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EDITORIAL

Too Little, Too Late: UNESCO 'Blesses' the Purchase of Lost Afghan Treasures, but Still Ignores Problems in Turkey

UNESCO now finally admits that circumstances may determine the legitimacy of what might ordinarily be considered to be illegally smuggled antiques. In what appears to be the emergence of common sense in the hallowed halls of politicized academia, UNESCO has blessed the purchase of vulnerable antiques smuggled from Afghanistan, Christian Manhart, a specialist in the Cultural Heritage Division of UNESCO, stated in a telephone interview with Clar and Chonghle of the Associated Press that the organization would now encourage the purchase of Afghan antiques that have been illegally exported, a contradiction of the 1970 UNESCO convention that prohibits the purchase of such objects. While UNESCO cannot itself acquire such illegal treasures, it now recommends that groups such as the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage founded by the Italian, the Afghanistan Museum in Bubendorf, Switzerland, and the Hirayama Foundation in Japan do so.

Since the Taliban have stated that they will destroy all other Buddhist statues in Afghanistan, the urgency of such action cannot be over emphasized. The above groups will hold the objects in trust until such time that they can be safely returned. Meanwhile, UNESCO is attempting to obtain permission from the Taliban to dispatch a team to carry out an inventory of what is left in the country, but surely such efforts would be futile at this point. The illegal export and destruction of antiques in Afghanistan has been active for nearly ten years, as Minerva has documented.

It is widely believed that huge quantities of objects have been stashed away by smugglers in Pakistan and many are literally being held for ransom. Much of the material looted from the Kabul Museum has been sold in Peshawar and has found its way to foreign dealers, especially in Europe and Japan. The Pakistan government finally passed a law in 1998 prohibiting the sale of Gandharan objects, which has enabled the authorities to appropriate the material for return to Afghanistan. But like many bureaucratic decisions it has accomplished too little, and was too late in effectively stopping the well-developed channels of illegal trafficking.

In a related development, the Urban Development Minister of Sri Lanka, Mangala Samaraweera, in a sudden and surprising move, ordered the demolition of a Buddhist shrine in the capital city of Colombo on 4 April. One thousand demonstrators led by Buddhist monks blocked the roads surrounding the shrine, but were unable to prevent its partial predawn demolition. The monks stated that they would continue their protests until the shrine was rebuilt and the relics taken by the police were returned to the holy site. The deputy minister (his superior, of course, was not available for comment) stated that the shrine was not in conformity with 'urban planning laws' and was an illegal construction. It was being razed as part of a campaign to beautify the town. He subsequently backed down and said that the shrine would be rebuilt.

Only a month earlier several of Sri Lanka's government ministers, joined by many monks, demonstrated in well-organized public protests as part of a diplomatic drive to denounce the destruction of the colossal 3rd-6th century AD statues of Buddha by the Taliban at Bamyan (see Minerva, May/June 2001, pp. 2-3). The government had even supported a proposal by

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Excavations reveal a Roman villa at Zeugma in Turkey (ancient Belkis) as the opening of the dam in the background ominously causes the lake water to rise. This section of the city was inundated in July 2000. (Photo from Belkis/Zeugma, Hafett, Runkaıce: A Last Look at History by N. Jürgensen and R. Ergec; Archaeology and Art Publications, Istanbul, 2000.)
a Buddhist group to construct a replica of the dagobas of the two Buddhist Bud- dhais in Sri Lanka, where Buddhists comprise about 70% of the population. While the Buddhist shrine was not of particular significance or of great age, it is perhaps a reminder that little is sacred to so many politicians and, as in the case of Bamiyan, to religious zealots.

If the axe of the religious fanatic and the enduring banality of local officials' city planning schemes are reasons enough to save the artistic expressions of ancient and antique cultures from the current inhabitants of the region in which they are found, the writer cannot but mourn that a similar imperi- matur was not granted to masses of other works of art, including untold numbers of classical mosaics from the great Greek city of Zeugma now lan- guishing beneath a man-made lake in Turkey (to be featured in the September/October issue of Minerva). While three other important archaeological sites in Turkey have met a similar fate and another is destined for inundation in the coming years, the staggeringly insensitive justification offered by one Turkish government official is that 'the dam and lake will not be there forever. Perhaps in one or two hundred years excavation of these sites may begin again'. Not good enough, Minister! We can imagine a similar refrain from a Chinese official remarking on the treatment of the remaining archaeological treasures suffered by the building of the Three Gorges Dam.

The writer has for several years written in Minerva about a number of important museums in Mediterranean countries that treat their indigenous ancient riches with a casualness that borders on contempt, leaving countless crates of officially excavated antiquities to corrode and become damaged beyond repair, often in perennially damp storage. One can only hope that some day these too may be saved, or even 'blessed', by a UNESCO initiative for the institution of a public acquisitions programme.

If a country like Turkey deems a portion of its archaeological heritage, such as the mosaics of Zeugma, to be not worth the time and effort to save through internal politics, why then does it not relax its strict regulations concerning the preservation of its cul- tural property, which prohibits the export of any antiquities. Why does Turkey not allow some of these doomed treasures to be sold to foreign museums and private collectors where they will at least be preserved for posterity? The proceeds could then be used to support some of the poorly funded local museums and other excavations. Certainly at present it is simply a politi- cal travesty and tragedy that so many attempts to save the world's ancient treasures are too little and too late.

Jerome M. Eilenberg, Ph.D.

NEWS FROM EGYPT

Second Dynasty Stone Structure Predates Djoser's Step Pyramid

Until now the 3rd Dynasty Step Pyramid of Djoser (c. 2668-2649 BC) and its mortuary complex at Saqqara had been considered the world’s oldest known building made entirely of stone. A nearly large rectangular structure, known as Gisr el-Mudir (or the ‘Enclosure of the Boss’), has recently been explored by Dr Iain Mathieson, director of the National Museum of Scotland’s Saqqara Survey Project, using geophysical surveying techniques, as it mostly lies beneath the surface of the desert. The structure had actually been known since the 1920s, when it was revealed by aerial photographs, but has never been properly identified.

When test trenches were dug at the site they revealed stone blocks forming a large wall, which consisted of two layers of local limestone, 1.5m-wide at its base, with a central core filled with sand and rubble. The artefacts found in the fill dated to the early 2nd Dynasty, c. 2900-2800 BC. It was evident that many of the stone blocks had been removed over the years. Some, in fact, may even have been used to construct Djoser’s pyramid.

Munich to Return Fragments of Coffin to Egypt

The Staatliche Sammlung Aegyptischer Kunst in Munich has decided to return the restored lower half of the coffin of Smenkhare found in Tomb SS in the Valley of the Kings in 1907 - which went missing inexplicably in 1931 - to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The fragments include gold foil and coloured glass hilleglyphs set into pieces of wood. Some years ago the director of the museum in Munich had found them in a private Swiss collection and the owner had donated them to the museum. At first the museum was reluctant to return this material unless the Egyptians reimbursed them for over $90,000 (which had been spent on their restoration). However, it was finally decided that such repayment would not be demanded.

Further Discoveries at the Bahariya Oasis

Twenty-two mummies have been discovered in two newly excavated tombs in the Bahariya Oasis, about 350km south-west of Cairo (now popularly known as the ‘Valley of the Mummies’), including 11 lintels with gilding and polychrome decorations on the sarcophagi. Gold coins were found in the hands of some of the mummies, representing payments to the ferryman who would transport them to the afterworld. A number of wine jars were also buried alongside, for this area was renowned for the quality of its sweet date wine during the Graeco-Roman period.

About 6km away, in the village of Bawiti, a sarcophagus was discovered which belonged to Ness II, the wife of Djed Khonsu Aaf Ankh, the gover- nor of the Bahariya Oasis during the reign of Ahmose II, also known as Amanis (570-526 BC). Her mummy was decorated with 100 golden amulets and was placed in a lime- stone sarcophagus, which signified her importance; there is no other mummify- stone in the area and it had to be imported over a long distance. This is apparently the largest number of amulets ever found on one mummy. Her husband’s tomb was found in March 1999. Six mummies of this
The island of Kalyrnos, best known today for its long history of sponge diving, also made history with a fisherman's discovery of an important bronze sculpture two years ago. In March 2001 four more islanders, S. Kavouklis, M. Chalkites, I. Pelekano, and A. Kallidonas, brought a significant number of artefacts to the local museum, mostly comprising marble statues.

The sculptures were found within a region called 'Christus of Jerusalem', an area known to be the focus of ancient religious and political activity at Kalyrnos, as it was the site of the sanctuary and worship of Apollo Dalias. At the same site Greek archaeologists had already documented the existence of two Christian basilicas dating to the early Byzantine era. St Sophia, one of the two basilicas, was unearthed about 30 years ago.

The presence of the sanctuary of Apollo Dalias has been proved by numerous inscriptions and offerings unearthed in situ, including clay figurines of oxen. Among the most important artefacts handed to the museum by the four islanders are an over life-sized marble head of Asklepios, the Greek god of healing, as well as fragments of his arm and tunic covering his superhuman body; the equally over life-sized head and body of a feminine deity, probably Hygeia (the daughter of Asklepios, whose name means 'health' in Greek); and smaller marble images of Apollo, Asklepios, and Athena dating between the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The Archaeological Service of the Greek Ministry of Culture immediately commenced excavations or the site. A conduit carved into the rock contained over 150 fragments of marble sculptures, among which is an under life-sized archaic kouros associated with inscriptions, which indicate that the youth, clad in a tunic, was an offering to Apollo. Other fragments of sculptures depict boys, females, and athletes, and date to the Classical and Roman periods. The current hypothesis is on the deposing of the sculptures.
A GILDED BRONZE ARM FROM ROMAN LONDON

A gilded bronze forearm, in remarkable condition, has been found close to the site of the Roman amphitheatre at 30 Gresham Street in the City of London. The excavation, conducted by the Museum of London Archaeology Service in collaboration with AOC Archaeology, is funded by Land Securities plc. The arm was found during the excavation of a large waterlogged pond or soakaway, several metres deep, which had become silted up and filled with domestic rubbish as early as AD 70.

The new find is of a life-size left hand and forearm, roughly broken off below the elbow. The thumb, first and middle fingers are extended. The third and little fingers are crooked inwards in a gesture suited to an imperial figure, either extending a hand in greeting or holding a scroll or staff. The finger nails, thumb, and finger joints, knuckles, and tendons on the back of the hand are well detailed and show a high level of artistic competence. The arm, hollow cast in bronze, had been leaf-gilded—a technique where thin sheets of gold leaf were applied to the finished cast surface. A dull gold patina of sulphide corrosion protects areas of gilding and the true colour of the gold leaf is only visible on the underside of the corrosion.

Its size suggests that the arm may have originated from a civic statue, as public images of emperors and deities were set up as regional reminders of the power and authority of Rome. The usual fate of bronze statues was to be melted down as scrap and the valuable metal recycled. It is all the more fortunate, therefore, that five significant portions of the human anatomy have now been recorded from Roman London, more than from the rest of Roman Britain. The most impressive, the head of Hadrian, found in the River Thames in 1834, is one of only two known bronze portrayals of the emperor emperor-wide. The other London example, a right forearm and two separate hands, then, was now, when unpopular tyrants fall, their public images were destroyed by mob rule. The Senate, for example, condemned the emperor Nero in his lifetime and orders were given for all depictions of him to be torn down and destroyed. The discovery of the present arm, abandoned in a stagnant pond beyond recovery or repair, suggests that, if it was originally part of a statue of a disgraced emperor, then Nero must be the prime candidate.

Bruce Watson (Site Project Manager), Jeremy Taylor (Area Supervisor, Museum of London Archaeology Service), Jenny Hall (Roman Curator, Museum of London).

EDINBURGH EXCAVATIONS UNLOCK IRON AGE CHARIOT

An Iron Age chariot found during industrial development in Edinburgh is unique in Scotland and rare by any standards. Only a few metres away is evidence of several burial mounds, completely truncated, although their surrounding ring ditches remain. They indicate the remains of a Neolithic Bronze Age, or perhaps Iron Age cemetery of which the chariot grave was part of.

Stephen Carter, director of Headland Archaeology and responsible for the chariot's excavation, dates it tentatively to the 3rd century BC, subject to much more detailed future examination. Only the metal parts survive, all iron; there is no indication of the presence of bronze or other materials. The remain sufficient to identify a vehicle of axle width 1.3m, wheel diameter 0.8m, and pole length 3m, dimensions regarded as average for this vehicle type.

Similar finds have been made in France, Belgium, and in Yorkshire, but this Scottish find is especially interesting as, unlike other UK finds, it appears to have been buried complete.

Fraser Hunter, National Museums of Scotland curator of Iron Age and Roman collections, believes the find may change our view of Scotland's past. The grave type suggests that it was for someone of considerable importance. 'We tend to think of our early history in a context of poverty and deprivation but graves like this show that was not always the case. It underlines the wide-ranging contacts of the time.'

The survey was ordered by Edinburgh City Archaeologist John Lawson because of the closeness of the development, near Newbridge west of Edinburgh, to Huly Hill, a 15m-diameter Bronze Age burial cairn surrounded by three standing stones, which may survive from a no longer visible stone circle. Huly Hill was excavated in the 19th century and shown to have been a centre of religious activity at least two millennia ago. It is only 200m from the chariot site.

The chariot's removal was a complex process requiring painstaking efforts taking almost a month. Stephen Carter and his team removed the remains by constructing a frame to surround the wheels section, still contained within the original soil. They 'boxed' the remains in protective materials for transport to the NMS conservation laboratory at Granton-on-Forth.

Conservation work awaits funding and as a result of the survey we will take many months to complete. To identify what remains laboratory excavation, X-ray photography of the 'box' contents is planned.

RIVER TYNE ROMAN WRECK SEARCH, UK

Since the 1830s many Roman objects have been found near the mouth of the River Tyne at South Shields. They include richly decorated military equipment, bronze vessels, and numerous silver coins. All these finds were made on the Herd Sand, a huge sand-bank on the south side of the river mouth, which was known locally as 'the grave of good ships and seamen'.
A bronze patera from the River Tyne, dating to c. AD 176-180. H. 3.6 cm; Diam. 15.5 cm. (Courtesy of the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.)

Recent studies of these finds show that almost all the coins are silver denarii ranging in date from the Roman Republic to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the latest coin being of AD 176-80. A shield boss incorporates within its elaborate decoration a label carrying the name of the Eighth Augustan Legion and, along one edge, the name of its owner 'Junius Dubitatus in the century of Julius Magnus'. The Eighth Legion was based at Strasbourg and was one of the continental legions that temporarily reinforced the Roman army in Britain in times of crisis. One of the bronze vessels carries a dedication to the goddess Apollo Aenectomurus, a deity well known in north-eastern France and on the Upper Rhine where Strasbourg is situated.

Almost all the objects from the Herd Sand could have been in use towards the end of the 2nd century AD and the most likely reason for their loss is shipwreck. Early in the AD 180s, soon after Commodus became emperor, the tribes in northern Britain crossed Hadrian’s Wall and killed a Roman general. This led to the most serious war of Commodus’ reign, which, as will be well have required reinforcements from continental Europe. The Herd Sand objects could have been from a troop transport driven onto the sandbank by a northerly gale as it made for the calmer waters at the river mouth.

In May 2001 a team from the Archaeological Diving Unit of St Andrews’ University carried out a survey of the Herd Sand using a side scanner, a caesium magnetometer, and metal detectors (and the results are currently being processed as Minerva goes to press). Coins have been washed ashore in increasing numbers since the late 1970s and it is possible that changes in the use of the river since then have revealed the wreck on the sea-bed. If its location is discovered, steps will be taken to preserve and record its remains.

Very few wrecks known on the Atlantic and North Sea coasts of the Roman empire.

Legionary shield boss (left) from the River Tyne, now in the British Museum, AD 176-180. H. 31.2 cm; W. 23.5 cm. In each corner is one of the Four Seasons: Spring top left, Summer top right, Autumn lower left, and Winter lower right. At top centre is Mary, the bull in the lower centre panel is the emblem of the Eighth Augustan Legion, the name of which appears in small panels below Spring and Summer. An eagle in the centre of the boss is flanked by legionary standards. (Courtesy of the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.)

Roman helmet cheek-piece (top right) found in the River Tyne, AD 176-180. H. 19 cm. Decorated with a depiction of the Dioscuri or Heavenly Twins. (Courtesy of the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.)

The restoration of Trajan’s triumphal arch at Benevento, south of Naples, has revealed unexpected evidence of an artistic zenith in the quality of Roman sculpture production. The clarity of a series of friezes revealed decorating the surface of this monument had previously been indistinguishable following centuries of severe corrosion brought about by environmental change. New conservation work has now revealed the painstaking detail accomplished by the arch’s unknown sculptor, which was still preserved beneath a layer of thick grime despite the detrimental impact of decades of modern traffic pollution.

Trajan’s arch was built between AD 109 and 114 as a tribute to the Emperor Trajan. It also depicts Trajan’s successor Hadrian. Amongst other scenes one part of the frieze depicts Trajan putting the ring he had received from his predecessor, the Emperor Nerva, on to Hadrian’s finger to symbolise the future transfer of power.

This portrait of Hadrian is a particularly vivid example of the enormous care taken by the sculptor to portray the figures on the arch realistically as recognisable individuals. Hadrian is shown with a surprisingly naturalistic smile and in this portrait, as with others within the series of friezes, a great deal of care has been taken in rendering the details of his hair and beard.

The clarity of the main 15-yard-long frieze, depicting animals, chariots, prisoners in chains, warriors carrying booty, and sacrificial bull in procession led Antonio Forcellino, the chief project restorer, to describe the monument as a ‘photograph in marble’. The arch also celebrated the completion of the Via Appia linking Rome to the coast at Brindisi, where Roman ships left for the eastern Mediterranean.

The immense responsibility of preserving Italy’s Roman heritage has become a cause for concern and controversy, rather than celebration, elsewhere in the country. A 100ft stretch of one of Rome’s ancient baths, the wall, collapsed on Easter Sunday. Built between AD 271 and 275 by the Empress Aurelia, to keep out barbarians, the wall once extended for 11 miles around the city. The ancient ramparts, which afford an excellent view of the Via Appia, are now a highlight of modern visitors’ sightseeing in Rome. The collapse took place after storms struck central Italy on Easter Saturday, and left a huge mound of rubble piled up next to the narrow pathway used by tourists.

The walls are currently out of bounds while a detailed technical investigation is being conducted. Rome’s cultural superintendent, Eugenio La Rocca, has suggested that the Aurelian Wall may be inherently structurally weak, having been constructed shoddily by the Emperor’s workers due to time constraints. No definitive restoration work has been carried out at this site since the 1600s.
EXCAVATING ‘OCCUPIED’ SALAMIS

Cyprus Accuses Ankara University of Illegal Excavations

The Cyprus Department of Antiquities has protested to UNESCO about archaeological excavations currently being conducted by the University of Ankara at the ancient site of Salamis in Turkish-occupied northern Cyprus. A booklet published by the Greek-Cypriot branch of the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), a UNESCO body, entitled Salamis in the 4th century AD, but was quickly rebuilt as a Christian city by the Emperor Constantius before the Arab invasions of the 7th century finally ended occupation at the site.

Salamis was rediscovered during the early years of British rule in Cyprus during the late 19th century, when British expeditions started excavation work. Cypriot archaeologists worked on the site from 1952-74, aided for ten years (1964-74) by French archaeologists from the University of Lyon. Archaeological activity at Salamis came to an abrupt end in the summer of 1974 when the Turkish army invaded Cyprus, occupying the northern third of the island, where the ancient city is located on the east coast near Famagusta. The dig house at Salamis was plundered and documents, plans, and photographs destroyed; and a museum in Famagusta housing priceless antecedents from the site has been closed.

The exploration of Salamis was the life work of Dr Vassos Karageorghis, director of Cyprus Antiquities from 1963-1989, and today a member of the governing board and archaeological consultant of the cultural Levantus Foundation. ‘The Turks will continue excavating at Salamis as they boastfully tell foreign colleagues’, Karageorghis told Minerva. ‘They excavate during the summer months. We protested to UNESCO but the answer was lukewarm. They regret there is nothing practical they can do’. (For further details about Salamis, see Excavating at Salamis in Cyprus 1952-1974 by Vassos Karageorghis; A.G. Leventis Foundation, 2000; £25 hardback, £20 paperback, available from the Hellenic Centre, 16/18 Paddington Street, London W1.)

Christopher Follett

and it is likely that the severe weather was the ultimate contributing factor for the damage. It is hoped that the investigation will determine whether other parts of the wall are also under threat. When this process is completed, restoration will be a painstaking task; the wall will have to be rebuilt piece by piece, largely from tiny fragments of brick.

Heavy rains continue to pose a threat to Italy's cultural patrimony. In early May parts of the ceiling of Nero's Palace collapsed as water and tree roots infiltrated the still buried brick roof and widened the circular opening originally designed to give a view of the sky. Nero's fabled residence, widely known by its Latin name Domus Aurea, was built in Rome in AD 64 and was once studded with pearls and covered in ivory. It has become one of the city's most popular tourist attractions, having been reopened to the public in June 1999 following extensive restoration. This $3 million restoration project was a crucial step for Italy's Roman heritage policy, following decades of setbacks due to the effects of pollution, traffic, and restrictive government budgets for repairs and maintenance. It is expected that the palace, originally comprising 150 rooms, of which 32 are still standing, will now be closed for at least several weeks.

Isobel Whitelegg
Leiden’s Antiquities Museum

TREASURES AROUND THE TEMPLE
THE NEW INSTALLATION AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIDEN

Ruurd Binnert Halbertsma

During the 183rd year of its existence, the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the Netherlands) has changed its appearance completely. The rebuilding of the southern wing necessitated the storage of most of its archaeological treasures for more than three years. Now that the rebuilding has been completed, the Egyptian, Near Eastern, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman departments reopen their doors in completely refurbished surroundings, showing not only the old collection but also new objects bought for the reopening, and hidden treasures which were kept for too long in the storerooms. The new display will reveal the story behind the objects, with a focus on the men and women who created and used the archaeological artefacts. The centre of all these new galleries is the Egyptian Temple of Taffeh (originally located in Nubia, Egypt, south of Aswan), a gift to the Dutch government for its support for the UNESCO project to salvage Nubian monuments (Fig. 1).

A promising start
The National Museum of Antiquities was created by King Willem I in 1818. In this year the 25-year-old Caspar Reuven, (Fig. 2) was appointed Professor of Archaeology at Leiden University. Leiden was chosen for this academic chair because of the presence of around 150 Greek and Roman antiquities, which were bequeathed to the university by a private collector in 1744. Reuven started his archaeological career with enormous zeal. In his inaugural lecture, De Laudibus Archaeologiæ ("In Praise of Archaeology"), he tried to convince his audience that archaeology should have its own academic place among the well-established chairs of Greek and Latin philology and Ancient History. Archaeology was able to clarify hidden aspects of ancient life, on which the classical authors remained silent. The study of numismatics, for instance, could shed light on the economic developments in the ancient world, about which little could be read in any Greek or Latin text. The worship of local, indigenous gods could be studied exclusively by the aid of archaeology and epigraphy. Archaeology showed us daily, according to Reuven, the extent of our prior ignorance about the ancient world.

But the study of archaeology in the Netherlands could not flourish with only one academic chair and a haphazard collection of antiquities in possession of the university. Reuven wanted to alter the academic system, to create more chairs of archaeology in the Netherlands, and more numismatic and plaster-cast reference collections. The centre of all these archaeological institutions should be the National Museum of Antiquities, in which all ancient cultures which were known, or influenced, by the ancient Greeks and Romans should find their place. This meant that also Nordic, Egyptian, Near Eastern, and even Indian Buddhist art should be placed in this institution. Later the Gandara Buddhist collection was moved to the Ethnological Museum.

Fig. 2. Portrait of C.J.C. Reuven (1793-1835), first director of the National Museum of Antiquities. Engraving of L. Springer, after a portrait by H. Moritz.

Enlarging the collections:
Mediterranean expeditions
To realize these visionary ideas Reuven started collecting on a large scale. By the aid of a network of relations, archaeological agents, and local correspondents, antiquities from the Dutch colonies, Greece, Egypt, North Africa, Italy, and the Netherlands found their way into the new institution. This development was much to the discomfort of the responsible Trustees of Leiden University, who saw a limited archaeological ‘Cabinet of Antiquities’ grow into a money-consuming

Fig. 1. Temple of Taffeh. The sandstone temple from the small Nubian village Taffeh dates from the reign of emperor Augustus and was dedicated to the cult of Isis. 27 BC-14 AD.

All photographs courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden).

Fig. 3. Excavations at Forum Hadriani (Arensburg, near The Hague), c. 1830. In the foreground Professor Reuven and his assistant Conrad Lemans. Engraving by T. Hooberg.

National Museum. Reuven got his ideological and financial support mainly from the government and personally from King Willem I, who wanted to compete with the museums in neighbouring countries like France, England, and the various German states.

In the years between 1820 and 1830 the collections grew enormously. The Greek department profited from the activities of Colonel B.E.A. Rottiers (1771-1858), who sold his first collection of 4th century BC Attic sculpture to the museum in 1819, and later made an archaeological expedition to Greece between 1824 and 1826. Inspired by the find of the Venus of Milo a few years earlier, he rented a piece of land on the island of Melos next to the find spot of this illustrious statue. During a nine-day excavation in August 1825 he unearthed a Roman mosaic floor, an altar, and a superb Late Hellenistic head of a priest of Cybele (Fig. 5). At the end of his expedition he described and engraved the medieval architecture of

MINERVA 8
Leiden’s Antiquities Museum

Fig 4. Entrance to the Classical department with the key figure of Hecate. This marble statue (1st century AD; H. 70 cm; Inv. Ph 136) once belonged to the Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens.

Fig 5. Head of a priest from Cybele, Melos. In front of the wreath a medallion with the lower half of a goddess’ bust is preserved. Marble, Late Hellenistic. H. 37 cm. Inv. Ro III 10.

Fig 6. Scale model of the ‘House of the Menander’ (detail). This Pompeian house derives its name from a wall-painting depicting the Athenian playwright Menander.

Fig 7 (bottom left). Central staircase of the National Museum of Antiquities with views of the Dutch and Classical departments.

Fig 8. Legs of a funeral bed from one the royal cemeteries near Napata, Egypt. Shaped like a sphinx with the body of a lion and the head of a black person. Wood, 8th-3rd century BC. H. 54 cm. Inv. Fe 2000/6.1-2.

Fig 9. Statue of the emperor Trajan from Utica, Tunisia. Symbols of power and protection are depicted on the cuirass. Marble, 2nd century AD. H. 256 cm. Inv. R II BB 1.
Rhodes. Unfortunately, Rottiers' lack of academic accuracy and his financial and personal misbehaviour led to complications with Professor Reuvenus. After 1826 the two did not see each other again.

More important for the pioneering years of the museum were the activities of another retired officer, Lt Colonel Jean Emile Humbert (1771-1839). During the Napoleonic occupation of the Netherlands Humbert had offered his services as a military engineer to the Bey of Tunisia. Together with two other Dutch engineers he constructed the main harbour of Tunisia at La Goulette. In his free time Humbert studied the customs, languages, and the history of Tunisia. He was the first to draw a detailed map of the famous peninsula where Carthage had stood in antiquity. He was also the first explorer of Carthage to find Punic remains on the site: four stele and two fragments with religious symbols and inscriptions in the then undeciphered Punic language.

When Humbert returned to the Netherlands in 1819 Reuvenus was beside himself with enthusiasm. With the aid of Humbert he would be able to publish a monograph about the topography and monuments of ancient Carthage, a new field of research in which there were almost no competitors, due to the difficult and hostile attitude of the Tunisian government. Two archaeological expeditions to Tunisia were organised by Reuvenus and Humbert. Between 1822 and 1824 Humbert excavated on the site and also succeeded in buying eight Roman imperial statues which were found at Utica, among which the statue of Trajan is the most famous (Fig. 9). A second expedition was planned between the years 1826 and 1830, but due to various reasons Humbert never made the crossing to the other side of the Mediterranean and remained in Italy.

But there was another important collection which would change the whole aspect of the young archaeological institution. In 1826 he succeeded in buying a complete private museum in Carthage which belonged to Count Galeotto Corazzi, and which contained an outstanding collection of Etruscan bronzes (Figs 10-12); the first Etruscan collection of importance to be seen in a country north of the Alps. In 1828, after a year of blood-chilling negotiations, Humbert bought an important Egyptian collection from Alexandria, which was shipped to Leith to be put on sale. This collection, owned by the wealthy merchant-diplomat Jean d'Anastasy, comprised over 5000 items and included monumental statues, papyri, mummmies, utensils, jewellery, and precious wooden objects. Suddenly Leiden ranked among London, Paris, and Turin with its Egyptian richness inside its city walls.

In the meantime Reuvenus also initiated local excavations in order to expand the institution's collection of Dutch artefacts. Between 1827 and 1833 he excavated at the Arentsburg estate near The Hague, where the Roman town Forum Hadriani had stood in antiquity (Fig 3). His contemporaries had difficulties understanding the reason for spending huge amounts of money to find only ruined walls, corroded coins, and broken pottery, and Reuvenus had the difficult task of explaining the true meaning of archaeology to them time and time again. Moreover, he also had to explain the need to conserve the newly acquired imported treasures (especially the frag-
Leiden's Antiquities Museum

Fig 15. Tridacna shell. This large and finely worked shell with its human head and spread wings was a precious vessel. These shells were luxury goods and were quite often exported, for example, to Etruria. From Lebanon, c. 700 BC. H. 15 cm. Inv. B 1998/123.

Fig 16. Colossal head of Dionysus, from the Temple of Dionysos at Teos, Turkey. The head dates from the Hadrianic rebuilding of the temple and replaced the lost Hellenistic sculpture of the wine-god. Marble, 2nd century AD. H. 81 cm. Inv. SnA.

Fig 17. Votive relief from Tunisia. Limestone, 2nd-3rd century AD. H. 84 cm. Inv. HAA 7°.

Fig 18. View of the Dutch department at the National Museum of Antiquities with display of altars dedicated to Nenalemia, rescued from the sea in 1970-71. Limestone, 2nd-3rd century AD.

Fig 19. Sarcophagus with a depiction of a house interior on the inside, found at the village of Simpelveld, Netherlands. In the sarcophagus precious objects and cremated remains were found. Sandstone, 3rd century AD. H. 1.10 m. Inv. 1 1930/12.1.

ile and perishable Egyptian antiquities), and the need to house them properly in a well designed museum building. There was also the need to publish the results of the Carthaginian exploration, a catalogue of the whole museum, and the excavations of the Forum Hadriani. In the midst of all these activities Reuven suddenly died in 1835 aged only 42 years old.

Towards a new museum
Reuven's successor, Conrad Leemans, did not aim as high as his venerated professor, but contented himself with the publication of well illustrated catalogues of the collection. His Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide (1839-1905) earned him many honorary memberships from learned institutions throughout the world.

Displaying the treasures remained a problem; Leemans' museum was housed in an 18th century mansion, much to the discontent of people who had known about Reuven's grand-scale projects. One of the correspondents of the museum remarked that 'The Dutch government has tried and has succeeded to rival with the most important European nations where antiquities are concerned. Now it's time to think about a decent placement of these objects... But now for us a decision is made: the statues of Jupiter, Augustus and Trajan which were found in the soil of Utica will receive companionship and foreigners in a Dutch mansion. Who would have said to an Egyptian princess, or to Greek and Roman citizens that their mummies and crates would end up after all these centuries in a Dutch drawing room? What is worse than to see funerary urns in an ancient dining room?'

These conditions remained unchanged throughout the 19th century. Then, around 1920, the archaeological collections moved again, now to the former building of the Museum of Natural History on the Rapenburg canal, which became an exclusive venue for exhibiting antiquities. For the first time in 100 years a real museum came into being, but the financial situation of the 1930s made an adequate display difficult. Photographs of the period show the objects displayed by category; sculp-
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Figures, terracotta’s, glass, jewellery, and Greek vases, all presented in isolation, just as a strict division was observed between the departments of Egyptian, Classical, Near-Eastern, and Dutch antiquities: all islands on their own. In the 1950s and 1970s a refurbishment and a modernisation of design took place, but the arrangement of the objects continued to follow the 19th century model.

Now, a long awaited building program has finally taken place. The reinstatement of the collections has provided a unique opportunity to turn thoughts and theories about a modern museum presentation into reality. The roofing over of the courtyard and the building of an entrance to the galleries, with one central staircase, has transformed the galleries adjacent to the stairs into the starting point for each visit. All floors containing different departments are visible from the entrance (Fig 7). In close consultation the curators, the educational staff, the architect, and the interior designers, have decided to make the four departments of the museum closer: not four isolated institutions housed haphazardly under one roof, but four cultural regions bound together by one common denominator. A central question was how to show the congruence of four departments with such cultural and topographical differences.

The unifying answer is the Roman Empire: all regions and cultures presented in the National Museum of Antiquities were once part of the empire created by the Romans, which included Egypt, the Classical World, the Near East, and part of the Netherlands. By linking this historical fact with the collections available in the museum, it is possible to present the Roman Empire as a starting point for each visit to the galleries.

On the ground floor a visit to Egypt starts by experiencing the Graeco-Roman splendours of Alexandria in the form of funerary statues from Behnasa and portraits from the Fayum. The visitor has already seen in the entrance hall the Temple of Taffeh dating from the reign of Augustus (Fig 1). In the adjacent galleries the earlier history of the pharaonic kingdom can be discovered. On the first floor the visitor 'meets' the Roman Empire, with a display of objects related to the world of the gods, the emperor cult, the luxury of the Roman house (with a superb model of the House of Menander at Pompeii; Fig 6), and images portraying attitudes to the afterlife. The artefacts from Carthage, Paestum, Palmyra, and the Lebanon link this gallery with the Near Eastern Department. An excursion then takes the visitor to Greece, with special attention to the Minoan and Mycenaean world, different kinds of Greeks, the dominance of Athens, the Greeks abroad, and their contacts with the Etruscans. At this stage the visitor is neatly led back to Rome.

On the second floor the public can visit the northern part of the empire through Roman finds from the province of Germania Inferior. Here the following aspects are presented: the life of the Roman soldier, the worship and blending of local and Mediterranean gods, funereal monuments, the luxury of villas, and the organisation of town life - in short, the Mediterranean influence on the low Countries. Each theme is introduced by a 'key figure', an object (statue or vase painting) with an introductory panel on which the visitor can read information about the objects presented (Fig 4). Film clips, computer interaction, and sound are used where appropriate to support the information or atmosphere of the relevant gallery. For detailed information the visitor can use the archaeological information centre, where computers, CD-roms, videos, a library, and trained personnel offer the possibility to find any information required (Fig 13).

The second difference to the earlier and more traditional displays is that...
the division of materials has been abandoned. Material from one place and period is positioned together in order to evoke the ambience of the ancient world. For example, in the gallery dedicated to 5th century BC Athens, the grave lekythoi are placed beside the grave-reliefs and not - as until now - in different galleries devoted to sculpture and ceramics.

In past years the curators have tried to acquire new important antiquities for their departments. The Egyptian collection has been enriched with a superb set of two Nubian wooden bed-foots (Fig 8). The classical collection acquired a Greek panoply, dating from the late 4th century BC with a helmet, breast- and backplates, leg-guards, and a warrior's belt (Fig 14). Not only new acquisitions are on display: 'excavating' in our own store-rooms provided the Near Eastern department with a good selection of Punic material from Carthage and Romanised stelae dedicated to Baal Hammon/Saturnus Africanus and Tanit/Dea Canopica (Fig 17). A re-examination of the collections has also led to new identifications. Some finely granulated jewellery, which had been housed in the Etruscan department for more than 170 years, was discovered to be of Syrian origin and is now on display in the Near Eastern gallery.

The Dutch department also has more room at its disposal and this has been exploited to highlight the collection of altars dedicated to the native goddess Nehalennia, who protected seamen and traders during their crossing of the North Sea to England. Inscriptions give much information about the origins of the merchants and their items of commerce (Fig 18). Also the famous Simpelveld sarcophagus is on display here. Reliefs on the inside of this magnificent container depict the interior of a Roman villa, including the domina (lady) of the house reclining on a sofa in real Roman fashion (Fig 19).

To sum up, the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden has chosen to link the departments together by a common denominator. By choosing the Roman presence in all the departments, the visitor now witnesses the museum as an organic whole, rather than as a haphazard combination of different cultures. Travelling in time the visitor can see non-Roman objects placed in their own context in adjacent galleries. Learning from the past we have decided to create a more coherent museum in order to convey the message of past cultures more appropriately to the public of today.
THE TREASURES OF ANCIENT SICHUAN

A major travelling exhibition, ‘Treasures from a Lost Civilization: Ancient Chinese Art from Sichuan’, originating at the Seattle Art Museum, will travel on to Fort Worth, New York, and Toronto. Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D. presents some of the highlights of this important show, which features the exciting Bronze Age discoveries unearthed at Sanxingdui in 1985.

The fact that the area around Sanxingdui, a small village about 20 miles north-east of Chengdu, was an ancient Bronze Age site was first realised in 1929 when 300-400 jade artefacts were found in a pit north of the village. (Sichuan is the first state in south-western China beyond the western border of Tibet. Chengdu is located less than 500 km from the border). In excavations conducted by archaeologists from 1980 to 1985 a pottery kiln, house foundations, and additional further jades were found, indicating the existence of a rather large settlement. Then, on 18 July 1986, workers digging for clay to make bricks unearthed a dozen jade artefacts not far from the nearby formal excavations, which had ceased two months previously. That same day the archaeologists began to excavate at this new site and soon uncovered a 2.3m deep rectangular pit measuring about 4.7 x 6.15m (Fig 1).

The pit (now called K1) contained 200 bronzes, 200 objects made of jade and other stones, including ritual weapons and tools, four gold objects including a tube of sheet gold 1.42m long, nearly 40 pottery vessels, and 13 elephant tusks, all dating from the late 13th and early 12th centuries BC. Among the bronze objects were 13 heads, mostly depicting humans, four vessels, 44 blade blades (dagger-axes), and 107 rings. The jade and other stone objects included over 70 blades (Fig 22), and over 60 tools. All of these objects were buried in a definite sequence - first all the small jade and other stone objects and the gold, then the bronze heads and vessels, followed by burnt animal bones and other small objects such as several dozen cowrie shells (a primitive form of currency) mixed with wood and bamboo ash, then the elephant tusks, and on top the pottery vessels and large jade and other stone blades.

A second somewhat narrower pit

Fig 2. Sanxingdui Pit K2 under excavation. This top layer consisted of 67 elephant tusks; the second layer included the life-size figure and 40 life-sized bronze heads (Figs 3-7); at the bottom were fragments of large bronzes trees, and a multitude of small bronzes, jade, and other stone objects, ivory heads and tubes, and 4600 cowrie shells. Pit 1 dated to just before 1200 BC, Pit 2 to just after 1200 BC. Photo: Jin Xuei, Sichuan News Agency, courtesy of the Sichuan Provincial Institute of Archaeology.
Chinese Art from Sichuan

(K2; Fig 2) was discovered by the brickyard workers on 18 August 1986, just as the archaeologists were completing their work on the first pit. The excavations, which lasted four weeks, resulted in the discovery of an astonishing number of treasures - 1300 objects (numbering the fragments individually), including a unique group of 40 life-sized bronze heads, some covered with gold foil, and 20 bronze masks (Figs 5, 7), and plaques (Fig 10), a number of large bronze ritual vessels (Fig 14), bronze trees, including one nearly 4m high (Fig 26), and the only known life-sized human figure known of this period from China, also in bronze (Figs 3-4). Also in the pit were 67 elephant tusks and 4600 cowrie shells.

The bottom layer consisted of bronze tree fragments, further small bronzes, jade and other stone objects, and ivory heads and tubes. The larger bronzes made up the second layer, and the elephant tusks were placed on top. There was no pottery in Pit 2.

The pits were no doubt part of a ritual ceremony deposit in which the previously broken or burnt sacrificial offerings were buried. They belonged to a previously unknown civilization contemporary with the Shang dynasty. No inscriptions have been found to assist scholars to determine the reasons for these burials or to help unravel any of the mysteries of this culture. Although the Sanyingdui site has been continuously explored since these important discoveries, and a city plan has been mapped out, only five more rectangular pits have been found, all containing jade and stone objects of lesser importance (mostly large disks, rings, and forked blades).

The city was built on the foundations of a local late Neolithic or Stone Age culture, that of the Baodun people, dating to the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. Four other Baodun walled settlements have been found in the Chengdu Plain since 1995, varying in size from one-fifth to one-third square km. The settlements of this earlier culture were typically ringed by walls of compact earth; however, the site at Sanyingdui lacked such walls because it was a small village. This culture produced a series of pottery vessels unique to Sichuan.

The Bronze Age city was a large one, covering an area of about 2.2 square miles. There were four quarters divided by walls and over 50 building foundations have been excavated. It was abandoned c. 1000 BC, probably due to flooding. In July 1998, 28 graves (the first burials to be found) were uncovered beyond the west wall, but they were small and contained only a few jade and other stone objects. The burials of the ruling class have yet to be found. If and when this comes to pass we will no doubt be treated to more exciting discoveries. Before these finds were made it was assumed that this area had been primitive and quite uncivilized in the Bronze Age period. The original artistic forms of the bronze sculptures leave no doubt that this part of the Sichuan Basin produced one of China’s earliest and most sophisticated civilizations.

The exhibition includes 175 bronzes, jade, and other stone objects, ceramics dating from the 13th century BC to the 3rd century AD. In addition to the treasures from Sanyingdui, there are important bronze vessels, weapons, and tools of the Western Zhou period (c. 1050-771 BC) from two hoards found at Zhujwai in the Chengdu Plain in 1959 and 1980. Each of the hoards was found in a huge pottery jar over one metre tall, the first contains 104 vessels (Fig 17), ten weapons, and three tools; the second held four vessels, 12 weapons, and three tools.

During the end of the Bronze Age, which continued in eastern Sichuan through the Warring States period (475-221 BC), weapons were produced with Shang model designs of the late 2nd millennium BC (Fig 20). Two states in the eastern part of Sichuan during this time - Ba in the east and Shu in the west - were continually at
war with one another, but lend their names to this period: the 8th-3rd centuries BC are known as ‘Ba-Shu’ (thus, archaeologists refer to Ba-Shu weapons). Many fine vessels, weapons, tools, and bells have been found over the past few decades.

The last part of the exhibition features a collection of tomb furnishings from the Eastern Han period (AD 25-220), including a very large bronze horse and groom discovered in 1990 (Fig 24) and a 1.53m high bronze money tree (Fig 27). Eleven large ceramic bricks decorated with carriage excursions, buildings, banquet scenes, and other scenes of daily life, are similar to those found in Eastern Han tombs all over China (Figs 29-31). Since Chengdu had little stone, tombs built of these bricks were quite popular. The exhibition concludes with a group of nine ceramic mingqi (tomb figurines and models) of the types mass produced during this period, including several of the comical figures which are typical of those found in Sichuan (Figs 25, 28).

The exhibition was organized and curated by Jay Xu, Foster Foundation Curator of Chinese Art at the Seattle Art Museum, in collaboration with the Bureau of Cultural Relics, Sichuan Province of the People’s Republic of China. It was the result of five years of negotiations and six trips to China.


Dr Eisenberg had first viewed some of the Sanxingdui bronzes during their exhibition in Beijing in 1993, following which he authored The Official Guide to the Art Treasures of Ancient China: 25 Years of Discoveries.

This article and the captions for the exhibition are based upon the catalogue for the exhibition, Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization, written by Jay Xu, Michele Pizzazzoli-t’Serstevens, Jenny F. So, Lothar von Falkenhayn, Alain Thore, Jessica Rawson, and Michael Nylan, and edited by Robert Bagley. The 360-page hardcover catalogue illustrating all of the objects in the exhibition in full colour with extensive essays by the specialists listed above, published by the Seattle Art Museum and Princeton University Press is available at the venues for $60.
Fig 13 (above). Bronze kneeling woman bearing a zun, 12th century BC. H. 15.6 cm. This openwork base surmounted by a female holding a zun vessel on her head may have supported a miniature bronze tree. It is the only representation of a female figure found at Sanxingdui. She appears to be presenting a ritual offering. Excavated from Sanxingdui Pit 2 (K2 (3): 48). Sanxingdui Museum 00285. Cat. no. 43.

Fig 14. Bronze lei, 12th century BC. H. 54 cm, D. of mouth 26.5 cm. The large ritual vessels found at Sanxingdui were certainly imports, most of them probably from the middle Yangtze region in northern Hunan province and some from Zengwu. This imposing vessel sports horned animal heads and birds on the shoulder. Three of the vessels in Pit 2 contained a total of over 3000 cowrie shells from the Indian Ocean. They must have represented a valuable commodity as a unit of trade at that time. Over 10,000 cowries were found at Anyang, where inscriptions on bronze vessels and oracle bones describe them as royal bounty. Excavated from Sanxingdui Pit 2 (K2 (2): 159). Sanxingdui Museum 00625.

Figs 15-16. Stone blade with incised figures, 12th century BC. L. 54.2 cm. Of the many stone blades found in the pits, this example is unique, for it bears an incised design in five registers at both the top and the bottom sections. A register of three standing figures are separated from three kneeling figures by a pair of hills or mounds and, below the hills, two meanders; the final register repeats the two hills. The figures strongly resemble the bronze figures from the pits. No similar designs appear on any Bronze Age stone or jade objects and, indeed, it is one of the earliest pictorial representations yet found in China. Excavated from Sanxingdui Pit 2 (K2 (3): 201-4). Sanxingdui Museum 00174. Cat. no. 53.

Figs 17-18 (left). Inlaid bronze hu with pictorial decoration, first half of the 5th century BC. H. 40 cm, D. (of mouth) 13.4 cm. This vessel does not appear to be out of the ordinary at first glance until one realizes that nearly the entire surface is covered with an extraordinary series of four registers depicting, among others, an archery contest, scenes of food preparation, musicians, a war dance, bowman hunting wild geese, scenes of warfare and naval battles, and hunters attacking wild animals. On the basis of the scenes and the techniques of decoration it can be attributed to the Houma foundry in Shansi. Excavated in 1965 from tomb 10 at Chengdu Baimuwan. Sichuan Provincial Museum 103386. Cat. no. 73.
Fig 19. Bronze lei, late 11th or early 10th century BC. H. 69.4 cm. D. of mouth 21.8 cm. A magnificent vessel of early Western Zhou style with lively ornamentation over the entire surface. Two elephant heads serve as the shoulder handles; coiled dragons appear on the belly and serpents on the shoulders; birds form two of the flanges on the cover. The overall background pattern consists of thin spirals. Excavated in 1980 at Pengzhou Zhiwuji. Sichuan Provincial Museum 140363.

Fig 20. Set of five small bronze ge blades with small round opening and taotie decoration, 4th century BC. L. 29.2 cm. This matched set appears to have been cast from the same mould or from a model on which the moulds were formed. A fine design of a taotie face with an extended triangular element repeating the outline of the blade is cast in relief and oriented toward the tip. Its prototype, five centuries earlier, can be found in early Western Zhou blades both in shape and in the decoration. The mottled pattern surrounding the design was produced after casting by darkening the surface and then by chipping spots away. (See Fig 21 for a marble ge blade.) Excavated in 1980 from the Miluxiang tomb in Xinxiu. Sichuan Provincial Museum 114857/85/80/81. Cat. no. 86.

Fig 21. Inlaid bronze fanghu, late 4th or early 3rd century BC. H. 54.5 cm. The intricate inlaid decoration with its abstract zoomorphic forms and the diagonal grid pattern place the origin of this vessel, which was made to hold grain wine, in the nearby kingdom of Chu, or else it might be a local Sichuan imitation of the Chu style. Unearthed in 1950 at Xinjin. Sichuan Provincial Museum 3019. Cat. no. 75.

Fig 22. Marble ge blade with notched tang, 13th or 12th century BC. L. 38.2 cm, W. 8.2 cm. The ge blade is an axe combined with a daggershaped blade and in bronze is the most common Bronze Age weapon in China. The stone blades, however, are found primarily in tombs. It has been proposed that this unusual blade combining a ge blade with a notched blade, plus the addition of a small openwork bird at the tip, represents a bird on a mountain, a symbol of the arrival of good fortune. Excavated from Sanxingdui Pit 1 (K1: 235-51). Sanxingdui Museum 00031. Cat. nb. 89.

Fig 23. Bronze chime of 14 niuzhong with gold inlay, 4th century BC. H. (of largest bell) 21.75 cm, (of smallest bell) 14.6 cm. The largest set of continuous bell chimes known, they also have the most elaborate ornamentation. The relief decoration is made of disconnected zoomorphic body parts, hooks, curls, and spirals; the golden metal inlays consist of elegant scrolls. The latter patterns are similar to those of Chu bronze at the Warring States period and the chime was probably a present from a Chu king to the ruler of the eastern Sichuan state of Ba. Excavated in 1972 from tomb 1 at Fuling Xiaotianxi. Sichuan Provincial Museum. (This and most of the following objects illustrated have been assigned no museum inventory numbers.) Cat. no. 76.
Fig 24. Bronze horse and groom, 1st or 2nd century AD (Eastern Han). H. of horse 135 cm, H. of groom 67 cm. This impressive horse was cast in nine pieces, this joinery perhaps influenced by wooden models. A 115.5 cm high bronze horse found in Guangxi was also cast in nine parts. The Han elite were dependent upon good horses for their carriages. A well known bronze group found in a 2nd century late Han tomb at Wawei in Gansu consisted of a cavalcade of horses and chariots. Including the famous depiction of a "flying" horse with one hoof touching a bird on the wing. Excavated in 1990 from Mianyang Hejiaoshan Tomb 2. Mianyang Museum. Cat. no. 95.

Fig 25 (above right). Ceramic figure of a squatting drummer, 1st or 2nd century AD (Eastern Han). H. 48 cm. Mold-made comic mingqi (tomb figurines) are very common in Sichuan tombs, many of them caricatures of entertainers, especially musicians such as this drummer who appears to be dancing and singing. Excavated in 1982 from Xiudu Sanhexiang Majishan. Xiudu County Bureau of Cultural Relics. Cat. no. 110.

Fig 26 (left). Chen De'an (right), principal excavator at Sanyingzhang, standing with Jay Xu, the curator of the exhibition, next to a 2.96m bronze tree, which was excavated in about 60 pieces from Pit 2. The 12th century BC tree (K2(2):94), composed of nine branches, each with a bird and two flowers, rests on a dragon standing on a circular base. Many of the small bronze pendants and other ornaments, including jade disks, found in the pit were once suspended from the tree and the beaks of the birds. Originally destined for the exhibition, it was withdrawn due to conservation problems.

Fig 27 (right). Bronze and ceramic money tree, second century AD (Eastern Han). H. 1.53 m. The lace-like filigree surrounding the coins and cast from the same moulds include riders and archers. A top a coin on each branch is a representation of the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) surrounded by her canopy. Two mythical animals form the ceramic base. These impressive money trees were probably placed in the tombs to assure prosperity in the afterworld. They may also have had an apotropaic significance. Found in only six provinces, they are most common in Sichuan, which was perhaps the centre for their production. From Guanghan Wangfuxiang, Guang- han County Cultural Center. Cat. no. 98.
VENUES

Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington to 12 August 2001

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, 30 September 2001 - 13 January 2002

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 4 March 2002 - 16 June 2002

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario 2 August 2002 - 10 November 2002

A special exhibition website set up by the Seattle Art Museum includes several interactive areas and three levels of participation: www.seattleartmuseum.org/sichuan. A two-day scholarly international symposium will be held in Seattle on 3-4 August 2001 in conjunction with the exhibition. It will feature eight distinguished scholars from Europe, China, and the U.S.: Susan Erickson, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Sun Hua, Su Rongyu, Alan Thote, Jay Xu, Wang Yi, and He Zhiguo. For a brochure and further information contact the Seattle Art Museum, (1) 206-654-3119. E-mail: councils@seattleartmuseum.org.

Fig 28. Ceramic figure of a dancer, 1st or 2nd century AD (Eastern Han). H. 54 cm. A graceful dancer, her head held high, steps forward as she lifts up her skirt with one of her long swirling sleeves. She was found with a mirror-image companion in the same tomb as the bronze horse and groom (Fig 26). Excavated in 1990 from Mianyang Hejushan tomb 2. Mianyang Museum E04.

Fig 29. Ceramic brick with moulded scene of salt production, 2nd century AD (Eastern Han). H. 40 cm, W. 48.5 cm. This beautiful representation of a hilly landscape abundant with animals, some being hunted, perhaps represents a sacred mountain. It appears to have no connection with the activities below - four men drawing brine from a well, the brine conducted by a long pipe (bamboo?) to evaporating pans, where a figure fuels the stoves with wood being supplied by the two men near the centre of the scene. Excavated in 1980 at Pi Man. Sichuan Provincial Museum. Cat. no. 104.

Fig 30. Ceramic brick with a chariot and horseman crossing a bridge, 2nd century AD (Eastern Han). H. 41 cm, W. 47.3 cm. Brick tombs in the Chengdu Plain began to be decorated with bricks with pictorial representations in the mid-2nd century AD. The emphasis was on daily activities such as city life, industry, crafts, agriculture, modes of transportation, banquets, games, music, dance, theatre, and, of course, mythology and religion. Here two passengers in a chariot, accompanied by a horseman, cross a bridge. Excavated in 1956 at Chengdu Tiadenghe. Sichuan Provincial Museum. Cat. no. 100.

Fig 31. Ceramic brick depicting an erotic scene, 2nd century AD (Eastern Han). H. 29 cm, L. 50 cm. Unearthed in 1979 in Xinda Xinhongxian. One of a pair of bricks found together depicting three men in a state of arousal and a woman. While Sichuan tombs often contain figurines or reliefs of embracing couples, these bricks with their scenes of copulation are probably the earliest examples of Chinese erotic art. Sexual rites were proscribed by the founder of one religious group, the Five Measures of Rice sect, to cure illness and disease, to give long life, and to banish sins and prevent disasters. Xinda County Bureau of Cultural Relics. Cat. no. 107.
A Brief History

The Neolithic cultures of Sardinia left rock-cut chamber tombs, megaliths, and dolmens spaced out throughout the landscape, as well as various types of pottery vessels. These display some characteristics that tie them more widely to contemporary European cultures. However, the ensuing Bronze Age culture in Sardinia is unique. It is known as Nuragic and flourished in its more isolated form for nearly 2000 years between c. 2300 and 500 BC. Remains from that period are plentiful and, most notably, some 7000 megalithic towers. These domed nuraghi (Fig 1) are almost always surrounded by villages of roughly round stone huts, scattered within and around the nuraghi. The people who made and lived in these villages were buried in the so-called ‘Giants’ Tombs’, megalithic multiple-burial chambers featuring monumental stelae and exedrae that semi-enclose what seem to be ritual features (Fig 2). It is, of course, the predominant use of heavy stone that enabled so many of these Bronze Age sites to be preserved. The nuraghi are monumentally large and magnificent in their own way, but entirely undecorated. Similarly, Bronze Age artefacts also lack aesthetic features and tend to be simple and functional.

In the Sardinian Iron Age, however, along with fundamental social changes, more ritual sites appeared, mostly well-temple or sanctuaries, of which some developed into sanctuaries. More elaborate artefacts are also found here, such as the curious bronzzetti: these are small bronze figurines thought to be votive offerings, and which help illuminate our understanding of Nuragic society since they portray a variety of people, animals and objects in great detail (Figs 3-5). In the later Iron Age, after 500 BC, the Nuragic culture began to change slowly under the influence of the Phoenicians and later of the Roman and Byzantine administrations. But it is only after about 1500 years of foreign intervention, around AD 1000, that one may say that the Nuragic culture was so much changed as to be unrecognizable. Meanwhile, foreign cultures left a very rich material record in the island, too plentiful to mention here. This is especially true of the Roman period, from which entire cities survive. The medieval period left a scantier record, but Sardinia does boast dozens of early medieval churches and chapels of great architectural interest.

Cultivating the Past

There are essentially three kinds of archaeological museums in Sardinia: national, local, and ‘on-site’. The national museums include large collections of artefacts from all over the island. Located at Sassari and Cagliari respectively, along with Antiquarium at Oristano and Porto Torres, they are fairly well known, easily accessible, and warran little coverage in this context. This is also true for the small ‘on-site’ collections. They can be found at a few significant archaeological sites and show selected artefacts from excavations, but are otherwise limited in scope. The third museum type is the local kind, occurring in small towns or villages where a particularly dense array of finds have been unearthed, or where especially interesting sites cluster. These museums, therefore, are clues to local settlement patterns and human geography. They enjoy a sort of symbiosis with their territories and encourage and achieve a more comprehen-
museums are some of the country's finest. However, the local initiatives are evidently far from problem-free, especially regarding long-term maintenance. The former Superintendent of Antiquities for the provinces of Sassari and Nuoro, Dr. Fulvia LoSchiavo, has overseen and inaugurated many museums and contributed to several museum guidebooks. While taking both pride and interest in them, she has also been one of the first to draw attention to the problems that cling to their development and, above all, to their continuation. According to Dr. LoSchiavo, the scale is rather badly tipped between academic interest on the one hand and institutional legislation on the other. While 'the hyperactivity of the Superintendencies' and local support have, rather quickly, brought about many splendid museums, there is in fact no specific legislation to safeguard their future scientific management. Dr. LoSchiavo feels that the proliferation of Sardinian museums is due not to any solid plan, but to the very absence of any measures controlling archaeological activity and the astounding numbers of artefacts resulting from it. It is, of course, regrettable that these museums and museums face an uncertain future, but for now everything possible is being done to keep them open to the public. It is hoped that they have become assets to the island's developing tourism industry and resources for students of archaeology and antiquities.

The local archaeological museums of Sardinia

There are at present 19 local-level museums in Sardinia, and at least two more are planned to open soon (Fig 6). Three are located in the Province of Sassari, and Padria is typical - yet each is unique - and serve as good examples. They are located within easy driving distance of each other and set amongst impressive views of the landscape. This may be called a particularly 'Sardinian' part of the island because of its high density of prehistoric settlements and the longevity and continuity of cultural activities encountered.

The Torralba Museum

The Museo della Valle dei Nuraghi del Logudoro-Melogu (No. 6 in Fig 6) is housed in an old borough building in the small, traditionally shepherds' town of Torralba. It was opened in 1988 following excavations in the so-called Valley of the Nuraghi, and specifically at the complex of Santu Antine (Fig 7). A height of 17m this is the tallest surviving Nuragic ruin, and also one of the tallest ever built (Fig 1). The first of the four rooms in the Torralba museum displays a minia-

Fig. 3. Sardinian bronze figurine depicting a male afferent, c. 900 BC. H. 19 cm. (Cagliari National Museum.)

Fig. 4. Sardinian bronze figurine depicting a tribal chief. From Monte Arcosu-Uta, c. 900 BC. H. 39 cm. (Cagliari National Museum.)

Fig. 5. A Sardinian bronze boat-lamp with a bull-head protome and bird garnale. From Pipiri-Orrolli, c. 900 BC. L. 23 cm; H. 10 cm.
Sardinian Local Museums

Local Museums
1. Museo Archeologico Navale Nina Lamboglia (Borough of La Maddalena).
8. Museo Archeologico di Bonorva.
10. Museo Archeologico di Tula.
11. Museo Archeologico di Cabulas.
14. Museo Genna Maria (Borough of Villanovafranca).
15. Museo Archeologico di Sardara.
17. Museo della civiltà della Pozza di Senoro.

Other Archaeological Museums
23. Museo Nazionale Archeologico Cittadella - Cagliari.
25. Antiquarium Turritano - Porto Torres.

Fig. 6. Map of the local museums (and some national museums) of Sardinia.

In an area known as San Giuseppe. Here we found hundreds of clay figurines deposited in a 'hellenic' ritual context containing material dating between 300 BC and AD 300. Among them are classical figurines of gods and goddesses from the Graeco-Roman pantheon whose artistic merits may be dubious and the execution often flawed, but that do convey authentic sensitivity. This 'feeling' also abounds in the renditions of the clay body parts found, presumably deposited by ailing supplicants in the hope of cures: here are clay model fingers, toes, feet, hands, eyes, ears, and wombs in large numbers, constituting a truly exceptional collection. This, and the other collections, are supplemented by contextual material which illustrates the wider ter-

Fig. 7. Foundations of a Bronze Age sanctuary at Santa Antonia di Turrilba. The Turrilba Museum features models, artefacts, maps, and photographs of the Valley of the Nuraghi at Santa Antonia.

The Ittireddu Museum
The Civico Museo Archeologico ed Etnografico di Ittireddu (No. 5 in Fig. 6) was beautifully laid out next to the municipal building in 1984. It consists of five small rooms where artefacts are shown chronologically for the most part: Room 1 is dedicated to pre-Nuragic finds; Room 2 to Nuragic finds; Rooms 3 and 4 to a specific and significant site called Nuraghe Funtana; and Room 5 to Roman and medieval items. Nuraghe Funtana was excavated in the 1980s and revealed a Bronze Age tower with many interior features still intact, such as tables and seats, a fireplace, and a cooking stand. In addition, a large amount of metal was found stored in a vases with a lid: this find must be associated with a nearby site at Monte Zilghil, where ample evidence of metal-working was documented. A fine bronze object has become the symbol of the museum and town: it is a small depiction of a Nuragic tower-house and barn upon which is perched a delicate little bird. Some contextual imagery is also presented in this museum, notably in the Roman-medieval room, where the local medieval churches are shown in photographs.

Santa Croce dates to the 6th-7th century AD and, standing in the middle of modern-day Ittireddu, merits a visit. Santa Elena is of a similar age, but has been reduced to a fragmentary ruin just outside the town. In addition to its small but impressive archaeological sections, the museum also houses a permanent ethnographic one in the adjacent borough council hall. The area is a large pentagon, newly restored and with plenty of space and light over its polished wood surfaces. The exhibit documents many aspects of traditional Sardinian life and work and is especially rewarding to the visitor with historical interests since it shows production techniques which remained unchanged for centuries. The juxtaposition of archaeology and ethnography, and the very high quality of the exhibits here, make the Ittireddu museum memorable.

Conclusion
The three museums briefly described above, and several of those not described, are some of the best in existence in Italy today - small, locally rooted, and planned in their territorial context - and laid out with exquisite aesthetic sense. They are neither conspicuous, nor easy to reach, but any effort to see them is well rewarded. Let us hope, with Dr LoSchiavo, that these museums may bring about 'a cultural growth reserved not only for the inhabitants of Padru (or Turrilba, or Ittireddu...), but aimed for the larger community of those who, in their present, search for and love the story of the past'.

MINERVA 23
THE MYSTERY OF THE AMAZONS

Filippo Salviati reports on the women warriors of Eurasia, unveiled in an exhibition at the Cernuschi Museum, Paris.

A profusion of exhibitions organised recently in the United States and Europe has given Western audiences the opportunity to admire at leisure and in depth the artistic brilliance of the ancient people that once lived in Central Asia, that vast expanse of land stretching from present-day Eastern Europe to the borders of Northern China. The main focus of these exhibitions has been the dazzling artefacts in gold crafted by the Sarmatians, the Scythians, and the Huns, be they the precious objects first acquired by Tsar Peter the Great in the 18th century, who initiated the collecting and studying of these pieces, or those discovered by Russian archaeologists during excavations of tombs located in the region north-east of the River Don, the land of the ancient Sauromatians, were in fact the burial places of women warriors. These tombs were investigated by a team of researchers from the University of Rostov who identified these ancient women as members of the Sarmatian aristocracy, who were buried with weapons and other paraphernalia including weapons, armor, and jewelry (Figs 2-3).

Fig 1. Silver phalera excavated at Tremliouk depicting Aphiadrite as an Amazon sitting on a bearded goat alongside Hermes. Stylistically similar to Thracian and Dacian phalerai. Second half of the 2nd century to 1st century BC. Diam. 13.7 cm. Krasnodar Museum, Inv. KM 4770/87K, 2005. Cat. no. 157.

More accurate studies of skeletal anatomy confirmed that clusters of tombs located in the region north-east of the River Don, the land of the ancient Sauromatians, were in fact the burial places of women warriors. Thus for the first time since Herodotus' account in the 5th century BC were the Amazons perceived as an actual historical entity.

Recent excavations conducted in the same area have proven even more fruitful in validating aspects of the ancient myths related to the Amazons. Of this opinion is the curator of the Cernuschi exhibition, Véronique Schlitz, who is proud to present for the first time in the West the rich and intact contents of a princely burial excavated in 1987 at Kobiakovo and part of a Sauromatian necropolis dated to the 1st-2nd century AD. The tomb was investigated by a team of researchers from the University of Rostov who identified it as that of a young Sarmatian princess, buried with a wealth of high-quality adornments such as brooches, pendants, belts, headgear, bracelets, necklaces, all in gold inlaid with agate, turquoise, and coral (Figs 2-3). The presence of weapons such as a battle-axe and the harness, which belonged to the princess' horse, attests to the association with cavalry and warfare of this powerful noblewoman. This confirms that, amongst the Sarmatians, women equaled men in activities which were exclusively reserved for men in the Greek world. Such an important role
Fig 3. A gold torc found on the neck of the Kobiakovsky princess. At centre, a bearded man wearing a turban sits on a chequered, rectangular rug in an ‘oriental’ pose; he holds a vase and a sword is set flat across his knees. On either side of this isolated band are two scenes which both depict ‘monkey-headed’ characters fighting against a dragon-griffin. The imagery is of a traditional Iranian epic founder-king myth, whereby three brothers (here wearing monkey masks) defeat demons to usher in an age of prosperity and immortality. Late 1st or early 2nd century BC. H. 5.5 cm; Diam. 21 cm. Rostov Museum, Inv. KP-18957/2-2/373. Cat. No. 240.

Fig 4. The Datchi hoard, excavated in Tomb 1 in a necropolis near Azov, is extraordinarily lavish. It consists of a war horse’s rug covered with 15,200 pieces of gold decorative elements (in lozenge, crescent, and Knot of Herakles shape), and various phalerae (Figs 5-6), a gold horse-head bracelet (no. 7), a dagger and scabbard (no. 8; Fig 7), and a bridle (no. 3). Last quarter of the 1st century BC.

Fig 5. A lateral phalera from Tomb 1 in the Datchi necropolis hoard. A gold band adorned with four lions and decorated with turquoise and coral settings surrounds a polished agate hemisphere containing a nine-petalled rosette. Four gems on the gold band depict Artemis. Diam. 13.7 x 13.5 cm; H. 4.5 cm. Last quarter of the 1st century BC. Museum of Azov, Inv. KP-23458/32. Cat. No. 235.

Fig 6 (right). One of four gems depicting the goddess Artemis on the outer band of the gold lateral phalera from Tomb 1. In the Datchi necropolis hoard (Fig 5). Last quarter of the 1st century BC.

Fig 7. Gold dagger and scabbard inlaid with turquoise, from the necropolis at Datchi. A Bactrian camel in high relief is depicted on the sword pommel and along the centre of the scabbard. Stylised vegetal decoration on both. Last quarter of the 1st century BC. L. of dagger 27.1 cm; L. of scabbard 15.1 cm. Azov Museum, Inv. 23458/29-30. Cat. No. 238.
for women within Central Asian societies is confirmed also by the excavation of a number of Sauromatian tombs located miles apart from (and east of) the Azov sea area, at Pokrovo, in the Kazakh steppes along the Kazakhstan and Russian border. These tombs are the focus of the activity of a Russian-American team of archaeologists directed by Jeannine Davis-Kimball. The excavations have revealed that offerings in the 50 or so tombs so far investigated include, for men and women alike, daily objects, religious and cult items, horse trappings, and weaponry. These finds are in line with what we know today of the Sauromatian social organisation and the role played within it by women: on average, weapons are found in about 20% of female burials.

The Sauromatians began to supersede the Scythians along the Black Sea coast by the 4th century BC, following a westward migratory movement that assumed impressive proportions between the 3rd and 2nd century BC. By that time, their name in the Greek sources was changed to that of 'Sarmatian', and legendary accounts of their origin relate that they were born of the union of young Scythian warriors with Amazons. If archaeology can not, as yet, provide all the necessary evidence to substantiate or reject this and other accounts of the Sauromatians as they are reported in Greek sources, the artefacts excavated in their tombs clearly attest to the role of the Sauromatian as a cultural trait d'union between East and West. Some military innovations, such as the mounted warriors in full armour, protected by a helmet and armed with short swords or spears, are attested in finds of the 1st century AD. Long before similarly equipped cavalymen would become common in medieval Europe, the Sauromatian soldiers had adopted these effective protective measures from East Asia, such armour being already documented in 5th century BC China. Still from China the Sauromatians derived the long sword with a dis cord pommel, secured to the belt through a scabbard slide in jade or other hard-stones. That contacts of some kind existed with China is demonstrated by a bronze mirror of Chinese manufacture dating to the 1st-2nd century BC discovered in the burial of the Princess of Koblikovo.

Contacts with the much closer cultural area of the Mediterranean and its classical civilisations are on the other hand exemplified by a number of finds, including a splendid bowl in polychrome glass with applied gold leaf, unearthed in 1975 from a tomb of the 2nd-3rd century AD at Anapa, in Russia. To the same period dates a group of gilt-silver vessels from a kurgan at Novotcherkassk, whose shape and workmanship unmistakably betray a classical source of inspiration. This is not surprising, considering that after their conquest of the Ukraine steppes the Sauromatians entered into contact with the Greek colonies located on the northern coast of the Black Sea, the same lands once occupied by the Scythians before their displacement. The story of these contacts, of the transmission of cultural elements from East to West and vice versa, is the other important aspect of the Cernuksi exhibition, visually narrated to us by the wonderful works of art on display. They stand as signs of the fluctuating cultural border-line between Asia and Europe in the first centuries of the Christian era, which passed through regions once thought to be the homeland of the mythical Amazons.

Fig. 8. Clothing regalia of a 45-55 year old Sarmatian princess buried at Pestchanyi (in the area of Thiblisski). A veil is held in place by a gold fibula containing a gem depicting Nike on a head-band. The robe's sleeves are richly sewn with over 200 gold beads, with a further 230 along the hem. Buried with a bronze mirror, a silver fawn-headed spoon, and a bronze cauldron. Second half of the 1st century BC.

Fig. 9 (top right). A sword and scabbard excavated from the necropolis of Eizavetovskoe, depicting Greeks victorious over the Persians. (The Amazons fought alongside Priam during the Trojan War.) Second half of the 4th century BC. Sword L. 58 cm, Scabbard L. 55 cm, Inv. Nos. respectively KP-214/13 and KP-1639/17. Cat. No. 87-88.

Fig. 10. A Sarmatian warrior's panoply excavated at Boiko-Panoura. First half of the 2nd century BC. The tomb included an iron Celtic helmet, a glass skyphos from Asla Minor, and an iron lance (not illustrated). Across the neck is a thin gold torc; a fibula in the form of a knot of Herakles is on the right shoulder, and 12 zoomorphic bands adorn the chest.
The Berlin Head Revisited

ANCIENT AND NEO-CLASSICAL PORTRAITS OF CLEOPATRA

Peter Higgs presents new evidence for the authenticity of the Berlin 'Cleopatra'.

A recent article by Guy Weil Goudchaux, 'The Facial Metamorphosis of Cleopatra' (Minerva, March/April 2001, pp. 23-4), discussed the authenticity of the marble portrait of Cleopatra VII now in Berlin. He concluded that the Berlin Head is an 18th century imitation made after a similar portrait in the Louvre. His arguments are based almost solely on style, but new evidence has emerged concerning the collection history of the Berlin Cleopatra, which suggests that the portrait is in fact ancient.

In the catalogue accompanying the British Museum's exhibition 'Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth', I contributed an essay about the various identifications and misidentifications of portraits of Cleopatra over the last two hundred years. This essay included discussion of the history of the Berlin Head prior to its acquisition by the Antikensammlung in 1976. The Cleopatra can now be traced back to the little-known Despuig Collection, originally housed in Raxa on the island of Majorca. Most of this sculpture collection was formed between 1786 and 1797, when the Cardinal D. Antonio Despuig y Sameto undertook excavations in the region of the sites of Ariccia and Genzano south of Rome. Although the exact findspot of the Berlin Cleopatra has not yet been identified, it is likely to have been discovered during these excavations. Like so many ancient sculptures housed in private collections in the 18th century, the Cleopatra was restored. A new marble bust was fitted and the missing left side of the head was replaced (Fig 1). These restorations were removed when the Cleopatra was put on display in the Antikensammlung Berlin (and are now residing in the storerooms there). Of even more interest, however, is that Despuig's Cleopatra, misidentified at that time as a portrait of Lucilla, wife of Marcus Aurelius, the bust of Sappho remained in Majorca and is now displayed within the Castell de Bellver in Palma.

In the sculpture gallery of Despuig's home, the Sappho and the 'Lucilla' were displayed high on the walls and the connection between the two was not recognised when they were first catalogued by Don Joaquín Maria Bover in 1846. On close inspection, however, the two busts on which the heads were mounted, although not exact duplicates or mirror images, are almost identical in terms of scale, style of carving, and form. Moreover, the marble used for both busts appears to be the same. More importantly, the facial features of both heads are carved to the same proportions and dimensions. The shapes of the eyes, nose, and lips are closely comparable, and the chins are rounded and heavy. It would appear that the sculptor of the Sappho closely followed the ancient original when carving his copy. It is likely that Cardinal Despuig so highly regarded his portrait of 'Lucilla' that he commissioned a companion or pendant piece. Almost as soon as the sculptures arrived in Despuig's family home in Raxa, a number of Italian and Spanish sculptors were hired to repair damaged ancient sculptures and to carve new busts in classical style to complement the collection.

One such sculptor, Don Luis Mells, is named in Bover's catalogue of the collection as the sculptor of a veiled woman, now also in Palma, which in style, technique, and form is extremely similar to the so-called Sappho. This piece was made in 1801, shortly after the sculpture collection was formed and Mells is probably also the sculptor of the Sappho and the restorer of the 'Lucilla'. The sequence of events may then have been: the Despuig 'Lucilla' was acquired in Italy, maybe from the excavations south of Rome, and taken back to Majorca where Mells restored the portrait, and then copied its facial features to carve a companion piece, the Sappho.

Speculation aside, we may now identify a modern adaptation of the Berlin Cleopatra, which itself has been considered a fake by a few scholars. Those who are sceptical about the authenticity of the Berlin Cleopatra may now compare a neo-Classical copy with the original.
The British Museum is delighted to announce the slightly delayed arrival to the special exhibition 'Cleopatra of Egypt: from History to Myth' of two portrait heads from Cherchel (Algeria). Carved in exceptionally fine marble, the heads may represent Cleopatra herself and her daughter, Cleopatra Selene. The putative Cleopatra is expressively carved in Alexandrian style in Parian marble (Fig 1). Over life-sized, she wears a similar hairstyle to the portraits now in Berlin and the Vatican, next to which she is now exhibited. A row of curls surrounds her face, and a knot of hair appears above the brow in front of the flat royal diadem. To either side the hair is drawn back, at the front in loose braids, behind the diadem in tighter plaits, which are caught in a bun (now lost) at the nape of the neck (Fig 2). The face is turned to the side and up. The eyes are large, the nose strongly aquiline, the mouth turned down. The chin is now broken.

The opportunity to exhibit this head alongside the Berlin and Vatican heads of Cleopatra encourages a reconsideration of its identity (Minerva, March/April 2001, pp. 20-22, fig 2). Widely regarded as a portrait of Cleopatra's daughter Cleopatra Selene, the earlier notion that this head represents Cleopatra VII herself is surely due for a revival.

The second head (Fig 3), however, may indeed represent the queen's daughter, who was married to Juba II, a Numidian prince and noted intellectual installed by Augustus as his client-king of Mauretania in modern Algeria. The couple held court at lol (Cherchel), renamed Caesarea in Augustus' honour. There they created a miniature Rome, even importing Ita-rian craftsmen to make Corinthian architecture exactly imitating Augustus' new Forum. They also commissioned a splendid series of replicas of Greek masterpieces, perhaps again imitating Augustus' programme of exhibiting classical Greek sculptures in front of newly restored temples in the centre of Rome.

Despite their adulation of the reigning Roman emperor, Juba and Cleopatra Selene ruled in Ptolemaic style, even naming their son Ptolemaeus. The second portrait head from Cherchel, apparently carved in Phrygian marble, shows an individual with a very strong, almost masculine face (Fig 4), and a mass of curls above the brow. The head is veiled, and the ears pierced for metal earrings, now lost. So strong are the facial features that the portrait has even been thought to represent a man. Nonetheless, masculine features were a noted characteristic of portraits of Ptolemaic queens of the 2nd century BC, and indeed of some of Cleopatra VII's coins of the thirties BC. Powerful queens simply had no other way of projecting an image of might and maturity.

Here too there has been an opportunity to exhibit the head near related objects, notably the silver dish from Boscoreale, whose subject has been recently proposed as Cleopatra Selene, and, more modestly, a gaming counter decorated with the head of a woman wearing a sakkos, in front of which appears a mass of curls. If the Boscoreale dish celebrates Cleopatra Selene as a queen of Africa, then the marble head may show her as a pious Roman, her head modestly veiled, but her face exuding Ptolemaic royal authority.

Cleopatra Selene is the only one of Cleopatra's four children whom we know to have survived, dying an apparently natural death aged 35. Her court at Cherchel offers a fascinating glimpse of how life might have been for her mother had she been able to convert from divine ruler of Egypt to client-queen of Augustus. But the world was too small to contain Octavian, Antony, Cleopatra, and, most critically, her son by Caesar, Ptolemy XV Caesarion.

The British Museum would like to thank Guy Weill Goudchaux, M. Mahfoud Ferroukhi, and the staff of the Foreign and Commonwealth office, London, and of the British Embassy, Algiers, for their assistance in securing the loan of these remarkable heads to the Cleopatra exhibition. The portraits are loaned by the generosity of the Algerian Ministry of Culture.

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MINERVA 28
THE CITY OF PAN

John F. Wilson presents the results of recent excavations at Banias in Israel.

Rustic cave shrines, altars, and even cities dedicated to the goat-god Pan are found throughout the ancient Hellenistic world. The worship of this rather bawdy deity originated in Arcadia. He was a favourite of shepherds (who learned to play the reed flute by listening to his songs in the bucolic breezes) and of military leaders (who played for his services in causing ‘panic’ among enemy troops). He was believed to be capable of causing great physical and mental harm (‘paplepsy’), but he also could be persuaded to heal troubled minds and even to ensure fecundity - not only for crops and flocks, but for humans too.

It is ironic that the site of one of the most celebrated Pan cults in the Roman world was a city better known for a famous dialogue between Jesus Christ and his disciples, recorded in the New Testament (Matthew 16). This city, first called ‘Caesarea Philippi’, was the creation of the powerful Herodian family, client kings, and friends of a number of Roman emperors. Herod the Great had built a temple to Augustus near the ancient Cave of Pan (called by Polybius the Panion) in the Syrian foothills of Mount Hermon, at a point along the strategically crucial road which stretched between Damascus and Tyre. His son Philip established an administrative centre there and named it after Caesar and himself. His great grandson, Agrippa I, transformed the place into an impressive Graeco-Roman polis with all the features of civilized urban life.

With the passing of the Herodians and the Romanising of the East, the city’s pagan associations reemerged triumphantly and Caesarea Philippi became known as Caesarea Paneas. Eventually even the reference to Caesar disappeared and the identification of the city with its patron deity was complete. Even today the site is known as Banias, an Arabic form of Paneas. Clinging to the high ground at a strategic spot near the meeting points of the Golan Heights, Syria, and Lebanon, the ancient city - by Ottoman times only a small village - came under Israeli control in 1967. Below the famous cave a large and beautiful spring breaks forth, one of the main sources of the Jordan River (Figs 1-2).

The struggle between the adherents of Jesus Christ and Pan, particularly from the 2nd through to the 4th centuries, resulted in the transformation of the iconography of the pagan goat god by the Christians to Satan himself (and that malevolent creature sports cloven hoofs, horns, and a tail). For the Christians the Cave of Pan became the very ‘Gates of Hell’.

For their part, the pagans transformed this relatively minor god of the fields and flocks into a symbol of supreme deity, creating a kind of pagan monotheism in which Pan (whose name, it should be noted, means ‘All’) became the main rival of the Judaean-Christian deity. The cult statue of Pan in ancient Banias is depicted on many coins of the city during the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Fig 3), and shows none of the traditional ‘Satanic’ attributes. Rather, it appears as a handsome young man in a pose obviously copied from a classical work by Lysippos originally made for Athens, but widely copied in Hellenistic times. Examples of this
Excavations at Banias, Israel

Fig 3. Coin with Pan standing. The coin is dated 172 of the era of Banias (AD 109). Bronze, 26 mm diam. The reverse depicts Pan standing with crossed legs, leaning on a tree trunk upon which various objects are hanging. He plays a single reeded flute. This seems to be an actual depiction of the cult statue at the sanctuary of Pan, which was itself a copy of a work by the classical Greek sculptor Lysippos. The inscription reads: 'Caeasarica Sebastos, Holy City of Refuge, (situated) before the Panion'.

same work may be seen today in both the Louvre and the Vatican museums.

Various excavations at Banias were initiated soon after the Israeli occupation, but full-scale work at the site started only in 1988. Zvi Ma'oz, representing the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), cleared the area alongside the Cave, exposing the cult complex, now referred to as the 'Sanctuary of Pan'. Vassilios Tzavaras, also of the IAA, concentrated on the city center, which lay a few hundred metres to the south of the cave. The latter project, which continues up to the present day, is now a co-operative venture in which a consortium of universities, under the leadership of Pepperdine University in California, serves as half partner. The author is director of this consortium.

An exhibition of representative finds from these excavations was presented to the public for the first time at the Weisman Gallery on the main campus of Pepperdine University in Malibu from February through to April 2001. Of particular interest are several marble statues selected from a cache discovered in 1992 in one of the temples of the Pan Sanctuary. More than 25 Greco-Roman deities and mythological characters could be identified from the fragments, dating from the second half of the 1st century AD to the late 4th century, at which time the sanctuary was apparently abandoned. These had been gathered up, probably in the Early Islamic or Mamluk periods, and deposited in a pit among the ruins of the sanctuary. Many of these pieces have been studied and published by Elise Friedland.

A life-size head of a bearded deity found in the pit may represent Asklepios or Zeus (Fig 4). Either identifica-

Fig 4. Head of Zeus or Asklepios in white marble (medium, glittering, flaky crystals). Two joining fragments of a life-size bearded male head turning to right and tilting slightly downward. The oval shape of the face is accentuated by a frame of long doughty locks and a short curly beard. Both Zeus and Asklepios are known to have been worshipped at Banias.

H. 26 cm, W. 16 cm.

Fig 5. Near life-size head of Athena in white marble, painted, wearing an Attic helmet; broken at the base of the neck. The head turns to the left and tilts slightly towards the side. The oval shaped head is framed by a painted Attic helmet.

Discovered at the Pan Sanctuary.

H. 23 cm, W. 17 cm.

Fig 6. Overview of the palace. The huge palace stretches over 100m from the cardo maximus of Banias to the Banias River in the centre of the ancient city. Externally it resembled a fortress, but internally was opulently decorated. It was probably built in the later 1st century AD by King Herod Agrippa II. Later the building was converted into a public bathhouse.

Fig 7. Burnt Shop vessels in situ. Hundreds of restorable objects were discovered in a shop that had been destroyed by fire at the beginning of the 5th century AD. These included ceramic and glass vessels, various metal objects, and many coins. This assemblage provides important evidence of the nature and use of many objects from the moment 'frozen' in history by a catastrophe.

MINERVA 30
Excavations at Banias, Israel

depicting Athena, wearing an Attic helmet, is executed in a classic style and shows traces of original polychromy (Fig 5).

In the city centre the excavations uncovered a monumental structure, more than 100m wide, which stretched east and west from the banks of the rushing stream emanating from beneath the cave to the ouno maximum. Waters from the spring, one of the major sources of the Jordan River, had been cleverly diverted to create pools and fountains within this massive building. The walls had once been panneled with expensive marble, the floors and ceiling decorated with subtle mosaics, and the monastery exhibited the most skilful engineering and architectural skill of the age. It seems almost certain that this building was the palace of Agrippa II, built in the last half of the 1st century AD. Its quality points to the use of the finest builders of the empire, perhaps lent to the Jewish king by his good friend the Emperor Titus. In the 2nd century, with the disappearance of the Herodian royal family, the city fathers of Paneas converted this structure into a fine public bathhouse (Fig 6). Later, the Byzantine Christians reused many elements of the palace in the cathedral church (see below). Over a thousand years after its construction, when Banias had become a small Islamic frontier fortress, the palace was robbed of most of its upper levels and the spoils from it were used to construct military fortifications. Much of the lower floor was preserved, however, and modern visitors to Banias may explore its remarkably well-preserved arched hallways and staircases.

From the 4th century, until the coming of Islam in the early 7th century, Banias was a centre of Christian strength. A large basilica was constructed, using the masonry from various Roman buildings, standing in triumph within a few metres of the now abandoned Sanctuary of Pan. In this basilica, say a number of early Christian writers, there stood a famous statue of Jesus. They believed this statue (probably actually depicting the Emperor Hadrian) had been erected by the woman Jesus healed of haemorrhaging near the Sea of Galilee (Luke 8:43-48). The woman, so said the legend, was an inhabitant of Banias. Thus the town became an important place of pilgrimage.

A small pilgrim’s flask, found among the ruins of a Byzantine street, was apparently left by one such pious visitor, who had intended to fill it with holy oil, or water from the Jordan, as a souvenir (Fig 9). The shops along this street were burned in some great disaster in the early 5th century. In one shop the contents were entirely preserved (though crushed) when the roof caved in. Hundreds of objects recovered from this room provide a ‘frozen moment’ in history and many valuable insights into the culture of the time (Fig 7). Numerous restorable ceramic vessels such as jugs, cooking pots, and a butter churn were found, along with tools, jewelry, and large wine amphorae (Fig 8).

The medieval fortress of Banias stood on the border between Islamic lands and the territories of the invading Crusaders. Several fierce battles were fought over the town, and the excavations yielded reminders of these: arrowheads and so-called ‘hand grenades’, which may have been used to hurl Greek fire (an incendiary material used in medieval warfare) during battles. Islam brought with it technologies learned from far-away China, such as the ability to cover ceramic objects with colourful glaze. A large type of slip-painted bowl with an unusual coil pattern, typical of the Middle Ages, was discovered in abundance during the excavations (Fig 11).

The site of ancient Banias will no doubt yield more cultural and historical treasures in the future. Important Roman structures, such as an amphitheatre, certainly existed in the city, and are yet to be discovered. In the fields around the town centre it is easy to see the ruins of lovely villas, unaexcavated and unfortunately inaccessible (signs along the fence carry this warning: ‘Danger! Mine Field!’). Banias’ location, on both the physical and cultural borders between Rome and the East, and later between Christianity and Islam, will continue to draw the interest of historians as its story becomes better known.

Fig 8. Wine amphorae and a storage basin found among the ruins of the early 5th century AD burnt shop.

Fig 9. Pilgrim’s Flask. This rare lentoid pilgrim flask with a purplish hue dates from the Middle Ages, and may have been made in the glass production shops which were discovered in the city, built among the ruins of the Roman palace/bathhouse. H. 11.5 cm.

Fig 10. ‘Hand Grenades’. These curious and enigmatic objects are illustrated in the two principle types found in excavations: green (H. 13.5 cm; W. 12.5 cm) and purple/mauve (H. 11 cm; W. 8 cm). They date from the Crusader period and were probably used as grenades, exploding on impact. Some scholars believe, however, that they were used for storing mercury.

Fig 11. Large slip-painted bowl. Rounded, conic, or carinated bowls with yellow or green glaze started to appear in the 11th century AD and became particularly popular during the Mamluk Period. These are frequently decorated with geometric patterns such as a net and irregular lines, and on rare occasions, coils (as seen here). These patterns probably imitate imported vessels. Similar vessels have been found in Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Israel, Egypt and Byzantium dating from the 12th to 14th centuries. H. 10 cm; Max. Diam. 34 cm.

The location would be appropriate to the site, since an inscription to Asklepios was found nearby, and a temple to Zeus is known to have stood among the complex of structures in the Pan Sanctuary. Zeus appears regularly on coins minted in the city. Another near life-size head
ARCADIA IN NORFOLK: THE HOLKHAM SCULPTURE COLLECTION

Elizabeth Angelicoussis

Fig 1. Southern view of Holkham. The perfect Palladian palace. For Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, credited as the 'Burlington of his time', Holkham was his life's principal work. For over three decades he supervised every detail of the structure and decoration of the house, of which the ornamentation was principally an unusual abundance of superb works of ancient art.

Fig 2. Portrait of the Earl of Leicester by Andre Casall in 1757. Represented standing in the Statue Gallery with his prized statue of Diana in the background, Lord Leicester proudly points to his other valued possession, the Earl's Coronet.

The singularly fine collection of antiquities of Holkham (Fig 1) was the sole achievement of Thomas Coke (1697-1759), later 1st Earl of Leicester (Fig 2). The assemblage is remarkable not only for reasons of its sheer size, its exceptional quality, and its superior conservation of the marbles – which decidedly rank Holkham first among English private collections of ancient sculpture – but also because detailed descriptions of the rooms from the third quarter of the 18th century indicate that the placement of the sculptures has remained virtually unchanged for more than two centuries, which makes the collection an unquestionable landmark.

Coke's acquisition of antiquities falls into two distinct phases. The nucleus of the collection dates to his youthful grand tour of Italy (1712-1718). Among the antiquities collected at this date were an imposing statue of a man wearing a toga, acquired under the title of Lucius Antoninus (Fig 3), and the elegant statue of Diana (Fig 4).

The importance of both marbles was first recognized with their inclusion in Domenico Rossi's Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne of 1704. The Diana was one of Coke's principal acquisitions, and several myths arose in the wake of his purchase, notably its purportedly exorbitant cost of £1500 (in today's prices well in excess of £500,000) and the apparent difficulties in its export from Italy, although the tale of the young man's imprisonment, and subsequent liberation only through the intervention of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, is fictitious. No doubt these romantic embellishments were circulated as evidence of the determination and derring-do of the young aristocrat, hot in pursuit of a priceless treasure.

The second stage in the formation of the collection, occurred approximately 30 years later, between 1747 and 1754, in conjunction with Lord Leicester's building of Holkham. The Earl made his purchases through the agency of Matthew B rettingham the Younger, who was sent to Italy to acquire further sculptures for the adornment of the house. With B rettingham's assistance, Leicester was astoundingly successful in the range and quality of his acquisitions, notably the marvellous portrait of Thucydides (Fig 5) and a stunning statue of the silenus Marsyas (Fig 6), which according to B rettingham was purchased from the famed 18th century connoisseur, Cardinal Alessandro Altemps 'in the condition in which it was found, encrusted over with the Tartar of the Earth'.

The overall importance of Holkham, however, lies in Lord Leicester's imaginative sculptural exhibits and their integration with other works of art – paintings and furniture – for behind every arrangement one can discern his fertile imagination and marvellous sense of humour. He was fully aware of the power of sculpture to add a distinctive meaning and identity to a setting, and in the arrangements his interest focused on the role that statuary could play in making arcane associations, as well as iconographical connections and contrasts. In this last respect he succeeded in reconciling two opposing aspects of human nature - the sublime and the mundane - such combinations coming under the heading of 'wit', that quality of mind so highly valued in 18th century England.

The sumptuous Marble Hall, in which the staircase leads within an apse to the State Rooms of the upper storey, is the true showpiece of the house (Fig 7). In the upper ambulatory 12 niches were provided for statues; these are primarily casts and contrasts exist between the figures on either side. Starting along the western wall next to the apse (Fig 8), the semi-nude Venus in a flagrantly lewd pose confronts her opposite, the Egyptian goddess Isis, who stands sedately, is heavily dressed, and holds her sacred attributes - the sistrum or pail and sisthron or rattle - a veritable model of virtue and modesty.
Mercury is placed opposite Bacchus, who sports with a panther. While the latter deity represented the overflowing and intoxicating power of nature, the former had more responsibilities assigned to him than any other of the deities and, as such, required great vigilance in order to execute his many functions. He was the god of wrestlers, thieves, shopkeepers, tradesmen, literature, and eloquence, as well as the messenger of the gods and the guide of souls to the underworld. With his many duties, Mercury presents a picture of extreme sobriety.

The virtuous St Susanna, who chose martyrdom over marriage, has her antiithesis in Flora, a courtesan who led her ill-gotten earnings to the Roman people for the purpose of establishing a festival in her honour, the Floraia, that was carried out with extravagant and lascivious merriment and included games in which courtesans participated. Whereas Flora presided over all that bloomed, the Christian martyr was, of course, barren. Leicester must have derived a measure of glee from setting a virginal Christian saint between pagan male nudes and a woman of easy virtue, thus injecting a touch of contemporary Christianity into a pantheon of heathens. The antithesis between mortal and immortal beauty is the raison d'être for the opposition between the statues of Antinous, the handsome, male paramour of the Emperor Hadrian, and Apollo, the youthful beauty of Mount Olympus.

Of the four statues placed in the apse, the outer two, the Emperor Septimius Severus and the Empress Julia Mamaea, are an especially good match, because they represent the beginning and the end of an historical era. Septimius founded the Severan dynasty; the assassination of Julia Mamaea and her son, Alexander Severus, ended it. By combining two members of the Roman Imperial family with the two fauns, the Earl established a distinct dichotomy between the dignitas of the rulers of the Roman empire and the naked, impish creatures of mythology, whom the Greek poet Hesiod (Fragment 6) described as ‘good for nothing and mischievous’, fond only of wine and sensual pleasures. Fauns symbolize the luxuriant vital powers of powers of nature; they dwell in forests and fields, and here they bring the outside world into the apse.

Of special note is the portrait bust of Lord Leicester over the door leading to the Saloon: it pronounces the Earl to be the mastermind behind the entire conception, as well as the ruler of the wilderness, literally symbolized below by the two fauns. In the Saloon, the main reception area of the house, is his counterpart the bust of Juno, centred in the broken pediment over the main door leading from the Marble Hall (Fig 9). Leicester's use of opposing elements within the room, incorporated in the various pairings in several forms of decoration – furniture, paintings, carved chimney tablets – demonstrates how
Fig 7. The Marble Hall. The beauty of the entire conception is enhanced by the warm hues of the purple and ivory variegated Derbyshire alabaster of the columns and podium, the latter set off by two borders of black marble with ornamentation applied in white alabaster.

contrasts balance one another in a series of correspondences, resulting in an image of a unified and harmonious universe, over which Juno presides. Placed back to back with the portrait of the Earl, the sculpture establishes a direct link between the queen of the heavens and the 'king of the earth'.

The centrepiece of the collection is the Statue Gallery, with its sequence of three rooms - the middle, with apsed ends and two corner tribunes of octagonal shape (Fig 10). The choicest statues were reserved for presentation in the central room of the Gallery (Fig 11). For the first time in England a gallery was exclusively reserved for the display of sculptures. Lord Leicesters' decision to exhibit his marbles without the distraction of other works of art was based on the simple fact that he was the first Englishman in the 18th century to have acquired so many important classical sculptures, which reflected the prestige and taste of their owner. The Earl, however, went far beyond this general concept, by inviting admiration for the intrinsic aesthetic merit of the works. This individualistic presentation of marbles in so vast a space set a standard never again to be equalled in the British Isles.

Leading from the Southern Tribune into the main room (Fig 12), the two alcove niches contain a pair of Fauns and within the principal area are Neptune and Melager, who bracket Fauns. Apollo presides in the niche over the chimney-piece with the head of Cybele positioned in the broken pediment above. Continuing along the wall, Venus and Bacchus flank Diana, with Minerva and Ceres inserted into the niches of the northern alcove. Here, Leicesters contrived an ingenious programme, for all the marbles have strong associations with nature and function as an ensemble to create an idyllic landscape in the general mould of the pastoral life evoked in Virgil's Eclogues, thereby celebrating rural beauties and joys.

Diana was worshipped as a bringer of fertility to both man and beast alike, but as goddess of the hunt her proper sphere was in the uncultivated forests, where wild beasts such as Fauns (the marble in the middle alcove opposite) roamed, and specifically in Arcadia, where he was the region's own divinity. Fauns' chief preoccupation was to ensure the fertility of the flocks; Bacchus was the god of the vine, symbolizing the sap or lifeblood element in nature. Neptune was the sovereign of water, necessary for nature's growth and sustenance, and because of her rampant sexuality, Venus was an obvious goddess of fertility. Apollo, as the embodiment of the sun vital for nature's abundance, is consequently positioned above, beaming over Arcadia, and Cybele, being the 'Mother of the Gods', naturally reign over all the universe.

The theme of nature and its procreative powers draw the two aspers together and thematically tie in with the other statues, but this time there is an important twist. The fauns of the southern alcove personify fruitfulness through raw sexuality, whereas in the northern apse the reference is to nature tamed, a combination of fertility and utility, made possible through cultivation. Ceres was the inventress of agriculture, and Minerva was revered by the ancients for her discovery of olives and instruction on the methods of its farming.

Four portraits were originally set on consoles on either side of the two aspers (the busts along the western wall were later additions); these images from historical reality show philosophers and politicians haunting the groves of Arcadia, and demonstrating the harmonious relations between the imagined ideal life (both philosophy and politics were
noble pursuits in classical times and 18th century England) and the rhythms of the natural world. They allude as well to the application of human knowledge in channelling nature’s forces to create a bountiful rural bliss. In its general message, then, the Sculpture Gallery provides abridged editions of Virgil’s Georgics and Book XVIII of Pliny the Elder’s Natural History, treatises which deal with the improvement of the countryside, that guaranteed material prosperity, in the very same way in which Lord Leicester had transformed the barren marshlands of Holkham into a productive, agrarian estate.

Into the midst of this idyllic setting, the Earl introduced a dramatic episode, for Diana’s rightward motion of plucking an arrow from her quiver in order to shoot at an object is aimed across the space towards Meleager, whose death, according to classical mythology, came about as a result of the goddess’ displeasure. Oeneus, the king of Calydon, had failed to sacrifice to Diana, and in revenge the goddess sent a wild boar to ravage the countryside. The hero, Meleager, and his followers killed the beast, an act symbolised by the creature’s head on which the hero rests his hand.

When Meleager was a boy the Fates had appeared to his mother, Althaea, foretelling his death as soon as the log burning on the hearth was consumed; this event is symbolised by Apollo, the deity of prophecy, in the niche above. When Althaea heard this news, she extinguished the firebrand and concealed it, but after Meleager had killed her brothers over the dispute about awarding the trophy of the boar’s head, she threw the piece of wood onto her brothers’ funeral pyre, here represented by the fireplace, and her son then died. The injection of the Meleager episode, a momento mori, into an atmosphere brimming with the powers of nature’s munificence adds an elegiac tone to the ensemble, an impression, however, which is softened by the evocation of nature’s cyclical renewal. These examples reveal the concerted thought and effort that Lord Leicester applied to his displays, and provide a singular insight into the mind of one of the most fascinating and original individuals of 18th century England.

An outstanding, comprehensive account of the above collection’s formation, containing a detailed catalogue of all statues, has just been published: The Holkham Collection of Classical Sculptures by Elizabeth Angelicoussis (Philipp von Zabern 2001, 189 pp., 95 pl., hardback £60). For details of visiting Holkham Hall and its museum, tel. 01328-710227; www.holkham.co.uk.
FOUR HUNDRED SHEKELS OF SILVER WEIGHING AND MEASURING IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

Norman Rubin discusses an aspect of the exhibition ‘Measuring and Weighing in Ancient Times’ at the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum, Haifa University, until October 2001.

The unit of ‘money’ most frequently mentioned in the Bible, the shekel, was technically speaking not a unit of currency in Biblical times, but a unit of weight. In a world without coinage the value of certain goods was measured by quantity, and rare metals (mainly silver, but also gold) were used as a means of evaluation. In ancient Israel silver was used as the main means of evaluation, and the silver itself had to be measured by weight.

The unit of weight was called the shekel (Hebrew: shqal, Aramaic: shqal), and it was divided into 1000 mitsrephim (Hebrew: mitzrayim). The shekel was used for weighing precious metals, and it was also used as a unit of currency. The shekel was equivalent to about 11.3 grams of silver.

Fig 1 (below). Weights in the shape of various animals (lion, deer, scorpion, duck, turtle). Bronze and haematite, 2nd-1st millennium BC.

Fig 2 (bottom). Small haematite and bronze weights in the form of bulls, a sphinx (second from right), and of zoomorphic form. 1st millennium BC.

Fig 3. Bronze weight shaped as a bull’s head with a nose ring. 15th-11th centuries BC.

Weighing in the Bible

Very few Biblical references mention the intricacies of weighing. An interesting exception is Abraham's payment for the cave of the Machpelah and the field around it: 'And Ephron answered, “Do listen to me sir; the land is worth four hundred shekels of silver”...Abraham came to an agreement with him and weighed out the amount that Ephron had named...’ (Genesis 23). This passage demonstrates that Abraham bought the property at its full price; it also stresses that negotiations and payment were agreed in real silver, according to its weight.

Weighing was a complicated, but honoured process, limited by the volume requiring weighing. Only goods such as spices, incense, and rare metals were weighed during the Bronze and early Iron Ages because most merchandise traded in the Biblical period was mainly transacted through barter. Exchanges were simply made 'in kind'. The weighing instrument commonly used was the symmetrical equal-arm scale. This was a device with a vertical beam and a pan hung on chains at each end (Fig 6). The traded item was placed in one pan and weights were placed the other. When the balance was equalized the transaction was completed.

For weighing heavier loads, steelyards were more reliable. However, they were only invented, and only became used on a daily basis, in the Roman period. Steelyards consisted of a single suspended beam along which a sliding weight could be moved to balance out the load. The load was hung from the short arm near the fulcrum, and a weight, or counterbalance, was moved along the lower arm until a balance was reached. Weight was denoted on the beam by Latin letters (or Greek in the East Mediterranean). The classical steelyard survived into the early Islamic period, as an example incorporating both Greek and Arabic letters along the beam from Scythopolis in Israel demonstrates.

Scale weights

The Hebrew word for weight is shqal or shekel (the same in both Akkadian and Biblical Hebrew). Its value is confusing because it was used to designate more than one unit of weight used during the Biblical era.

There are many difficulties in establishing the value of a shekel since the Bible mentions three kinds. In

Genesis 23:16 a shekel of silver was 'the standard recognized by the merchants...' In Exodus 30:13 it was the 'sacred Shekel' (20 gerah to a shekel), and in 1 Samuel 14:26-27 '...two hundred Shekels to the royal weight'. It has been determined on the basis of evidence that there was a difference of value between them.

There are additional difficulties in determining the value of a shekel. The Bible, for example, refers to 'pieces of silver', whereas 'shekels of silver' would be the more accurate translation. In addition, there were two common systems of weights - the Babylonian and the Phoenician heavy and light weights (the light being half of the heavy). The Babylonian was the first system used throughout the Near East for weighing gold and silver. The heavy gold shekel had an approximate weight of 336 grains (21.8 gms) and the light silver shekel weighed approximately 168 grains (10.9 gms). The Phoenician system came into use as a weight system principally for silver; the heavy silver shekel weighed about 224 grains (14.5 gms), and the light one about 112 grains (7.25 gms). Initially, the Israelites adopted the Babylonian
weight system for weighing gold, and the Phoenician for silver, but at a later period divided their weight system with varied denominations.

Seven weights are mentioned in the Bible: talent, mina, shekel, beka, gera, pim, and kesittah. (The latter weight, the kesittah is archaic in origin and its name and metrological value are unknown.) The talent (Hebrew kikkar meaning 'round') was the largest unit of weight in the Bible, stemming from Ugaritic sources. The mina designates a weight of approximately 50 or 60 shekels and is listed in the passages of the later Biblical Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Ezekiel. The shekel is simply the most basic as its name simply means 'weight'. The beka is mentioned twice in the Bible (Genesis 24:22 and Exodus 38:26) and its value is approximately half a shekel. The gera is known in Akkadian sources (derived from 'grain of a carob seed') and is the 20th part of a shekel. The pim or pyn is mentioned once in Samuel I 13:21 as the approximate weight of two-thirds of a shekel. Also mentioned in the Bible is the peres (Daniel 5:25-28), which is also mentioned in the Mishnah (Commentaries to the Bible) and valued at a half mina).

Archaeological discoveries
Through archaeological excavations, many weights have been discovered (Figs 1-4), a few with weight denominations written on them (Fig 5), but the majority are simply plain. Weights are known incised with the Hebrew letter shin, and another sign which probably designates a number of units. Very few weights have been found with the inscription 'shekel'. Most of the weights that have been uncovered in Israel are from the end of the era of the kings (7th to 6th centuries BC).

The weights' shapes, for the most part, were semi-circular or dome-shaped. Some are of cast metal and rectangular and cube-shaped; others are oval and animal-shaped. A bronze weight in the shape of a turtle, bearing the Hebrew word 'hamashi' (denoting gera) was found in Samaria. The first consideration for the form of the weights was that the base had to be flat to ensure its stability on the scales. The shapes of weights changed from period to period.

Materials used for the weights
The materials used for the weights had to be hard and durable. Thus, 'scale weights' are simply called 'stones', and most ancient weights were made of stone. Small weights were made of bronze or copper and a Biblical passage suggests they were usually carried in a cloth bag: 'Can I connive at false scales or a bag of light weights?' (Micah 6:11).

Most of the heavier weights were made of lead and stamped with interesting historical information. A lead weight dating to the Bar-Kokhba revolt against Rome bears the name of Shimon Bar-Kokhba and has the titles 'Prince of Israel' and 'Parnas' (referring to Hebrew-Aramaic equivalent of agoranomos, the Greek title referring to the name as the chief market official). There were no weights made of gold or silver, despite the fact that these materials were the actual materials weighed (at least before the 7th century BC).

Conclusion
Measuring volume was the most frequent means of measuring in commercial transactions in the Biblical era for both dry and liquid goods (Fig 7). The exhibition, 'Measuring and Weighing in Ancient Times' relates the story of the development of the means of payment in the course of ancient trade. The subject of weighing is represented by various types of scales and a rich selection of weights that were used in Israel and in neighbouring countries from early antiquity to the Late Islamic period.

Fig. 4. Duck-shaped weights of various grades in serpentine. The largest (at right) weighs 4.750 gr, probably the equivalent of 10 Babylonian mina. From Mesopotamia, 1st millennium BC.

Fig. 5. Rare lead weight of anthropoid shape, bearing the inscription 'Under the magistrature of the agoranomos Eunikos, year 471 A'. H. 15 cm; W. 7.5 cm. Roman, 450 gr. Hecht Museum, Inv. II-2154.

Fig. 6. King Arkesilas of Cyrene supervises the weighing and dispatching of silphium (herbal spice). Scene by the Arkesilas painter on a Laconian cup. 6th century BC.

Fig. 7. Table for measuring volumes, decorated with lions heads, excavated at Maresha, Israel. The Greek inscription gives a date of 143 BC and reads 'agoranomos, Antipatros son of I...[laros and Aristodamos, son of Aristos...]. The agoranomouos was a market supervisor.
THE CELTIC WARRIOR BROOCH

Dyfri Williams describes a major new British Museum acquisition.

Words like ‘masterpiece’ and ‘unique’ are often bandied about in our natural enthusiasm for a work of art, but both seem to be justified when we look at the gold Celtic Warrior Brooch. As a result, when this piece came up for auction at Christie’s, South Kensington, London, on 25 April 2001 the British Museum made every effort to purchase it. Its success was largely due to the generosity of the Heritage Lottery Fund, the National Art Collections Fund, and the British Museum Friends, which, together with various internal sources and a donation from Roy Lennox and Joan Weberman, met the one million pound challenge.

This brooch (Fig 1) first came to the attention of curators in the British Museum as long ago as 1985, when it seems to have been considered with some suspicion on account of its uniqueness. In 1965, however, it was loaned to the Museum to facilitate a detailed scientific examination and was subsequently displayed at the ‘Early Celtic Art’ exhibition of 1970, held in Edinburgh and London’s Hayward Gallery. Ever since, as a result of further generous loans by the owner, the Museum’s understanding of the piece has continued to grow, as indeed our understanding of ancient gold-working technology has itself deepened. In 1997 the brooch went on display as a loan from the owner in the Museum’s new gallery on Celtic Europe, a gallery sponsored by the Wolfson Foundation.

We can trace the fibula back to the collection of the Royal House of Braganza. It may have been collected by Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, consort of Queen Maria of Portugal (1834-53), since he is known to have been an avid collector. Most of the jewels of the Braganza dynasty were eventually inherited in 1919 by HRH Nevada of Portugal, Princess d’Braganza, and Duchess d’Oporto. She emigrated to America and on her death in 1941 the collection was sold by her heirs to Warren Piper of Chicago. It was at the Warren Piper sale in 1949 that Thomas F. Flannery Jr purchased it.

This ‘monumental’ gold fibula, some 14cm long, is dominated by the figure of a naked warrior, a miniature sculpture with a calm but powerful presence (Fig 2). He wears a Celtic helmet of the so-called Montefortino type. From a belt round his waist hangs a scabbard, while his right hand grasps the hilt of a sword that had a three-lobed pommel (both scabbard and sword-pommel are of La Tène type); the sword’s blade, now lost, must have pointed vertically upwards. The spindle-shaped boss of the large oval shield marks it out, too, as of Celtic La Tène form. Details of the warrior’s panoply all point to a date in the 3rd century BC. The warrior’s eyes, like those of the animals, were once filled with enamel, probably white surrounding a black centre.

The arched bow carries eight curls on its top, while the side panels are decorated with running spirals and loops that were once surrounded by blue, and perhaps green, enamel. Each end takes the form of a dog’s head. The hinge or spring is lost, together with the brooch pin itself. When worn, this pin would have been held in place by the sliding catch-plate in the form of a boar’s head. The long ‘foot’ of the fibula is formed from two thick wires twisted together that end in the jaws of a dog with raised ears. Beyond a bead with spiral decoration is the forepart of a rearing dog (Fig 3), its front paws resting on the bottom of the warrior’s large oval shield.

An important group of Iberian fibulae of the same form, each with a long, turned back ‘foot’, are of silver (with some traces of gilding) and are decorated on the bow and extended.
A Celtic Gold Masterwork

foot with a warrior on horseback, accompanied by hunting dogs, sometimes chasing down a boar. Two of these have been found on sites in Andalucia and one east of Madrid (two more examples in a private collection in New York are unprovenanced).

Both style and technology, however, indicate that the British Museum brooch is not a native Iberian piece, but rather the work of a Greek or a craftsman trained in the Greek tradition, who in this unique gold version has simplified the narrative, reducing it to a warrior and his hunting dog, who leaps up enthusiastically at his master (Fig 3) while the rest of the hunt motif is merely hinted at by means of the other dogs' heads and the boar's head. Furthermore, the style, especially the floral panel on the bow, also suggests a date in 3rd century BC, thus matching the details of the Celtic armour.

Greek craftsmen, including jewelers, travelled widely in the Mediterranean and beyond from the 7th century BC onwards. Indeed, we know such migrant jewelers best perhaps from the northern shore of the Black Sea where they created spectacular jewellery for their Scythian clients on the Russian steppes, representing them in realistic detail on such famous objects as the Kul Oba silver vase or the Solokha gold comb. The Greeks had traded with the Iberians at the other end of the Mediterranean for many centuries, even founding colonies as near to the mineral-rich valley of the Guadalquivir river in Andalucia as they could (given the strong Phoenician presence in this region). The Greeks called these Iberians 'the richest of men'. The warrior brooch, however, is the only witness to a Greek jeweller's journey beyond the Pillars of Hercules in search of such rich, far western clients and is thus a rare depiction of a member of the princely Iberian elite.

Analysis of the gold reveals that it is 79.6% gold, 11.0% silver, and 9.4% copper, while a small platinum inclusion has been found in the twisted wire of the long foot of the fibula. Some analyses of Iberian gold jewellery are similar in composition and some include platinum as a trace element. This might suggest that the gold for the fibula came from a placer deposit, perhaps in the Iberian peninsula. This is, however, a problematic area of research, for the sourcing of gold is made very difficult by the fact that it was so often recycled.

We may not know the find-spot of this great fibula, but its form and its acquisition by the Portuguese Royal Family in the 19th century would seem to fit well with a burial in a princely warrior tomb somewhere in the Iberian peninsula, or with a treasure hidden in time of crisis. For us now, as perhaps in antiquity too, this extraordinary piece of jewellery represents the meeting of the remarkable artistic genius of the Greeks and the warrior world of Celtic Europe - a cross-cultural connection of extraordinary significance.

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THE MINERVA AWARDS

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

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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.
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ANATOMY OF THE PORT OF ALEXANDRIA

Sean A. Kingsley

Following almost a decade of underwater exploration, the French marine archaeologist Franck Goddio presented the first complete map of the submerged quarters of the ancient port of Alexandria during the opening of the British Museum exhibition, 'Cleopatra of Egypt: from History to Myth', on 10 April 2001. Despite the availability of various ancient historical texts (particularly Strabo, Book 17.1.6), the anatomy of this major Mediterranean maritime cross-roads - home to the Pharaoh light-house, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World - has remained enigmatic.

Since 1992, Goddio's investigation of the eastern port of Alexandria (the Portus Magnus: Great Harbour) has produced startling new insights into the lay-out and function of this site, a stage where so many great historic figures have held sway, including Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, and, of course, Cleopatra. Using a variety of cutting-edge, 'high-tech' equipment, including a nuclear resonance meter, Goddio's team have identified the outlines of the harbour infrastructure covered by more than one metre of sand and encrustation. Using a Global Positioning System to map the submerged breakwaters, buildings, and objects, the team has produced an impressive master-plan accurate to plus or minus 10 cm.

By blending historical and archaeological information the map has reconstructed the port in the following way (from east to west). Just south-east of Cape Lochias was a 350m long artificial breakwater which enclosed the port where the royal galleys were moored. The next major structural complex clustered around the Poseidum peninsula, which is historically attested as the location of a small sanctuary built by Mark Antony after the battle of Actium (and following its identification is scheduled for excavation in 2002).

To the south-east of the peninsula is the Island of Antirhodos, the royal quarter, which was equipped with its own small discrete port and remained in use from before the Ptolemaic period into the 3rd century AD. This area has yielded the most astounding underwater finds to date, ranging from a 30m long Roman ship to the foundations of a Temple of Isis, where a statue of the Great Priest of Isis holding an Osiris-in-hydra, and two sphinxes laying on limestone slabs, have been recorded (one identified as probably Ptolemy XII, the father of Cleopatra).

The temple area is also strewed with various remnants of red granite columns inscribed in Greek and lying on their original pavement. Other statues from this area include: a colossal head of Caesarion; a large granite head of Octavian; an over life-size white marble statue of a Ptolemaic king dressed as Hermes; a white marble head of Antonia Minor, the mother of Germanicus and Claudius; the god Agathodaimon ('Guiding Spirit'), who was the protector god of the Alexandrians, with the body of a serpent; a large sphinx with the head of Horus; and the god Thoth-Hermes in the form of an ibis.

The revelation that the breakwaters and sea-dikes in the Poseidum peninsula zone were composed of mortar embedded with lines of wooden piers to support walk-ways dated to the Ptolemaic period (250 BC) has compelled archaeologists to reconsider the evolution of underwater construction methods in antiquity throughout the entire Mediterranean basin. Previously, the ability to build breakwaters in a controlled way was attributed to the Roman period (Vitrivius describes the process of using hydraulic concrete within wooden 'chests' to systematically build sections of breaker in great detail).

The new map of the ancient harbours of Alexandria has clarified that the eastern section of the port was devoted to the royal quarters. To the west lay the commercial hub, where ships traded in everyday merchandise. Despite the wealth of new information obtained from this project (sponsored by the Hilti Foundation, Lichtenstein) Goddio's team is aware that it is only starting to scratch the surface of one of the ancient world's most fascinating submerged sites.

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FORGED EGYPTIAN SHABTIS AGAIN

Peter A. Clayton

In 1998 Dr J.M. Eisenberg published 'Recent Forgeries of Egyptian Shabtis' (Minerva, Sept/Oct 1998, pp. 34-7). They comprised examples from a group that had appeared in the antiquities market some four years previously. At that time the present writer had condemned them in both his capacity as an Egyptologist and through his association with the antiquities trade. Many colleagues in the worlds of both academia and the antiquities trade were convinced that they were genuine and would not heed warnings about buying them. A number of prominent museums world-wide were taken in and the first publication and illustration of many of them, principally purporting to be of the High Priest of Memphis and fourth son of Ramesses II, Khaemwaset, was made by Dr Eisenberg. In that expose many of the Khaemwaset varieties were illustrated, and also two others (purporting to be of Huy and Raseneb). Subsequently, the writer appeared in court as expert witness in a trading standards case concerning the sale of examples of the Khaemwaset forgeries as genuine examples; the defendant was convicted, and the shabtis condemned in open court.

The writer illustrates here several of the other forgeries which Dr Eisenberg listed and described, of which it was not possible to publish photographs at the time. Here, also, the backs of the figures are shown for guidance in their identification (Figs 1-3, 5; Raseneb is repeated to illustrate the back of the figure).

Since the majority of these known forged shabtis purport to represent the Prince Khaemwaset, the opportunity is taken here to illustrate the genuine examples found by Auguste Mariette in the Serapeum at Saqqara in April 1853 (see A. Mariette, La Serapeum de Memphis..., 1857, 36 pls), and now exhibited in the Louvre, Paris (Figs 4, 6-8).

Editor's note: a third article on shabti forgeries, by Dr Eisenberg, will appear in the next issue of Minerva. It will be devoted to a detailed scientific analysis of three specimens: two genuine, including a type of reis shabti, the other another recent forgery. It will also include a discussion of a thermo-luminescence test on a Khaemwaset shabti (of the new type) which identified it as ancient.

Fig 1 (top). Heri, Sem Priest of Ptah, shabti forgery. h. 14.1 cm. Eisenberg E1.

Fig 2 (middle). Prince Merenreptah shabti forgery. h. 11.4 cm. Eisenberg E1.

Fig 3 (bottom). Rala, Lady of the House, shabti forgery. h. 12.2cm. Eisenberg E1.

Fig 4. Genuine Prince Khaemwaset shabtis in various materials including black stone, sandstone, blue, and white faience. Louvre, Paris.

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Forged Egyptian Shabtis

Fig 5 (left). General Kaseneb shabti forgery. H. 12.8cm. Eisenberg G1.

Fig 6 (right). Genuine white faience shabtis of Prince Khaemwaset. Louvre, Paris.

Fig 7 (left). Large sandstone genuine shabti figure of Prince Khaemwaset. Louvre, Paris.

All illustrations: photos by Peter A. Clayton.

Fig 8 (left). Genuine Prince Khaemwaset shabtis in stone and faience; note the black hard stone example of a red shabti. Louvre, Paris.

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Towards evening we arrived at a village called Livari, a corruption, it is thought of Vivarium, from the fisheries in the lake, which here finds an outlet into the sea by means of a river. By the people of the place the lake is also called Bolidopores, or Oxford. At Corfu the village is known as Butrinto or Vurtinado, but in the country itself we found these names unknown, a source of confusion, which caused us much difficulty. On the opposite side of the water is a rocky height, with remains of walls, which mark the site of the ancient Butrotum, the celsam Butrhoti urbem of Virgil. As we were embarking to cross to Corfu, I said to a Turkish official who was standing by, “Now we leaving Turkey”. “Yes,” he replied, “now you are going to Europe” (The Reverend Henry Fan- shawe Tozer, 1869, Researches in the Highlands of Turkey).

Butrint (ancient Butrotum) lies at the cross-roads of the Mediterranean in south-west Albania (Figs 1-3). This exposed hilltop, situated between Lake Butrint and the Straits of Corfu, has been occupied since at least 1000 BC, although the Roman author Virgil ascribed the city’s foundation to Trojan exiles. By the 4th century BC a walled settlement was established and the city became a successful cult site, dedicated to Aesclepius, the god of medicine. Augustus declared Butrint as a colony and the town seems to have remained a prosperous Roman port until the 6th century AD. Little is known of the site between the 7th and later 9th centuries. Its later medieval history was turbulent as the town was involved first in the power struggles between Byzantium and successive Normans, Angevins, and Venetian states, and second in the conflict between Venice and the Ottoman Turks. By the 17th century it had dwindled to an enclave of fish-farms clustered around an earlier triangular castle, much as it is today.

Substantial archaeological investigations of the site were made by an Italian archaeological mission between 1928-41 led by Luigi Ugolini, and continued under the post-war Albanian Institute of Archaeology. In 1992 UNESCO inscribed Butrint as a World Heritage Site, and in 1999 enlarged the boundaries of the site to include the unspoilt lakeland landscape around it. Since 1994 excavations have been undertaken by a collaboration between the Albanian Institute of Archaeology and the Butrint Foundation (see Minerva March/April 1996, pp. 9-13), a British charity founded by Lord Rothschild and Lord Sainsbury of Preston Candover. The first protocol between the Institute and Butrint Foundation covered the period 1994-99 and involved a new survey of the Graeco-Roman city, related archival research dedicated to the unpublished work of earlier missions at Butrint, a field survey of the sub-region, and selective assessment excavations of Early Byzantine monuments in Butrint. This article summarises the first results of a new protocol between the Institute of Archaeology and the Butrint Foundation following a three-month excavation during April-June 2000.

The new protocol for excavations in 2000 aimed to build upon the larger aims of the Butrint Foundation. Having made an assessment of the archaeological potential of Butrint, it was decided to investigate two sites in detail. These excavations also served as training excavations for third-year students of archaeology at Tirana University. Within Butrint, it was decided to develop the excavations of the late antique palatial dwelling known as the Triconch Palace, to reveal the complex transformation of an insula in the classical city between the later
Butrint Excavations

Roman and Middle Ages. Carefully conserved, the monument might illustrate the changing fortunes of a later Roman palace on a new visitor trail within the World Heritage Site.

The second excavation of the 2000 season investigated a major settlement identified during the earlier field survey in the hinterland of Butrint: a Roman villa and an associated late antique church at Diaporit on the eastern shores of Lake Butrint.

Excavations at the Triconch Palace
The Triconch Palace at Butrint (Fig 4) lies on the southern side of the ancient city, adjacent to the Vivari Channel. The Italian Archaeological Mission first investigated the Triconch in 1928, though their excavations were limited to the triclinium. Luigi Ugolini interpreted the remains as those of a martyrdom church. This year’s excavation focused on two areas: the southern range of the complex, which earlier excavations had suggested formed the core of the palace; and the western ranges where excavations in 1998 had identified a substantial apsidal aula and what was interpreted at the time as a colonnaded vestibule. Both were floored with fine geometric mosaics.

The earliest phase of the palace dates to either the late 4th or early 5th century. It was laid out around a stone-flagged courtyard, with ranges of rooms to the south, west, and possibly north. To the east the palace probably fronted onto a street leading from the Vivari channel. A portico ran around all four sides of the courtyard, of which the stylobate wall still remains, together with column bases made of fine white limestone and fragments of columns cut from elegant red-pink limestone. Fragments of a mosaic floor have also been revealed here.

The rooms within the south and west ranges of the palace were entered from the courtyard. The southern range consisted of five interconnecting rooms fronted by a long gallery. The gallery was floored with a high quality geometric mosaic pavement, while the walls were painted with a perspective colonnade. To the west of the gallery was a reception room containing a small marble-clad octagonal fountain, and a mosaic pavement of elaborate design, around a central motif. These rooms overlooking the channel were probably the private quarters of the owner and his family and formed the heart of the domus.

The triclinium suite (dining rooms) formed the western wing, from the courtyard a room with a geometric mosaic pavement consisting of a border of a reticulate design surrounding a central mat of interconnected pelae would have greeted guests before they entered the main reception/dining area. Beyond, lay the remains of three adjacent rooms positioned to the south (X), west (CC), and north (Y).
Room CC had a raised floor level and walls decorated with niches. These features mark out this space as the principal room of the triclinium suite. The whole ensemble was intended for the reception and entertainment of guests of the highest level.

Throughout the 5th century alterations were made to the complex. The two most significant alterations were the addition of an apsed extension to the reception room at the end of the south range (V; Figs 5, 7), including the insertion of a new section of geometric mosaic floor. This was far cruder than the earlier pavement, but the extension transformed the room into an apsed aula and mirrors the development of such reception rooms throughout the empire. The second alteration was the addition of a double-apsed vestibule (N) to the southern side of a small bath suite (HH). This again was a standard feature of later Roman architecture; similar arrangements exist at Piazza Armerina in Sicily and the rural villa at San Giovanni di Ruoti in Basilicata, Italy, for example.

Late in the 5th century the palace was completely renovated. New northern and eastern ranges were established, indicating that the owner was able to extend the building across the course of the earlier street. The new eastern range essentially comprised a three-apsed triclinium (A), with surrounding ancillary structures. This room mirrored the earlier triclinium on the far side of the peristyle. A double-apsed vestibule (H) now connected this new building to the old southern range. This vestibule seems to represent a special marine entrance, which permitted guests to enter directly into the peristyle courtyard. The northern range was essentially just a façade, one room deep, and has not been extensively investigated.

A new circuit of defences around the city in the late 5th century had a great impact on the palace extension. In many areas of the city the wall simply linked together the façades of existing buildings in its path. However, at the palace, the wall was deliberately diverted to avoid the building, perhaps hinting at the power and influence wielded by the palace’s owner. Despite the provision of gateways allowing access between the palace and the channel, the presence of the city wall appears to have dramatically halted the building works. No floors were laid down in the new buildings and the walls were left undecorated.

During the early 6th century, levels of silt built up over the mosaic floors indicating that the splendid public and private rooms were no longer maintained. Many rooms were subdivided and connecting doors were blocked. Roughly built extensions were constructed that failed to respect the alignment of the triconch complex, but rather followed the alignment of the new city wall alongside the Vivari channel.

These secondary constructions were accompanied by a change of use for the palace. In the northern range a series of mortar-built tanks were constructed against the unplastered walls of the northern wing, while the southern range was found to be full of crushed mussel shells and thick shell middens. Five small rectangular ovens or furnaces were associated with the middens. Associated finds included numerous fishhooks, net weights, and needles. Clearly, the old domus was being utilised by fishermen to process their catch in the same way that the modern fishermen of Butrint still roast shellfish on small bonfires or ovens amongst the ruins of the ancient city. By this time the buildings may have presented a peculiar appearance: the mosaic floors were punctured by numerous holes, indicating the use of wooden posts to support the roof or to form lightweight partition walls.

In the northern range this activity was relatively short-lived. During the course of the first decades of the 6th century the area was used as a makeshift cemetery, possibly while the roofs were still intact on the buildings. Late in the 6th century most of the remainder of the domus complex was systematically demolished, and building materials were removed presumably for use elsewhere. Layers of demolition debris were interspersed with thick levels of domestic refuse, including large quantities of transport amphorae. Clearly the site of the Triconch was being used as a dump by the occupants of dwellings located further into the interior of the city.

The sequence of burials that began in the northern range in the early 6th century eventually extended across most of the site. Some of these graves contained metallic grave goods, such as belt fittings and fibulae. One contained a hoard of twelve iron and bronze finger rings that had been held in a small purse by the side of the body. A small apsed room adjacent to the large triconch triclinium was converted into a mausoleum or a small chapel, perhaps associated with the cemetery.

The site of the Triconch Palace now lay undisturbed for some 500 years. This area of Butrint does not appear to have participated to any great extent in the 10th and 11th century revival of the town. Not until the 13th century were the ruins cleared for a new programme of building.

The uppermost archaeological levels excavated in the Triconch during the 2000 season provided evidence of...
Butrint's more recent history. Within the black humic levels were found Byzantine, Angevin, and Venetian coins of the 10th-14th centuries, pottery of 15th-20th century date, and 1930s shotgun cartridges, perhaps discarded by Ugoioli's excavators whilst hunting. Certainly by 1572 the Venetians had officially abandoned Butrint as the administrative point for the valuable fisheries. After this date the lower city began to take the wooded form that we see today.

The villa at Diapori

In 2000 the Butrint Foundation, having undertaken a field survey of the surrounding landscape, began excavations at the major site of Diapori (Figs 1, 8-10), which promised to reveal the long history of the city itself. Diapori is situated on the south-west side of Lake Butrint.

Archaeological remains at Diapori were noted by the Italian mission in the 1920s. In a document held by the Museum of Roman Civilisation, Ugoioli describes a 'Roman building' and a 'Byzantine church', which are clearly recognisable as existing standing remains. He was of the opinion that the Roman structure was of late imperial date and also described how the church was constructed using marble from an earlier building.

The new excavations revealed a remarkable palimpsest of buildings on the site (Figs 10-12). In some areas these structures exist to a depth of more than 2.5m below the present ground level. In both of the two trenches opened on the villa complex, it proved impossible to reach the bottom of the archaeological deposits due to the sheer depth of overlying material and structural remains.

The excavations and topographic survey suggest a complex of buildings later covered with three artificial terraces covering an area of approximately 85 x 75m. This includes an area of buildings that are now beneath the waters of the lake. A preliminary survey by divers from the University of Texas A & M, led by Elizabeth Green, noted the remains of substantial buildings up to 8m beyond the present shore.

A trench on the south side of the villa (Trench A), adjacent to the visible standing structures, revealed the remains of a large bath complex. A section of a heated room was discovered with the hypocaust standing to its full height in one corner (Fig 11). This room had been demolished at a later stage in order to construct further elements of the bath complex, which included an apsidal room, an oval vestibule, and a further heated room. Originally, these later rooms were all opulently decorated with panels of marble that covered both the walls and floors. Fragments recovered from the site indicate that exotic marble from as far afield as Egypt was used for this decoration. All of the marble had been subsequently removed from the buildings, probably for use within the church.

Adjacent to the bath building a large masonry pier can be seen. The most prominent feature of the site, the pier has two angled sides facing west and south-west respectively. The angle between these faces (approximately 36 degrees) indicates that this pier formed one corner of a ten-sided building of a type familiar from other sites in the region. The construction technique utilised in these structures (a mortared rubble core faced with widely spaced brick courses) suggests a construction date of around the 3rd or 4th centuries AD.

A second trench (Trench B) was opened approximately mid-way between the bath building and the church, adjacent to what appears to be a large terracing wall revealed by surface clearance. This trench revealed a series of buildings, of which the earliest was richly painted. One wall was adorned with bright panels and bands of colour, while a second was decorated with a simpler dark blue and white design. The church was subsequently modified with the addition of later walls that were intended to allow the expansion of the upper levels of the building and to enhance the dramatic effect allowed by the use of terraces.

This use of terraces was an important part of the ideology of villa architecture. They were intended to show that the owner of the villa had conquered the landscape, thereby bringing civilisation to a wilderness. The poet Statius, writing in the 1st century AD, described them in this fashion: 'Here, where you now see level ground was a hill; the halls you enter were wild country; where now tall groves appear, there was once not even soil; its owner has tamed the place, and as he shaped and conquered the rocks the earth gladly gave way before him. See how the dwellings force their entry and the mountain is hidden within'.

It seems, therefore, that the builder of the villa at Diapori was familiar with this architectural language of power. This was also continued in the later buildings on the site, which probably date to the 3rd century AD. The use of apsidal and polygonal forms, seen in the bath complex, is a common feature of grandiose buildings of the late empire (as can be seen from the excavations at Palatine in Butrint). Of equal importance in this sense was the use of the lakeside location with its command of the vista towards Butrint.

The Christian basilica at Diapori

A third excavation concentrated upon a basilica visible at the north end of the site (Figs 8, 12). Initial surface clearance revealed a thick deposit of rubble spread across the interior of the basilica. This clearance work also revealed an apse at either end of the narthex, which were cleaned but left unexcavated. These annexes are of particular interest, although neither was excavated during 2000. Both clearly post-date the church and therefore materials recovered from the church deposits within them should provide a terminus ante quem for the construction of the basilica.

The church was a three-aisled basilica of a type that was ubiquitous in Greece. The aisles and nave were divided by stylobates (rather than closure screens), which probably supported masonry piers rather than columns. A narthex opened onto both nave and aisles, the entrance to the nave apparently via a tribelon (two side doors). A door on the northern end led into the northern annex.

The church was constructed using spolia (reused debris) from the villa buildings. There seems to have been little in the way of architectural sculpture in the building, although a colonnette and crutch capital, which probably came from an axial bimetal window, were found adjacent to the apse. So far only one area of paving has been found within the church, in the area of the gap in the northern stylobate that linked the nave and north aisle. Trial excavations in the northern aisle and narthex suggested that the original pavements were largely robbed at an unknown date. Very little marble was found in the church suggesting that if the veneers from the villa were used either for the walls or for the pavement, then they had been subsequently removed.

The construction date of the church has not been precisely established. If the systematic stripping of marble from the villa occurred in the
late 4th or early 5th century, this would be an exceptionally early date for the construction of the basilica. Most of the churches of Epirus appear to have been constructed between AD 450-550.

There was also activity at the church in the later medieval period. Two 12th-13th century coins were discovered in the topsoil while the survey also recovered a quantity of contemporary ceramics from the area of the church. It is not known whether these finds represent an ecclesiastical or secular usage of the building.

The excavations in context

The first season of excavations at Diaporit went some way towards addressing the issues outlined at the start of this report. The presence of a substantial Roman villa complex was confirmed. The earliest phases of this villa appear to date to the late republican or early imperial periods and could plausibly be associated with the Roman aristocracy's expansion into Epirus. This early date is suggested by the presence of tegulae mammatae within the earliest phase of the bathhouse identified so far. The evidence of the late Republican ceramics found during the field survey.

It is clear that the villa extended beyond the present lakeshore, demonstrated by the presence of structural remains some 10m out into the lake. Traces of further buildings can also be seen on the lakeshore some distance to the south of the excavated area. The villa was constructed on a system of artificial terraces, which accentuated the effect of the natural hill slope, doubtless giving the complex a more imposing appearance. This was a deliberate device and is very much in keeping with the iconography of villa architecture, which emphasised the owner's achievement in civilising the wilderness.

The construction technique utilised in most of the villa buildings was the same as has been found in numerous contemporary buildings in Italy, where low stone walls were surmounted with a superstructure of pisé de terre (clay walls). This technique has been documented at Settefinestre in Tuscany and other villas in the Metaponto area of southern Italy. The upper walls at Diaporit appear to have used a combination of pisé and masonry bonded with clay. The decomposition of these walls has given rise to thick deposits of orange clay, tile, and rubble throughout the excavated areas. The sequence is similar to that identified at Settefinestre, where a thick layer of clay overlay a similarly substantial layer of fallen wall plaster. At Diaporit, however, there was more than one phase of demolition, and it is clear that a larger area must be excavated before the sequence of these deposits can be fully understood.

The first phase of the building was demolished at some time prior to the 3rd or 4th century AD. It is not clear if the villa was abandoned for any length of time before the construction of the second phase of the villa, or whether this second phase was a reconstruction on a continually inhabited site. The new buildings (as found in Trench A) were a combination of polygonal and apsidal forms constructed in brick-faced concrete, and simpler structures utilised the technique of clay bonded masonry and pisé above lower walls of mortared masonry. The ten-sided room to the south of Trench A is closely paralleled elsewhere in Epirus at Frangoklisia near Parga, while eight-sided structures are known from Strongyli near Preveza and from the hilltop site of Phoenicé 20 kms north of Butrint. The purpose of these rooms is unclear, although it seems possible that they may be reception rooms or parts of baths fitted as such in a complex.

Perhaps the most important discovery was the apparent confirmation that the villa had fallen into disuse prior to the construction of the church, which was not, therefore, an addition to the villa complex, but a new establishment on an earlier site. This may be seen as indicative of the changes that occurred in late 4th and 5th century Epirus, where changing economic or political circumstances signalled a downturn in the fortunes of the villa owner. It is possible that the abandonment of Diaporit reflects the conditions described by Ammianus Marcellinus who records abuses by Probus, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, writing that: 'The imposition of ruinous taxes fatally sapped the resources of rich and poor alike. Gradually, the burden of tribute and repeated increases in taxation caused such alarm that some members of the upper classes changed their place of residence.' Although the sequence of events at Diaporit is becoming clearer, it remains essential that the site's history is refined and that the occupation of the site after the abandonment of the villa is better understood. A particular problem relates to the paucity of ceramics (particularly fine wares) within the excavated deposits, which although intermittent in terms of the economic life and material culture of the villa, adds greatly to the difficulty in dating. It is clear that larger areas need to be excavated in order that the lower levels of occupation can be reached. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Diaporit represents an opportunity to understand a crucial element of the history of Roman Epirus, from the first expansion of the Roman aristocracy onto non-Italian soil through to the dramatic changes that occurred in the social structures of the province in the 5th-7th centuries.

The villa of T. Pomponius Atticus

Is the association of Diaporit with Atticus, Cicero's friend, fanciful? Diaporit was certainly occupied from the late Republican period, though as yet the full extent of the villa is unknown. It was during this period that the Roman aristocracy began to expand into the mainland of Epirus, establishing major landholdings within the area. This activity on the part of theSyncreti (or Epictot homines described by Cicero and Varro) was the earliest expression of Roman land ownership beyond the Italian peninsula. Thus far, although they are known from documentary sources (and various Roman villas are depicted on mosaics and wall paintings; Fig 13), none of these establishments have been found or investigated on the ground. The nature of the early Roman occupation of Diaporit may, therefore, be an invaluable source for understanding these processes.

The presence of what appears to be a major villa site on the shores of Lake Butrint is particularly interesting in light of Cicero's correspondence with his friend and architect, T. Pomponius Atticus. Atticus is known to have had an estate on the river Thymis, which met the sea opposite Corta. Adjacent to the water Atticus constructed an Amphiltheum (probably a temple to the nymph Amphilthea in which he made sacrifices (De Leg. I, 7; Ep. ad Att. I, 13, 1; I, 16, 15-18). The Amphiltheum, which was surrounded by plane trees, was clearly a source of pride to Atticus and in 61 BC Cicero requested a description of it in order that he could construct a similar building. The letters also suggest that Atticus placed
inscriptions dedicated to his friend within the Amaltheum: 'I shall be contented with the inscriptions you have put in your Amaltheum, especially as Thyllius has deserted me and Archias has not written anything about me... Please write me a description of your Amaltheum, its adornment and situation; and send me any poems or tales you have about Amalthea. I should like to make one too in my place at Arpinium' (Ep. ad Att. 1, 16, 15-18).

It is tempting to equate the site of Diapori with that of Atticus's establishment, although it should be stressed that the visible standing remains are of a much later date. However, the depth of the excavated remains described above, which as yet remain largely undated, indicates that a substantial earlier complex underlies the later Roman villa. The presence of late Republican pottery on the site is also indicative of occupation relating to this period. Diapori is certainly a more likely site for Atticus's villa than the fortified Hellenistic building of Malathea (5 km south of Diapori; Fig 1), which has also been suggested as a possible location. Malathea is situated high on a steep valley side, at a considerable distance from the Pavius river, and lacks any sign of construction of the relevant period. Therefore, although the identification of Diapori with Atticus's villa must remain tentative in the absence of further corroborating evidence, it is certainly the most likely site located thus far in terms of both the type of site and the date of its earliest occupation. Whether or not Diapori is actually the site of Atticus's own villa, Atticus would have almost certainly known its owner and visited this establishment.

Towards the Future
Looking forward, the 2000 excavations help in formulating a new picture of life both in the ancient city of Butrint as well as in its environs. In 2000, the Albanian government formally recognised that Butrint is a microcosm of Mediterranean history when the UNESCO-designated area was also inscribed as a National Park. The new excavations will hopefully help to illustrate new aspects of the city's long frontier history, once on the edge of Turkey, as the Reverend Tozer perceived it in 1869, and before that, from the Homeric age until the Ottomans, very much at the heart of the Mediterranean.
THE LAST ROMAN IMPERIAL PALACE?
ARCHAEOLOGY IN ISTANBUL

Ken Dark and Ferudun Ö zgümüs report on recent discoveries by the Istanbul Rescue Archaeology Project at the Byzantine imperial palace of the Blachernae.

Who was the last Roman emperor? Answers to this question vary according to whether one considers the Roman Empire to have come to an end. When people today discuss the 'end of the Roman Empire' they are usually referring to the end of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century AD. But the Late Roman Empire was divided into two parts by the 5th century, one in the West and the other in the East, each with its own emperor and its own capital. While the Western Empire, centred in Italy, collapsed in the 5th century, the Eastern Roman Empire survived until 1453, when its capital Constantinople (modern Istanbul) fell. So, there was a 'Roman Empire' (which we usually call the 'Byzantine' empire, because Istanbul was called 'Byzantium' before its adoption as a Roman capital) with a 'Roman emperor' (the Byzantine emperor) long after the last Western emperor was deposed.

The Byzantine emperors had two palaces in their capital city. The first, the Great Palace, was built when the city was established as the Byzantine capital in the early 4th century AD. This was in the south-east of Byzantine Constantinople, near the famous church of Hagia Sophia. The second was the palace of the Blachernae, situated in the north-west of the city, near the still surviving 5th-century land walls. Although members of the imperial family had other residences built in later centuries, the Blachernae complex (probably begun in the mid-5th century) was the last imperial palace intended for court ceremonies and government construction prior to the fall of the Western Empire in 476. It remained in use throughout the Byzantine period, gradually replacing the Great Palace as the principal seat of the Byzantine court, and was still in use on the last day of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. The Blachernae palace was, therefore, at least arguably, the 'last palace of the Roman emperor'.

The Blachernae Palace: an archaeological puzzle

The earlier Roman imperial palaces in Rome are well-known, and the Great Palace of Byzantine Constantinople has been the subject of archaeological excavation by Turkish, British, and Austrian scholars. However, before the work reported here no extensive and fully-published excavation had taken place at the site of the Blachernae palace, nor had extensive modern archaeological survey attempted to record all the surviving fragments of the structures systematically and relate them to the local topography. This relative lack of archaeological interest in the Blachernae palace is made even more surprising because textual evidence, in particular the Book of Ceremonies (an account of Byzantine court protocol), enables one to recognize the approximate location of the palace in the modern topography of Istanbul.

Some traces of the palace, or at least Byzantine structures probably related to it, were recorded prior to the 1990s in the Ayvansaray and Balat districts of Istanbul (Fig 1). The largest of these is a multi-roomed brick structure, set immediately behind the city land wall (Fig 2), and now called the 'Prison of Amasias' on the basis of dubious historical associations. Adjacent to this are two towers (the 'Tower of Amasias' and the 'Tower of Isaac Angelus'). Another Byzantine brick structure, this time a freestanding ailed basilica building, stood close to one of the city gates (Ayvansaray kapi) until the 1920s, when it was completely demolished. Byzantine substructures have also been found underneath the disused Islamic monastery (têkê) at Emin Buhari tekkesi, and at Hançerli Hamam, a former Ottoman bathhouse.

However, the relationship between all of these structures and the palace remained unclear. A well-preserved Late Byzantine (13th-15th century) structure, today called Tekfur Saray, may also relate to the palace. It may be the same building as that labeled on a 15th century map as the 'imperial palace'. If this identification is correct, this could represent the last phase of the Blachernae complex, but its relevance to the Early Byzantine (5th-7th century) and Middle Byzantine (8th-12th cen-
as Government Representative.

In accordance with the general objectives of this joint project, the aim was to record all material of pre-c. AD 1500 date which was either previously unpublished or at risk of damage or destruction. Consequently, it must be stressed that the 1999 survey had a wider range of objectives than simply explicating the Byzantine palace complex, but the hope that it might help to achieve this was one key aim of focusing on this area.

The 1999 survey of Ayvansaray and Balat Byzantine material directly relevant to the Blachernae palace was found at eight main sites and both substantially adds to, and clarifies, existing archaeological evidence for the Blachernae complex. At and near the mosque of Ibaz Efendi camii, adjacent to the so-called 'Prison of Anemas', Byzantine material was found at several juxtaposed locations. In addition to Byzantine architectural fragments incorporated into the walls of the mosque compound, two pairs of probable Byzantine column bases appear to be in situ parallel to the west front of the mosque, overlooking the city walls. These may relate to the portico once surrounding the Ottoman mosque, but could conceivably suggest that the Ottoman mosque incorporates or directly overlies a Byzantine building.

Immediately north of the mosque is a modern teashop, in the garden of which are high quality Byzantine column capitals, bases, and shafts in exotic marbles, and a porphyry architectural fragment, likely to come from a high status building (figs 3, 6). Similar material seems to have been found nearby, but has been destroyed. This might suggest that the terrace parallel with the town wall adjacent to the modern teashop once held substantial Byzantine structures, possibly with imperial associations. The material found may well represent one or more prominently sited buildings of the palace, possibly - judging from the range of marble and the porphyry fragment - originating in the Early Byzantine period. This is the first evidence for this part of the palace, and might place the so-called 'Prison of Anemas' and its neighbouring towers in a much clearer context as Middle Byzantine additions to a pre-existing wing of the palace sited above the city walls.

The most surprising discovery in this area was the fragmentary remains of a hypocaust structure constructed of Middle Byzantine 'recessed brickwork', at the extreme north of the terrace adjacent to the teashop and parallel to the city walls (fig 4). This was built above a cistern, with at least two adjacent monolithic well-heads of Byzantine date. The structure is best interpreted as a private bathhouse (hypocausts were only used in this context in the Middle Byzantine period), attached to a high-status residence.

The substantial structure previously discovered by Turkish archaeologists beneath Emir Buhari tekkesi lies directly east of the possible bathhouse across a modern lane. This might be interpreted as belonging to a palatial residence of Middle Byzantine date, and it seems logical to connect the two structures - the bathhouse representing the private baths of this building. This interpretation is supported by evidence of the continuation of the substructure beneath Emir Buhari tekkesi on both the east and west sides of the modern lane by the possible bathhouse. Together, these can be seen as an east-west range of buildings of Middle Byzantine date, covering much of
the northern side of the Byzantine-period terrace in this area, steps from which lead down to the famous church of St Mary of Blachernae to the north (Fig 5).

Earlier discoveries at Hançerli Hamam, supplemented by slightly and more fragmentary traces of Byzantine structures recorded in 1999 in that area, continue this range of buildings (although probably not the same structure) to the limit of the east-west terrace where this joins a north-south terrace line forming an eastern limit for the whole terraced area. This terraced zone can, therefore, be seen to support a - perhaps the - core area of the Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine Blachernae palace itself, and had at least north and west sides lined with what may have been palatial Middle Byzantine buildings.

However, structures related to the palace were not limited to the platanu of the terrace. The nearby church of St Mary of Blachernae, almost at the foot of the terrace to the north, was closely connected to the court, and textual evidence implies structures seemingly between the terrace and the holy well at this church. This may be supported by archaeological evidence recorded in 1999 at Ebuzer Gifari camii, where the remains of a two-storey Byzantine brick structure were found in the mosque courtyard and Byzantine column capitals were recorded inside the adjacent tomb. The main structural component at the mosque was an apsidal-ended rectangular room immediately beneath the terrace on which the structures so far described sit, set into its slope just 'behind' (south of) St Mary of Blachernae.

At the church itself, new material recorded in 1999 includes 5 Byzantine monolithic column still prob-

bly in situ in the structure of the holy well - apparently confirming that it remains in its Byzantine location. This may provide a crucial fixed point in the topography of the complex as outlined by the Book of Ceremonies and should greatly assist efforts to relate the textual evidence for the palace to the archaeological material. It is unclear whether this area lay within the palace as such, or represented structures related to, but outside, the court (Fig 5).

The southern limit of the palace area is not clearly defined, not least because there is no similar terrace to the south. The Mumhane walls and Tekfur Saray are located in this area, and there too the 1999 survey recorded a large Byzantine brick and stone wall, resembling the Mumhane walls but on a different alignment. This, surviving where incorporated into the north wall of a modern schoolyard and on wasteland, included what may be an arched gateway (Fig 7). Middle Byzantine pottery, and what may be Byzantine glass, lay scattered on the modern surface where this was disturbed immediately to the south of the possible gate. To the east the modern road is bounded by a terrace line, and as we have seen, a terraced area extends north from this area. Finds of Byzantine material during the 1999 survey concentrate on this terraced area, and it seems at least possible that this wall represents the southern limit of the Middle Byzantine palace, delimiting the complex where it was not terraced. If the palace extended this far south, then it would have been far larger than usually anticipated, but Tekfur Saray would lie outside its enclosure wall.

Other new material also came from outside the terraced area. A massive monolithic column of green-brown marble found at Toklu Dede mescedi (a Late Byzantine church believed totally destroyed but rediscovered in the 1999 survey) originally seems to have been found at Ayvacik saray kapı, a gate in the city's sea wall to the north. A very similar capital lies outside Egrı kapı, one of the city gates in the land wall bounding the general palace area to the west. If the capitals came from near where they were found in 1999, this may suggest that the main gates into the Blachernae area were afforded especially elaborate entrances, presumably because of the proximity of the palace.

In addition to these discoveries, further material was recorded at several of the known Byzantine churches in the Ayaşaray and Balat districts in or near the palace area. For example, in the vicinity of the church of Panagia Tıs Sudas we recorded much new material, including cisterns, sculptures, an inscribed tombstone, column capitals, and column shafts. These probably represent a substantial Byzantine establishment on the site of the present church.

The 1999 material seems, therefore, to offer the evidence which may help to make sense of the scattered fragments already known from the Blachernae complex, and add substantially to the corpus of structures and stonework known from it (Fig 8). In particular, it suggests that the whole complex was larger than usually envisaged and that (in the Middle Byzantine period at least) at its core was a terraced area fringed by palatial buildings and perhaps bounded on the south by substantial walls. This also helps to place many of the Byzantine churches of this part of the city in a clear topographical and archaeological context, and may contribute to debates surrounding the identification of those churches for which the Byzantine name is uncertain. It may also explain the function of the, otherwise enigmatic, Mumhane walls.
The material recorded in 1999 also affects debates surrounding the identification of known structures as parts of the palace, notably Tektur Saray (Fig 9), which some scholars doubt was within the Blachernae palace. It may be best to envisage the palace moving its core area over the thousands of years of its history, with Tektur Saray (which evidence recorded during the 1999 survey suggests is far more structurally complex than often assumed) representing the final location of the court. As such, it is unsurprising that it is the best-preserved of the palace buildings, although it is some distance from what may be the core of the Middle Byzantine complex.

This work adds substantially to our knowledge of the archaeology of the Blachernae palace, and may enable us to offer an archaeologically reconstructed major aspects of the layout and character of the Middle Byzantine complex. It must be stressed, too, that we investigated this area because of the on-going and serious threat to many of the structures and finds recorded. This highlights the need both for the continuation of this project and for systematic rescue archaeology in Istanbul.

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Future work
The project suspended work in 2000 in order to analyse data from 1998-9. We intend to resume fieldwork in 2001, examining other areas of the former Byzantine capital, if the authorities give their permission. We hope that readers of Minerva will give the project all the necessary support, and any offers of financial help or sponsorship are welcome. Questions regarding these and media work or lecturing related to the project can be emailed to Dr. Ken Dark at K.R.Dark@reading.ac.uk or posted to him at 324 Norbury Avenue, London, SW16 3RJ. Preliminary reports on the 1998 and 1999 seasons can be obtained from the same address, for the price of £5 each (price includes postage in the UK), cheques payable to K.R. Dark.
Alexander the Great at Troy

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AT TROY

Italo Vecchi describes a previously unidentified, yet detailed, scene on the reverse of a large bronze coin of the city of Abydos in Troas, which has thrown new and interesting light on the story of Alexander the Great’s conquest of the Persian Empire.

Alexander is said to have given Alexander his personal copy of Homer’s Iliad, which he carried on all his campaigns and, according to one of his officers, it was his most precious possession. He slept with it, along with a dagger under his pillow, calling it his journey-book of excellence in war. Early in 334 BC Alexander finally marched out from his capital at Pella in Macedonia at the head of his expedi-
tionary force for the Hellespont to fulfill two childhood dreams: to be the new Achilles sailing once again for Troy, and to be the captain-general of the Hellenes exacting just vengeance for the invasion of Greece by the Persian Xerxes in 480 BC.

When Xerxes set out on his expedition to subdue the Greeks at that time, and built a pontoon bridge across the Hellespont, he made it clear that his expedition was the Trojan War in reverse. Herodotus describes how after storms destroyed the first bridge soon after its completion, Xerxes had the engineers beheaded, the sea whipped, and fell	ers thrown into it to symbolize his mastery over nature. A new bridge was then built of boats with their keels laid parallel to the current and across it. After being reviewed by Xerxes at Abydos, the huge polygonal Persian army marched into Europe.

Alexander decided in his turn to reverse the details of this most famous of oriental attacks and, in 334 BC after leaving Antipater behind to rule Macedon in his absence, made ready for the invasion of Asia. The bulk of the army was grouped at Sestos and the general Parmenion was left to supervise the main crossing of the ‘Narrows’ to Abydos with 160 vessels (luckily for him without Persian opposition). Meanwhile, Alexander marched with at least 6000 men overland to Elaeum, at the southern tip of the Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli Peninsula) on a propaganda trip cum pilgrimage. Here he sacrificed before the tomb of Protesilaus, traditionally the first man in Agamemnon’s army to step ashore at Troy only to be immediately killed, and prayed that his own landing on Asian soil might be safer, for he intended to be the first ashore himself.

Fig 1. A coin of 8-asarri struck for Septimius Severus at Abydos between AD 193 and 211, depicting (on the reverse) Alexander standing on a galley’s prow at a harbour entrance, about to throw a spear into the sand and thus claim all Asia as his own. (Scale x 1.5).

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The party crossed the Dardanelles in 60 vessels, which Parmenion had sent from Sestos to meet him, and Alexander insisted on taking the helm of the royal trireme in person. After passing to placate the ocean by slaughtering a bull to Poseidon and pouring a libation to the Nereids, Alexander, on entering ‘the Achaean harbour’, dressed in a full suit of armour, moved to the prow of his vessel. From there he flung a spear into the sand signifying that he claimed all Asia from the gods as a ‘spear-won prize’.

The previously unidentified reverse scene on a coin of AD 193-211 struck at Abydos (Fig 1) confirms the spear-throwing incident, which is not recorded by Arrian, Plutarch, Polybius, or Diodorus, but only by Justin (I.5.1-10) in a 2nd or 3rd-century AD abridgement of Trogus’ Historia Philippicae. After the safe landing, Alexander’s first act was to set up an altar to Athena (the champion of the Greeks at Troy), and to Herakles, and Zeus, god of Safe Landings. He then embarked on his pilgrimage inland to Troy itself, by this time a mere village known for its archea temple and frieze Altar. The city’s famous collection of reputed relics from the Trojan War included the tombs of Ajax and Achilles, the latter who Alexander especially honoured and from whom he claimed descent. Alexander sacrificed and dedicated his own suit of armour to Trojan Athena in return for some of the finest relics of the Trojan War that would accompany him to India and be carried before him by the Royal Bodyguard.

Numismatic description
Septimius Severus, AD 193-211 AD. Troas, Abydos. Medallion 8-asarri. Obverse: translates as ‘Emperor Caesar Septimius Severus Augustus’, and depicts the laureate and draped bust of Severus right. Reverse: translates as ‘Legislatore Fabius A. Procule Abydos’, and depicts Alexander standing three-quarter right at the prow of a galley right entering a harbor in full armor holding a vertical spear in his left hand, looking back in a heavenly gaze and extending his right hand in supplication; behind him on the ship are two armed soldiers, one standing to front and facing right, holding a shield and a torch; the other behind the former, wearing a helmet and facing right. Resting on an acro-
tem of a prow, holding a sail, a sulli-
mated bust of Athena: to the left of the admiral’s flag ship, Athena seated right, wearing a helmet and holding a spear and shield, in ship right: behind a ship, left, a herald turning right in high tower bowing a tupa pointing skywards. M. J. Price and B. Trel, Coins and Their Cities, London, 1977, p. 315, fig 486. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fond général inventoir no. 91. The example published here is the second, and by far the finest, example known.

MINERVA 56
NUMISMATIC CALENDAR

AUCTIONS FEATURING ANCIENT COINS
Tel: (20) 7563-4000.
13 July. GLENDINING'S, London. Coins. Tel: (20) 7493 2445.
5 September. DIX NOONAN WEBB, London. Coin Auction. Tel: (20) 7499 5022.
19 September. CLASSICAL NUMISMATIC GROUP INC., London. Mail Bid Sale No. 58. Tel: (20) 7495 1888.

FAIRS
29 June - 1 July. MID AMERICA COIN EXPO, Rosemont, IL.
13-15 July. EASTERN STATES COIN EXPO (ESNA), Claymont, DE.
Tel: (20) 7831 2080.
8-9 September. 51st NATIONAL SALON OF NUMISMATICS, Riccione, Italy. Exhibition and Numismatic Fair devoted to ancient coins. Tel: (39) 541 692 194.
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UNITED KINGDOM
LONDON
ROMAN GOLD. The first ever hoard of Roman gold coins discovered in London is now on display. The hoard, excavated by archaeologists at Plantation Place in the City of London, comprises 41 coins spanning the period from AD 65 - 164 and incorporates the coins of eight emperors and two empresses. MUSEUM OF LONDON (44) 20 7600-3699. New permanent installation. (See Minerva, March/April 2001, pp. 44-45.)

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Byzantine Coins in Oxford

BYZANTINE NUMISMATICS AT THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD

Nicholas Mayhew

The Heberden Coin Room in the Ashmolean Museum has recently received help from the National Art Collections Fund, Resource, and the Carl and Eileen Subak Family Foundation, as well as from the Friends of the Ashmolean, to allow the Museum to acquire the important Simon Bendall collection of Late Byzantine coins. It is hoped that this will go some way to compensate for the retirement of Professor Michael Metcalf, who has taught and researched Byzantine numismatics in Oxford for many years.

Oxford is an important university centre of Byzantine studies, and the Museum wishes to continue to contribute to this field despite Professor Metcalf’s retirement. To this end the Coin Room recently combined with the Oxford Byzantine Society to host a day of lectures on Byzantine numismatics intended to promote the study of coins as a fruitful adjunct to the study of Byzantine history. The five lectures given during the day were designed to demonstrate to history students how a study of coinage can illustrate, and sometimes enhance, our knowledge of the Byzantine world.

Mr Ian Roper opened the proceedings with a short talk on what appears to be the only known Byzantine coin dies in existence. This recent discovery of very great importance served as an ideal introduction to the process of coin making, and to the contentious subject of estimating ancient and medieval coin output. Roper also set the audience to work to identify the issue from the sole surviving reverse die. It was eventually identified as a follis of the Emperor Justin I (518-527) from the mint of Nicomedia, although there was some discussion of the possibility that the die might have been for an unauthorized issue.

Dr Cathy King then tackled the question historians tend to ask themselves, but rarely raise in public: ‘Why bother with coins?’ Her answer not only illustrated the contribution which numismatics can make, but also provided a useful introduction to the mints, denominations, and metals of coinage in Late Antiquity. The problem of currency depreciation, the development of numismatic – and increasingly Christian iconography – and the emergence of imitations in the West were all elucidated.

Professor Metcalf’s lecture explored the question of monetary recession in the 7th-9th centuries, with particular reference to the interpretation of finds of this period from excavations in Athens and Corinth, while Dr Euridice Georgantelli also used 9th-11th century finds from northern Greece to illustrate the importance of the Via Egnatia in the region. Both these lectures showed how detailed case studies can illustrate ways in which numismatic evidence can be brought to bear on wider economic and social history.

Finally Dr Barrie Cook provided a superbly illustrated lecture on ‘Saints and Sovereigns: the Image of the Emperor on Byzantine coinage’. The changing face of the coinage provided a visual commentary throughout the long history of the Empire.

The day closed with an opportunity for participants to see and handle examples from the Bendall collection, a number of which illustrate this note. This collection specialises on the final centuries of the Byzantine Empire, from the sack of Constantinople by the Venetians and the Crusaders in 1204, through to the final and definitive capture of the city by the Turks in 1453. Interestingly, the decline of the Empire in its last century is vividly illustrated by the diminishing artistic quality of the Byzantine coinage, but in contrast it is noteworthy that the temporary loss of the city in 1204 resulted in the production of some of the most outstanding examples of Byzantine numismatic art in the Empire in exile in Nicaea (Figs 1-3).

It is a particular pleasure to record the assistance of the Oxford Byzantine Society in the organisation and planning of the day; Oxford post-graduates, Teresa Shawcross and Daniel Farrell, chaired the sessions with grace and style. And the assistance of colleagues from the British Museum and the Barber Institute in the University of Birmingham was particularly welcome, and bodes well for the future of Byzantine studies.

Nicholas Mayhew is the Keeper, Heberden Coin Room, The Ashmolean Museum.

MINERVA 62
The Royal Mummies
G. Elliot Smith

The Tomb of Iouiya
and Touiyou
with The Funeral
Papyrus of Iouiya
Theodore M. Davis

The Tomb of
Tut.ankh.Amen: the
Annexe and Treasury
Howard Carter

These three reprints of Egyptianological 'classics' are the first in a new series from Duckworth Egyptology under the series editorship of Dr Nicholas Reeves. In the original editions these are books which are 'as rare as hen's teeth', and which Egyptologists would kill for as well as nowadays have to pay very high prices for good second-hand copies. Rarely are they available, and usually only when another Egyptologist leaves for the realm of Osiris or does not leave his her books to their university library.

These reprints are photographically reproduced from the original editions, the gravure illustrations lending themselves remarkably well to modern reproduction techniques. The Royal Mummies (I.E. Harris and E.F. Wente, 1980). The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou (now rendered as Yuya and Tuya), found in 1905, number 46 in the Valley of the Kings, was, until Tutankhamen in 1922, the richest discovered, despite the fact that it had been robbed in antiquity. The mummies of the husband and wife, the parents of the famous Queen Tiye, wife of Amenophis III (and therefore the maternal great-grandparents of Tutankhamen), are amongst the finest of the royals preserved; they have simply dozed off for a moment. The Tomb of Tut.Ankh.Amen is actually volume three of the trilogy that Carter wrote on the discovery, published in 1933. Dr Reeves is himself the author of the best-selling The Complete Tutankhamen (1990) and Duckworth are to reprint the previous two vol-
Akhenaten: History, Fantasy and Ancient Egypt
Dominic Montserrat

George A. Reinsor (1867-1942), the great American Egyptologist, once suggested that there had been more ink splatted on the 15-year reign of the heretic pharaoh Akhenaten than on the whole of the rest of Egyptian history - and he was noted for his attention to detail. Dr Margaret Murray (1863-1963), Sir Flinders Petrie’s assistant, wrote that the Amarna period ‘has had more nonsense written about it than any other period in Egyptian history, and Akhenaten is a strong rival to Cleopatra for the historical novelist’. More than any other Egyptian pharaoh, Akhenaten (Amenophis IV, 1350-1334 BC) has found scores of adherents who recognise him as the first monotheist, and adversaries who revile him as the heretic pharaoh. The theories about him, his personal life, appearance, family, ideas, literary aspirations, etc., have all found outlets in print ever since his badly damaged tomb with its strange representations of him on the walls was rediscovered at his capital city, Akhetaten (modern Amarna), at the end of the 19th century.

How, then, is Dr Montserrat’s book different, and how does it manage to stand distinctively aside from the rest of the literature on this emotive pharaoh and period? First, he does not go into analysis of Akhenaten and the period, but stands back and takes an extremely interesting and valuable overview. Montserrat is very well acquainted with the existing literature, both academic, fantasy, and fictional. He examines Akhenaten not in an analytical way, but from the spectrum of how others have seen him, so often reflecting their own time and attitudes. Akhenaten has been used, we are shown, to mirror, often distorted, different aspects of life and periods in modern times, and this has also been the basis for the (mis)interpretation of the archaeological evidence. The headings of some of the chapters are fascinating: ‘Protestants, psychoanalysts and Fascists’, ‘Race and religion’, ‘Literary Akhenaten’, and ‘Sexualities’. Their content is extremely enlightening as the ‘agenda’ of different writers, so often reflecting their own times and attitudes, are investigated and Akhenaten turned about and examined from many, often twisted, viewpoints.

This book is a very refreshing, indeed an unparalleled addition to the Amarna literature. It will make many people think again about this ‘first individual in history’, who featured so prominently in Freud’s psychoanalytical work - not least in his last book, Moses and Monothemis. The last word has not been written about Akhenaten, not least if his tomb should ever be found, but Dominic Montserrat’s book is a must for anyone with even a remote interest in this most enigmatic period in the history of ancient Egypt.

Peter A. Clayton

Making Classical Art: Process and Practice
Edited by Roger Ling

This is essentially a textbook for undergraduates, but it is packed with information and ideas that will enlighten all but those very well informed on the arts of classical antiquity.

The first section, ‘Media and techniques’, covers sculpture in stone and bronze, wall and panel painting, Greek painted pottery and mosaics, other media being excluded by the scale of the book. Most of the contributions are by academics, but it is refreshing to have an account of the techniques of stone sculpture from a conservator, to whom the effects of chisel on stone are known through the hands as well as the eyes.

The second section consists of ‘Case studies’, ranging from general topics like colossal statues, portrait sculpture, and Roman funerary monuments to particular items like the Parthenon, the Ara Pacis, and a mosaic from Antioch. Wall-painting is well represented, with chapters on Macedonian tombs, Pompeian houses, and the extraordinary synagogue at Dura Europos.

The weakest link is the section on Greek funerary monuments, which devotes too much attention to texts and is marred by the out-dated supposition that statues wrongly identified in the 19th century as Mausolus and Artemisia stood in the chariot that seems to have been the subject of a view that has been simply untenable since the publication in 1978 of G.B. Waywell’s The Free-Standing Sculpture of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

B.F. Cook, FSA, Formerly Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, the British Museum

Celtic and Roman Artefacts
Nigel Mills

The chronological span of this book is vast, from c. 2000 BC down to AD 500: through the Bronze Age, Iron Age, Celtic, and Roman periods. Similarly, the number of items included is large. Not since the old British Museum Guides to specific departments (now long out of print and highly sought after second-hand) have so many items been brought together to help identification and explanation. Not least, added here, is a valuation guide for every object in two states, ‘Fine’, and ‘Very Fine’. This book is not, however, just an illustrated tabulation and valuation. The objects are given life, ‘fleshed out’ in a running text that puts them into context and explains their significance and use. This is well brought out in the Preface with the almost emotive (fictional) description of the deposit of the great Hoxne Roman treasure, and the actuality of its discovery on 16 November 1992.

There are 11 chapters grouped under types and objects, preceded by ‘Notes for collectors’. A useful adjunct at the end of the book is an alphabetical index to a drawn genealogical chart of the Roman gods. Following the style of Nigel Mills’s previous books, this new offering will be of use and interest to collectors, archaeologists (amateur and professional), and metal detectorists alike since it brings so much together and gives a broad overview which makes it a useful reference tool in so many spheres of antiquity.

Peter A. Clayton

Roman Oxfordshire
Martin Henig and Paul Booth
with Tim Allen

This book is a synthesis of the latest research into Roman Oxfordshire and is intended to interest all students of Roman Britain who should
not be without it, as it is undoubtedly the only detailed account of Oxfordshire available. Chapter 1 by Tim Allen deals with the Iron Age background at some length and describes the settlement pattern in the Cotswolds to the north and the river valleys and the Berkshire downs to the south. House types, hillforts, and Late Iron Age 'valley forts', such as those at Abingdon and Dorchester, and linear boundary systems are explained. Chapter 2 by Martin Hinen on Oxfordshire in the Roman Empire sets the broader scene and familiarises the reader with early historical events and places (including sites outside the county to remind us that Oxfordshire was not a Roman territorial unit, but shared by three administrative centres including Caerleon and Corinium) and how the small towns and settlements may have been administered by, and interacted with, the tribal capitals. Unfortunately this chapter suddenly changes to describing Oxfordshire in a Late Roman context; it follows uncomfortably and was clearly written as a separate paper which the authors had difficulty placing.

The sections on settlement pattern by Paul Booth describe the towns of Alchester and Dorchester and follow with an account of smaller rural and countryside settlements such as Sansom's Platt and Gill Mill, Ducklington. Booth then outlines the rural buildings and their distribution, accompanied with plans of villas and small farmsteads, and explains the character of their agricultural practices. There is much new material here. A short section deals with the chronology of rural settlement and a case is made for the abandonment by the early 2nd century of many early sites and the creation of new settlements which continued into the late 4th century. Clearly the exploitation of the countryside was being controlled. Chapter 5, by Martin Hinen, is about the people, their literacy, their material culture, religion, death and burial, and art: aspects of these subjects are reflected in illustrations of intaglio, pottery, and metalwork. This is followed by a chapter by Booth on the economy, including agriculture, industry, and trade; new crops, breeds, and farming technology are described together with pottery working on an industrial scale and distributing vessels over much of southern England.

The section on the end of Roman Oxfordshire and the Anglo-Saxon period makes this book particularly important. For example, the transition of Dorchester-on-Thames in the late 4th century from a Roman power base to an Anglo-Saxon focus, as evidenced by burials with characteristic continental brooch types, highlights Germanic immigration and points to fundamental changes in the management and exploitation of the landscape of the county.

The book is well written and full of new and detailed information but, as already noted, some chapters do not follow on smoothly, no doubt because of their different authorship. On a more critical note, good plans have been ruined by poor digital scanning resulting in fuzzy lines and lettering. Moreover, some plans were intended for colour printing and have also reproduced poorly. The plates are better, but they are all in monochrome. Surely the illustrations in a book costing £25 should be better reproduced and also have a section in colour. Why is it that the quality of some reproduction in this technological age is deteriorating so much?

Dr David S. Neal, FSA

The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain
Neil Faulkner
Tempus, Stroud, Glos, 2000.
192pp, 27 colour pls, 75 illus.
Hardback, £25.

Britain and the End of the Roman Empire
Ken Dark
Tempus, Stroud, Glos, 2000.
256pp, 32 colour pls, 61 illus.
Hardback, £25.

These two books have similarities, they both centre round the year AD 400 in Britain, and they both set out to prove a point. But while Faulkner runs through Roman Britain to demonstrate that the army is the prime mover in all things, and then sets the scene for the 5th century. Dark deals with the 5th century and then gets down to work on the later years. Faulkner proves conclusively that Roman Britain was destroyed by the Grasping Empire and was a thing of the past by 450. Dark proves conclusively that Later Roman Britain was fit and well in 500. Since they cannot both be right you must read both books and make up your mind.

Faulkner is at his best when pointing out that if the army was important in the early years of Roman Britain it may have played a decisive role in the 4th century when the army buffoons have usually lost interest, given up and gone home. He dispenses with notes, but gives a list of books for further reading. In fact I did not usually want to check up on his 'facts' for they accorded with my own memory, but I would dispute a large number of his interpretations, and I would want to add other 'facts'. I prefer the title Comes Britanniae to the title Comes Britanniarum (p. 108). I am also surprised to learn that Constantine ordered his soldiers to paint the cross of Christ on their shields (p. 116) when coins struck less than 40 years later say that the sign under which Constantine would conquer (In hoc signo vinces) was the Chi-rho, the first two letters of the name of Christ in Greek.

Dark's interpretation is most effective where he stresses the element of continuity in the British population, all over Britain, even under Saxon domination, and it is impossible to disagree with his claim that Christianity in post-Roman Britain grew out of the Later Roman Empire. But even when evidence of later occupation has been found in the ruins of a number of villas, and the tumbled buildings of several Roman towns have produced 5th century objects, the claim that villas and towns continued into the 5th century has just not been substantiated. The land round the villa building may still have been farmed as a unit; we can never know: the worthies in the Cirencester area in the 5th century may have had Town Council Meetings, but that is not urban life.

I also worry about Dark's elastic dating. Almost every early 5th century date, which may well be acceptable, is stretched to become a general date in the 5th century and, when the 6th century has been added in as a throw-away aside, the plastic is giving out serious danger signals of snapping. The only times I did get down to detail there were problems. The source quoted (p. 106) rightly says that two 'Saxon' burials were cut through the Barton Farm mosaic near Cirencester, and that nine others were found in a small nearby cemetery: Dark has nine cut through the pavement. The A ware found on Iona is mentioned in the text but not on the maps (p. 126), and the 6 Ware seems to have vanished completely. I hope that if I had, following the references I would not have found similar problems.

The reader must decide whether something heady and decisive like these works is required, or whether to go for less exciting standard texts. Both books come with a Health Warning: they will raise the blood pressure and strain the credulity.

Dr Richard Reece, FSA

Please send books for review to: Peter A. Clayton Minerva Magazine 14 Old Bond Street London W1S 4PP
UNITED KINGDOM

ABERDEEN

PERMANENT COLLECTION. A well-focused collection falling into three broad categories: prehistoric material donated by private enthusiasts, medieval artifacts from excavations carried out in the city in recent years, and a small group of Mediterranean artifacts collected by local travellers in the 19th and early 20th centuries. ABERDEEN ART GALLERY and MUSEUM (44) 1224 523-700 (http://aagm.co.uk).

BIRMINGHAM, West Midlands

EGYPT REVEALED: LIFE AND DEATH IN ANCIENT EGYPT. Featuring collections from the British Museum and Birmingham's Egyptian collections, the exhibition looks at aspects of ancient Egyptian life through the following themes: King and Society, Daily Life, Scribes and Writing, Priests and gods, and the Dead. BIRMINGHAM MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY (44) 121 303-2834. Until 23 September.

BRIDPORT, Dorset

WADDON HILL EXCAVATIONS. Waddon Hill was occupied for 15 years by the elite Roman Legion II Augusta. An interactive and highly accessible exhibition featuring objects from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in London. The BURRELL COLLECTION (44) 141 287-2550. Until 30 September.

LONDON


OPENING OF THE KOREA FOUNDATION GALLERY. This permanent gallery presents an overview of Korean art and archaeology from the Neolithic period to the present day, including major loans from the National Museum of Korea and museums across the UK. Highlights include a traditional scholar's studio or songyangbang designed and built by a renowned Korean architect, a colossal Buddha sculpture never before seen outside Korea, and royal silver tableware. The gallery is open until 29 May. BURLINGTON GARDENS. (44) 20 7323-8525. (www.british-museum.ac.uk). Opened in November 2000.

GOD'S CURiT: THE QUEST FOR THE PYRAMID INCH. A special installation by David Wilson of the Museum of Jurassic Technology, examining the story of the early research expeditions to the Great Pyramid by Charles Piazzi Smyth and Sir William Flinders Petrie. The installation employs audio-visual techniques to reanimate Petrie's journey of discovery and is set amongst the ancient artifacts that were the fruit of years of digging in Egypt. PETRIE MUSEUM OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, UCL (44) 20 7679-2884. Until 19 August.

SHINTO: THE SACRED ART OF ANCIENT JAPAN. This exhibition will show some 100 objects including a range of Japanese shrines, temples and museums. It will include ritual pottery from the Jomon period (c. 14 000-300BC), the older ceramic culture known to man, wood sculpture over 1000 years old, paint, window, and other treasures of the medieval BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 20 7323- 8525. (www.british-museum.ac.uk). 5 September - 2 December.

MOTHERWELL, Clyde Valley

TECHNOPLUS. A permanent exhibition taking the visitor on a journey through time, telling the story of the area and inhabitants through Roman times, using a series of multi- media environments. MOTHERWELL HERITAGE CENTRE (44) 1698 251- 000 (http://motherwellheritage.reevers.com).

NORWICH, Norfolk

NORWICH CASTLE MUSEUM. Reopened at the end of May after undergoing an extensive refurbishment. Visitors are now able to see parts of the castle that have never before been accessible, including the basement of the keep - where it is possible to discover how the castle was constructed. A new archaeology gallery celebrates the story of Queen Boudica and display the treasure of her Iceni tribe, and a new Egyptian gallery has been designed especially to show the museum's collection. NORWICH CASTLE MUSEUM (44) 699 6255. (www.norwichcastle.co.uk).

UNITED STATES

ANDOVER, New Hampshire

PERU: FROM VILLAGE TO EMPIRE. An overview of ancient cultures from c. 11,000 BC to AD 1353, including the Moche, Paracas, Nasca, Moche, and inca ceramics, jewellery, and textiles. ROBERT S. PEABODY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, PHILLIPS ACADEMY (1) 978 749- 4490. (www.andover.edu). Until 31 July.

ATLANTA, Georgia

MYSTERIES OF THE MUMMIES: THE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF DEATH IN ANCIENT EGYPT. An exhibition of coffins, mummmies, canopic jars, relics, jewellery, and other antiquities, including mummies from a newly acquired Canadian collection. MICHAEL C. CARLOS MUSEUM, Emory University (1) 404 727-4282. (www.emory.edu/carlos). Until October.


BOSTON, Massachusetts

ART OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. Permanent installation tracing the evolution and art of Anatolia, the Levant, Mesopotamia, Iran, and Ancient Asia Minor. Fogg ART MUSEUM, BOSTON (1) 617 262-9300 (www.mfa.org). (See Minerva, May-June 1999, pp. 35-7).

CHICAGO, Illinois

BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: GANDHARAN SCULPTURES. THE DAVID AND ALBERT SMART MUSEUM OF ART (1) 773 702-0200 (smartmuseum.uchica go.edu) Until 7 October.

DENVER, Colorado

SUNKEN TREASURES: MING DYNASTY CERAMICS FROM A CHINESE SHIPWRECK. Rare artworks from the cargo of a Chinese vessel that sank off the Philippine coast in the 16th century. DENVER ART MUSEUM (1) 303 464- 4200 (www.denverartmuseum.org). Until 26 August (then to Austin).

HANOVER, New Hampshire

ANTIQUITY IN RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE FROM DURMOUTH MUSEUM OF ART, Dartmouth College (1) 603 646-2808. (www.dartmouth.edu/~hoofd/menu.html). 7 July - 16 September.

HOUSTON, Texas

VIKINGS: THE NORTH AMERICAN SAGA. The first comprehensive exhibition of the Norse exploration and settlement along the North Atlantic between 860 and 1500, including an extraordinary array of Viking sculptures and jewellery. HOUSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS (1) 713 639-4687 (www.hmns.org). 13 July - 11 October (then to New York). Catalogue $4.95 paperback, $60 hardback. (See Minerva, July/Aug 2000, pp. 8-16).

KANSAS CITY, Missouri

GOLD OF THE NOMADS: SCYTHIAN TREASURES FROM ANCIENT UKRAINE. The first major exhibition of Scythian gold and silver treasures in the United States since 1975, it features more than 170 objects from four major Ukrainian museums. NELSON-ATKINS MUSEUM OF ART (1) 816 561-4000 (www.nelson-atkins.org). Until 11 August (then to Paris). (See Minerva, Nov/Dec 1999, pp. 24-33; reprints are available from the Museum or at the venue for $5 each).

LOS ANGELES, California

ANCIENT PERU: THE PERMA- NENT COLLECTION. A temporary exhibition, including some of the recent acquisitions from the Field Museum of Natural History. The Getty Center in Malibu is reopened, now scheduled for 2003. THE GETTY CENTER (1) 310 440- 7300 (www.getty.edu).

MOCE FINELINE PAINTING OF ANCIENT PERU. The evolution of one of the most mine sophisticated art forms. MOCE FINELINE PAINTING OF ANCIENT PERU. The evolution of one of the most mine sophisticated art forms. MOCE FINELINE PAINTING OF ANCIENT PERU. The evolution of one of the most mine sophisticated art forms.

SCULPTURAL ENSUING: AMERICAN VICTORIAN EDITORIAL UPDATE.

THE ROAD TO AZTLAN: ART FROM A MYSТЕRIOUS LAND. An exhibition of art derived from the legendary area that encompasses the American South west and Mesoamerica: Aztlan. Over the last 600 years, and through approximately 250 works of art and archaeological artifacts, this is the first exhibition to examine comprehensively the evolution and relationship of the two regions. Continuing interactions are revealed in the shared features of the art, architecture, and religious beliefs found within this culturally diverse region. LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART (1) 323 857- 6000 (www.lacma.org). Until 26 August (then to Austin).

MALIBU, California

J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM CLOSED. It should be noted that the Getty Villa Museum, which houses the noted collection of Greek and Roman antiquities, closed on 6 July 1997 for an extensive renovation, will probably reopen in 2003 as a centre for comparative archaeology and culture. (See above.) THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM (1) 310 459-7611.

MEMPHIS, Tennessee

ETERNAL EGYPT: MASTERWORKS OF ANCIENT ART FROM THE BRITISH
MUSEUM. A major exhibition of 140 works of art from the most famous collection outside Egypt, including colossal stone statuary, wooden sculptures, jewellery, and painted papyrus and gold glass never before presented outside England before, WONDERS: MEMPHIS INTERNATIONAL ART. TUSCAGLIES (1) 901 521-2644 (www.wonders.org). 2 July - 21 October (then to Brooklyn and Kansas City). (See Minerva, May-June 2001, pp. 9-16.) Reprints are available at the venue for $5.00.


ALONG THE NILE: EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS OF EGYPT. Drawn from the Gilman Paper Company Collection and the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, this installation will include some of the earliest canvases even to include dramatic landscapes and imposing monuments. The pyramids of Giza, the temples of Karnak, Luxor, and Abu Simbel are depicted in exceptionally fine prints by the first generation of photographers working in Egypt. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5000 (www.metmuseum.org). 11 September - 30 December.

CLASSICISM. A survey of the impact of classical Greek and Roman archaeological discoveries on 19th century academic art. DAHESH MUSEUM (1) 212 759-0606 (www.daheshmuseum.org). Until 18 August.

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

NEW BYZANTINE GALLERIES. The Mary and Michael Joressky Byzantine Gallery opened 14 November 2000 in a dramatically expanded space. They include some of the earliest images developed by the Christian church, and provincial Roman and barbarian jewellery beyond the western borders of the Byzantine empire. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org). (See Minerva, May-June 2001, pp. 24-28.)

NEW GREEK & ROMAN GALLERIES, PHASE 2. The grand vaulted gallery together with six flanking galleries are newly reopened for the museum's extraordinary collection of Greco-Roman from the 6th century BC. 1200 objects are on display, including a good number of pieces long in storage, in well lit and spacious accommodations. Phase I, opened previously, is devoted to early Greek art from the Cycladic through Archaic periods. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org). (See Minerva, July/Aug 1999, pp. 6-13.)

THE PHARAOH'S PHOTOGRAPHER. HARRY BEERON, TUTANKHAMUN, AND METROPOLITAN'S EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION. This exhibition, a collaboration between the Department of Egyptian Art and the Department of Photography, presents photographs taken between 1906 and 1936 by members of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition. The majority of the photographs are by Harry Burton (1879-1940), the outstanding archaeologi- cal photographer of his day. All phases of Burton's work in Egypt will be represented, including selections from his Tutankhamun portrait and film footage dating from the early 1920s. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org). 11 September - 30 December.

SAN FRANCISCO, California. CHINESE BRONZE AND BUDDHISTS. 120 of the most exceptional pieces from the museum's permanent collection dating from the early Neo-Longish period to recent times, the first major reinstallation of the Chinese collection in over two years. ASIAN ART MUSEUM OF SAN FRAN- CISCO. (1) 415 379-8801. (www.asianart.org). An ongoing exhibition.

SAN JOSE, California. 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. ROSICRUCIAN EGYPTIAN MUSEUM (1) 408 942-3600 (www.rosicrucian.org). Until 2 September (then to New York). Catalogue. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 2000, pp. 6-13.) Reprints are available from Minerva for $5.


TREASURES FROM A LOST CIVILIZATION: ANCIENT CHINESE ART FROM SICHUAN. An extensive exhibition of objects in bronze, jade, and pottery from the 13th century BC to the 3rd century AD. AD SEATTLE ART MUSEUM (1) 206 654-3100 (www.seattleartmuseum.org). Until 12 August then to Fort Worth and New York. (See Minerva, this issue, pp. 14-20.)

WASHINGTON, D.C. CHARLES LANG FRERER AND EGYPT. An important collection of 17 Egyptian glass vessels of the late Dynasties. Curated by Frerer in Cairo in 1909, part of his 1400-piece ancient glass collection, are on display with a further 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 KILNS AND KITCHENS TO GALLERY: THE STORY OF ASIA'S STORAGE JARS. This exhibition features 24 large stoneware and earthenware jars created between 771 BC and the 18th century, and in detail to trace their manufacture and their transformation from utilitarian objects into works of art. FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION (1) 202 357-4880

EXHIBITION FOCUS

VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HERODIAN TEMPLE MOUNT

Herodian Temple as seen within the Royal Stoa. © Israel Antiquities Authority and the Urban Simulation Team, UCLA. A newly opened exhibition at the Ethan and Marks Davidson Center in the Jerusalem Archaeological Park in the City of David announces the city in the world is redefining modern concepts of museology. A joint collaboration between the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Urban Simulation Team at UCLA in America has combined archaeological evidence for the ground plan of the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem with state of the art computer modelling technology. The startling result is a real-time virtual reality reconstruction of the Herodian Temple as it stood prior to its destruction by Roman troops led by Vespasian in AD 70. Unlike a static model, real-time technology enables users to interact with the computer environment, enjoying the same freedom of movement as in the physical world.

This is the most accurate and elaborate representation of the Jewish Second Temple in Jerusalem ever for- mulated. It is based on various archaeological data, including results of the excavation of shops, houses, and ritual baths in the Tyropoeon Valley in the early 20th century, and the discovery of Robinson's Arch (a support pier). Modern excavation results incorporated into a three-dimensional model of the Royal Stoa directed by Ronny Reich and Gideon Avni of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Even computer data available in the model, such as a Greek inscription prohibiting non-Jews entering the sanctified area beyond the stone wall surrounding the Temple, and a Hebrew inscription referring to the spot where Jewish priests would have stood to blow a trumpet and announce the beginning and end of the Sabbath.

In addition to the Herodian Temple model, the Jerusalem Archaeological Park (located only 100 metres south of the Temple Mount in the remains of a 7th century Umayyad palace) displays various artefacts and monuments related to the inhabitants of Second Temple, Byzantine, and Islamic Jerusalem.

Further Information: Jerusalem Archaeological Park Tel. + (972) 2 6277-550. Fax: + (972) 2 6277-962. www.archpark.org.il.
CALENDAR


THE NUHAD 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. Until 31 December.

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

WILLIAMSTOWN

CELEBRATING 75 YEARS: SPIRITS AND GENIUSES FROM THE PALACE OF ASHUR-SHARPAL II. Featuring 75 masterpieces of European art from the 14th to the 17th century, with emphasis on the 17th and 18th centuries. SMITHSONIAN "2004: THE YEAR OF ART IN WASHINGTON". ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (1) 416 586-8000. Until 21 October 2002.

SOUTH ASIA AND EAST ASIAN RELIGIOUS SCULPTURE. A display of stone sculptures from the museum's holdings, including those from the 2nd to the 16th centuries, in the new Asian Sculpture Gallery. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (1) 416 586-8000. Until 10 October 2002.


CHINA

SHANGHAI

SHANGHAI MUSEUM. Reopened after four and a half years of planning and construction, the new museum, shaped like an ancient Chinese bronze vessel - its 16,000 square metres contain 11 galleries and three exhibition halls housing 100,000 cultural relics. SHANGHAI MUSEUM (86) 21 6372-3500.

EGYPT

CAIRO

THE ROYAL MUMMIES. Eleven pharaonic mummies: 8 kings - including Ramesses II - and 3 queens and princesses, have been newly placed on permanent exhibition. They were removed from display in 1980 when Anwar Sadat thought that their appearance robbed them of their dignity. THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM (20) 75-43-10.

LUXOR

MUSEUM OF MUMIFICATION. A new museum, close to the Temple of Luxor, devoted to mumified humans and animals, with separate displays for mammals, birds, and reptiles. The stages of embalming, the materials, and a large collection of the surgical tools used are also on view. (20) 9534-0269. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1998, p. 40.)

FRANCE

ANTIBES, Alpes-Maritimes

REINSTALLATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTION. Accompanied by a new exhibition. MUSEE D'ARCHEOLOGIE (33) 4 9290-5435.

BIBRACTE, Burgundy

CELTIC MUSEUM. A new museum of the Celtic civilisation, includes objects not only from France, but also from Belgium, Germany, Slovakia, Budapest, and the Mediterranean region. Bibraite is part of a huge fortified oppidum, with most of its fortifications still in place. MUSEE CELTIQUE DE BIBRACTE (38) 85 865-235.

CANNES, Alpes-Maritimes

FROM EXCAVATION TO MUSEUM: THE ADVENT OF WALL PAINTINGS OF THE ILE SAINTE-MARGUERITE. Permanent exhibition showing Roman wall paintings discovered in local excavations. MUSEE DE LA MER (33) 4934-3187.

FECAMP, Seine-Maritime


MARTIGUES, Bouches-du-Rhone

PASSENGES SANS RETOUR. A new permanent exhibition of funerary monuments made in the north-west part of the Paris region at the end of the Neolithic period, c. 3500-2500 BC. MUSEE DE PREHISTOIRE DE L'ILE-DE-FRANCE (31) 1 64 284-037.

NEMOURS, Seine-et-Marne

THE HORSE: SYMBOL OF POWER IN PREHISTORIC EUROPE. MUSEE DE PREHISTOIRE (31) 64 28 40 37. Until 12 November.

ORGANIC L'AVEN, Ardèche

FASCINATING ORGANIC! Interactive guided tour from the Upper Paleolithic Period to the Bronze Age. MUSEE REGIONAL DE PREHISTOIRE (31) 73 38 65 10. A permanent installation.


PARIS

AMAZON GOLD: NOMADIC PEOPLES BETWEEN ASIA AND EUROPE, 6TH-4TH CENTURY BC. This exhibition presents a prestigious selection of bronze, silver, and especially gold objects from a crucial period in the history of the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian Steppes. All the items on display derive from museums in southern Russia. Most are from recent excavations and have never been exhibited in Western Europe before. MUSEE CERNUSCHI (31) 4 635 075. Until 15 July. (See Minerva, this issue, pp. 24-26.)

ARCHEO 2000. A new permanent installation for the archaeological collection (Paleolithic to Gallo-Roman) of the museum, with particular focus on excavation results from Bercy, including three canoes and numerous items from daily life in Neolithic Paris. MUSEE CARNAVALET (31) 3 44 595-858.

ASIATIC MUSEUM REOPENED. The museum has been fully renovated. MUSEE NATIONALE DES ARTS ASIATIQUES GUIMET. (31) 1 47 236-165. (See Minerva, May-June 2001, pp. 21-23.)


POPELUIE: NATURE, SCIENCE, AND TECHNIQUES. PALAIS DE LA DECOUVERT (33) 1 40 74 80 00. Until 22 July.

THE STRANGE AND MARVELOUS IN THE LAND OF ISLAM. Taking its name from The Arabian Nights, this exhibition follows in the rich fantasy literature of the medieval period. The first part of the exhibition is devoted to the 13th century Iranian cosmographer Kazwin, the second examines metamorphoses, the third fabulous bestiaries, the fourth fantasy literatures, the fifth divination and magic, and the last part covers the supernatural in religious practices and hagiographic texts. MUSEE DU LOUVRE (31) 1 40 205-151. (www. louvre.fr). Until 23 July.

VESOUL, Haute-Saône

THE GALLO-ROMANS IN HAUTE-SAÔNE. MUSEE GEORGES-GARRET (38) 38 47 65 154. Until September.

STRASBOURG

ARCHAEOLOGY IN ALSACE AND MOSELLE. The history of archaeological excavation in Alsace and Moselle at the time that these two regions were annexed by Nazi Germany, and of the use of archaeology to serve a specific ideological discourse. MUSEE ARCHEOLOGIQUE, PALAIS ROHAN (38) 3 88 52 50 00.

GERMANY

BERLIN

AGATHA CHRISTIE AND THE ORIENT: CRIMINOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY. The hitherto unknown interests and talents of the great crime writer are told through archaeological finds from the sites on which she worked with her husband Max Mallowan at Ur, Nineveh and Nimrud. Important objects from both sites are exhibited, with archives, photographs and films made by Agatha Christie herself. VORDERASIATISCHES MUSEUM (49) 30 203-550. Until 26 August (until 31 August, British Museum, London, in November).

INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA: FROM MYTH TO MODERN TIMES. A long-term special exhibition. MUSEUM FUEL VOLKERKUNDE (49) 30 830-1231. Until 30 November 2005.

REOPENING OF THE MUSEUM FOR EAST ASIAN ART. (49) 30 830-1381 Reopened at Lammersstrasse 8 in October 2000.

REOPENING OF THE MUSEUM FOR INDIAN ART. (49) 30 830-1361 Reopened at Lammersstrasse 8 in October 2000.

TROIJ-SCHLEMMANN-ANTIKENRE. Permanent exhibition of more than 500 Trojan antiquities in Berlin, now on display after reuniting the museum collections from East and West Berlin. MUSEUM VORVORD FRUHGESCHICHTSCHE SCHLOSS CHARLOTTENBURG, LANGHANSB AU (30) 3209-1233.

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THE NIKE TEMPLE FRIEZES. The east and west friezes, and some of the south and west friezes, were removed from the temple due to the ever-present air pollution and are now installed at eye level in the museum, the ACROPOLIS MUSEUM (30) 1 923-8724. A new permanent installation.

PIRAEUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. The museum houses a major collection of Greek sculptures from Attica and Attica. Attica and Salamis. Recent finds include those from the Minoan sanctuary on Kythera and the Mycenaean sanctuary at Methana. Also on display are vases from the Geroulanos collection, Daphne. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF PIRAUEAS (30) 1 452-1398.

DRAMA, Macedonia ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. Located near Philippi, this museum, opened in December 1999, features finds from the Neolithic period until the present day, including statuary and tomb relics from the Roman period. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF DRAMA (30) 521- 3165.

POLYGYROS, Chalkidiki THE ANCIENT CITIES OF ANDROS ISLAND: ANACANTOS, SANE AND STAGEIRA. Permanent exhibition officially inaugurated in October 2000, containing the most important artefacts found in the three cities of Chalkidiki. POLYGYROS ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (30) 3 22260. Permanent exhibition.

THASSALONIKI, Thrace THE TIMES OF ANCIENT MACEDONIA. Permanent exhibition. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (30) 31 830-538.

VERGINA THE GREAT TUMULUS OF THE ROYAL MACEDONIAN TOMBS. Museum and shelter opened at the site of the ancient Macedonian capital Aegae to house Philip II's tomb (or that of Philip II). (30) 33 192-347. (See Minerva, Jan/Feb 1998 p. 5; May/June 1998, p. 11; and July/August 1998, pp. 25-37, 33-35.)

HONG KONG ANCIENT CHINESE INSRIPTIONS. ART MUSEUM. THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG (85) 22 609-7416 (www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/amm). Until September-

IRELAND DUBLIN ANCIENT EGYPT. A recently opened permanent display of Egyptian antiquities from the Museum's own collections. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND (353) 1 677-7444.

VIKING AGE IRELAND. Recently opened galleries tracing the impact of the Viking invasion on Ireland, AD 800-1000. THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND (353) 1 677-7444.

LIMERIC THE HUNT MUSEUM. The museum houses the renowned and wide-ranging collection belonging to John and Gertrude Hunt. The collection is strong on Medieval material, but also includes Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art, and an important collection of Irish archaeological pieces including the 8th century Antrim Cross. THE HUNT MUSEUM (353) 61 3111. (See Minerva, Nov/Dec 1998, pp. 36-40.)

ISRAEL HAIFA HECHT MUSEUM: PERMANENT SPECIAL EXHIBITIONS. ANCIENT CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES; PHOENICIANS IN THE NORTH COAST OF ISRAEL IN THE BIBLICAL PERIOD. (972) 4 825-7773.

MEASURING AND WEIGHING IN ANCIENT TIMES. This exhibition enunciates various fields of measurement: time, volume, length, and width. The varied objects on display, include ancient sundials, containers designed with volumetric units, and various types of scales. One of the most interesting artifacts is an iron rod from the Byzantine Period discovered in the town of Sheilomi. The rod served as a unit to measure land for tax purposes. HECHT MUSEUM (972) 4 825-7773. Until October 2001. (See Minerva, this issue, pp. 36-37.)

THE RICHNESS OF ISLAMIC CAE- SAREA. This exhibition displays finds from excavations conducted in Caesarea since 1992, including pottery, glass, tin shields, wood and ivory objects, candles, and jewels. HECHT MUSEUM (972) 4 825-7773. Until April 2002.

JERUSALEM THE CRUCIFIED MAN FROM GIV'AT HAHAV. A unique ossuary urn, originally found in 1970 in the Goliath neighborhood. This urn contained a man 24-28 years old, exhibited with a replica of his heil bones pierced by an iron nail. ROCE- FELLER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (972) 2 282-251.

A DAY AT QUMRAN: THE DEAD SEA SECT AND ITS SCROLLS. This permanent exhibition commemorates the 50th anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls. A unique 1st century AD document from an ostraca discovered in Qumran in the winter of 1995 reveals the connection between the site and the scrolls discovered in the caves. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 670-8811.

THE FIRST ARTISTS. A special permanent exhibition of rare objects recently found at prehistoric sites. THE ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 670- 8811.

THE LADY FROM BEBEKHAT RAM: FIRST LADY OF THE ARTS. Now on exhibition is a tiny (3.4 cm) volcanic tuff figurine found at an early Stone Age site near the Golan, confirmed by scientific tests to be about 250,000 years old (the oldest known man- made image was previously thought to be about 35,000 years old). ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 670-8811. (See Minerva Nov/Dec 2000 p. 5.)

ITALY ANCONA THE ADRATIC SEA CULTURES BETWEEN BORDERS. Archaeological objects, paintings, maps and sculpture from sites including Aquileia, Concordia Sagittaria, Oderzo, San Vincenzo al Volturno, and Crecchio, document cultures along the shores of the Adriatic Sea. MOLE VANNITELIANA (39) 071- 2072348. Catalogue. Until 5 September.

THE GILDED BRONZES FROM CARTOCE- TO. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE DELLE MARCHE (39) 071 202602 / 207390. Until 30 September.

AVEZZANO TREASURES FROM LAKE FUCINO IN THE TOLRANIA COLLECTION. Archaeological discoveries made during the excavation of the lake of Fucino. VILLA TOLRANIA (39) 0863-501270. Catalogue Cursa. Until 30 October.

BOLOGNA AEMILIA ROMANA. Roman culture in Aemilia from the 3rd century BC to the age of Constantine. This exhibition presents results of excavations made in the last 30 years. More than 500 objects document everyday life in the region. PINOTECASANZ- ONALE (39) 051 233-849.

BRESCIA MUSEO DELLA CITTA IN SAN GIULIA. The recently opened first phase in a long term project, which will include a new museum inside the 8th and 12th century convent 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, mosaic wall paintings, and a precious cross that belonged to the Longobard king Desiderius. MONAS- TERO DI SANTA GIULIA (39) 030 2807-540.

BRINDISI FROM THE SEA TO A MUSEUM. On permanent display after careful restoration, two rare Roman bronze statues of the late Republican period found in 1992 in the area near the Apulian coast. MUSEO ARCHEO- LOGICO PROVINCIALE F. RIBEZZO (39) 0831 563-545.

CAMERINO, Macerata MUSEO CIVICO ARCHEOLOGICO GIROLAMO DI GIOVANNI - CONVEN- TO DI SAN BENEDETTO. The archaeological museum has moved to new premises and was re-opened last June with an interesting iconographic exhibition centred on the relationship between Celts and Romans: 'Victories over the Celts.' The permanent collection includes Greek and Roman objects. (39) 0737 402-310. An on-going installation. Catalogue.
COMACCHIO
THE MUSEO DELLA NAVE ROMANA. Inaugurated last December to house a 1st century BC ship which sank in the nearby lagoon. The ship and the goods carried were perfectly preserved, having been covered by five meters of sand and mud for 2000 years. (39) 053 331-0185. An ongoing exhibition.

CRECCHIO, Chieti
ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM - CASTELLO DUCALE. The museum is now open to the public and includes 6th and 7th century artifacts exca-
vated locally. Jewels, bronzes, ceramics, and glass objects demonstrate previous Byzantine influences. There are also a considerable num-
ber of Etruscan objects from the Francia Maria Faracci collection, recently bequeathed to the museum. (39) 087 194-1392. An ongoing exhibition.

FLORENCE

MILAN
SCYTHIAN AND SARMATIAN GOLD. The exhibition first shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, PALAZZO REALE (39) 022 156-3219 Until 15 July. (See Minerva, Nov./Dec. 1999, pp. 8-17.)

MONTAGNANA, Padoua
MUSEO CIVICO E ARCHEOLOGICO. The museum, created in 1980 fol-
lowing the discovery of the Roman necropolis of the nearby gens Vassidio, has now been reorganised, and objects on view range from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages. (39) 049 980-4128. An ongoing exhibition.

NAPLES
MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. The section containing erotic from Pompeii and Herculanum has now been renovated and is open to the public. (39) 081 544-1494. Catalogue.

TREASURES FROM THE BORGIA COL-
LECTION. Cardinal Stefano Borgia founded a museum for research purposes in his own house. This 18th century collection comprised Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Etruscan and Roman antiqui-
ties as well as objects from all over the world. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE (39) 081-441494. Catalogue. Until September.

PERUGIA
MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. New exhibition spaces have been added to the museum. Now on view is the Joseph Bellucci collection of amulets and magical instru-

PORTO RECANATI
PORTO ROMAN COLONY. On view the results of the twenty years of ex-
adations at Potentia, a Roman colony-

found in 184 BC. CASTELLO SVEVO (39) 0719-799084. Catalogue. Until 31 October.

ROME
BLOOD AND SAND IN THE COLISEUM. The Coliseum becomes a museum of an exhibition about its own architecture and the spectacles it beheld, as well as information about other amphitheatres in the ancient Roman world. The mosaics, sculptures, and above all the collection of arms and armours from the Museo Archeologico in Naples document the everyday life of gladiators. THE COLISEUM. Until 7 January 2002.

CAPITOLINE MUSEUMS. The Tabul-
arium and Capitoline museums have reopened, 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) 06 3974-9907. See Minerva, Jan-Feb 2001, pp. 34-5.

MUSEO NAZIONALE ETRUSCO DI VILLA GIUSLA. The reorganisation of the Etruscan collection is now complete and all rooms are open. (39) 06 322-6571.

MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO - CRYPTA BALBI. This section of the National Museum of antiquities is now open at the site of the 1st cen-
tury theatre of Lucius Cornelius Balbus. It is possible to visit the museum and the site with an archaeologist, by appointment. (See Minerva July/August 2000 p. 4.) MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO (39) 06 481-5576.

NEW DISCOVERIES FROM THE ROMAN FORUMS. A special exhibition illustrates the discoveries recently made at the forums of Trajan, Caesar, and Augustus. FORUMS ET TRAJANO CENTRO PER I VISITORI. Permanent exhibition.

RODIN AND THE LESSONS FROM ITALY. The exhibition includes a collection of antiquities collected by the famous sculptor seen side by side with the sculptures they inspired. ACCADEMIA DI FRANCIA - VILLA MEDICI (39) 06- 676-1235. Catalogue. Until 9 July.

TOMB OF CECILIA METELLA, CASTELLA CAFANI AND VILLA DEI QUINTILI are now open to visitors after having been completely restored. They form part of an archaeological park which also includes the first section of the ancient Appian way and all its monuments. A small museum is inside the tomb of Cecilia Metella. The Villa dei Quintili was the largest private villa outside the capital. It belonged to the two Quintili brothers, both senators, who were exe-
cuted in AD 182 by emperor Commodus who took over their villa and made it an imperial property. (39) 06-716-2273.

7000 YEARS OF PERSIAN ART: MASTER-
PIECES FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, TEHERAN. The exhibition includes precious terracotta figurines; Luristan

bronzes; Achaemenid gold and silver vessels; Parthian sculpture, ceramics and glass; and Sassanid silver vessels, glass, and jewelry. The magnificent gold and silver vessels of the Achaemenian kings are a highlight, as are magnificently decorated silver vessels and elaborate glassware decorations from the Sassanid period. Of particular interest are objects dating from a still somewhat elusive period of Iranian art history - namely Alexander the Great's conquest of Persia to the Selucid and Parthian dynasties succeeding him. MUSEO DI ARTE ORIENTALE (39) 6-487-5077. Until 21 July. See Minerva, March-April 2001, pp. 25-31.

MUSEO COMUNALI DI STORIA ED ARTE. The museum's new Egyptian section was inaugurated in February 2001 and renamed after Claudia Dolzani (1911-1997), a distin-
guished Egyptologist from Trieste. (39) 049 310-300.

SIBERIA: THE MENS FROM ICED RIVERS. 350 works of art are on display from the 7th to 4th century BC from excavations in Russia, on loan from the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. The exhibition includes the numerous Scythian horsemen and a three meter long sarcophagus. SCUDERI DEL CASTELLO DI MIRAMARE (39) 800 723-300. Catalogue. Until 29 July.

VERBANIA
MUSEO DEL PAESAGGIO. Opened at the end of last year to display lim-

tary goods found in two Gallo-

Romano necropoli at Ornavasso. On view are Celtic swords, vases, tools, jewels, glass objects, and hundreds of coins, all found in the 346 tombs excavated here since 1890. MUSEO DEL PAESAGGIO (39) 032 350-2418.

VERONA
COLLECTIONS RECOVERED IN THE MUSEUMS IN VERONA. This exhibition aims to highlight archaelogical finds and other collections forgotten in the storage rooms of various museums in Verona. Amongst the oldest objects on display are bronze statuettes of fa-

OFFERINGS TO THE GODS: ANCIENT TERRACOTTA FIGURINES. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO (39) 045-800-5817. Until 31 October.

LEIDEN
RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEIDEN: NEW EXHIBITIONS. After a five-year programme of extensive refurbishment the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in May unveiled its new exhibitions of renowned national collections from ancient Egypt, the Near East, the classical world and the early Netherlands. RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEIDEN (31) 71 516-31 63. A new permanent exhibition. (See Minerva, this issue, pp. 8-13.)

POLAND
POZNAN

PORTUGAL
LISBON

SPAIN
BARCELONA
ROMANESQUE CALLERIES. 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. MUSEU NACIONAL D'ART DE CATALUNYA (34) 3 423-7199. (www.gencat.es/mnac). An on-going installation.

LEARNING OF THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM OF BARCELONA. A greatly expanded exhibition space at a new location: Valencia 284. THE EGYPTI-

MUSEUM OF BARCELONA (34) 93 488-0188. (See Minerva July/ August 2000, p. 7.)

SWITZERLAND
DELMONT, Jura
FROM JULIUS CAESAR'S CAMP: 150 YEARS OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JURA. MUSEE JURASSIEN D'ART ET D'HIS-
TOIRE (41) 32 422-8077. An on-
going special exhibition.

GENEVA
EGYPTIAN ART FROM THE MARTIN BODMER FOUNDATION. A selection of works from the rarely displayed Pharaonic collection held by the Bodmer Foundation, in Cologne, including sculpture, portrait, and papyri. MUSEE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE (41) 22 418 26. 00. Until 26 August.

JAPAN
NAGOYA
ART OF THE ANCIENT MEDITER-
RANEAN WORLD. An extensive selec-

NETHERLANDS
GRONINGEN

MEETINGS, CONFERENCES, & SYMPOSIUMS

19 July. THE EGYPTIAN DELTA: RECENT EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH. Colloquium at the Stevenson Auditorium, British Museum, Great Russell Street, WC1. Followed by the 2001 Sackler Lecture (see below for details of this lecture). Contact: Department of Ancient Egypt, British Museum. Tel: (44) 20 7323 8306. E-mail: egypt@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk.

3-4 August. TREASURES FROM A LOST CIVILIZATION: ANCIENT CHINESE ART FROM SICHUAN. In conjunction with the exhibition (see Minerva, this issue, pp. 14-20). Featuring eight distinguished scholars from Europe, China, and the U.S. Seattle Art Museum. Tel: (1) 206 654-3119. E-mail: council@seattleartmuseum.org.

3-5 August. THE AMAURNA HERESY. A series of illustrated lectures on the origins of the Amarna pharaohs organized by the Institute for the Study of Interdisciplinary Sciences and Sussex Egyptology, at the University of Reading. Contact: Mike Rowland. Tel: (44) 1256 353944.

11 August. HIS MAJESTY KING HATRESH, ACE - Australian Centre for Egyptology Annual Conference, Macquarie University & the Australian Centre for Egyptology. Contact: Prof. Ngaire Kanawati. Tel: (61) 2 9855 8855. E-mail: nkanawati@ocs1.cs.ocs mq.edu.au

2-8 September. INTERNATIONAL UNION OF PRE- AND PROTOHISTORIC SCIENCES, 14TH CONFERENCE. Liège. Contact: Marcel Otte, Service de Prehistoire, Université de Liège, 7 place du XX Aout, bât A1, B-4000 Liège, Belgium. E-mail: prehist@ulg.ac.be.

3-4 September. APPROACHES TO ANCIENT MEDICINE. Reading. Contact: Dr Helen King, Department of Classics, University of Reading, PO Box 218, Whiteknights, Reading RG6 2AA. Tel: (44) 118 318 420. E-mail: h.king@reading.ac.uk.

3-9 September. SECOND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF BLACK SEA ANTIQUITIES. Local populations of the Black Sea littoral and their relations with the Greek, Roman and Byzantine Worlds and Near Eastern Civilisation (6th century BC - c. AD 1000). Bilke University, Ankara, Turkey. Contact: Dr G. R. Tsetskhladze, Department of Classics, Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, Surrey TW20 0EX. Tel: (44) 1784 443 203. Fax: (44) 1784 439 655. E-mail: m.scrivene@rhbnc.ac.uk.

6-8 September. NATURE, MAN, AND ART. In conjunction with the exhibition Shinto: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan (see entry above). Contact: Mavis Pilbeam, Department of Japanese Antiquities, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG. Tel: (20) 7323 8832. E-mail: mpilbeam@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk.

6-10 September. SEA CHANGE: ORKNEY AND NORTHERN EUROPE. Pickaquoy Centre, Kirkwall. Contact: Kate Towsey (Conference Secretary). Tel: (44) 1856 731227. E-mail: kate.towsey@talk21.com.

10-13 September. COLOURS IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD. An international conference exploring aspects of hue and colour. Contact: Colours Conference, Department of Classics, University of Edinburgh, David Hume Building, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JX. E-mail: colours@ed.ac.uk.

28 July. VALLEY OF THE KINGS. Thames Valley Ancient Egypt Society study day with Drs Nigel and Helen Strudwick. Lecture Theatre 2, The University of Reading, London Road, Reading, Berkshire. Contact: Philip Wickers. Tel: (44) 118 987 2878. Website: www.tvae.blinternet.co.uk.

21 & 22 August. NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY DAYS. Events will be held at venues throughout Britain. Website: www.britarch.ac.uk/yac. National Archaeology Day events at the Museum of London will include tours of sites currently being excavated in the city. For further information contact the Museum of London Box Office: (44) 20 7814 5777.

22 September. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RECORDS. Study day at Christ’s College, Cambridge, in aid of the Coptic Manuscripts Conservation Project. Contact: Toby Wilkinson, tel: (44) 1223 334937, e-mail: alumni@chists.cam.ac.uk.

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LONDON

10 July. PERSEPOLIS: BETWEEN SCYTHIA AND LYDIA. Shapur Shahbazi. BP lecture theatre, British Museum, Great Russell Street, WC1. 6pm. Booking essential. Contact: Claire Burton. Tel: (44) 20 7323 8315. E-mail: cburton@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk.

18 July. THE 2001 RAYMOND AND BEVERLEY SACKLER LECTURE. Gaballah Ali Gaballah. BP lecture theatre, British Museum, Great Russell Street, WC1. 6pm (followed by an evening reception at the Egyptian Sculpture Gallery). Contact: Department of Ancient Egypt, British Museum. Tel: (44) 20 7323 8306. E-mail: egypt@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk

30 August. AMELIA EDWARDS AND FLOYDIES PETRIE. Friends of the Petrie Museum documentary screening at GA Lecture Theatre, Institute of Archaeology, Gordon Square, WC1. 6.30pm. Donation at the door £3, (to include wine) all proceeds will be donated to the Petrie Mummy Cartonnage Appeal.

GLASGOW

7 July. GEOPHYSICAL PROSPECTION IN EGYPT. THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF SCOTLAND SAQARRA SURVEY PROJECT. Dr Ian J. Mathieson, Egyptology Scotland Meeting at The Burrell Collection, Pollok Country Park, Glasgow G43 1AT. 2pm.

SOUTHAMPTON

21 July. THE COLUMNS OF ANCIENT EGYPT. Peter Phillips, Southampton Ancient Egypt Society meeting at Lecture Theatre 8, Avenue Campus, The University of Southampton. 2pm. Contact: Norman Pease, Tel: (1794) 516352, e-mail: hotep@talk21.com.

IN MEMORIAM

Laurence Flanagan, 68, archaeologist. Following the 1967 discovery of the Girona, a vessel from the Spanish Armada that foundered off the Irish coast in 1588, Laurence Flanagan was instrumental in ensuring that the 10,000 artifacts recovered remained in Ireland. Most of the treasures, including a gold cross of a Knight of Malta and a solid gold salamander pendent set with rubies, are now in the Ulster Museum, which became the first in the world to possess an Armada cannon. The preservation of this unique collection was the highlight of his career. Flanagan was also notable as a champion of the concept of national archaeology, as places of cutting-edge research. He was keeper of antiquities at the museum for 30 years and a leading historian of the Neo-Lithic and early Bronze Ages. After his retirement he became a prolific writer and editor of books about Ireland.

Tedd Wright, 85, archaeologist. Wright famously discovered three Bronze Age boats at North Ferriby, Yorkshire. He discovered his first boat in 1937 at the age of 19, the remains of another in 1940 while on leave from the Army, and a third in 1963, with the help of his seven-year-old son. Wright always believed that the boats he found were of great antiquity but it was only in March of this year that advanced scientific dating techniques allowed archaeologists to confirm that the plank boat he discovered in 1963 was the oldest of its kind ever found in Western Europe. The remains of the boats - which were originally up to 16 metres, propelled by paddles and used for passage up and down the Humber - are kept at Hull and East Riding Museum.

APPOINTMENTS

Dr Mamduh el-Damaty has been appointed Director of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. (See Minerva, this issue, p. 4.)

CALENDAR

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 at least 6 weeks in advance of publication.

For UK and other European exhibitions, conferences, lectures, and auctions, except for France & Germany, send details to:

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Fax: (44) 20 7491-1595. E-mail: minerva.mag@virgin.net

Please send U.S., Canadian, French and German, listings to:

Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg, Minerva, Suite 2D, 153 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

Fax: (1) 212 688-0412 E-mail: ancientart@aol.com

MINERVA 71
EGYPTIAN LIFE-SIZE GRANODIORITE TORSO OF A STRIDING MAN
wearing a kilt; large rectangular pillar on back. The figure is executed in a style employing a sculptural type
developed during the Old Kingdom, Ptolemaic Period, ca. 305-30 B.C. H. 92 cm. (36 1/4 in.)
Rarely are hard stone statues of this size and quality found in private collections or offered for sale.

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ROMAN WALL PAINTING OF A FLYING NUDE EROS.
He holds his bow in his left hand and reaches with his right to retrieve an arrow from the quiver slung across his back; a purple cloth, draped over his arm, billows behind him. Ca. mid-1st Century AD.
H. 40.7 cm. (16 in.) Ex collection of Kōjiro Ishiguro (d.'92), Tokyo, acquired in the 1960s.

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www.royalathena.com

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LUCANIAN RED-Figure BELL KRATER BY THE CYCLOPS PAINTER.
A draped maenad seated upon a rocky outcrop flanked by two cavorting ithyphallic satyrs, two thysroi in the field. Rev: three draped youths.
South Italy, ca. 420 B.C.  H. 31.8 cm. (12 1/2 in.)

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