged dickle stone figures supposedly from Anatolia that flooded the market in the 1970s and 80s Muscarella admits that they are unique and I have no idea whether they are ancient or modern, or from which culture they may have derived.' Yet this is the very type of object which he continually condemns - unexcavated objects with no excavated comparrand.

Muscarella proceeds to condemn several pieces that were published in the Norbert Schimmel catalogue (which he edited) as forgeries. He also acknowledges in several instances that pieces that he had previously condemned in print are in reality genuine. Sometimes he admits that he cannot tell which of two pieces is ancient and which is genuine. For example in reference to a Luristan bronze quiver in Berlin he remarks that '...it too may be a forgery or perhaps the (ancient) model for others with this decoration... Again, confusion about an Iranian bronze bowl in the Metropolitan Museum about which he had previously 'expressed suspicion.' Now, 'While seeming to be "authentic" it might not be ancient; again, caution and abeyance are compelled - is there an original example?' More doubt is raised about 'A dozen bronze statuettes in the Adam collection [that] do not compel us to cite them as examples of ancient Art.' - How could we know if these are ancient? Muscarella himself published a 'Luristan' openwork bronze rattle bell as genuine in his 1988 Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, yet he now admits he has been wrong.

Muscarella also steps completely out of his field of knowledge when he attacks the renowned Cycladic harpist in the Metropolitan Museum 'which to some scholars in the non-museum world is not demonstrated to be ancient and is considered to be modern production...it is surely not known to be ancient.' Here he appears to rely upon Lord Renfrew's article in the American Journal of Archaeology (1969, 73, 1, 14), and a just published article by a specialist in musical instruments not Cycladic ones. Yet it is accepted without question by the leading specialists in this field. Again, far away from his area of expertise, he asserts with his usual sensationalist approach that 'probably 95% (perhaps more?') of the Greek and other classical vases in American museums were plundered - some as recently as last week.

It is not often that a scholar reveals his personal likes and dislikes in what should be a serious publication. In this case, Dr Muscarella has excelled at it by interjecting countless comments about other scholars and especially museum curators (perhaps because he was unable to achieve this position in his own museum; after successfully suing the museum to retain his job, he was made a 'research associate'). He notes that another author (not involved in this field) wrote that the eminent British Museum curator of Egyptian antiquities E. A. Wallis-Budge ' lied, stole, bribed, smuggled, deceived' in order to acquire antiquities. Muscarella writes This essay could be reprinted verbatim with a 1999 date, merely substituting for Budge's name the long list of present-day curators from British, European and American museums.

Further gems of wisdom from Muscarella relating to the culture of forgery detection and concealment amongst museum collections include the following: 'Some curators have also refused to remove forgeries from exhibitions because if they do so, they have very little on view to justify administration support for their department - or their jobs, or both.' Then, 'Many curators of alleged ancient art are less educated than scholars and know and care little about scholarship, let alone archeology.' Finally, 'Curators are hired, praised, and otherwise rewarded for their role in plundering, for their purchase and exhibition of the plunderers' products, the antiquities/art. They are the Producers of the Great Game of Plundering.'

He depicts most of his venom against such eminent scholars as Roman Ghishman and Arthur Upham Pope, who, it appears, had also been involved in the sale of antiquities to museums. He writes about Ghishmans' privileging the forgery over the genuine, indicating that: 'It is an object was a result "des trouvailles fortuites", he states that this was his transparent fig-leaf euphemism for forgery manufacture, or plundering. He calls Pope a 'successful charlatan.' He even (a) demeans such distinguished connoisseurs as John Boardman and Dr Dietrich von Bothmer. Muscarella sums up his thoughts very succinctly with the hugely inappropriate analogy 'Collecting antiques is to archaeology as rape is to love.' He states that 'lust to appropriate antiques is lust for power to annihilate the immortality of a culture.' Muscarella is completely consumed by his hatred of dealers and collectors; for him there is no middle road. And yet he made his name and early reputation by editing and writing catalogues for such well-known collectors as John Boardman and Elie Borowski (who was also a prominent dealer).

In reference to museum directors he describes how easily they can be conned without one having to resort to skilful acting. He described the former director of his own museum as a 'cultural manipulator'. Muscarella disposes neatly of journalists who review exhibitions which contain unprovenanced objects by stating that such individuals, and newspapers like The New York Times, 'pimp for the plunderers.' Muscarella has also apparently had problems with fellow scholars, especially in getting his articles accepted for publication, and refers to journals' copy assessment systems as 'in many cases the ignorant reviewing the ignorant...'

His colleagues are chided thusly: 'The deficiencies of pre-WW II scholarship are to some extent understandable, but they surely do not excuse the discipline's continuous non-intellectual behavior since the 1960's.'

In 1966 André Parrot published an 'Achaemenian' head acquired by the Louvre, with support from another
noted scholar, Pierre Amiet. Many years later it was acknowledged to be a forgery. Muscarella interprets this case as 'a canonical example of a Museum Ritual analysis for determining authorial and chronological knowledge: a symbiosis of scholarly cooperation with both the forger's incompetence and the bazaar's skill forges ancient history.' He was not content just to say that when the head was acquired the state of knowledge in this field was very limited and that an honest mistake might have been made.

On an ivory statuette in the Cincinnati Art Museum, first published by Professor Edith Porada in 1965, Muscarella states that 'it is one of many objects placed by modern scholars in Iran by this not quite Assyrian in style, and scholars will do anything to find a decent, even if provincial, lodging for a homeless [object], not quite what is expected object.' Again, no discussion of why he questions its authenticity. In other words, if it doesn't fit into a great narrative, eliminate it! For an apparently genuine helmet of Urartian form, but with what appears to be recently added Assyrian-style engravings, it is not enough to condemn the additions; Muscarella has to rant that '...it is a transparent, modern creation, transplanted into an antiquity by the methodology of bazaar archaeology.'

Muscarella hides behind meaningless words and terms which he thinks possess intellectual gravitas; in a remarkable passage on a Mesopotamian gold vessel (not illustrated and lacking any discussion of its style), which he does not claim to be a forgery: 'Although I accept the fact here that I am physically distant from the object and cannot reach a firm decision regarding antiquity - the photographs do not satisfy and autopsy is required - the defense of its authenticity chases away a déjà vu experience for me: here again was the deus ex machina Museum Ritual recited without self-consciousness...'

It should be revealed here that Muscarella also condemns (or usually just questions) a number of objects published by this reviewer between 1960 and 1965, when he first became involved in Near Eastern art. For example, Muscarella calls a piece which the reviewer published in 1962: 'A stone lump claimed without shame to be a "Late Sumerian" seated female figure, Euphrates Region.' This is especially amusing, for Muscarella had vetted several of the objects in question, because he was a constant visitor to the writer's office. (During this period he was suing his employer, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, who had attempted to fire him and he feared that his phone was being tapped. He then asked the writer several times if he could use his office phone.) He also never mentioned to the reviewer that he questioned the authenticity of any of the published pieces until he did so in print many years later. Muscarella does acknowledge that the writer (without crediting him by name) rightly identified a stone papyrus supposedly from North Syria as a forgery in 1962. In gratitude for Muscarella's continued assistance, the writer donated 23 Iranian bronze weapons to the Metropolitan Museum in 1965 (which Muscarella selected and eventually published in 1988 in his Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

In 1989 the writer published a bronze female statuette originally in the Ternbach collection. Muscarella notes that it was 'first attributed to north east Iran' when originally published in 1981, but when it 'resurfaced' in 1989 it was 'baptized "Syro-Sumerian" - a nice mix.' Apparently he is ignorant of the presence of Sumerian-style bronzes in neighboring Syria; the two are separated only by the Euphrates River. In fact, the writer did not 'baptize' it - it was already catalogued as Syro-Sumerian when he acquired it.

Unfortunately Muscarella does not often appear to recognize the difference between objects purposely made to deceive - forgeries - and objects made specifically for the tourist market as innocent reproductions and which often end up in collections and even museums as authentic. He acknowledges reluctantly, for example, in a footnote that Achaemenian-style bracelets were manufactured in Iran and were meant to be sold as copies. He also does not often see the difference in objects made in the style of another period purely for decorative purposes such as a set of Sasanian style reliefs in the Brooklyn Museum which he had previously condemned as forgeries, but now admitd were made as house decorations in 19th century Persia.

He discusses sensitivity to style, but in reading his 'discussions' of objects, it appears that Muscarella is not that sensitive, but is aware usually only of the most obvious errors. He goes on to admit 'One need not be an art historian - most scholars of ancient cultures, including archaeologists such as the present writer, are not - to study these features...' and most certainly, an art historian he is not.

The fact that some 40% of the objects tested in the past by thermoluminescence at Oxford turned out to be forgeries is twisted by him. Did Muscarella not know how many were sent there because doubt had already been placed upon them? And how many were Chinese pottery figurines and animals, often made solely for sale as decorative objects?

Muscarella states that the problem of forgeries remains a minor issue for the British Museum and archaeologists - but where has he been hiding his head these past 30 years? He bemoans the fact that there were only four Near Eastern objects in the British Museum exhibition of forgeries in 1990 and claims that others were withheld for 'political/social reasons.' The writer's ground-breaking work on 'The Aesthetics of the Forger' (first presented as a paper at the Archaeological Institute of America meeting in 1969 and later revised and published in Minerva, May/June 1992, pp. 10-15) is listed as one of several of the 'loose, sometimes superficially sophisticated, but also parti pris articles written by and for dealers and collectors, or their supporters.'

False proveniences are rightfully condemned by Muscarella, but again he attacks with fervour: 'The forgery of proveniences is another major component of bazaar archaeological methodology and a major activity of the forgery culture. In fact, it pervades archaeological and art historical literature and it still remains unrecognized and not understood in the discipline.' This is complete nonsense, any self-respecting curator or collector accepts a provenance with a grain of salt, unless it can be demonstrated without question. He writes repeatedly that any unexcavated object, thus without proper provenance, 'is subject to the question why is it genuine...The more usual question is, why is it a forgery?' It is actually secondary.

Muscarella is quite bothered by the word 'antiquity' because '...the language we employ should reflect the historical reality that dealers and auction houses sell antiquities, museums and collectors purchase antiquities, and that archaeologists excavate artifacts.' Since an artifact is anything made by human work or skill regardless of its age and since an antiquity reflects the quality of being ancient, perhaps he would rather introduce a new term such as 'ancient artifact.'

Dr Muscarella, who appears to be legally secure in his employment, libels not only his past benefactors, including several dealers and collectors, but also his own museum, his colleagues, and all those in academia who oppose his views. Sadly, what could have been a useful handbook, a summation of a scholar's career and experience, will probably now be relegated, for the most part, to reading lists for those concerned with obsessive behaviour. While the author appears to be so concerned with what he calls "his archaeology", he has created a discipline of his very own that could only be called bizarre.
Who's Who at Deir el-Medina: a Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community
Benedict G. Davies

The village of the workmen who built the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings was discovered last century at Deir el-Medina on the west bank of the Nile opposite Thebes (modern Luxor). However, it was not until the 1920s that full-scale archaeological work was undertaken by the French Institute of Archaeology, which still continues. The large amount of documentary material recorded from this site in the form of tomb inscriptions, stelae, statues, papyri, and especially ostraca allow for the only detailed glimpse of the private lives of ordinary individuals and enable families to be identified and followed in some cases for nearly two centuries. Unfortunately, genealogical information is more abundant at the beginning of the Ramesside Period as the inhabitants had the fortunate tendency to portray their relatives and friends along with their wives and children in their tombs. Later evidence comes mainly from ostraca, papyri, and graffiti which, with one important exception, gives less genealogical information. Studies on the village and its inhabitants were first carried out by the late Professor Jaroslav Cerny of Prague and Oxford, and there have been subsequent studies on various aspects of village life. Benedict Davies has now produced a more detailed guide to the villagers themselves. At first sight, it may prove daunting to the non-specialist, especially as some of the names in the village are very common such as Amenemhet (30 examples), Huy (24 examples), and Hunero (13 examples). However, each individual is carefully numbered to prevent confusion and 47 family trees are provided at the back of the volume to complement the text. This number alone indicates the wealth of documentary information that Deir el-Medina can provide. There is a major problem which always comes with abundant documentation. The more we know, the more we realise how little we know. Although we are probably dealing with no more than 500 individuals at any one time, we still do not have the total picture because Egyptian terms for relationships can be maddeningly vague. Thus the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii) has a large number of 'sons', some of whom may well be sons-in-law or grandchildren. Davies is judicious in trying to manoeuvre his way through the genealogical pitfalls, but inevitably many of his conclusions remain tentative.

Davies has decided to classify the families by profession since even in a small village the inhabitants were distinguished by their work and speciality. Thus the chapters are given over first to the families of the foremen (pp. 1-61), the deputies who were part of the previous study (pp. 62-75), and the scribes (pp. 76-148) who comprised the chief authorities of the village. Then follow the draftsmen (pp. 149-175), the sculptors (pp. 176-278), the guardians (pp. 190-202), and, finally, the ordinary workmen (pp. 203-278). As is immediately apparent, more information survives on the top families, but this is not as surprising as they were in the position to leave more documentary evidence. However, the divisions in the village are often more apparent than real. Intermarriage was frequent. The younger sons of top families could become ordinary workmen, while ordinary workmen could, and did, rise to the top positions.

This volume is not just a mere history of names and relationships but, where possible, an account of each individual's life and career. It is extremely rare in the ancient world to have personal and professional information on people relatively lower down on the social scale. Perhaps the most interesting is Hesyunefeb, a servant (or more likely slave) born in the house of his master the foreman Neferehotep. Davies notes that he pointed to the significance of his name meaning 'Praised one of his master', which was certainly given to him at birth, or perhaps later when Neferehotep began to take an interest in the boy. Neferehotep was childless, and there are other examples where a childless master fathered a son by a slave girl who was later adopted as an heir. This appears not to be the case here as Hesyunefeb's name implies that he was not Neferehotep's natural son. Nevertheless, Neferehotep favoured him, made him a workman, and found him a wife in the community. Despite Neferehotep's violent death, and Hesyunefeb's divorce, the ex-slave remained a member of the community, actually becoming a deputy foreman at one point and is last heard of in the reign of Ramesses III.

There are many other biographical details and relationships which Davies has uncovered from the mass of surviving records. Deir el-Medina was a village, probably like most ancient Egyptian villages, where most of the families were interrelated and everybody knew everybody else's business. Now we know their business too, even down to who was committing adultery with whom. Davies's study will provide the backbone to studies on the community as the knowledge of the families and the offices which some held in the village helps to fix much of the chronology of the place. However, this study will not remain the last word. New documentation is being found and old discoveries re-evaluated. The most important document from the later phase of the community is the census in the reign of Ramesses IX which names the huts - pyramids, huts of craftsmen, huts of her parents, and children, now preserved in Turin. Davies was only able to use a partial transcription by Cerny but, hopefully, soon the full document will be available. The end of the Deir el-Medina prosopographical saga is not yet in sight.

Dr M. L. Biebricher formerly Department of Egyptian Antiquities The British Museum

After the Pyramids: the Valley of the Kings and Beyond
Aidan Dodson

In the popular mind royal burials in Egypt mean two things - pyramids, and the Valley of the Kings. These are, however, only part of the story, and Dr Dodson here puts the balance right. He looks at the pyramids of the Middle Kingdom, poor reflections of their great antecedents of the Old Kingdom, then takes a broad view of the tombs in the Royal Valley at Thebes, making some extremely useful comparisons regarding their plans and decoration, and also outlining some of the problems that still beset us regarding the relationships of a number of these monarchs. Neither does he forget the breakthrough interlude of the royal tomb at Amarna, how it was used and who its occupants were.

The strength of this book lies in its coverage of the latter, post Royal Valley, burials in the Delta at Tanis. Professor Pierre Montet's amazing discoveries were overshadowed by the outbreak of the Second World War - few realise even now that it was at Tanis that Montet found the only presently known intact tomb and burial of an Egyptian pharaoh (Tutankhamun's tomb was robbed twice in antiquity; only the burial was intact).

Drawing on Montet's work, and his own published research, Dr Dodson presents a concise account of these later tombs, supplemented with some interesting illustrations of the funerary finds. Again, the relationship of these
Late Period pharaohs is often fraught with problems and Dodson gives a succinct overview of the situation and present interpretations. *After the Pyramids* is a very useful, as well as readable, book to have to hand to fill out the picture of the funerary monuments of the kings of Egypt in the almost 'Cinderella-like' Late Period, so often overshadowed by its more high-profile predecessors.

Peter A. Clayton

**Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art**

John Boardman


In a recent lecture, Sir John Boardman described the Achaemenid capital of Persepolis in Iran as a worldbeater, and in his latest book he goes a long way towards demonstrating why Persepolis is one of the most interesting and impressive sites in the ancient world. But *Persia and the West* does much more than this, and the book fully lives up to its subtitle which tells us that it is 'an archaeological investigation of the genesis of Achaemenid art'.

The Achaemenid period is usually reckoned to start in 550 BC, when Cyrus the Great established himself as undisputed king of the Medes and the Persians. After consolidating his hold over the Iranian plateau, and parts of Central Asia, Cyrus captured Babylon in 539 BC. The former Neo-Babylonian empire now fell into his hands, so that Persian control extended as far as the Mediterranean Sea. For the next 200 years, until it was overthrown by Alexander the Great, the empire was administered by a succession of Persian kings, including the well-known figures of Darius I and Xerxes. In keeping with their state as master of the Ancient Near East, they built a series of splendid capitals at sites such as Pasargadae, Persepolis, Susa, and Hamadan, and encouraged the development of an appropriately grand style of art and architecture.

It is generally recognised that Achaemenid art was eclectic, in that inspiration was drawn from many neighbouring and more distant regions, including Assyria, Babylonia, Urartu, Scythia, Egypt, Elam, and Greece. The involvement of foreign workmen is attested in the foundation inscription for Darius' palace at Susa and in cuneiform tablets found at Persepolis. There was also, of course, a substantial Jewish contribution, and these different influences were blended together to produce an art style that ultimately was distinctively Achaemenid Persian.

As befits his classical background, John Boardman is particularly interested in the Greek contribution, and he shows clearly the Greek influence on early Achaemenid stoneworking techniques and statuary, and in the minor arts such as jewellery and seals. Indeed, the Anatolian seals of this date are often known as Graeco-Persian. To some extent the author has addressed these questions before, in his Greeks Overseas (London, 1980) and *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (London 1994), but he has not previously attempted such an in-depth analysis of Achaemenid art and architecture. Boardman's mastery of detail is breathtaking, as evidenced by the wealth of information, much of it from obscure sources, contained in footnotes, which are themselves a very good read. But this book is much more than a review of existing information, and there are some bold suggestions. One might question here Boardman's idea that a splendid bronze stand in the form of three striding lions, found in the Treasury at Persepolis, is of Assyrian date and workmanship. More discussion about the contribution of non-Greek cultures to Persian art would be welcome, as Boardman clearly has so much to offer on these subjects, but as the foremost classical scholar of his generation he is entitled to a certain amount of indulgence.

With the writing of this book Sir John Boardman has done a great service to all those interested in Achaemenid art and archaeology. It would be wonderful if he could now be persuaded to flip the coin and look at the oriental contribution to Greek art. With his interests in east and west, he is eminently well qualified to do so.

*Dr John Curtis*

*Department of the Ancient Near East, The British Museum*

**Literacy and the Politics of Writing**

Albertine Gaur


This is a book that will easily be overlooked since its title does not have an immediate appeal or catch the reader's eye to indicate fully its content. Dr Gaur, formerly Deputy Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts in the British Library, has a wide knowledge of scripts and languages and she has brought this to bear in an intriguing survey of writing through history. Her declared aims are to examine what is the primary purpose of writing - and this takes us back to the earliest forms in the ancient world. Then there is the whole question of literacy - the concept and also the question, does literacy depend on writing? The present world has many preconceived ideas on these topics, and here we will be facing much confrontation of these based on modern finds and interpretations, the discovery and decipherment of hitherto unknown scripts. Perhaps too cocooned in our 'ivory towers' in the world today we do not realise that so many scripts that evolved over centuries served civilizations quite different from our own, highly sophisticated and yet now extinct. The point is, as in archaeology, we can learn from the past, and it is through a proper examination of the scripts of this past, and an appreciation of it in its social context (as well as its textual content) that we can understand more of today's world.

Dr Gaur has written a book that draws heavily on the ancient world, illustrating many facets of its scripts and interpreting their use in the societies that they served in both the Old World and the New. The range is wide and the thoughts expressed make this an extremely interesting, readable, and certainly enlightening book.

*Peter A. Clayton*

**Ancient British Hill Figures**

Rodney Castleden


The giant hill figures, white horses, and other images cut into the chalk hills of England, largely falling on and to the south-east of the Jurassic limestone and chalk escarpment, have intrigued both antiquaries and some of the more lunatic fringe for the last three centuries. They all raise questions of their date, religious, or other significance, and interpretation. Some are extremely well-known - the White Horse of Uffington, the Cerne Abbas Giant, the Long Man of Wilmington, etc. - and others have disappeared.

Rodney Castleden first assesses the old figures (and also has a useful list of the more recent, post-1750, ones), then describes twelve of the figures, giving their background history (where known) and, not least, a location guide for each one. It is a book that can be used 'on the ground' when visiting the figures, and also read with interest by the 'armchair scholar'.

*Peter A. Clayton*

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Fragment of a doublesided limestone
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Between confronting sirens, a bearded elder exhorts a bearded youth; beneath the handle, a lion and a bird. On the shoulder, a bud frieze. Ca. 530-520 BC. H. 21 cm. (8 1/4 in.)


royal-athena galleries

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MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS

UNITED KINGDOM

BIRMINGHAM

FIRE AND FORM. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery traces 7000 years of ceramic art bringing together pieces from around the world and across the centuries. Many items on show are rarely seen and only by a special exhibition programme are they able to be exhibited. The wide range of pieces on show include an Egyptian jar from 3500 BC, a Cypriot chalice from 2600 BC, and a Chinese fish tank made for Emperor I ajing. 1552-1566. BIRMINGHAM MUSEUM & ART GALLERY (0121) 303 28 39. Until 18 March.

CAMBRIDGE

JAPANESE PREHISTORY. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (01223) 33 1516. (anth.cam.ac.uk) New permanent installation.

GLASGOW


LONDON

CLEOPATRA OF EGYPT: FROM HISTORY TO MYTH. A major exhibition, which originated in Rome, featuring 350 objects from 14 countries including ancient portraits of Cleopatra, Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, sculptures, gems, coins, and other antiquities. BRITISH MUSEUM (020) 7323 8525. (www.british-museum.ac.uk) 12 April - 26 August then to Chicago. Catalogue. (See pp. 20-22 and 23-26).


FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO MARK ANTONY: IMAGES OF POWER IN ANCIENT COINS. BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 73631555. (www.british-museum.ac.uk) Until 6 May.

OPENING OF THE KOREA FOUNDATION GALLERY. This permanent new gallery presents an overview of Korean art and archaeology from the Neolithic period to the present day, including objects from the National Museum of Korea and museums across the UK. Highlights include a collection of scholar's studio or samrangbang designed and built by a renowned Korean architect, a colossal Buddhist sculpture never seen before outside Korea, and royal ritual manu-


OXFORD

ABOUT TIME. This exhibition focuses on the curators' role and conservation methods, exploring the way objects change with time and our investigations and attempts to fight these changes. ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OF ART & ARCHAEOLOGY (044) 8666 278 00. Until 1 April.

UNITED STATES

ATLANTA, Georgia


MYSTERIES OF THE MUMMIES: THE ART AND ARCHAELOGY OF DEATH IN ANCIENT EGYPT. An exhibition of coffins, mummmies, canopic jars, relics, and jewelry, and other objects from the museum's recently acquired Canadian collection. MICHAEL C. CARLOS MUSEUM, Emory University (1) 404 727 4282 (www.emory.edu/carlos). April until October.

THE COLLECTOR'S EYE: MASTERPIECES OF EGYPTIAN ART FROM THE THALASSIC COLLECTION. An impressive private collection of Egyptian treasures from the Predynastic through Roman periods, including royal and private portraits, sculptures, and funerary and cult objects, shown publicly for the first time. MICHAEL C. CARLOS MUSEUM, Emory University (1) 404 727 4282. (www.emory.edu/ca rlos). 21 April - 6 January 2002. (See article in the next issue).

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama


BOSTON, Massachusetts


THE ART OF AFRICA, OCEANIA, AND THE ANCIENT AMERICAS. A selection of new galleries opened in December 1997 including an exceptional collection of African/ Oceanic Chinese, stone sculptures, and Ainu textiles, as well as an unusual group of terracotta figures made by the Aztec Dynasty, an andesite, some as early as the first millennium BC. THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.
Calendar


NEW BYZANTINE GALLERIES. The Mary and Michael Jaharis Byzantine Galleries opened 14 November in a dramatically expanded space. It includes some of the earliest images developed by the Christian church, and provincial Roman and barbarian jewelry from the borders of the Byzantine empire. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500. (See article in forthcoming MUS.)

NEW GREEK & ROMAN GALLERIES, P3 2. The grand vaulted gallery together with six flanking galleries are newly reopen for the museum's extraordinary collection of Greek art from the 6th to 4th centuries BC. 1200 objects are on display, including a good number of pieces long in short works of art, and numerous other embodiments. Phase I, opened previously, is devoted to early Greek art from the Cycladic through Archaic periods.

NEW ROMAN MUSEUM OF ART. (1) 212 879-5500. (See Minerva, July/Aug 1999, pp. 6-13.)


SMALL BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM XI'AN. CHINESE INSTITUTE GALLERY (1) 212 744-8818. Until 17 June.

TOLEDO, Ohio. ETERNAL EGYPT: MASTERWORKS OF ANCIENT ART FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM. TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART. (1) 419 255 8000. (www.toledomuseum.org.) 1 March - 27 May (then to Memphis) (See Exhibition focus box to right.)

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 other three cases of faience vessels, amulets, inlays, and jewellery. FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. (1) 202 357 4880. (www.si.edu/asia.) An ongoing exhibition.


FROM KILN AND KITCHEN TO GALLERY: THE STORY OF A SİTY'S STORAGE JARS. This exhibition of 24 ceramic coffee jars created between 771 BC and the 18th century chronicles in detail their manufacture and their transformation from utilitarian objects into works of art. FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION (202) 357-4880. (www.si.edu/asia.) Until 10 March 2002.

THE HAUGE GIFT OF ASIAN CERAMICS. Some 180 earthenware vessels from ancient Iran, Islamic Iran, and Iraq, and Khmer stoneware vessels from the Khmer empire and later periods in Cambodia, donated to the museum by the Hauge family. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN (1) 202 357-2700. Until 22 April.

THE NUBIAN ES-SAID COLLECTION. Islamic inlaid silver and gold objects, including 27 vessels, incense burners, and candlesticks from the finest private collection of its type. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN (1) 202 357-2700. Closed 17 September 2000.

RECORDING PERSEPOLIS, 1931-1935. Photographs, watercolours, sketchbooks, etc., recorded by Ernst E. Herzfeld and others who excavated at the Achaemenid capital, which flourished c. 550-330 BC. ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION (202) 357-2700. (www.si.edu/asia.) Until 6 May.

SACKLER GALLERY: CONTINUING EXHIBITIONS: METALWORK AND CERAMICS FROM ANCIENT IRAQ; SCULPTURE OF SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA; LUXURY ARTS OF THE SILK ROUTE EMPIRES; THE ARTS OF CHINA; ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION (1) 202 357-2700. (www.si.edu/asia.)

AUSTRALIA MELBOURNE. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS. NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA (61) 3 9208 0220. March 3 - June.

AUSTRIA VIENNA. 7000 YEARS OF PERAST ART: MASTERPIECES FROM THE PRIVAT Collection of the MUSEUM TEBERAN, KUNSTHIST ORISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA. Until 25 March. Catalogue. (See pp. 25-31.)


EMERSON, Alberta. SYRIA: CRADLE OF CULTURE. This major travelling exhibition features about 400 antiquities from the national museums in Damascus and Aleppo, the Palmyra Museum and regional museums at Deir ez-Zor, Idlib and Suweida, THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM OF ALBERTA (403) 427-1730. Until 13 May (then to San Jose). Catalogue. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 2000, pp. 8-17. Reprints are available from Minerva at $5.)

HULL, Quebec. FULL CIRCLE: FIRST CONTACT. Artifacts and multimedia presentations about the first contacts between the native Skraelings and the Viking settlers. THE CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION (1) 819 776-7000. (www.civilization.ca.) 5 April - 3 September.

EXHIBITION FOCUS

ETERNAL EGYPT: MASTERWORKS OF ANCIENT ART FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM A travelling exhibition opening at the Toledo Museum of Art on 1 March

Gold pectoral plaque: Amenemhat IV before Atum. 12th Dynasty, c. 1808-1799 BC.

The Toledo Museum of Art is the first venue to present this major exhibition of 140 works of Egyptian art from the most famous collection outside Egypt. Many of the works, which include colossal stone statuary, wooden sculptures, jewellery, and painted papyri, have never before been presented outside Great Britain. The exhibition covers the entire spectrum of Egyptian art from the 1st Dynasty through to the Roman occupation and will travel for more than three years to seven other venues in the United States: Memphis, Brooklyn, Kansas City, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Chicago, and Baltimore.

A full colour catalogue will be available.

Further information: (1) 419 255 8000. Web: Toledo,ohio.edu. See the feature article on this exhibition in the next issue of Minerva.

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Further information: (1) 419 255 8000. Web: Toledo,ohio.edu. See the feature article on this exhibition in the next issue of Minerva.
ANCIENT ITALY, ECOLE NATIONALE SUPERIEURE DES BEAUX-ARTS (33) 1 53 68 16 90. Until 1 January 2002.

THE ANDALUSIANS: FROM DAMASCUS TO CORDOBA. An eye-opening treasure of Muslim Andalusia under the Umayyad emirs and the Caliphate of Cordoba. INSTITUT DU MONDE ARABE (33) 1 4051 3838. Until 15 April.

A VASE FOR MEASURING TIME. A richly decorated Roman solar clock to be recently acquired by the vendor in a sale in southern France. MUSEE DU LOUVRE (33) 1 40 20 51. Until 14 May.

IRON AND FIRE: FORGES AND BLACKSMITHS FROM THE YEAR 1000 TO THE YEAR 2000. MUSEE NATIONAL DES ARTS ET TRADITIONS POPULAIRES (33) 1 44 17 60. Until 4 June.


THE STEPPES OF ASIA: FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO GENESIS KHAN. The first exhibition in the newly renovated national museum of Atlatic art. MUSEE NATIONAL DES ARTS ASIATIQUES QUIMST (33) 1 47 23 61 65. Until 18 April.

A THOUSAND YEARS OF EUROPEAN FOLK HEROES. The folk heroes of the divergent forces of chivalry and carnival that evolved after about AD 1000, having descended from the the ancient demi-gods and Judeo-Christian martyrs, are presented in this exhibition. MUSEE NATIONAL DES ARTS ET TRADITIONS POPULAIRES (33) 1 4417 6000. Until 15 June.

GERMANY

BERLIN: CHRONOS AND TEMPOS: TIME IN ANTIQUITY, ANTENNSAMMLUNG, PERGMANNMUSEUM, (49) 30 2090 5555. Until 31 January.

INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA: FROM MYTH TO MODERN TIMES. A long-term special exhibition. MUSEUM FUT VOLKSKUNDE (49) 30 810 1231. Until 30 November 2005.


REOPENING OF THE MUSEUM FOR EAST ASIAN ART. (49) 30 8301 381 Reopened at Lonnstrasse 8 in October 2000.

REOPENING OF THE MUSEUM FOR INDIAN ART. (49) 30 8301 361 Reopened at Lonnstrasse 8 in October 2000.

TROY-SCHIELEMMANN-ANTIQUITIES. Permanent exhibition of more than 500 Trojan antiquities in Berlin, tied on display after reopening the museum collections from East and West Berlin.

MUSEUM FUR VORUND GESCHEICHTE SCHLOSS CHARLOTTEBURG, LANGHAUSSAL (49) 30 320 91 233.


BREMEN


FREIBURG, Baden-Württemberg

ROMAN PORTRAITS FROM BERLIN. 16 Roman marble portraits from the Antikensammlung, Berlin, on loan to Freiburg for three years. ARCHEOLOGISCHE SAMMLUNG DER UNIVERSITAT (49) 761 203 3072. Catalogue.

MAGDEBURG, Sachsen-Anhalt


MAINZ, Rheinland-Pfalz

EARLY MIDDLE AGES. A new permanent exhibition with over 2200 objects: a major reinstallation and expansion with many pieces removed from excavations over the past 30 years. ROEMISCH-GERMANISCHES ZENTRALMUSEUM (49) 613 232 231.

MANNHEIM, Baden-Württemberg

THE GOLD OF THE BARBARIAN PRINCE. Gold objects found in thirty fifth century AD grave sites from the steppes of south Russia to the Atlantic coast. REISS-MUSEUM (49) 621 293 2431. Until 3 June.

MUENSTER

SITES IN NORDRHEIN-WestFALEN: ONE MILLION YEARS OF HISTORY. Archaeology from 1995 to 2000. WESTFAELISCHES MUSEUM FUR ARCHAEOLOGIE (49) 251 5907 298. Until 11 March.

MUNICH, Bavaria

HORSE MAN AND LION WOMAN: MIXED CREATURES FROM ANCIENT TIMES. ARCHAEOLOGISCHES
DRAMA, Macedonia
NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.
Located near Philippi, this new museum opened in December 1999. It features finds from the Neolithic period to the present day, including statuary and tomb reliefs from the Roman period. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF DRAMA.

IOS, The Cycladic Islands
NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. A new temporary exhibition opened on May 30, 2000. The majority of the collection consists of offerings found in the Pre-Proto-Cycladic settlement of Skaros dating to 3000 BC. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM CHORA (30) 286 91246. Permanent exhibition.

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

VERGINA
THE GREAT TUMULUS OF THE ROYAL MACEDONIAN TOMBS. Museum and shelter opened at the ancient Macedonian capital Agae on Philip II's tomb (or that of Philip III). (30) 33 19 2347. See also Archaeological Expedition of Kythera, 1998, p.6, and July/August 1998, pp. 25-27, 33-35.

IRELAND
DUBLIN
ANCIENT EGYPT. A recently opened permanent display of Benaki Museum's collections, including a fragment of the earliest Biblical text. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM (2) 6708 811. Until April.

ITALY
BOLOGNA
AEMILIA ROMANA. Roman culture in the third century BC to the age of Constantine. This exhibition presents results of excavations carried out in the last 30 years in the region of Aemilia, Romagna. More than 500 objects document everyday life in the region. PINOTECHE NAZIONALE (39) 051 233849. An ongoing exhibition.

BOLOGNA
ETRUSCAN PRINCES BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. The exhibition focuses on the Etruscan art and culture influenced by eastern styles. The 600 objects on show come from 32 different museums throughout Italy, including the outstanding collections of the museum itself. MUSEO CIVICO ARCHEOLOGICO (39) 051 233849. Cat.logue. Until 1 April.

BRESCIA
MUSEO DELLA CITTA IN SANTA GIULIA. The newly opened first phase in a long term project, which will include a new museum inside the 8th century Romanesque collegiate church of Santa Giulia, and the creation of an extensive archaeological park. The Roman, Longobard, 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 cross recovered from the Longobard king Desiderius. MONASTERO DI SANTA GIULIA (39) 030 2807 540.

BRINDISI
FROM THE SEA TO A MUSEUM. An exhibition on display after careful restoration, two rare Roman bronze statues of the 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 DI ARCHEOLOGIA GIROLAMO DI GIOVANNI – CONVEN- TO DI SAN BENEDICTO. 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 a Celt" is a notable contribution. The exhibition includes Greek and Roman objects. (39) 0737 402 310. An ongoing installation. Catalogue.

COMACCHIO
THE MUSEO DELLA NAVE ROMANA. Inaugurated last December to house a 1st century BC ship sunk in the nearby lagoon. The ship is perfectly preserved and was re-opened last June. The exhibition includes the meters of sand and mud for 2000 years together with the goods it carried. (39) 053 331 018. An ongoing exhibition.

CRECCHIO, Chieti
MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO. The museum is now open to the public and includes 6th and 7th century artefacts excavated locally which demonstrate previous Byzantine influences: jewels, bronze, ceramics and glass objects. There are also a considerable number of Etruscan objects from the Franchi Maria Faracci collection recently bequeathed to the museum. (39) 087 194 1392. An ongoing exhibition.

MONTALagna, Padoua
MUSEO CIVICO E ARCHEOLOGICO. The museum, created in 1980 following the discovery of the Roman necropolis of the gens Vossia near by, has now been reorganised and objects on view are mainly 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 and Herculanum has now been reopened to the public. (39) 081 544 1494. Catalogue.

OSIMO
THE MILANI KOURIO. The exhibition celebrates the return to Osimo of two 6th century BC Greek statues. Discovered in 1741, they were later sold to the British collection of Sir John Soane and was re-opened last June. (39) 075 575 9682. An ongoing exhibition.

ROME
AUREA ROMA, FROM A PAGAN TO A CHRISTIAN CAPITAL. 400 works of art from the 3rd to the 6th century A.D. chart the transformation of the city of Rome in the late antique period.
Amongst a series of magnificent objects on loan from a great many international museums there are the Sammachi and Nikolaii depliichs, reunited for the first time with loans from the Victoria and Albert Museum In London and the Cluny Museum in Paris. Silver treasure from the Esquiline (British Museum) and rare icons from Russia and Rome. There is also another complete reconstruction of a Greek temple with all furnishings as found when excavated in the 18th century; and of the large hall of a building found near the Porta Marina in Naples. PALAZZO DELLE ESPOSIZIONI (39) 064 774 5903. Catalogue. Until April 20.

CAPITOLINE MUSEUMS. The Tabularium and Capitoline museums have re-opened, incorporating recently excavated remains of the temples of Vespasian and Jupiter into the new complex. English language tours of the museums and of other major archaeological sites in Rome are available. (39) 063 974 9907. (See Minerva Jan-Feb 2001, pp. 34-5.)

THE GIUSTINIANI COLLECTION. The Giustiniani collection, one of the most famous in Rome in the 17th century, was dispersed last century when the Giustiniani palace became the seat of the Italian Senate. For the first time some of the masterpieces from the collection are now reassembled and on view in their original home. SENATO DELLA REPUBBLICA (39) 067 030 6078. Catalogue. Until 15 May. MUSEO NAZIONALE ETRUSCO DI VILLA GIULIA. The reorganisation of the museum is now completed and all rooms are open. (39) 06 322 6571. An ongoing exhibition.

MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO - CRYPTA BALBI. This section of the National Museum of antiquities is now open at the site of the 1st century BC domus of Lucius Cornelius Balbus. It is possible to visit the museum and the site with an archaeologist, by appointment. (See Minerva July/August 2001, p. 4.) MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO (39) 064 815 576. An ongoing exhibition.

NEW DISCOVERIES FROM THE ROMAN FORUMS. A special exhibition illustrates the discoveries recently made at the forums of Trajan, Caesar and Augustus. FORO TRAJANO-CENTRO PER I VISITATORI. An ongoing exhibition.

TARANTO NOT ONLY VASES.FUNERARY GOODS FROM MANTATI. A new exhibition of the latest finds from the site of Mantati, dated from the 4th to 3rd century BC from the Museo Archeologico which is now closed for restoration and will re-open in 2001. CONVENTO DI SAN DOMENICO. An ongoing exhibition.

TORGIANO, Perugia MUSEO DELL'OLO D'ELLO. This museum charts the development of oil making since antiquity; also on view is a large collection of ancients oil lamps. (39) 075 985 486.

TRENTO THE GOLD OF AVARS. MUSEO STORICO, CASTELLO DEL BUONCONVENTO (39) 461 230 482. Until 5 March.

VENICE THE HARRUCANS. More than 700 objects from almost 80 museums and institutions all over the world, including some of the greatest masterpieces of Byzantine art. PALAZZO GRASSI (39) 041 523 6180. Until 1 July. (See pp.8-13)

VERBANIA MUSEO DEL PAESAGGIO. Opened at the end of last year to display funerary goods found in two Gallo-Roman necropolises at Ornavasso. On show are: Celtic swords, vases, tools, jewels, glass objects and hundreds of coins, all found in the 346 tombs excavated here since 1820. MUSEO DEL PAESAGGIO (39) 032 350 2418.

VERONA ANTIQUE TERRACOTTA FIGURINES. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO (39) 45 800 0360. Until 31 October.

NETHERLANDS LEIDEN ARCHEOLOGY OF THE NETHERLANDS. A comprehensive account of the earliest history of the Low Countries. RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUD-HEIDEN (31) 71 516 31 63. A new permanent exhibition.

UTRECHT GOD'S GOLDEN LUSTRE: THE VENERATION OF RELICS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. MUSEUM CATHARINE CONVENT (31) 33 231 3835. Until 22 April.

THE BRAKE WAY: PILGRIMS BETWEEN PAWA AND ROME. The Via Francigena, the route travelled by pilgrims to the holy city. MUSEUM CATHARINE CONVENT (31) 30 231 3835. Until 22 April.

POLAND KRAKOW RELIGIOUS EUROPE AROUND AD 1000. A major exhibition exploring the cultural, social, religious, and economic history of Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. MUSEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE (48) 12 271 928. Until 25 March (then in Berlin).


SPAIN BARCELONA MUSEU DE ARTES GALLERY. The world's most outstanding collection of Romanesque murals, some in their original apses, mostly from the area of the Pyrenees, has been reinstalled after being off display for some years.


REOPENING OF THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM OF BARCELONA. A greatly expanded exhibition space at a new location: Valencia 284. THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM OF BARCELONA (34) 93 425 89 34. See Minerva July/August 2000, p. 7.)

SWITZERLAND BASEL AGATHA CHRISTIE AND THE ORIENT. CRIMINOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY. ANTIKEMUSEUM UND SAMMLUNG LUDWIG (41) 61 271 2202. Until 1 April (then to London). (See article forthcoming in Minerva).

BERN ICONOCLASTIC RIOTS. Medieval cult objects: their veneration, proliferation, and destruction. BERNISCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM (41) 31 350 7711. Until 4 March.

DELEMONT, Jura IMAGES IN STONE - SCULPTURES FROM NOVIOZONUM OF ETURINE PROVINCE AND METROPOLIS. MUSEE ROMAIN (41) 22 361 7591. Until 30 April.

MEETINGS, CONFERENCES, & SYMPOSIUMS

17 March. LATE ANTIQUE ARCHEOLOGY 2001: NEW RESEARCH, METHOD AND PRACTICE. Trinity College, Cambridge. Contact: Luke Lavan. E-mail: luke.lavan@lineone.net.

24-26 March. EXCAVATING CLASSICAL CULTURE: RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES FROM GREECE. Somerville College, Oxford. Contact: Dr Maria Stamatoscopoulu. Somerville College, Oxford OX2 6DQ. E-mail: maria.stamatoscopoulo@som.ox.ac.uk.

29-31 March. ICONS ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON HISTORIC VILLAGES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. Sparte, Greece. Further information, e-mail: icoshellenic@teee.gr; www: icoshellenic.gr.

29 March-1 April. ROMAN SOCIETY FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY CONFERENCE. University of Glasgow, England. Contact: Dr. W. S. Hanson, Department of Archaeology, Gregory Building, University of Glasgow, Llibury Gardens, Glasgow; e-mail: w.hanson@archaeology.gla.ac.uk.

30-31 March. ROMAN BODIES: METAPHORS MUTATION AND REPETITION. British School in Rome. Contact: Dr A Hopkins, Assistant Director, British School at Rome, Via Gramsci; e-mail: a.hopkins@flashnet.it.


17-21 April. BUILDING COMMUNITIES: HOUSE, SETTLEMENT AND SOCIETY IN THE AEGEAN. Cardif University, Wales. Contact: Nick Fisher, School of History and Archaeology, Cardiff University, P.O. Box 909, Cardiff. Further information, e-mail: nikois@cardiff.ac.uk;web:www.cardiff.ac.uk/uwcch/isar/conferences/ikois.

17-21 April. BOARD GAMES IN ACADAMIA W. University of Fribourg, Switzerland. Contact: Prof. Jean Retschitzki, tel: (41) 26 300 97 1; e-mail: boardgames@unifr.ch. Further information, web:www.unifr.ch/psycho/boardgames.html.

18-20 April. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL CONFERENCE. University of Rochester, England. Contact: Professor T. J. Cornell, School of History and Classics, The University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester; e-mail:ca2001@man.ac.uk.

3-5 May. ERNST HERZFELD AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES, 1900-1950. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Contact: Ann Charney, Gunter. E-mail: ann.gunter@asia.si.edu or Stefan R. Hauser, e-mail: sthauser@ mail.zedat.lu-berlin.de.

LECTURES

ENGLAND CAMBRIDGE 9 March. AN EARLY BYZANTINE ECCLESIALISTIC COMPLEX AT BER MISSOUDA, CARTHAGE. Richard Miles, Byzantine Seminar, University of Cambridge, Junior Parlour, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 5pm.

LONDON 5 March. UNLIKELY SOURCES FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION: THE POTENTIAL FOR EVERYDAY POTTERY. Gabriel Puschnig. London Centre for the Ancient Near East seminars, 53-55, Tottenham High Street, Russell Square, London W1. 5pm.

5 March. HIDDEN TREASURES: READING CHINESE SCULPTURE. Ann Paludan, An Asia House lecture at the Brunel Gallery Lecture Theatre, SOAS, Throsnaugh Street, Russell Square, London W1, 6.30pm.

7 March. LETTERS AND WORDS: A NEW LOOK AT ENGLISH MEDIEVAL
Calendar


13 Mar. ROMAN FUNERAL SYM- BOLISM IN THE EARLY EMPIRE. Glenys Davies. Institute of Classical Studies, Senate House, Malet Street, W1. 5pm.


21 Mar. RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN AND AROUND JERUSALEM. Shimon Gibson. Anglo- Israeli Archaeological Society/Palestine Exploration Fund joint lecture. Lecture Theatre Z, Cruciform Building, UCL, Gower Street, London WC1. 6pm. Contact: (44) 20 7691 1467.


5 Apr. LIFE AND DEATH IN ROMAN THEBES: THE BURIALS OF THE SOTER FAMILY. Christina Riggs. Egyptian Cultural Bureau. 6.30pm. Contact: (44) 20 7491 7720.


11 Apr. FROM ABUCHEH TO ZAJJAJ: A CONCISE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC GLASS. Stefano Carboni. Islamic Art Circle. Lecture. BM exhibition lecture theatre, SOAS, Throenough Square, Russell Square, London W1. 6.30pm. Contact: (44) 20 8374 2391.

12 Apr. OBEILISS. Fekri Hassan. Egyptian Cultural Bureau. 4 Chesterfield Gardens, London W1Y. 6.30pm. Contact: (44) 20 7491 7720.

25 Apr. LEARNING ABOUT THE BACCHUS FIBRUM FROM PRESENT AND PAST RESEARCH. Egypt Exploration Society Lecture. Room G2, SOAS, Throenough Square, Russell Square, London W1. 6pm. Contact: (44) 20 7424 1880.

25 Apr. NEW DISCOVERIES IN THE TAKALMAKAN DESERT: FINDS FROM DANDAN DILIK AND ENDERE. Christoph Baumier. Circle of Inner Asian Art, Room 8204 Brunel Gallery, SOAS, Throenough Square, Russell Square, London W1. 6pm. Contact: (44) 20 7898 4464.

2 May. THE ARTS IN ROMAN BRITAIN. Martin Henig. British Archaeological Association (at the Society of Antiquaries). 5pm.

MANCHESTER

6 Apr. PSEPHUS RYLANDS IX: THE REAL STORY OF LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT. Dr Anthony Leaby. Northern Branch, Egypt Exploration Society (at the Main Arts Theatre, University of Manchester). 7pm.


9 Apr. TECHNIQUES USED IN BUILD- ING THE GREAT PYRAMID AT GIZA. Denys Stocks. Manchester Ancient Egypt Society. Renold Building, UMIST, Sackville Street, Manchester, England. 7pm. Contact Victor Blunden, Tel: (44) 61 225 0879.

24 Apr. THE EASTERN DESERT: CREA- DLE OF EGYPTIAN RELIGION. Toby Wilkinson. Northern Branch, Egypt Exploration Society (at the Main Arts Theatre, University of Manchester). 7pm.

STAFFORDSHIRE

14 Mar. MACEDON, MYCENAE, MOLARS AND MORE: RECONSTRUCT- ING ANCIENT FACES. John Prag. Staffordshire Branch of the Classical Association, Library Conference Room, Cadman Building, Staffordshire University. 7.30pm. Contact: Susan Decay, Tel: (44) 1630 647765.

UNITED STATES

30 Mar. BARBARIANS AS ANCES- TORS: EARLY MEDIEVAL PEOPLES AND MODERN NATIONALISM. Patrick J. Geary. Metro-museum of Art of (1) 212 879 5500. 6pm.

3 Apr. LA MILPA: A CLASSIC MAYA CITY IN BELIZE. Norman Hammond. City University of New York Graduate Center, 365 5th Avenue, rooms 9204-9205. 6.30pm.

19 Apr. DESIGNS OF DESIRE ON ATHENIAN VASES. H. Alan Shapiro. NYU Institute of Fine Arts. 6pm. Contact: Elizabeth Bartman, tel: (1) 212 787-4526.

FRANCE


27 Apr. THE CAESAREAN CUP FROM PALESTINE: Catherine Metzger, Department of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities, Musée du Louvre, Auditorium, 12.30pm.

ART FAIRS & AUCTIONS

10-16 Mar. THE EUROPEAN FINE ART FAIR, MAASTRICHT, THE NETHERLANDS. Exhibitors include several dealers in both ancient art and classical numismatics.


APPOINTMENTS

Caroline Malone is the new Keeper of the British Museum's Department of Prehistory and Early Europe (formerly known as the Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities), succeeding the late Dr Tim Potter, FSA, (see Minerva, March-April 2000, p.3). Dr Malone, a specialist in prehistory, has published extensively, taught at the Board of Continuing Education at Cambridge University, and is Editor of Antiquity.

IN MEMORIAM

K. C. Chang, 69, archaeologist and anthropologist, specialist on the Chinese Bronze Age civilization, especially the first historic dynasty, the Shang period, c. 1600-1200 BC. Among his many publications, The Archaeology of Ancient China (1963, revised 1987), Shang Civilization (1980), and The Chinese Bronze Age (vol. 1, 1983; vol 2, 1990). He taught at Yale University from 1961 to 1977, becoming a full professor and chairman of the department of anthropology. He then taught at Harvard, from 1977 to 1996, and was department chairman there in the 1980s.

John Kent, 72. Expert on the coinage of the late Roman Empire and Dark Ages, Kent became an assistant keeper at the British Museum's department of coins and medals in 1953, was promoted to deputy keeper in 1974, and in 1983 appointed keeper. Author of numerous highly influential articles and papers, Kent also curated the successful British Museum exhibition Two Thousand Years of British Coinage, which opened in 1978 as a temporary exhibition but was to remain on display for a further decade.

Lea Mildenberg, 87, noted numismatist, author, and collector, long the head of the numismatic department of Bank Leu (Now Leu Numismatics), specialist in Judean coins, avid collector of ancient animals (published in four catalogues and with a number of travelling exhibitions in the United States, Europe and Israel), and a close friend of the Editor-in-Chief of Minerva for over 45 years.

Mervyn Popham, 73, renowned Aegean archaeologist. Popham was Assistant Director at the British School at Athens 1963-70, where he began three major excavations along- side Hugh Sackett, his life-long friend and predecessor at Athens. After two years as Assistant Professor at the University of Cincinnati (1970-72), he spent 22 years at Oxford University. Besides his continuing excavations and publications, his chief enthusi- asm was for graduate teaching and he attracted a distinguished class of doctoral students.

Exhibition dates are subject to change. Before planning a visit, contact the museum to confirm the dates and opening times.

Calendar listings are free. Please send details of UK and other European exhibitions, conferences, lectures, and auctions, except for France & Germany, at least 6 weeks in advance of publication, to:

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reclining upon Herakles' lionskin and club, above his head lie an arrow, quiver and bow.
1st Century BC/AD. 89 cm. (35 in.) x 51 cm. (20 in.)
Cf. a closely related composition in the Museum at Tralles, acquired 1884; another similar example also found at Tralles, now in the Museum of the Ecole Evangélique in Smyrna.

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