MINERVA
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INCLUDING A SPECIAL SECTION DEVOTED TO NUMISMATICS

EGYPTIAN USHABTIS AT THE LOUVRE

CYPRUS IN THE MEDELHAVSMUSEET, SWEDEN

HOTUNG CHINESE JADES AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

FAKE PHOENICIAN GLASS IN DAMASCUS

NEW EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE

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WINTER 2002 ANTIQUITIES SALES

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EDITORIAL

‘Universal Museums’ Unite To Tackle Restitution

In an unprecedented expression of solidarity, 18 major museums and research institutes in Europe and the USA have signed a declaration recognising the importance and value of ‘universal museums’, opposing the return of artworks to original countries and arguing that exhibition outside the area of origin has served as a positive cultural ambassador for the cultures reflected. Signatories include: The Art Institute of Chicago; Bavarian State Museum, Munich; State Museums, Berlin; Cleveland Museum of Art; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Louvre Museum, Paris; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; The Museum of Modern Art, New York; Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence; Philadelphia Museum of Art; Prado Museum, Madrid; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid; and the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

The pooled wisdom of this consortium states that ‘The international museum community shares the conviction that illegal traffic in archaeological, artistic, and ethnic objects must be firmly discouraged. We should, however, recognize that objects acquired in earlier times must be viewed in the light of different sensitivities and values, reflective of that earlier era. The objects and monumental works that were installed decades and even centuries ago in museums throughout Europe and America were acquired under conditions that are not comparable with current ones’.

Further, ‘The universal admiration for ancient civilizations would not be so deeply established today were it not for the influence exercised by the artifacts of these cultures, widely available to an international public in major museums. Indeed, the sculpture of classical Greece, to take but one example, is an excellent illustration of this point and of the importance of public collecting. The centuries-long history of appreciation of Greek art began in antiquity, was renewed in Renaissance Italy, and subsequently spread throughout the rest of Europe and to the Americas. Its accession into the collections of public museums throughout the world marked the significance of Greek sculpture for mankind as a whole and its enduring value for the contemporary world. Moreover, the distinctly Greek aesthetic and the result of their being seen and studied in direct proximity to products of other great civilizations.’

‘ Calls to repatriate objects that have belonged to museums collections for many years have become an important issue for museums. Although each case has to be judged individually, we should acknowledge that museums serve not just the citizens of one nation but the people of every nation. Museums are agents in the development of culture, whose mission is to foster knowledge by a continuous process of reinterpretation. Each object contributes to that process. To narrow the focus of museums whose collections are diverse and multifaceted would therefore be a disservice to all visitors’.

This defence of the universal museum’s right to retain material appears to be a ‘backs to the wall’ response to increasing pressure for Artefact Restitution throughout the world, and is widely acknowledged to represent support for the British Museum (diplomatically not a signatory to this statement) in its determination to retain the Parthenon marbles. Underlying the statement is recognition that if the Parthenon marbles are returned to Greece, then no museum’s collections will be exempted from restitution. It is broadly accepted that the precedent of the return of the marbles would open the flood-gates. Although no holes in the dam walls are currently evident, cracks are starting to appear.

In December 2002 Italy returned a fragment of a contested 4th century BC frieze to Greece as a long-term loan (for 99 years). This 54 x 35cm fragment depicts the foot of Pheitho, goddess of persuasion and seduction, peaking out from under her elaborate tunic. Originally located on the eastern side of the Parthenon in Athens, it was purchased by the University of Palermo between 1818 and 1820 from the widow of Robert Fagan, the British consul for Sicily and Malta. Interestingly, the staff and director of the Salinas Regional Archaeological Museum in Palermo, which housed it, vocally opposed this development. Agata Villa, director of its classical archaeology department, has stated his belief that this is an ‘anti-cultural initiative’.

Greek Culture Minister Evangelos Venizelos has further fuelled the case for restitution of the Parthenon marbles in the British Museum by citing a British public opinion poll, which found that 40% of Britons believe the sculptures should be sent back to Athens. When asked to respond to the idea of returning the marbles as a long-term loan (and based on several other national pollings), just 7% of those polled felt that retention in these circumstances in Britain was justified.

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China’s Lost Cultural Relics Recovery Program has opposed the declaration, arguing that it breaches UNESCO legislation. In March 1997 China signed the Unidroit Convention on Stolen and Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, which recognizes that cultural objects exported illegally should be restituted upon request by the country of origin if it can prove that illegal export had an essential impact on the scientific or cultural interests of the country of origin. According to the Convention, the Chinese government has the right to demand return of cultural objects exported illegally in 75 years time. China keeps tabs on the one million Chinese artefacts currently in over 200 museums in 47 countries worldwide, and is expected to make extensive restitution claims in the future.

When confronted with this form of incessant pressure, the current declaration supporting universal museums is understandable. Pressure from Egypt, and more recently Afghanistan, for restitution can only have compounded the siege mentality amongst many major world museums. However, is such impudent foot stamping really the most effective means of proving a point? The Museums Journal (Jan. 2003) has suggested that the declaration ‘appears to have backfired...’ ICOM has also condemned the section of the declaration against repatriation, stating that ‘Repatriation of objects is an issue that should be very carefully dealt with...’ Unnecessarily strong judgements or declarations should in any case be avoided’, Maurice Davies of the Museums Association in the UK, has declared that the statement is ‘a George Bush approach to international relations. It is a very crude statement that doesn’t give credit to the subtlety of thought that many museums give this issue. It is a shame that it doesn’t pay as much attention to sharing things as it does to the concept of retaining things in the specific place that they happen to be at the moment, often by historical accident’.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.
Sean A. Kingsley

MUSEUM NEWS

Athens Museum Awakenings

Much controversy in Athens surrounds the construction of the new Acropolis Museum and the infrastructures planned to host the Olympic Games in 2004 (see Minerva, Sept/Oct 2001, p. 5; March/April 2002, pp. 5-6; May/June 2002, p. 6). The design for the Acropolis Museum by Bernard Tschumi Architects (see Minerva, March/April 2002, pp. 5-6) does not entirely convince. Does it really overcome the physical constraints of the site below the Acropolis near the Makriyanni excavations (the entrance lobby of the museum will look over these) into a new architectural opportunity? The choice of another site and possibly a simpler design might have been less intrusive. It is, of course, a daunting challenge to build anywhere near the Acropolis, and hopefully Tschumi and his architectural team will succeed in their purpose of offering a museum with the mathematical and conceptual clarity of Ancient Greece’. Only time will tell, since the building is far from complete. What is to be welcomed is that the project foresees a great deal of natural light for the presentation of the sculptures in the museum. The rectangular Parthenon Gallery on the top of the museum, set around an outdoor court, is designed to protect the sculptures displayed in exactly the same orientation as the Parthenon itself.

This project, and that for the future Museum of the Hellenic World, also to be located in Athens, were presented at the Biennale of Architecture in Venice last year, where the latter – by the Anamorphosis group of architects - was much admired. The museum of the Hellenic World highlights three major historic periods in Greek civilisation, featured along a continuous strip of varying superficial composition marked out by three distinct installations: the amphitheatre representing antiquity; the dome, Byzantium; modern times housed under a sheltered cell. Here, emphasis will be put on the exchange between Greece (cultural ‘motherland’) and Asia Minor, the opposite side of the world. The museum design is challenging and may turn out to provide what was intended by this group of architects: ‘A total museological approach...whose emphasis falls on spatiality...a museum where the presentation of historical materials and the actual building form are synthesised into a single extended space’.

Dale Jones

THE PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES SCHEME

Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2000-2001

The Report of the fourth year of the Scheme shows that the original initiative is going from strength to strength. It is managed by a consortium of national museums and institutions and, due to a successful bid to the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Scheme will now extend in 2003 to all parts of England and Wales with the provision of 46 posts. The Scheme’s future is now assured until at least April 2006. The Report is heavily illustrated and has accounts from all the areas covered, a galaxy of finds made from all periods of Britain’s past.

A total of 1,746 finds volunteered objects for recording during the last year, the majority of the finds (as noted in the Treasure Report, see Minerva, Nov/Dec 2002, p. 29) being made by metal detectorists. The Report notes the continuing good relations between Finds Liaison Officers and finders, the former giving many talks to interested societies and holding open identification days, which have produced some outstanding pieces. A total of 37,518 archaeological objects were recorded under the Scheme, many of which would have gone unrecorded and lost to the understanding of the material culture and archaeology of England and Wales. Many of the finds are illustrated in the Report, with details of the circumstances of their find and also instances where follow-up archaeological excavation took place which considerably added to the knowledge of the content and context of the find. In several instances metal detectorists were able to work alongside the archaeological team, and proved especially useful in double checking spoil heaps and following pipeline laying work. Emphasis is laid in the Report on the important role that it plays in raising awareness amongst finders of their obligations with regard to treasure. The most spectacular instance of this was the discovery and reporting to Sally Worrell, the Hampshire Finds Liaison Officer, of the Winchester hoard of Late Iron Age jewellery, subsequently acquired by the British Museum at a valuation of £320,000.

Peter A. Clayton

Architectural model of the Museum of the Hellenic World, to be constructed in Athens by the Anamorphosis group of architects, and to feature Greek and Byzantine civilisation, as well as modern culture.
EXCAVATION NEWS

The 9th Century BC Jehoash Tablet: Fact or Forgery?

Hot on the heels of the ‘Ossuary of James’ debacle (Minerva, Jan/Feb 2003, p. 3-5), yet another sensational find is keeping Biblical archaeology in the media spotlight. An agent is attempting to sell a 31 x 24 x 7 cm sandstone tablet featuring a 13-line ancient Hebrew inscription written in the first-person and describing temple repairs ordered by the Biblical King Jehoash (who ruled Judaea in the 9th century BC). Its text closely parallels the Old Testament description (II Kings, xii, 1-6 and 11-17) recounting how priests are ordered to take ‘holy money...to buy quarry stones and timber and copper and labour to carry out the duty with faith’.

Combined information suggests that the tablet was spirited away from Jerusalem's Temple Mount/Al a-Zamal, possibly from the area of the Muslim cemetery outside the eastern wall of the Temple Mount. One individual has alleged that it was found following a landslide or flood. Researchers from the Geological Survey of Israel have sourced the stone to south Jordan or the Dead Sea region. During analysis of the stone, Dr Shimon Ilan recorded microscopic flecks of gold embedded into its surface that might have been burnt into the stone (such as when the Babylonians destroyed Solomon’s temple in 586 BC, it is suggested).

The context of this find can only be described as convenient, surfacing at a time when the Israeli economy is severely depressed (largely due to a lack of tourism), when excavation by foreign institutions is at an all time low, and just before the Israeli election (of January 2003). Once again a Biblical discovery looks set to divide the academic community. While Dr Gabriel Barkay has speculated that the tablet is authentic, Professor J. Naveh (Hebrew University) has declared it a fake; most of the letter shapes are of 9th century BC Hebrew, but some resemble Aramaic and Phoenician script.

The presence of extremely clear, unabraded script across all the stone's surface seems improbable and unrealistic and, common sense (prior to scientific publication) favours the view that this is either a fake manufactured for economic purposes, or perhaps for more political reasons. If authentic, this small Biblical-period find would create strong support for Jewish claims to the holiest site in Jerusalem. Dr Mordechay Kedar, an eastern scholar specialising in the connection between Islam and the Temple Mount, has pointed out that, if authentic, the find would create identity problems for Islamic groups, who deny all claims of a Jewish temple in the area. Meanwhile, Adnan Hussein, director of the Islamic Trust that administers the Temple Mount mosque compound has denied that this area is the tablet's source, arguing that 'At the best this is a joke', Bearing in mind that it was Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's very public visit to the Temple Mount platform that sparked off the latest intifada, the repercussions of this tablet - whether fake or fair - are extremely serious. If a forgery, let us hope that the tablet was not produced as political propaganda.

Sean A. Kingsley

Mass Iron Production on Roman Exmoor, England

Iron, and all that can be produced from it and its valuable alloy, steel, has played a pivotal role in man's cultural and technological development. Its production and supply has been vitally important in maintaining military and political superiority. Never more so than during the Roman period, when Imperial forces and pioneering entrepreneurs secured newly conquered territories for ever-more abundant sources to uphold the might of the Empire.

Remote Exmoor is not a region normally associated with Roman industry, but fieldwork is now revealing previously unknown evidence of a major Roman-period iron production network that exploited the rich iron resources of the moor. In summer 2002, staff and students from Exeter University's Archaeology Department carried out the first season of excavations at a large iron-smelting site on the southern fringe of Exmoor. The site is made up of a series of large, man-made working platforms cut into the slopes of a steep-sided valley that lies between open moorland to the north, with its deposits of high-grade ore, and lowland routeways to the south giving access to the markets of the Empire. Importantly, it lies on the edge of extensive woodlands, which probably supplied the huge tonnage of charcoal needed to fuel the furnaces that produced the iron metal.

The visual impact of the working platforms is enhanced by massive deposits of molten slag and smelting debris, filling parts of the valley bottom. This year's fieldwork by the Exmoor Iron project, which is run by Exeter University and the Exmoor National Park Authority with funding from English Heritage, included excavating a trench across the largest platform and slag dumps at the southern end. The trench reached almost 3m in depth and cut through successive layers of slag and furnace waste, bearing testament to many thousands of tonnes of debris and several hundreds of tonnes of metal produced, too precious for even well-armed invaders to remain discarded in an open site. Production at this scale was far beyond local requirements and begs the question, who was running the site to where was the material being exported?

Excavation on the platform itself revealed not only the expected remains of smelting furnaces but also the elements of a complex workshop where ore was smelted to metal and then forged into bars and billets for final smiting into weapons, armour, agricultural and domestic tools. An intact solid smelting floor, formed by the gradual build-up of fine hammerscale, formed by the gradual build-up of fine hammerscale flying from the smith's anvil, indicates generations of work on the site.

Preliminary results based on radiocarbon dating and pottery finds suggest dates for the site that span from the Late Iron Age to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. This site is not unique, but one of several along the southern edge of Exmoor which, in turn, suggests organised industry. What sets this site apart from others is its exceptional state of preservation. Because agriculture on Exmoor has been largely non-intensive and based on livestock rather than arable cultivation, many of the iron production sites now coming to
Roman Statue Recovered in West Cyprus
Archaeologists at the Archaeological Museum of Paphos, west Cyprus, are restoring a stunning white Roman marble statue of a woman unearthed by chance in October 2002. The statue came to light in a field in the eastern necropolis of Kato Paphos where many Roman tombs have been found. Eustathios Raptou, director of the Paphos division of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, told Minerva: 'It is in very good condition, it is the best preserved we have found in Paphos. It cannot be excluded that the statue originally stood above an important Roman tomb.'

The statue was unearthed after a Cypriot pensioner spotted a marble elbow protruding from rubble at a building site on Icarnos Street near the tourist area in lower Paphos. It lacks its head but was clearly female. Dr Raptou has clarified that the eastern necropolis lay near the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, God of the Woodland, a rock-cut underground chamber in Nea Paphos, dating to the 4th century BC. After restoration at the Paphos Museum, the statue is to be put on public display.

The latest find comes at a time of hectic archaeological activity in Paphos. A team from Australia's University of Sydney, directed by Professor Richard Green, has begun excavating on nearby Fabrica Hill in Nea Paphos what is probably the largest ancient theatre in Cyprus, a Hellenistic amphitheatre dating to c. 300 BC. With a diameter of some 80m and capable of holding 8000 people, the theatre is one of the most exciting new archaeological sites under exploration in Cyprus.

Christopher Follett

The Inchmarnock Hostage Stone: A Viking Raid Scene?
Ongoing excavations at St Marnock's Chapel on Inchmarnock, off the west coast of Bute, Scotland, have revealed a remarkable number of pieces of inscribed slate. Provisionally dated to the 8th or 9th century AD (possibly continuing later), this is the largest assemblage of such material known from Scotland. Additional pieces of early medieval sculpture, carved in a variety of different techniques, have also been recovered during the course of the present project. The excavation at the chapel forms part of a broader study of the archaeology and history of the island from the earliest Christian times down to the late 18th century and beyond. The Project is led by Dr Christopher Lowe of Headland Archaeology Ltd, on behalf of Sir Robert Smith, the island's owner.

The decorated and inscribed slate assemblage includes examples of abstract designs and casual graffiti, but also what are clearly practical pieces for the composition of more complex designs. Much of the assemblage is poorly stratified; a handful of pieces, however, were recovered from well-stratified deposits associated with metalworking and other activities. As 'pattern books' for the creation of designs in other media, the site potentially offers the opportunity of understanding the better context in which this material was produced.

Literacy at the site is attested by a number of fragments with practice writing, as well as one example with a piece of readable text. One outstanding piece, with a sketch on one side and practice writing on the other, provides further evidence of literacy at the site, as well as an insight into the dress, weaponry, and ship technology of the time. This flat, oval beach pebble (SF587) was recovered from a disturbed old ground surface to the south-east of Building 4055, currently under investigation. The stone joins with SF404 found nearby in 2001. The upper right-hand corner and bottom edge of the stone are missing. Incised on one face are four human figures, in profile facing to the right, an oared ship, and a possible letter-form (d?) with a terminal serif. The scene is dominated by a complete figure with long swept-back hair, moustache, whiskers on the chin, and a prominent brow. The neck and body are clothed in a mail shirt. The leg on the left side of the figure is cross-gartered, the other is possibly covered in mail. The shoes are pointed, and a cross-hatched belt or strap hags between the legs. To his left are the remains of another figure (extant from feet to just below the shoulders), similarly clad in a mail shirt/skirt combination.

The dominant individual stands in front of a second, shorter figure, who is complete in profile, but with face turned to the viewer. The figure is stooped, has a rounded face, and above the figure's left ear are traces of what may be a cap or head-cover. Unlike the other figures on the stone, this individual does not appear to be dressed in a mail shirt, wearing instead what appears to be a plain skirt or tunic tied at the waist, marked by a simple incised line. The figure's legs are cross-gartered. Behind the figure are traces of what may be a cloak or cape. The right arm (or possibly both arms) point towards the larger figure in front, to whom he may be secured by a length of rope or chain. Around and hanging from the wrist(s) of the 'captured' figure is a small box-like feature with a dot in the centre.

Below the figures clad in mail shorts is an oared ship. Twelve pairs of oars with tips clearly depicted, plus a double steering-oar at the rear of the vessel, are indicated. At the front of the vessel is a pointed and upturned prow of figure-head; in the ship's centre is a hatched rectangle, presumably the sail, whilst the rear of the vessel is decorated with some form of upraised motif. Below the ship is a prominent right-angled line with a serif, which joins the arc of a circle where the stone is broken. This may represent the remains of an
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upright letter 'd' with a cap and wedge-shaped serif.

Incised on the reverse side of this pebble is a cruciform design formed of four ring-headed shafts laid head-to-head. At the bottom right-hand corner of the stone, and incised on a different alignment to the sketch on Face A, are a series of letter-forms. These comprise a half-uncial 'oc'-a, a character of uncertain identity, and then a 'b' with an open, rounded bowl and a forked serif on the upright.

Datable palaeographically to the 8th or possibly the 9th century, this is a find of international importance. It not only provides graphic evidence for the dress, weapons, and ship technology of the time, but may also provide a very personal account by a local, literate individual of a significant event in the island's history. The stone depicts three warrior-like figures, at least one of whom is armed with a spear. The figure on the right, however, a dressed differently: the head is downcast and the hands appear to be shackled. The slight build may suggest a young male or female, or possibly an ecclesiastical figure. The box-like feature around the figure's wrists may suggest a padlock and shackle; alternatively, it may represent our earliest depiction of a house-shaped shrine or reliquary, not unlike the Mony Musk reliquary which is believed to have been the 'Brevennoch of St Columba' and which holds pride of place in the National Museum of Scotland.

in conclusion, the stone appears to depict a slave-raiding party and it is, perhaps, tempting to identify the wild-haired warriors as Vikings. But why was the stone carved? The piece may have formed a template for work in another medium, perhaps for a piece of metalwork or tapestry. It may, on the other hand, constitute a devotional piece in its own right, perhaps commemorating a local martyr. Further work at Inchmarnock is planned for later this year; publication of the project is scheduled for 2005/06.

Dr Christopher Lowe, Director, Headland Archaeology Ltd, Edinburgh

Chimu Ritual Massacre in Peru

An archaeological impact study conducted by Hector Walde along the beaches of Punta Lobos, 170 miles north of Lima in central Peru, in preparation for the construction of port installations for the copper-zinc mine company Antamina, has uncovered remains of a mass sacrifice of fishermen. Around AD 1350, some 200 fishermen, with hands tied behind their backs and blindfolded facing the Pacific Sea, were killed through their collarbones straight into their hearts.

Excavations have revealed 107 intact bodies of males aged 18-35 years old lying on their stomachs, heads towards the water, hands tied behind their back. Muscle tissue, hair, and finger nails are still preserved in many cases. Nearby, the extensive remains of jugs filled with grain or drink and a fishing net have been interpreted by Dr Walde as an offering made by the fishermen's families for the victims' use in the afterlife. This blood-letting ceremony is believed to have been carried out by Chimu conquerors as an expression of gratitude to the god Ni, following the conquest of the fishermen's fertile seaside valley. Sean A. Kingsley

Pyramid of Menkaure Reopened

The third and smallest pyramid at Giza, that of the fifth ruler of the 4th Dynasty, Menkaure (Mycerinus), c. 2532-2504 BC, has now been reopened to visitors following a thorough restoration of the site. This has included the elimination of centuries of graffiti, and establishment of a new lighting system and surveillance cameras. Menkaure is perhaps best known for his depictions on the superb slate dyad and triad portrait groups in the Cairo and Boston museums.

Temple of Horus Opens to Visitors

The magnificent Temple of Horus at Edfu, the finest preserved of all Egyptian temples, has now been re-opened following extensive restorations, and is now complemented by a small restaurant. It was originally constructed over a long period of time - initiated by Ptolemy III in 237 BC, with further building under Ptolemies IV, VIII, and IX, and finally completed in 57 BC, with the addition of its pylons by Ptolemy XII.

Inscribed Medieval Ostrich Egg

A 15th century AD ostrich egg found in the Red Sea port of Quseir (Roman Leikos Limenis) is covered with Arabic poetry and quotations from the Koran. According to Dionysus Ages of the University of Leeds, who is studying the text, 'it describes the soul's journey from death to life' and probably mourns the death of a youth. The egg fragments were recently excavated from a mausoleum. Ostrich eggs were used by the ancient Egyptians as vessels and drinking cups and later by the Copts for church lanterns.

Museum Proposed By Japanese For Solar Boats

The Japanese government has presented a proposal to the Ministry of Culture in Egypt to excavate the second of the two solar boats of the 4th Dynasty ruler Khufu (c. 2589-2566 BC), which were found near the south side of his Great Pyramid, and to erect a museum to house both boats. A grant of $20 million would be allocated for this project. The first boat was discovered in May 1954, sealed in a large rock-cut pit. Following extensive reconstructions and reconstruction it was finally put on display in March 1982 in its own museum set around the original pit. The second boat is still sealed in its burial pit nearby and has not yet been excavated due to its fragility and the apparent lack of appropriate conservation methodology.

Openings and Plans for Other New Museums Announced

A Theban military museum will be opened this year as an annex to the Luxor Museum, with about 500 objects relating to the ancient Egyptian military empire. The museum, which will cost about LE 10 million, should open this spring.

Other proposals for regional museums include one for medicine and another for metal casting and the use of gold and bronze. A museum devoted exclusively to mosaics will be built at Sab Sharq in Alexandria at a cost of LE 30 million. The Graeco-Roman Museum is now being redeveloped and will include a workroom for restoration, a library, and two schools devoted to archaeology and culture. The island of Kalasha, about 30km south of Aswan, and home to five ancient temples, will become an outdoor museum devoted to Graeco-Roman antiquities at a cost of LE 15 million. A national museum will be

NEWS FROM EGYPT

One of 200 fishermen killed ritually c. 1350 and excavated on the beaches of Punta Lobos in central Peru. Photo: © Reuters.

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constructed at Sharm el-Sheikh to house about 10,000 antiquities covering all periods of Egyptian civilisation at a cost of LE 7 million. The area will be surrounded by a fence and electronic gates. The Director of the Alexandrina Bibliotheca in Alexandria, Dr Ismail Seraj Ededien, announced that the Supreme Council of Antiquities will be presenting 1100 antiquities from the Pharaonic era onward to the newly formed Antiquities Museum of the library to establish ‘the first antiquities museum presenting the total idea of Egypt’s heritage’.

Digital Guides now Available for Egyptian Museum

A new service for visitors to the museum, a ‘digital guide’, will not only include the traditional audio tour, but also in-depth visual text and computer-animated graphics. It will include both objects and tours within the museum and also general information about Egyptian history, civilisation, and culture. It is currently available in English, French, and Arabic. This project was funded as part of an IBM grant of $2.5 million in technology, services, and expertise for the development of a top-flight website for showcasing Egypt’s antiquities and cultural heritage.

Origin of the Posidippus Poetry Scroll

The important papyrus manuscript of epigrams by the 3rd Century BC poet Posidippus featured at a conference in Cincinnati in November 2002 (see Minerva, Jan/Feb 2003, p. 7), is now suspected of having been exported illegally from Egypt in the past two decades. It was apparently brought to Switzerland, where the papyrus roll was discovered within the chest cavity of a mummy enclosed in cartonage. An Italian bank acquired the scroll for the University of Milan at auction, outbidding a group of German universities.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

CONFERENCE NEWS

VIIIth Conference of the International Committee for the Conservation of Mosaics

The VIIIth Conference of the International Committee for the Conservation of Mosaics (ICCM) took place in Thessalonika, Greece, from 29 October to 3 November 2002. Organised in conjunction with the Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessaloniki and the European Centre of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, it was sponsored by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, the Getty Conservation Institute, and was supported by ICCROM. The theme of this triennial conference was wall and floor mosaics: conservation, maintenance, and presentation. It marked the 25th anniversary of ICCM and attracted delegates from 27 countries.

Papers in the opening session on history and theory considered efforts in previous centuries to restore and conserve mosaics. Katerina Movromichali’s review of ancient interventions, and José María Blázquez Martínez’s collection of mosaics from Roman Spain restored in antiquity, reminded participants that issues of repair are as old as the mosaics themselves. The sad history of the Orpheus pavement from Newton St Loe (see Minerva, March/April 1995, pp. 22-26) was recounted by Anthony Beeson, who brought delegates up to date with his painstaking work of reconstruction. Further conservation disasters from the past were outlined by John Stewart, who gave a history of failed (and occasionally successful) cover buildings in England from research conducted by himself, Stephen Cosh, and Charles Thomas.

Unsurprisingly, a number of papers related to the spectacular site of Zeugma and the rescue excavations that took place there in advance of flooding from the new Birecik Dam on the river Euphrates (see Minerva, Sept/Oct 2001, pp. 25-30). Some 800 square metres of mosaic were lifted in a campaign that employed a variety of techniques. The conference heard about the work now underway by the Centro di Conservazione Architettonica (CCA) of Rome, funded by the Packard Humanities Institute, to prepare the mosaics for display in the Gaziantep Museum. Roberto Nardi from the CCA explained the considerations that had led to the decision to reburry the remaining mosaics underwater and detailed the measures taken to protect them. The dilemma of Zeugma and its overwhelming mosaic riches prompted a lively debate on whether the reburial constituted a special case of conservation in situ or was tantamount to abandonment. (Ed: recent research suggests the policy is proving successful and is methodologically justified; cf. Minerva, Jan/Feb 2003, pp. 6-7.) Mustafà Aydoğdu set the rescue archaeology in its broader context by explaining the work of the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) that sought to ensure cultural continuity within the scope of sustainable development.

A paper on the 10-year restoration programme of the San Vitale mosaics in Ravenna by Livia Alberti and Cetty Muscolino showed how conservation work sometimes gives fascinating insights into well-known mosaics: the head of Justinian had been added after the mosaic was completed, leading to speculation that perhaps it had been necessary to await an official portrait.

The presentation by Paula Artal-Isbrander and Alisa Vignalo on the 65-year treatment history of the Worcester Hunt mosaic, originally from Antioch and now in the Worcester Art Museum, Mass., included an evocative film of the original excavations. This showed fascinating glimpses of lifting and recording techniques employed in the 1930s, including an elaborate wooden contraption for taking overhead photos by remote control. Shots of pickaxes being wielded to excavate the mosaic produced spontaneous gasps of horror, coupled with realisation of how far excavation techniques have progressed.

The final session on presentation brought into focus the whole reason for conservation. Ze’ev Margalit’s paper on the 6th century AD synagogue of Beit Alpha in Israel explained how a computerised system enables visitors to learn about the mosaics from a factually based, yet imaginative audio-visual display that changes as different parts of the mosaic are simultaneously illuminated. The success of this method of presentation was demonstrated by a more than two-fold increase in visitor numbers.

Dr Patricia Witts

MINERVA 7
Ushabtis at the Louvre

Peter A. Clayton discusses ancient Egyptian ushabti figures and the wide ranging exhibition of them currently at the Louvre, Paris.

After the ubiquitous scarab, ushabtis, those mumiform figures that can vary greatly in size, are the commonest of the antiquities of ancient Egypt. Their name can vary from ushabti, shawabti, to simple shabti. All are correct and acceptable, although there is a certain chronological connotation in the use of the name: shawabti tends to be used in the New Kingdom, c. 1567-1085 BC, and particularly in the 19th Dynasty (1300s BC); ushabti in the Third Intermediate Period (after 1000 BC), and shabti in the Late Period, after 500 BC. Essentially the name means 'answerer', one who stands, or works, in place of the deceased. Their function is explained on two surviving wooden tablets, respectively in the British Museum (McCullum Tablet) and the Louvre (Rogers Tablet, Fig 4), and a papyrus. Of closely similar size, and written on both faces in hieratic (a cursive form of hieroglyphs), they have similar texts and relate to the ushabtis of the priestess Neskhons, whose mummy and many blue faience ushabtis were found in the 1881 Great Royal Mummy Cache at Deir el Bahari. Many of her ushabtis and her funerary papyrus had been stolen from the Cache and sold in the antiquities market by the Abdul Rassoul family several years before the Cache was officially 'declared'. The text makes three definite statements: the first two, confirmed by the chief god Amun-Re, are that the figures will arise when called upon and work in the place of Neskhons in the Afterworld. The most dreaded task was that of the corvee, clearing silt from the canals. The third statement is an assurance that the ushabtis have been properly and adequately paid for to act in place of their owner. Since the wooden tablets had been stolen from the Cache before its formal 'discovery', we do not know how they had been positioned in the tomb in relation to the mummy. However, they were probably in a ushabti chest since a graffito from the Royal Cache mentions that the priestess's funerary furniture was put in place 19 days after her funeral.

Initially, in the Early Dynastic period c. 3000 BC, retainers had been buried in satellite tombs next to their royal master to accompany him or her, into the next world. In Mesopotamia this reached its apotheosis in the Royal Tombs at Ur, excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley in 1927, where hundreds accompanied their master to the grave. In Egypt, this practice was soon abandoned - no doubt the impracticality of such wastage was soon realised. Attempts at mumification to preserve the body for its afterlife can be seen as early as the 3rd Dynasty, and the first evidence of evisceration comes from the tomb of Queen Hetepheres, mother of Cheops, builder of the Great Pyramid (c. 2589-2566) in the 4th Dynasty. It is at this period that the so-called 'reserve heads' are found in the tombs of nobles to act as a substitute should anything dire befall the mummy. In the Middle Kingdom, (Dynasties 11 and 12, c. 2134-1782), small peg-like wooden figures are provided in the tomb with hieratic inscriptions giving the owner's name. Initially, in the 11th and 12th Dynasties, single specimens were intended to serve as a safeguard substitute for the body if it was damaged. By the end of the 12th Dynasty (19th/18th centuries BC), multiple examples are provided to act more as servants in the Afterworld than as a substitute for the body. Amongst the earliest multiples known are the nine small figures made of wax and of mud, wrapped in scraps of linen and place in small rectangular coffins, belonging to Queen Nefru, wife of Mentuhotep I (c. 2060-2010). At the beginning of the New Kingdom, the 18th Dynasty, an exceptionally finely carved and inscribed ushabti exists for the first king, Aah-
Ushabtis at the Louvre

mose I (1570-1456), although, curiously, despite his mummy being found in 1881 in the Great Cache of Royal Mummies, the whereabouts of his tomb is still unknown. Subsequently the ushabtis were provided in ever increasing numbers and also some are of remarkable quality, miniature works of art. The optimum number to be provided was 386, one for each day of the year. These 'workers' are mumiform and moulded or carved with their working implements, a pick and hoe, at their shoulders and a seed bag over their left shoulder (Fig 2); sometimes miniature bronze tools were also separately provided. Obviously a large group of workmen needed supervision and so for every ten 'workers' a reis, overseer, ushabti was provided dressed in civil dress wearing a kilt and usually carrying a whip (Fig 1). They often bear their title, 'One of Ten', with the owner's name in a vertical column of text down the front of their kilt. The 36 reis provided brought the total up to 401, a total confirmed in a 22nd Dynasty papyrus in the British Museum. Written in 'abnormal' hieratic it records that Padikhonsu, Chief Modeller in the Temple of Amun, has received payment in silver for the said number of ushabtis (Fig 5). The tomb of Hekaemsf discovered at Saqqara in 1903 contained 401 ushabtis, and these would have been the minimum requirement. In the New Kingdom they were often housed in attractively painted small coffers (Fig 7).

Few tombs have been found with their quota of ushabtis intact, and there are many instances of far more being supplied, especially in the royal tombs. It is estimated that some 3700 ushabtis accompanied the royal bodies found in the 1881 Cache, but because of numbers being stolen and widely scattered in public and private collections, this cannot be confirmed. Similarly, it is estimated that there were over 700 ushabtis in the tomb of Seti I (KV 17), made of wood and faience (Fig 9), but a number of wooden ones are recorded as having been set alight (they were covered in bitumen) and used as flambeau (torches) by early visitors. Howard Carter recorded 417 figures in the tomb of Tutankhamun, but say it may have been stolen in the first of the two robberies which that tomb suffered. All the known examples are in the Cairo Museum, except for a white faience example in the Louvre, bought in 1967 (Fig 3). The only intact royal tomb in Egypt is that of the pharaoh Psousennes (died c. 1000 BC) at Tanis in 1939 by Professor Pierre Montet. The king had provision of both bronze and faience ushabtis, but Montet only recorded their numbers in his publication as 'un collection complet'. Whether that meant 401 of each material we shall never know since the magazines storing them on site were robbed in 1943, and the ushabtis are now scattered in collections around the world, with the majority having to be bought back courtesy of a donor acting as an agent for the Cairo Museum.

The basic inscription on a ushabti identifies the deceased with the gods of the dead, Osiris, often beginning with the formula 'To illuminate (make to shine forth) the Osiris [name] born of [mother's name]'. The name of the father is rarely found on ushabtis. The full and major inscription that appears on the body of the worker ushabti is known as the 'Shabti Chapter', Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead. It first identifies the owner, his title, his mother, sometimes his pet name, and then goes on with Chapter 6 from the Theban Recension, where it says that should anyone call upon the deceased to carry out any task (especially the dreaded cow-caw in the Afterworld, the figure, already equipped for the task with pick, hoe, and basket, will answer 'Here I am!'). The text ends in declaring the deceased as being 'mu at heru, True of Voice' (i.e. Justified), and worthy of entry into the Afterworld via the Hall of Judgement before Osiris.

The Louvre collection of ushabtis is one of the most impressive outside of the Cairo Museum with more than 4200 examples, both of royal and private persons. Some are of the highest quality (Fig 6). A particular strength are many and different examples of the ushabtis of Amenophis III whose tomb (KV 22) was rediscovered by the Napoleonic Expedition in 1799. Five of these, engraved in the huge volumes of the Description de l'Egypte published in 1802, were presented by Villiers de Terrage in 1906. The Louvre collection of Egyptian antiquities really began to be formed in 1826 when Jean-François Champollion (who deciphered the hieroglyphic script in 1822) was appointed Director of the Musée Charles X, the forerunner of the Louvre. The purchase of the Durand Collection in 1824, comprising some 2500 objects, had amongst it a wax work (AE 9788), the earliest recorded ushabti acquired in the collection. British Consul Henry Salt's collection of 719 items, acquired by the Louvre in 1826, included a ushabti of Ramesses III (and the pink...
granite lower half of his sarcophagus; the lid is in Cambridge, and 19 of Seti I. Auguste Mariette's excavations in 1852 at the Serapeum (the burial place of the sacred Apis bulls at Saqqara) produced some 500 examples, including fine pieces of Khaemwaset, the fourth son of Ramesses II (see Minerva, July/Aug 2001, pp. 44-5). Many examples of royal and private ushabtis were added in subsequent years and there was a great influx with the purchase of examples of the 21st Dynasty royal family from the 1881 Royal Mummy Cache (Fig 8). Many other fine examples had entered the collection under the terms of the 'division' of objects from excavations by the Egyptian Government, that has now ceased. In many instances the collection has been enriched by private donations, and in 1948 a collection of Egyptian figurines that included 300 21st Dynasty faience ushabtis came from the Musée Guimet in Paris. The quality, number, and content of the collection of ushabtis in the Louvre's special exhibition is quite mind blowing. The sequence of royal ushabtis in the display is second to none outside of Cairo (pace that museum's Tutankhamun examples). The exhibition is accompanied by an illustrated catalogue (in French) that gives a readable account and explanation of these attractive figures, especially the Louvre acquisitions.

Fig 6. A remarkably brightly painted wooden 'worker' ushabti of Ramesses IV, with an eight-line inscription giving his name in a cartouche and a version of the Sixth Chapter of the Book of the Dead. It presumably originally came from his tomb, No. 2, in the Valley of the Kings which has been open since antiquity. Ushabtis for this pharaoh are known in other materials, but this is certainly the finest. Painted wood; 20th dynasty, 1153-1147 BC. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Inv. no. N 438.

Fig 7. A colourful painted wooden ushabti box of the Chief Scribe in the Temple of Anubis, with three compartments. The deceased is shown in the Hall of Judgement where his heart is being weighed in the balance by Anubis and Thoth. This is the vignette for Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. 19th Dynasty. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes.

Fig 8 (below). Blue faience ushabtis from the 1881 Royal Cache at Deir el Bahari, including examples of Piye's (Pinedjem I, Pinedjem II, and the princesses Neshkhonsu and Nesitanebasheru. 21st Dynasty. c. 1000 BC. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes.

SHABTIS: PHARAOHNIC WORKERS FOR ETERNITY
5 March - 30 June
at The Louvre, Paris.
Admission free with museum ticket.
Tel: + (33) 0140 205-151
(multi-language voice server).

MINERVA 10
Egyptian Shabtis

EGYPTIAN SHABTIS: A PRIVATE VIEW

Peter A. Clayton

Fig 1 (below far left). Alabaster funerary statuette inscribed for Kenhebu, son of Pepi, born to Petu. Uniquely, the figure is inscribed with a resurrection text, rather than the more usual Shabti Chapter. Probably only a single example was provided for Kenhebu at Abydos. Middle Kingdom, late 12th Dynasty, c. 1950-1782 BC. H. 13.2cm. Ex. Emile Brousch collection, Cat. no. 1.

Fig 2 (middle left). Dark grey granite serpentine shabti of the pharaoh Amenemhat III. His tomb (KV 22) was rediscovered by the Napoleon French Expedition in August 1799. The majority of the shabtis, mostly fragments, are now in the Louvre. New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, c. 1386-1349 BC. H. 18.3 cm. Cat. no. 13.

Fig 3 (left). A superb, bright, blue glazed faience shabti of Psamtik. His tomb was found and robbed early in the 20th century and its contents are scattered in many museums and collections. On his coffin, now in Grenoble, he has the title of 'Inspector of semi-Priests' and, although the exact whereabouts of his tomb is unknown, it was probably at Saqqara. Late Period, 26th Dynasty, reign of Amasis, c. 570-526 BC. H. 18.6cm. Cat. no. 90.

Shabtis: A Private View. Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections, by Glenn Janes, is published by Cybele, 65bis Rue Galande, 75005 Paris, France, at 125.00 euros; it is also available from The Museum Bookshop, 36 Great Russell Street, London WC1, at £95; p & p is extra when supplied from either address.

MINERVA 11
EXCAVATING THE MEDELHAVSMUSEET STORE-ROOMS

Marie-Louise Winbladh describes the unique experience of unpacking finds in Sweden from Gjerstad’s Cyprus excavations, unseen for 80 years.

It really possible to carry out excavations in the store-rooms of a museum where have you worked for three decades? To recover ancient Cypriot objects packaged and untouched since 1931, to clear through the detritus of rats and ensure that the fruits of excavations conducted some 80 years ago remained undamaged. Such has been one of my recent duties as curator at the Medelhavs museum in Stockholm.

Over the months we removed all the ancient artefacts and associated packaging and re-packaged the material into new boxes. This task was sometimes very unhealthy. Less heat and sunshine, but almost as much dirt as on a real excavation. Other more interesting details also prevented me from proceeding in the work: amusing stories written in 1930s newspapers in which many finds were wrapped, the highly attractive small boxes containing the so-called small finds. Originally containing cigars, Turkish or Egyptian cigarettes, or sugar (everything necessary for the decent life of an archaeologist), the boxes were attractively decorated with palm-trees, smiling Africans, and camels. The emergence of images and fragments of statuettes, sometimes painted in yellow, black, and red, Roman coins, various tools, and small bronze knives found within somehow seemed surreal.

The large crates were transported to Gothenburg in Sweden in spring 1931 on one of the ships of the Swedish Orient Line departing from the harbour of Famagusta in Cyprus (Fig 2). The 771 large wooden crates and their contents comprised the bulk of the finds from the pioneering scientific excavations carried out by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1927-1931 (see Minerva, Jan/Feb 2001, pp. 26-29). During these years four young Swedes uncovered tombs, sanctuaries, and a few settlements and fortresses in Cyprus dating between about 6000 BC and AD 300. Sweden received the right to acquire more than half of the finds at the end of the excavations. When travelling in Cyprus today, you can still meet villagers who remember the fair-haired archaeologists and the remarkable man who travelled all over the island by bike looking for excavation sites. This man was Einar Gjerstad, the head of the expedition.

While the Cyprus Collections in Stockholm are internationally renowned amongst scholars and visitors, few people have heard about the extent of all the treasures in the store-rooms. The Cyprus Collections have been housed in the Medelhavs museum for almost 80 years since the museum’s establishment in 1954. The collections are the most important in the world outside Nicosia, and parts of it have - since the 1930s - been studied by visiting scholars and students from all over the world. But nobody - not even the staff - has ever tried to unpack and study the collection as a whole.

Some years ago the museum had to close one of its storerooms located far away from the Medelhavs museum (Fig 4). It became necessary to unpack, study temporarily, and repack a large part of the collections, still in enormous wooden crates and smaller cardboard boxes. In the darkness of the store-room, deep below street-level, this became both an exciting and depressing experience. So many treasures and fabulous finds beyond the knowledge of scholars. So many masterpieces and interesting finds - and what could I do, where could I store them?

Hiding among crates and sets of shelves there were also some life-sized sculptures. Some of them very possibly had ‘guarded’ the palace of Vouni on north-western Cyprus. The stiff, impressive bodies in soft white limestone were beautifully carved, but were now missing their heads. Other statues, also male, had lost their provenance but are artistically more interesting with their tall, powerful and vigorous bodies, ready to leave their stone bases at any moment. All of them are cut in a very hard limestone with a golden-orange patina. After studying old catalogue sheets and diaries I finally found out that they most probably derive from Karpasos in north-eastern Cyprus where they
were votives in a sanctuary excavated by the Swedes but never published.

On shelves hidden behind all the crates there was an extensive collection of limestone sculpture from Kition, Mersinaki (Figs 3, 6), and Vouni, all important and wealthy sites in ancient Cyprus. Kition was a flourishing town in eastern Cyprus, founded by the Phoenician colonists in the 9th century BC. On the acropolis of the town they erected a temple at Melqart, their patron-god. No visible remains of the temple are preserved, and all the votives, dedicated to the god in the 5th century BC, were found in a deep crypt or pit in the ground. There the Phoenicians had buried the holy gifts, too sacred to be removed from the site. Now the main part of these votives was still waiting in the darkness of a Swedish store-room. Statuettes, or parts of them, represent the god himself. A young vigorous man, dressed in a lion-skin and sometimes with a club in his right hand, steps forward with a determined expression in his face. Other fragments represent votives, likewise attractive young men, carrying goats and other gifts to their patron-god. Almost all of these votives are male, since Melqart is a male god.

Vouni, the 5th century BC Greek palace, situated at a height of 270m above sea-level on the north-western coast of Cyprus and explored by the Swedes in 1929, contained impressive staircases, storerooms, and even thermal baths. The ancient inhabitants had left behind silent sculptures, originally in position along the large staircases. There were statues and statuettes representing young beautiful women with elegant coiffures and heavy jewellery, lovely dresses in linen (chiton) and sometimes also a woolen mantle (himation). In silence they lined up in the palace, greeting the more short-lived Vounites. More statuettes were found high up on the hilltop at some distance from the palace proper - graceful statuettes, grasping fruit and flowers as gifts to the goddess Athena, to whom a temple was dedicated.

A colonnaded sanctuary was erected on the north-west coast of Cyprus, where hundreds of statues and statuettes were given to the Greek gods Athena and Apollo. Mersinaki was situated in an area where the Greek influence had always been very strong. Attic pottery was imported during the 5th and 4th centuries BC to the nearby town of Marion. The sanctuary at Mersinaki must have been huge, but nothing of it was preserved. The many votives from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic periods were found standing side by side in pits. Today impressive life-size terracotta statues, restored in the 1930s, guard the Cyprus exhibition at the Medelhavsmuseet, confronting the visitors with a stern look from dark eyes. But their many colleagues and cousins still languish in the storerooms, fragmentary and awaiting cleaning and conservation (Figs 3, 6). The museum has a fantastic collection of heads from Mersinaki - female and male, bearded heads and youths, beautiful and ugly. All of them with a quite individual expression in their faces. There is also an imposing collection of fragments from bodies, but with no heads.

A less grateful task was to unpack all the 5000 small cardboard boxes containing sherds left from the excavations 75 years ago and seldom studied since. These derive from the excavated tombs and the majority could probably be reassembled into complete pots. Reading the handwriting of the Cypriot excavation workers, who did not use the Greek word ostraka for sherds but the Cypriote gastroptya, was an amazing experience. On every box I could read the date of discovery, the find, the exact findspot, and the content of the box. Most boxes held no surprises, but sometimes I had to stop in astonishment. Complete Iron Age pots in Black-on-Red ware, small jugs in perfect condition. Plates in Cypro-Geometric ware with a well-preserved Bichrome decoration in black and red. In other boxes, parts of frescoes, copper nails, Roman bronze coins. A large part of the boxes contained small terracottas from different sanctuaries at Kyttrea, Mersinaki, and Ayia Irini (Figs 5, 7). Small men in odd caps and riders with and without their horses, warriors, horses without their riders (Fig 3), and fragments of chariot groups. Some of them still with black and red colours, stare at you with big reproachful eyes.

One day I found some smaller boxes, very old and with an almost illegible text written in pencil. On the lid I could read 'Gjerstad 1924'. These were the finds from Gjerstad's first investigation of a Cypriot site before the extensive excavations started three years later. As an assistant and scholar he had spent some months in Cyprus in 1924 gathering information and studying material from some excavated sites. In 1924-25 he excavated a house in a Middle Cypriot III settlement (c. 1700 BC) at Alambra in the Nicosia district. I very carefully unpacked the boxes and found fragments of pottery from this early site in eastern Cyprus. On the shed from a very big vessel in red-polished ware, the potter had mounted a large figurine representing a horned animal. Perhaps a fallow deer domesticated by the early Cypros, the sherd consumed the milk and the meat from this animal. In another box were large lumps of very coarse clay with red paint - probably pieces of plaster from the mud-brick walls of the house at Alambra.

All the men, monsters, and minotaurs in terracotta from the famous site of Ayia Irini are well known to visitors and scholars. But the excavations of this important sanctuary yielded much more than the 2000 statues and statuettes in terracotta now on exhibit in Cyprus and Sweden. The terracotta was very extensive, and had been in use from the Late Cypriot Bronze Age down to the Cypro-Archaic period, from approximately 1200-550 BC. The faithful Cypriots had come together to pay tribute to their god, to perform their rituals, and participate in sacred meals. So there must be other remains from this human activity other than
the votives grouped around the altar and the cultstone.

During the early period the Cypriots offered only vegetables, while during the later Archaic period they also sacrificed animals. Along the temenos wall the archaeologists found lots of leftovers from meals, mostly seafood such as shells and fish, but also animal bones, which prove that sacred meals were held there in connection with offerings. In the different levels on the temenos proper the archaeologists also found thousands of sherds from pottery around the altar and in pits. The vases could have been votives, but were also used when offering liquids to the unknown and silent god of Ayia Irini. There are fragments from jugs, bowls, and plates, some very well preserved and decorated in the Bichrome technique with black and red colours. Additionally, there are hundreds of boxes with sherds or 'gastria', as was written on the lids, from different levels of the temenos and all in old boxes from 1929.

The material in itself was perhaps not so exciting, but when you think that all these fragments were used by the Cypriots during their sacred meals about 2500 years ago, they assume greater meaning. Scholars now believe that the Cypriots both listened to music and danced while performing their rites. Small terracotta statuettes play lyres, tambourines, and flutes or aulos. The aulos is a double-flute which can be compared to the modern sound, played today in Macedonia and Epirus, and emits a very shrill and suggestive sound. Other small statuettes dance in a ring, sometimes with a lyre-player in the middle. They grasp each other's shoulders, exactly as we do today in Greek dancing. It is not very hard to imagine the ancient Cypriots dancing, perhaps with the same rhythm and the same steps as today, at the panepiria when the Greeks celebrate the same days of their saints.

Boxes, boxes, and more boxes in endless piles. Clouds of dust from the sherds. My admiration towards the four Swedes was endless. Excavating a whole island and more than 5000 years of history in less than four years. In the Medelhavsmuseet our archives preserve the Cypriot excava-
tion diaries. They are almost illegible and are no longer available to scholars. After studying them a couple of times I can now recognise the handwriting of the Swedish archaeologists. Most of the time I can tell who has written what on the small boxes and when they left this task to the Cypriot workers. In this way the archaeologists literally speak to one from these documents. 

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) is located at 2 Gustav Adolfs Torg, Stockholm, Sweden. Tel: (00) 46 851 955-300; www.medelhavsmuseet.se. (Open Tuesday to Friday.)
Jade has long stood at the apex of valuable materials for the Chinese and been imbued with near magical characteristics. Its durability and unchanging texture came to be associated with connotations of immortality and as an expression of abstract qualities of purity and excellence. No other culture has valued jade for a continuous period of over 7000 years or given such literary and philosophical weight to this material. Thus, since the middle of the Zhou period, 1050-221 BC, the physical qualities of the stone have been used metaphorically to describe the human spirit (described in the 4th century BC Zhou Li text).

Ancient Chinese society found excellent qualities in jade. Smooth and glossy, it appeared to them like benevolence; fine, compact, and strong (like intelligence), its flaws did not conceal its beauty, nor its beauty its flaws (like loyalty); internal radiance issued from it on every side, like good faith.

In June to September 1995 the British Museum displayed an exhibition of jades from the collection of Sir Joseph Hotung (see Minerva, July/August 1995, pp. 32-7). This proved to be a very popular exhibition, so the British Museum is very fortunate that it is now able to devote a whole gallery to Chinese jade, which opened in November 2002. We are delighted that Sir Joseph Hotung has agreed to allow his jades to be exhibited on a long-term loan basis. The jades are displayed in the gallery (room 33B) leading directly off the Hotung Gallery of Oriental Antiquities. This new gallery is now named the Selwyn and Ellie Alleyne Gallery after the couple who have generously funded the refurbishment of this space. Sir Joseph's jades are augmented by a few private loans and British Museum jades, together with some comparative material in other media. Jade is still highly prized by the Chinese and we are also displaying some 20th century pieces to illustrate that good contemporary jade carving still exists in China today.

Jade is a hard and exceptionally tough material, and one outstanding question concerns the manner in which it was worked and how jade carving techniques have developed since Neolithic times. So at the same time as planning this exhibition we have instigated a project with our scientific research department, which is conducting an investigation (using optical and scanning electron microscopy) to ascertain different techniques of carving by examining the minute tool marks left on the jades. We hope this will lead to the establishment of a chronology for the development of jade carving, perhaps establishing a link between 'style' of carving and 'technology'. The results should also have relevance to dating, a frequent problem in the study of jades.

Sir Joseph has been collecting jades for over 30 years and they now belong to family trusts. This collection of jades is one of the most comprehensive outside China. It includes most of the important categories of jades and is therefore so representative that it can be used to illustrate fully the history of 7000 years of jade carving in China.

One of Sir Joseph's first acquisitions was a pair of perfectly matched white jade bowls, made in the Qianlong Emperor's reign of the Qing dynasty (1736-95). However, soon after these were bought Sir Joseph was captivated by Neolithic jades and these are particularly well represented in our display. The earliest jade-producing cultures in

Fig 1. Called pig-dragon, Neolithic period, Hongshan culture, c. 5500 BC. H. 6.3 cm; W. 5 cm. This is a typical called pig-dragon, one of the principal types of Hongshan culture jade carving. The shape may have been developed from the slit rings made by Neolithic peoples both in the north-east and south-eastern parts of China. Elements of its design and body shape continued to exert some influence in the Liangzhu Neolithic period and in the Shang dynasty.

Fig 2. Cong, Neolithic period, Liangzhu culture, c. 2500 BC. H. 49 cm. This cong is divided into 17 sections. These display faces in the two long upper bands and one short lower one. The circles of the eyes are only occasionally visible.

Fig 3. Disc or bi, Neolithic period, Liangzhu culture, c. 2500 BC. Diam. 18 cm. This is an exceptionally fine disc which was probably placed at the centre of the body in a tomb, as this was the position on the body where the best discs were found.

Fig 4 (below right). Ornament for the top of an axe shaft, Neolithic period, Liangzhu culture, c. 2500 BC. L. 8.6 cm. Axes were decorated with a number of fittings including small beads and small inlays. Different sites have produced axe shaft ornaments of different degrees of workmanship but few are as elaborate as this one.
Ancient Chinese Jade

China worked the jade in the far north-east in what is now Liaoning province and Inner Mongolia. Here the Hongshan culture flourished in about 3500 BC and buried many jades with the elite of their society. For example, a pig-dragon (Fig 1) was often placed on the chest area of the person buried and was obviously a highly prized burial item. The Liangzhu culture flourished about 500 years later in the area around modern Shanghai and worked jade to a very high standard. Two of the shapes particularly associated with this culture are the cong and the disc (Fig 2-3). These were often buried with the cong aligning the body in the grave and the best quality discs being placed on the chest and stomach of the deceased. The Liangzhu people also produced beautiful and distinctly designed axe fittings (Fig 4).

Some of the most common objects of the Neolithic and post-Neolithic periods were beautifully worked flat implements, axes, chisel-shaped tablets, knives, and later fine-pointed blades. These were everyday items copied in fine, highly polished stone and jade and were intended for ceremonial use. The Hetung collection includes one of the rarest of the type of ceremonial sceptres, belonging to a small group of exceptional decorative Longshan blades decorated with borders of twisted rope pattern and intriguing face patterns (Fig 5), of which very few exist in the world today.

During the first archaeologically attested dynasty, the Shang dynasty (c. 1500-1050 BC), pendants were very popular ornaments. Fu Hao, a royal consort, who died about 1200 BC and whose grave was found unrobbed in 1976, had over 750 jades in her tomb, many of which were pendants. Such objects continued to be used in the succeeding Zhou dynasty (1050-221 BC), including a pair of stags from the earlier Western Zhou period (1050-771 BC; Fig 11) and a pair of dragons (Fig 9), which were particularly rare and would only have been used by the highest rank of society of its day, from the later Eastern Zhou period, 4th century BC.

During the late Western Zhou period jade seems to have been associated by the Chinese with some kind of ability to preserve the body for the afterlife. Jades, often in the shape of facial features, were sewn onto cloth and placed over the face of the body in the grave. During the Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), jade suits were worn by royalty and for lesser mortals jades were used in graves to stop up the bodily orifices; jades in the shape of cicadas were placed on the tongue (Fig 6). The symbolic significance of cicadas is that they have a particular life cycle whereby they pulate after living underground for about two years, so have associations with resurrection.

For men belt accessories were one of their principal ornaments, and a complete belt set of the Tang dynasty (AD 618-906) is known (Fig 7). Many people wore pendant sets, partly as a mark of rank and partly to stop garments flying in the wind. Other ornaments include earrings in the shape of flying Buddhist angels or apsaras (Fig 8).

Jade animals have long been popular in China from the Neolithic period onward. During the Han dynasty, many were probably made for talismanic purposes as the Chinese of this period believed that animals, real and mythical, provided contact with the spirit world. Animal carvings in jade were believed to be especially powerful because jade was a material associated with the immortals because of its translucency, colour, and indestructible quality (Figs 12).

On the other hand, vessels were always quite a rarity in jade because of the difficulty of hollowing them out and the wastage involved in this process. However, a beautiful Tang dynasty jade cup (Fig 10) was probably inspired by a silver prototype, examples of which became particularly popular during this period. During the last imperial dynasty, the Qing dynasty (AD 1644-1911), the empire was expanded greatly and incorporated the jade-producing area around Khotan and Yarkand. This led to the making of larger jades than had been customary before this time. Such an example is a brush-pot (Fig 13) in a vibrant spinach green showing two scenes copied from a popular printed album relating to agricultural life, the stacking of wheat sheaves and the scyving of rice.

Despite the fact that the process of producing jades was extremely time consuming and labour intensive, the many thousands of jade ritual and ornamental objects made by the Chinese amply testify to the great symbolic and material worth this material held and still holds for them.

Fig 5 (left). Ceremonial blade, Neolithic period, Longshan culture, c. 2500-2000 BC. L. 13 cm. Although much eroded, the face patterns on the blade clearly show the eyes with pointed arc designs around them.

Fig 6. Cicadas, Han dynasty, AD 220. L. 6.6 cm. These jades are fairly realistic representation of cicadas, much favoured as burial jades in the Han period, ranging from simple, almost unmarked pieces to quite complex representation, as here.

Fig 7 (below). Belt set of 18 pieces, Tang dynasty, 7th-8th century AD. Large rectangular pieces: 8.75 x 5 cm. The various elements composing this belt set have holes on the back for attachment to a leather or cloth belt. The slits in the smaller plaques were for suspended straps, from which implements could be hung.

Fig 8. Pair of earrings in the shape of deities among clouds. Tang or Liao dynasty, 9th-10th century AD. H. 2.8; L. 4.7 cms. From the head of one figure, rises a curved pin 'or insertion in an ear; the other has been broken and lost. The figures could either represent Buddhist heavenly beings, or apsaras, or Jade Maidens of so-called Daoist transcendental worlds. The very pure white jade is suggestive of the luminous white that is always linked with the immortal worlds of religious Daoists in Tang poetry.
Fig 9 (left). Pair of dragon-shaped pendants, Eastern Zhou period, 4th century BC. L: 12.4 and 11.8 cm. These two pendants are almost identical and seem to have been cut with the same template. Dragon-shaped jades make a sudden appearance among the range of jades used in pendant sets in the 5th century BC. Matched dragon pendants of this quality are rare, having been used only in tombs of the highest rank.

Fig 10 (above right). Lobed cup, Tang dynasty, 8th-9th century AD. L. 17.1 cm. The shape of oval, elongated cups mirror that of shapes of the Tang dynasty.

Fig 11 (middle left). Two pendants in the form of stags, Western Zhou period, c. 950 BC. L. 3.2 cm. One of the stags has a loop attached to an antler; the other has antlers that curve sharply to create holes for suspension. Deer do not figure prominently among animal pendants, but a number exist and the sophisticated pose of these stags was probably developed on the borders of China.

Fig 12. Horse, Late Ming or Qing dynasty, 17th century AD. L. 20.5 cm. This horse belongs to a small and relatively distinct group of creatures, mainly horses and buffaloes, carved on a scale much larger than was general for animals in jade. They are all in the same range of green opaque stones of different shades. There is no direct evidence to help us define precisely when and for what purpose these large creatures were carved.

Fig 13 (below right). Brush pot, Qing dynasty, 18th century AD. Diam. 19 cm. The images on this brush pot of the winnowing of grain and the stacking of sheaves can be directly compared with similar images from a well known manual of the Qing period, the Gengzhu tu, which illustrated rice growing and sericulture. The jade craftsman thus tried to reproduce the effect of a painting.

Carol Michaelson is Assistant Keeper in the Department of Oriental Antiquities at The British Museum.

Chinese Jades from the Neolithic to the Qing, A Catalogue of the Collection of Sir Joseph Hotung, by Jessica Rawson (British Museum Press, 464 pp, 420 colour and 310 b/w illus; paperback £50), was republished in 2002 to coincide with the opening of this new exhibition.

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MINERVA 19
Fake Phoenician Glass

BEYOND THE STRAIGHT AND NARROW: FAKING PHOENICIAN GLASS IN DAMASCUS

Murray Eiland

The Old City of Damascus is renowned for shopping, with evidence for the existence of a retail market around the Temple of Jupiter dating back to Roman times and probably well before. While this area of the souk caters to everyday needs, the 'Street Called Straight' focuses on the tourist trade. When walking down the street several trends are apparent. The first is that antiquities are available for sale, irrespective of any difficulties one may encounter at a border checkpoint when leaving Syria. Considering the penalties - both in the police station and in prison - it is a wonder anyone would risk buying illegally 'excavated' objects. The second point of greatest interest is that there is high-quality core-formed glass for sale.

Often in a corner of a shop window, seemingly neglected, sit treasures that most dealers insist are: 'Phoenician'. Further interest will usually produce several glass beads, and many dealers will take the object into the back of their premises and dip it in water to reveal glass of stunning colour beneath an aged patina. A visit to another shop may elicit the same performance over again, in itself a sign that there has been some training in the art of selling. Yet this is where a contradiction begins. While many Western electric goods are remarkably expensive, sumptuous core-formed glass can be had at bargain prices. Many shops operate on low profit margins, and most shop owners have relatives in western countries. Yet such 'treasures' seem unable to go where demand and prices are greatest. There are a significant number of these vessels on this street alone, and several bear a striking similarity to examples the author has seen for sale at upper end antiquities shops in the West. After considering the group a striking similarity emerges, and after numerous cups of tea in many shops, the mystery was solved.

The artist who made these vessels (Figs 1-7), now nearing retirement, has had a lifelong interest in core-formed glass. After years of studying ancient examples, as well as hands on training, he perfected his technique. Speaking through an intermediary, he is adamant in remaining anonymous due to fear of reprisals. In what now seems rather facile, many Western dealers have purchased core-formed glass under the assumption that the techniques were either unknown or too difficult to replicate. The artist also suspected that a number of museums hold examples of his work. There is an important lesson here about ingenuity, particularly under the stimulus of financial gain, and complacency.

The technique of core-formed glass is rather simple in principle, though difficult in application. A ball of clay with a binder, apparently dung, was moulded into a vessel or bead shape and viscous glass would be trailed around the object. The final step involved rolling the object over a smooth surface to even its surface, and then adding any protruberances, such as a handle or foot ring. The temperature range of the glass would be much less than for blown vessels, but the glass would require constant re-heating as it cooled during manufacture. A strength of the technique is that glass of different colours can be used to create varied patterns, though it is a very labour intensive. The technique was only used for beads and small vessels, as P.R.S. Moorey observes in his book Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries (Oxford, 1994).

No one is sure what stimulated the production of the first glass. It could have originated from sintered quartz vessels that were made around a core, or it may have its origins in glazed ceramic industries. Before c. 1500 BC there is no evidence for glass vessels, though beads and other ornaments have been recovered from Western Asia. The best glass - including the earliest glass vessels - originates from New Kingdom Egypt, where, by the end of the 15th century BC, excellent core-formed vessels were being made. While the earliest glass imitated stone, it seems that over time more emphasis was placed on translucency. A change in the core-formed industry is also apparent. In the Near Eastern Late Bronze Age glass was relatively more sophisticated, though no handles were used. Iron Age core-formed glass - often termed 'Phoenician', though Eastern

![Fig 1 (top left). The surface of a fake core-formed Phoenician-style glass juglet exhibits an ancient looking patina when dry. H. 11 cm.](image1)

![Fig 2 (bottom left). The surface of a fake core-formed Phoenician-style glass juglet after immersion in water. The thin patina on the surface of the vessel (H. 11 cm) almost totally disappears when wet.](image2)

Dr Murray Eiland is a researcher in archaeological science at the Institut für Mineralogie, J.W. Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt.

![Figs 3-4 (below). Core-formed vessel of Phoenician-style in the shape of a fish (8.5 m-long) in air (top) and after immersion in water (below). The expression on the fish's face suggests a modern rather than ancient sense of humour. The inside of the fish's mouth still contains much of the core, unlike ancient examples that have usually been more carefully prepared. The ceramic on the inside shows clear scraping marks with no evidence of age.](image3)
Fake Phoenician Glass

Mediterranean is safer - tended to be smaller with a restricted repertoire of shapes. Pointed bottles and alabastra were common. Core-formed vessels finally petered out about the time of Alexander's conquests (in the 320s BC). After the wide-scale introduction of blown glass in the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus (27 BC-AD 14), core-formed glass could truly be said to be a dead art. It took antiquarian interest to bring it back into fashion.

One way of appreciating fake core-formed glass is that, although the basic technology is understood, far too little is known about the variability of the ancient material in order to propose a quick chemical test. Analytical methods are also of little use in most museum situations, as one is not allowed to sample glass in particular. Examination by eye can be deceptive. Due to variegates of the burial environment ancient glass may also appear as new, or it could be badly devitrified. Yet all is not lost, and carefully considering the several main points can separate the wheat from the chaff.

One of the first aspects to consider is the weathered surface of the glass (Figs 1-7). Water penetrates the surface of glass and obscures the damage because it has about the same angle of diffraction as the glass. (Wetting objects to be photographed is also a trick of the trade used by archaeological photographers for ancient material.) Yet the forgery rapidly dries, and as it does one can discern that the surface layer is neither thick nor variable (Figs 2, 4, 7). It is not uncommon to have decay of different types on the same ancient vessel. Cracks and fissures can develop on an ancient vessel, and there can be areas where the glass is almost pristine. Yet there are almost never areas where the glass shines as new, as in the fakes. Almost all the fakes have been acid washed and have an overall dull surface. Many of the vessels have been buried in red clay, which shows up in out of the way patches on the surface of the vessel. There is also much left of the core in the vessel (Figs 3, 4), and here is where an easier indicator of age can be obtained. Ceramic material absorbs contaminants from the soil over time, while the fakes have a ceramic core that is relatively free from impurities. The fakes often have a considerable amount of the core remaining around the rim of the vessel as well as in the inside. With directed light one can see that the core has been recently scraped out in the fakes. As a final caution, there is also something different about the fakes when appreciated as a group. The ancient materials were made by specialist artisans who produced many examples over a lifetime. Highly skilled due to necessity, there is a minimum of effort put into every action. The modern examples show a high degree of attention to detail (Fig 6), yet there is an almost indescribable difference in the sequence of methods used to form them. While few fakes are representative, it is here where the age is easier to appreciate. The fish in particular have a kind of comical expression (Figs 3-4) that may be a trace of humour conveying something of the forger himself!

Perhaps a positive way forward for this subject is for the artist who produces this material to change focus. His vessels are of high quality, and without the acid wash their colours are vibrant. This is the way core-formed vessels would have looked in antiquity, though sadly only a few pristine examples in select museums. A modern Syria has ample ancient treasures in museums, the museum shops leave much to be desired. Many of the casts are of low quality, and are less than exacting in their attention to detail. Most tourists I have spoken to desire something memorable from their visit. I could think of nothing better to represent Syria than a core-formed glass vessel. Looked upon as a piece of art rather than a museum reproduction - much less a forgery - glass vessels and beads could be sold in durable transport containers with a label clearly marking them as new so that there would be no misunderstanding at borders. The latter point, in particular, would relieve any stress one may have in the purchase. With more vessels being sold, a healthy profit could be made for all parties concerned, and the buyer could take home a treat rather than a forgery.
EARLY HELLENISTIC PORTRAITURE: IMAGE, STYLE AND CONTENT

Craig I. Hardiman

On 9-10 November 2002 a colloquium was held in Athens, Greece, to discuss various scholarly aspects of early Hellenistic portraiture. This material, which dates from the early 4th century BC to c. 250 BC, was chosen as a field of study as it is a critical phase in the development of portraiture as a reflection of cultural transformations. Artists of this period, like Praxiteles and Lyssippos, invented new styles of representation that, while rooted in their classical past, illustrated new ideas about personal identity and reflected the evolution of Greek culture as it spread across the Mediterranean world. Given the importance of this material, and the new approaches to the study of Greek sculpture that have developed over the past number of years, a conference devoted to investigating this material was long overdue.

The first session of the conference addressed the idea of 'The Transformation of the Classical Legacy'. While the early Hellenistic period was marked by a definite change in ideas of representation, these ideas were rooted in the art of the Classical period and so represent a liminal stage that both reflects the material of the past while at the same time altering it into something new.

Professor Aileen Ajoatian investigated the seminal importance of the sculptor Praxiteles as one of the first masters of the 4th century. Through an investigation on the images bearing his artist’s name, she showed how varied the experience of portraiture creation can be; two artists could have worked together on one statue, individuals could have commissioned statues, or each family could have set up sculptural groups. Dr Antonio Corso concentrated on the ancient literature that discussed the portrait genre. His analysis showed eight distinct phases of portraiture as determined by the early Hellenistic art critics that ranged from the first attempts to capture a human likeness to the development of 'realistic' portraiture by artists like Lyssippos.

In what was probably the most stimulating and most discussed paper of the entire conference, Professor Ralf van der Hoff examined the style of early Hellenistic portraiture and how this style affects the perception of the statue. In portrait statues like that of the 4th century orator Demosthenes (Fig 3), one seems to be looking at a real human being, but this reality is constructed by the image. Demosthenes had died 42 years before this statue had been made, so although it does not represent the actual features of the statesman, a viewer still gets the sense of a 'real' and individualised person. The statue invokes both the person being portrayed and his character through the form of the features that present a surface realism that all but constructs the reality for the viewer. Thus we do not need to know what Demosthenes exactly looked like because the statue constructs enough of a reality to convince us that we are seeing a true representation of the individual. This type of sculpture then reduces the distance between the audience and the statue as a viewer stops thinking of it as a general representation of an orator (he/it), and thinks of it instead as a specific person (you). Early Hellenistic portraiture is often thought of as the first to show realistic representations, but Professor von den Hoff reminded us that this realism is constructed by a mixture of the message being presented and the immediate perceptions of the viewer. These statues, then, were the first to show realism, but to show what Barthes would call the 'reality effect', and so usher in a new phase of personal representation in art.

The second session of the colloquium discussed actual 'Styles and Patterns of Representation' in the portrait genre. Professor Wilfred Geominny took an interesting look at one particular portrait group, the Daokhos monument at Delphi. Through an examination of formal characteristics other than facial or physiognomic attributes, such as the types of clothing worn by the statues, he has established his own chronology for the monument. Dr Stephen Schmidt examined one particular category of portrait statues, those of beardless artists, in an attempt to create formal, evaluative criteria for the analysis of portraits. While Professor Geominny's work illustrated how one can look beyond physiognomy to examine portrait statues, Dr Schmidt reminded us that the evaluation of formal characteristics, such as the way in which hair rings were represented, is fundamental for understanding the development of specific typologies. Departing from statues, Professor John Kroll examined another very important category of portraits, those found on...
coins. Ancient monarchs would place their images on coins to be distributed far and wide throughout their kingdoms. Apart from legitimising the currency, these images were also used to spread certain ideas regarding the rulers themselves. Traditionally, Greek cities showed the symbol of the issuing city on one side (the reverse) and an image of city's titular deity on the other (the obverse). Persian coins did the same, only with running images of their king in place of a deity. Perhaps in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian kingdom, Alexander's successors began to change Greek coinage by placing their images on the obverse of coins. One of Alexander's generals, Ptolemy I of Egypt, was the first ruler to mint a coin with the portrait of a living king in 304 BC (Fig 1).

Coinage is a relatively conservative medium and so this alteration was of great significance and marked a clear change in the nature of Greek rule. These images showed the ruler as divine, and later rulers such as Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antiochus the Great followed suit (Fig 2), mixing the earlier Persian notion of showing the king and the Greek of showing a divinity. This imagery may have been meant to show the ruler as a god, or it may have been metaphoric, meant to allude to the ruler as a 'world ruler' or a god who ruled 'the world', but either way it illustrated a key point - that portraiture is powerful and can convey very important, very complex messages. Given this importance, it is not surprising to see such images displayed on coins, portable objects that would be seen by more people in more places than any other particular statue.

The keynote address of the conference was given by Professor Andrew Stewart who discussed another of the seminar artistic figures of this time period, the sculptor Lykippus. In presenting a new papyrus containing 112 paragraphs by the early Hellenistic poet Posidippus of Pella, Professor Stewart examined the poet's view of Lykippus as an innovator in the field of portraiture through his representation of truth and realism. His portraits of Alexander the Great (Fig 4) are especially lauded for their unflattering portrayal of the king - he is like a lion before the fleeing hordes of Persians. This playing with the notion of truth in early Hellenistic portraiture illustrates how certain notions of ancient art historical criticism, often thought to be exclusively Roman in invention, were in existence in the Hellenistic period. Such quests for representational truths, as expressed by poets and artists alike, exemplify the changes in the culture of the Hellenistic period and they show how portraits, whether written or sculpted, were a prime medium for the dissemination of these new truths.

On the second day of the conference the second session discussed the context for many of these portraits with an examination of 'Patrons and Settings'. Peter Schultz looked to the surviving architectural members of the Philippos at Olympia in an attempt to unravel a number of difficulties related to this monument and its famous portraits of Alexander the Great and his family. His detailed analysis of the material showed that the statue base is more than likely contemporary with the building in which it is set and that the statues were of marble and not of gold and ivory, as the 2nd century AD traveller and chronicler Pausanias stated. It may be that the statues were later gilded and that this is what Pausanias saw, but the originals, dating to some time in the third quarter of the 4th century, were not. Analysis of the cutting in the statue base also suggest an arrangement for the figures that would have had Amyntas, Alexander's grandfather, in the middle, flanked by a young representation of Alexander and an adult representation of Alexander's father, suggesting that the dedicant of the group was Philip and not a young Alexander. Mr Schultz's investigations have gone a long way to ground certain thorny issues regarding the statues of the Philippos in an archaeological context.

This idea was further developed by the other two speakers during this session, Professors Graham Oliver and Katherine Keeling, both of whom examined surviving inscriptions on statue bases. Professor Oliver showed how changes in inscriptive habits on statue bases can effect how we interpret their associated statues, while Professor Keeling's paper illustrated the importance of re-use of statue bases, either by re-inscribing a base or adding a sculptor's signature long after the work was complete and how the use of such base data necessarily affects the viewing context.

The final session of the conference entitled 'Egypt and the Spread of Hellenistic Styles', examined the spread of such styles beyond Athens and the Greek mainland. Each paper took one specific monument or work and examined it in light of the characteristics that had been discussed over the course of the colloquium. Dr Neil Adams examined one bronze portrait head from a temple of Apollo in Cyrene (modern Libya), most notably through extensive scientific analysis. His research, which included reading the original excavation notebooks from the mid-19th century, showed the importance of bronze casting in ancient Cyrene and suggested that the head may have belonged to an equestrian group. Professor Marianne Bergmann examined the statues from the Serapion in Memphis, Egypt. Her analysis suggested a new date for the group and she illustrated how the individuals of the group, poets and philosophers, are characterised by the posture and position of their bodies as much as by their facial features. In the last paper of the conference, Professor Olga Palagia examined the portraits of two Egyptian queens. From her analysis of a portrait head of Arsinoe II found on the island of Samothrace, she suggests that a portrait found in the Agora of Athens, traditionally thought to represent a goddess, may represent the deified queen Berenice II.

As with many conferences, the quality and value of the papers presented varied, but one can certainly count this particular conference a success. First, several general themes became apparent, the most important being that much could be learned about these portrait statues without looking at the statues themselves. The architectural settings of the statues, their statue bases, and their associated inscriptions can all provide valuable information in its own and as a means to explore the sculpture from antiquity, such differing ways of examining portrait statues are needed. Whether examining old material in new light, as did Rolf von den Hoff and John Kroll, or presenting newer findings, as did Andrew Stewart and Peter Schultz, such approaches can only help refine and deepen our understanding of the material landscape of ancient Greek culture.

Second, in the century or more that many of the foreign archaeological schools have been working in Athens, there has been great joint work conducted by two of the senior schools - the German Archaeological Institute and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. One of the goals of the conference was to bring together scholars trained in differing academic traditions in order to share knowledge and such cross-cultural synergy is to be lauded. The two primary organisers, Rolf von den Hoff and Peter Schultz, together with their sponsors and cooperating institutions, are to be commended for their commitment not only to the material, but to a vision of scholarship that maximises the potential for exchange. A second conference in later Hellenistic portraiture is planned and, hopefully, other such joint ventures will continue, in order to further scholarly debate and to build bridges between the various academic communities in the city that gave birth to the western academic tradition.
Albania has suffered a difficult passage from communism to democracy. The overthrow of the Stalinist government occurred two years after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and by 1997 the country had been thrown into civil chaos by the so-called Pyramid schemes. Two years after this the country was once again in the spotlight as NATO bombed neighbouring Kosovo. In these circumstances it is not difficult to imagine the considerable challenge faced by the country’s Institute of Archaeology. Founded in 1948, the Institute was a prominent member of the Academy of Sciences, after 1971 publishing an annual journal, *Iliria*. After 1991, however, the government not surprisingly directed its resources to other more pressing social needs. The following six years were extremely difficult, but since 1997 the Institute has focussed upon collaborating with foreign missions, building up its research programme and its cadre of young archaeologists which, in turn, re-established its place in the Academy of Sciences and University of Tirana. Now, after a particularly successful year, the Institute has held a major conference (on 6-7 December 2002) reviewing its work and achievements. Joining its members in Tirana for the occasion were the directors of collaborative missions from Britain, France, Greece, Italy, Kosovo, and the United States. This was a meeting of different generations, Professor Neritan Ceka concluded in the final session. Ceka, emeritus director of the Institute of Archaeology and now a celebrated parliamentarian, drew attention to the new methodologies being adopted on all the Institute’s projects. These, he opined, were generating new debates about Albania’s rich archaeological heritage.

The conference was notable for the number of reports. 2002 has been a bumper year, with over 25 excavations and surveys having been undertaken under the Institute’s aegis. These ranged from small-scale surveys of Middle Paleolithic scatter in south Albania (by Ilir Gjipalaj) to large excavations at ancient Butrint (by the Butrint Foundation). Notable contributions included reports on the rescue excavations in the Greek cemetery at Apollonia (by Lorenc Bejko; Fig 1), in the heart of the modern port of Durres, ancient *Draculum* (by Afrim Hoti), and the completion of a huge excavation of the Later Bronze and Iron Age tumulus at Kamenice near Korca (by Lorenc Bejko; Fig 3).

The foreign missions were no less active. For example, French teams (from Grenoble, Paris, and Rennes universities) discovered the well-preserved waterlogged timber remains of Bronze Age date at Sovjan near Korca, continued to excavate in the agora of Apollonia, and pursued an intricate examination of the Late Roman bishop’s palace in the Justinianic hilltop city of Byllis. An Italian team from Bologna university carried out a major programme of excavations at *Phoenix*, a Hellenistic and Roman centre in south Albania. This included an ambitious excavation to locate the late Hellenistic and early Roman theatre. Meanwhile, an American team from the University of Cincinnati continued its exacting survey of the sites in the lowlands around Apollonia in the centre of Albania.

Young and old members of the Institute of Archaeology were present in all these projects, fusing the age of total station surveys and GIS mapping to a long history of study. Perhaps the most remarkable session of the conference was devoted to the projects of the small but energetic group of Kosovan archaeologists. Thanks to support from Tirana, from its base in Pristina this group has launched a number of surveys and excavations this year. The most notable discoveries were made at Bardhosh, where a remarkable cache of Neolithic figurines were found (Fig 2). These figurines, similar to those known from Vinc a, illustrate the immense potential for larger scale research into Balkan prehistory.

The Institute of Archaeology presented several publications at the conference, including the latest volume of *Iliria* (funded by the Packard Humanities Institute) and *L’Albanie dans l’Europe Préhistorique* published by the French School at Athens. The growing number of young members in the Institute, many having trained abroad, is leading to a significant and altogether compelling change of emphasis, one that reflects Albania’s place as a country at the centre of the Mediterranean and rich in remains from Paleolithic to Ottoman times.

**Fig 1.** A red-figure krater (late 6th/early 5th century BC), recovered in 2002 by Lorenc Bejko during during rescue excavations in the Greek cemetery of Apollonia. Scale L. 10 cm.

**Fig 2 (below).** An assemblage of Neolithic figurines found at Bardhosh in Kosovo.

**Fig 3 (below).** A view of the excavated tumulus at Kamenice showing the Late Bronze Age tumulus grave architecture.

Professor Richard Hodges is Scientific Director of the Butrint Foundation; Professor Muzaffer Korkuti is Director of the Institute of Archaeology, Tirana.
Recent Excavations in Greece

EXCAVATING CLASSICAL CULTURE
RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN GREECE

Dorothy King

Greece is a country blessed with a huge archaeological heritage - or cursed. As the country moves into the 21st century, extending the Metro system that Athens so badly needs (see Minerva, Sept/Oct 2000, pp. 18-27) and creating venues for the 2004 Olympics, which perhaps it does not, it seems that a utility company cannot dig a hole in the road to repair a pipe without hitting something archaeological. Although scholars of course also work on some of the great sites, it is these sorts of discoveries that take up much of the energy of the Greek Archaeological Service, and have led to some of the more astounding recent discoveries.

'Excavating Classical Culture', a conference held at Somerville College, Oxford, in March 2001, brought together many of these archaeologists, as well as a few foreign scholars excavating in Greece, to highlight some of the most important discoveries made in recent years. Although as with any conference one can lament a few omissions, the recently published proceedings, of the same name as the title of this article and edited by Maria Stamatopoulou and Marina Yeroulanou, brings to a larger audience the most important recent work, much of it published in English for the first time, and one must commend the editors for bringing it so swiftly to press.

As Professor Bert Smith, Lincoln Professor of Archaeology at Oxford, so succinctly put it in its Prologue, 'In archaeology, our perspectives are changed both by new concepts and by new discoveries. Fresh data are the lifeblood of the subject, and the wide range of important material excavated in Greece in recent years is difficult to control and make sense of. This volume is designed to make the task easier'.

Chronologically, one of the earliest discoveries in the volume is the excavation at Oropos (northern Attica) of Alexander Mazarakis Ainian. Better known for its Classical Amphipolis, the town has now yielded important Early Iron Age and Geometric buildings of the 8th and 6th centuries BC respectively (Fig 3). The town is believed to have been Homeric Graia (Iliad B, 498), and these ruins would be contemporary with the bard’s life. The town is listed in the Iliad as having provided many ships, and the newly found industrial buildings linked to metalworking attest to the ability of the town to manufacture weapons.

Babis Intzesiloglou undertook emergency excavations in Thessaly in 1994, on what eventually turned out to be the site of the Archaic Temple of Apollo at ancient Metropolis. This project, initiated in response to illegal looting in the area, uncovered what is one of the most important Archaic sites in Greece, which makes a major contribution to our knowledge of ancient architecture. Although the archaic bronze cult statues were found in situ, where they had fallen off their base in the temple, an exceptionally rare discovery, the most exciting find was the temple’s capitals. These are a variation on the Doric, with leaves carved on the echinus, clearly showing that the evolution of Greek capitals is not as straightforward as some scholars like to argue, and that there were leaves on capitals before the emergence of the Corinthian order. Another key feature of the Metropolis capitals is that all were different. The idea of perfect symmetry, with all elements being identical, is a Roman...
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Fig 4 (above). Silver drinking cup from a cist tomb near the great tumulus at Agios Athanasios near Thessaloniki, found placed by the chest of a young man. Early 3rd century BC.

Fig 6. Silver lamnax and gold wreath found in the intra-mural cist grave at Amphipolis, probably the burial of a founder of the city. c. 425-350 BC.

Fig 5 (right). Archaic spear heads and knives, metal weapons from the funeral pyre of a warrior, Aegae, Macedonia.

Fig 7 (below left). A very rare early Classical Severe Style terracotta, the clay head of a female from a burial pit of a noblewoman at Aegae, Macedonia, who died c. 480 BC. This head was one of 26 terracotta heads of goddesses and demons found in the pit, testifying both to a lost ritual, and to the quality of Macedonian art in that period. The location of the burial, near the so-called tomb of Queen Eurydice, suggests that part of the cemetery was reserved for high-born women, probably royal.

Fig 8 (below). Some of the funerary white-ground lekythoi by the Woman Painter and his followers (430-420 BC) from a burial at Aegae. Although previously mostly associated with Athens, large groups of these have been found in Macedonia in recent excavations.

Of the archaeological work associated with the building of the Athenian Metro system, the most important discovery is the mass burial from the cemetery of Kerameikos in Athens by Effie Braziotopoulou-Valavanis. The date of the mass burial, and its unusual circumstances, has led it to be identified as a communal plague 'pit'. Extensive graves were not the norm for the more affluent sector of Greek society, which a number of those uncovered clearly were, and some of the rituals associated with 5th century BC burials were clearly not undertaken: the bodies were not articulated and had been discarded quite casually. This is the first physical proof to surface of the plague that swept across Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (430-426 BC), described by Thucydides (ii.47.3), who, until now, had been the only source available for this historic event. The bones are now being studied by the University of Athens, which is trying to extract DNA and RNA in an attempt to discover the exact nature of one; the Greeks were less interested in such standards, and there are numerous examples of temples with variations in the capitals in the Greek world. But this temple is unique in that no two capitals are alike. From the Archaic period onwards, miscellaneous capitals with incised patterns for painted leaf decoration are known, although they usually cannot be associated with specific buildings. These capitals are carved in relief, with patterns that recall orientalising silver and pottery, and would have been picked out in paint. Metropolis helps dispel the notion of the 'minimalism' of the plain, undecorated Doric capital.

The quantities that provided what was considered one of the best marbles for sculpture by the ancient Greeks were located on the island of Paros, which had an established school of sculpture from the Archaic period onwards. Amongst the pieces published in this volume by Photini Zaphiropoulou is an exceptional Archaic Gorgon of c. 580 BC (Figs 1-2).
the plague, whose symptoms are similar to those of both Bubonic Plague and Ebola.

Chaido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki’s rescue excavations at Amphipolis in Macedonia have increased our knowledge of Classical private housing, the town being an Athenian colony of the 5th century BC. Of particular interest is a cist grave, found within the city walls; only the founders or re-founders of cities could generally be buried within the walls in ancient times, so its dating is particularly important. The grave’s larnax (Fig 6) and wreath are beautiful, but do not provide good dating criteria, so the pottery deposit evidence is crucial, reminding us once again that in archaeological context is the key. The current hypothesis tentatively associates this simple grave with the Spartan general Brasidas, who was killed at the battle of Amphipolis in 422 BC, and was subsequently worshipped as a hero and founder of the town.

Much excavation has been ongoing in Macedonia in the last decades (Figs 5, 7, 8). Angeliki Kottaridu summarises much of the work at Aegae, the old Macedonian capital, first identified by Norman Hammond. The town is well preserved as it was destroyed by an earthquake in the 1st century AD and abandoned, and so is providing us with important information about Macedonian architecture, notably the structure of Greek palaces, of which there are few elsewhere. The so-called ‘Macedonian Tombs’ of course have been found throughout this area, as well as in Turkey and southern Italy. One of the most spectacular recent discoveries is at Agios Athanasios between Pella and Thessaloniki, found by Maria Tsididou-Avloniti, with its elaborate frescoes. A painted frieze on the façade depicts a symposium flanked by Macedonian cavalry and infantry (Figs 9, 11). Although known outside Greece, for example from wall paintings in Etruscan tombs, this is the first painted example of a banquet from a tomb found in Greece.

Dimitrios Pandermalis has been making many new discoveries at Dion (Fig 10). Of note is a fragmentary embossed bronze shield found in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus. The inscription identifies the dedicator as King Demetrius, almost certainly Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was proclaimed king of Macedonia soon after an official dinner at Dion in 294 BC, where he deposed the young king Alexander.

It is, however, a pity that the main tombs at Vergina, which the Greeks would like to associate with Philip II and his family, have still not been well published. Although there are a number of coffee-table books available, the archaeological data that would confirm or deny their dating is not yet fully published.

Petros Themelis has been excavating at Messene (Messenia) for many seasons, and has made some highly important discoveries in the field of Greek sculpture. In the Gymnasium of the town he has found many statue bases with inscribed dedications and signatures, as well as the statues themselves, sometimes fallen in front of their bases (Fig 13). Although many of these sculptures were not from Messene itself, it allows one to reconstruct a pattern of artistic patronage for the city for both the Hellenistic and Roman period, and shows how widely sculptors travelled for commissions. One of the few Messenian sculptors was Damophon, before Themelis’s excavations believed to have been born c. 100 BC. Many epigraphic finds now place him a cen-

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**Fig 9.** Detail of the painted frieze on the 3rd century BC Tomb at Agios Athanasios near Thessaloniki: soldiers and officers of the Macedonian army. The different designs painted on the shields would have helped soldiers identify their comrades during battles.

**Fig 10 (below left).** A very fine marble wreathed portrait head of the emperor Trajan (AD 98-117) found in the praetorian of Dion in Macedonia, dated to the early years of his reign. The medallion in the centre of his wreath depicts Zeus, who had an important sanctuary at Dion. H. 44 cm.

**Fig 11 (below).** A detail of the painted frieze on the façade of the 3rd century BC tomb at Agios Athanasios near Thessaloniki. Part of a symposium scene, depicting a funerary banquet, where the men reclined on couches and were entertained by musicians. Note at right the depiction of the highly ornate rhyton or drinking horn.
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Built into the foundations of the stage building, allowing the superstructure of that to be reconstructed also. To the west of the stage is a scenery store and there are tracks in front of the stage, both of which are interpreted as evidence of moveable scenery, a rarely evidenced feature in theatres.

Much of our surviving Greek history is Athenian and, therefore, anti-Spartan (unfortunately a trend picked up by many people who claim in guide books that nothing of ancient Sparta remains to see today, and that the site is not worth a visit). As one of the British team who excavated at Sparta, and who has worked on monuments from the town, I would urge visitors to Greece to make a detour there. As well as the largely Roman ruins on the acropolis and the Byzantine town at Mystras, there is the Archaic sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, the Mycenaean Menelaion (a shrine to Menelaus and Helen of Troy), and a charming museum. As Pausanias wrote in the only surviving ancient guide book, there are as many wonderful sights to see in the city of Sparta as there are in Athens'.

The recently retired Ector of Arcadia and Laconia is Theodore Spyropoulos, and it is a pity that he was unable to take part in this conference because he has made many remarkable discoveries. Most recently he has found a Mycenaean palace near Sparta, which is the most likely candidate for the home of Menelaus and Helen 'of Troy'. Another current excavation is the Villa of Hercules at Loukou (Arcadia), a pleasure villa of the 2nd century AD Greek who was one of the richest men of his day, a great patron of the arts, and a mentor to the emperor Antoninus Pius, as well as a philosopher. The house is a smaller scale version of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, with many of the same architectural features, such as the Canopus, a large pool designed to recall the Nile, in which Hadrian's by-then deified lover Antinous had drowned. Much of Atticus' art collection has been found, including such famous sculptural groups as the Achilles and Penthesilea, putting to rest many of the controversies as to the restoration of their compositions.

In the last couple of years there has been a spate of new discoveries made during the extensive building programme for the Olympics in Attica, and by the extension of the Metro into the suburbs in Athens, as well as elsewhere in Greece. One can only hope that in due course these excavations will be made available to a wider audience in as exemplary a manner as those in the present volume.

Maria Stamatopoulou and Marina Yeroulanou, the editors of this volume, must be congratulated on the way they managed to bring so many great scholars together to share their research with us, the speed of publication, and the way they managed to arrange for so much of the Greek community in Britain to sponsor it.

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Excavating Classical Culture. Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece, edited by Maria Stamatopoulou and Marina Yeroulanou (The Beazley Archive and Archaeopress, Oxford, 2002; 345pp, numerous Figs, 86 colour and b/w plates; £60), is available from Hadrian Books:
Tel: +44 (0)1865 310431;
Fax: +44 (0)1865 316916;
E-mail: tar@hadrianbooks.co.uk.

Fig 12. Life-size marble portrait of a Spartan official who rebuilt the city after the sack of AD 375. Found in the fill of the theatre at Sparta, this is a rare late Roman portrait from the area, and demonstrates how vibrant early Byzantine portraiture could be. Late 4th century AD.

Fig 13. Statues fallen in front of their bases in Room IX of the Gymnasium of Messene. 1st century AD.
The Dead Sea Scrolls (Fig 1) are manuscripts dating to about the time of Jesus that were discovered in the late 1940s and early 1950s in caves near the site of Khirbet Qumran (hereafter referred to as Qumran), by the north-west shore of the Dead Sea in Israel (Figs 2, 4). They include the oldest preserved copies of the Hebrew Bible and related works such as targums, ancient translations of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic; pesharim, ancient commentaries on or interpretations of the Hebrew Bible; and apocrypha, books such as Tobit and Ecclesiasticus, which are included in the Catholic Bible/Septuagint but not in the Hebrew Bible.

Approximately 900 scrolls, mostly fragmentary, were discovered by Bedouins and archaeologists in 11 caves in the vicinity of Qumran. Many were found in 1951-1956, when an expedition led by Père Roland de Vaux, a Biblical scholar and archaeologist at the Dominican École Biblique et Archéologique Francaise de Jerusalem, searched the caves for scrolls and excavated the site of Qumran. In 1956 and 1958, de Vaux also conducted excavations at Ein Feshkha, a site about 3km south of Qumran on the shore of the Dead Sea. At Qumran, de Vaux uncovered the remains of a settlement, which he dated from c. 130 BC to AD 68. He believed that this settlement was inhabited by Jewish sectarians, whom he and other scholars identified as the Essenes mentioned in ancient sources such as Flavius Josephus, Philo Judaeus, and Pliny the Elder.

The descriptions of the beliefs and practices of the Essenes provided by these sources correspond roughly with the information in the sectarian scrolls (though whether Essenes are mentioned in the scrolls is debated). While differing in some details, the ancient sources and scrolls largely agree in describing this group as a radical Jewish sect of the Second Temple period in Palestine (1st centuries BC to 1st century AD), which broke away from mainstream Judaism over differences in the interpretation and practice of Jewish law, including the cult practised in the Jerusalem Temple. Although some members were apparently married and lived in towns and villages around Palestine, the community at Qumran seems to have consisted mostly, or entirely, of adult celibate men. The members of this sect believed that an apocalyptic war, which is described in the War Scroll, was imminent. Their

According to de Vaux, members of this sect inhabited the site of Qumran and deposited the scrolls in the nearby caves. Qumran is a relatively small settlement with a number of unusual features which support de Vaux's interpretation. In fact, it is not a settlement in the normal sense of the word because it has no private houses. Instead, nearly all of the rooms were used for communal purposes, including two communal dining rooms (which also served as assembly halls), a room in which manuscripts appear to have been prepared or written, a potter's workshop, and numerous artisanal workshops. Although it is possible that a few members of the community lived (that is, slept) in some of the second storey rooms of the settlement, most if not all of them apparently lived outside it, in tents, huts, and some of the nearby caves. An extensive water system (fed by flash-flood waters) runs through the settlement and includes ten Jewish bathhouses (mispa'ot), an

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**Professor Jodi Magness** is the Kenan Distinguished Professor for Teaching Excellence in Early Judaism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA. She has excavated at over 20 sites in Greece and Israel, including the Roman siege works at Masada in 1995.
unusually high number which accords with the information provided by the ancient sources and the scrolls regarding the Essenes' concern with ritual purification. Animal bones that apparently represent the remains of ritual meals were carefully deposited in pots or under pottsheds on the ground around the outside of the buildings. A large cemetery containing approximately 1100 individual graves is located on the plateau adjacent to the settlement, and contrasts with the custom of burial in family tombs that was the norm among Judean Jews in this period. In addition, the fact that most of the 43 graves excavated by de Vaux contained the skeletons of adult men points to a largely male community.

Although de Vaux produced a number of preliminary reports and a synthetic overview of the archaeology of Qumran, he died in 1971 before producing the final publication on his excavations. His material was 'inherited' by the archaeologists who succeeded him at the École Biblique and is now in the hands of the current archaeologist, Jean-Baptiste Humbert. Today all of the Dead Sea Scrolls, even those that are still unpublished, are accessible to everyone. This is not the case with the archaeological material from de Vaux's excavations at Qumran. Except for a volume containing photographs from the time of the excavations and de Vaux's field notes (published by Humbert and Alain Chambon in 1994), no additional archaeological material from Qumran has been published since de Vaux's death, and none of the unpublished material is accessible to outside scholars (including the writer).

In the late 1980s, Humbert invited two Belgian archaeologists, Robert Donceel and Pauline Doncet-Voute, to work on the final publication of the Qumran material with him. Within a few years the team split up, and the Donceels returned to Belgium without producing a final report. However, they did publish several articles in which they suggested that Qumran was a 'villa rustica' instead of a sectarian settlement. This theory received a great deal of publicity when it was broadcast in 1991 as part of a Nova television programme. Up until this point, I had no involvement with the archaeology of Qumran, and most of my research had focused on 4th-7th century AD Palestine, especially the local pottery of Jerusalem. However, I had gained an intimate familiarity with the site of Qumran and other sites in the area in 1977-80, when I worked as a field guide and naturalist at the Ein Gedi Field School on the shore of the Dead Sea. In 1992, I was invited to present a paper (published in 1994) on the pottery of Qumran at a conference organised by the University of Chicago at the New York Academy of Sciences.

There I argued that the almost complete absence of fine table wares (dining dishes) from the ceramic assemblage at Qumran contradicts the Donceels' interpretation of the site as a villa and supports its identification as a sectarian settlement. Soon after the conference, I began to receive other invitations to lecture on the subject. As a result, I have published numerous articles in scholarly and popular journals, and eventually received an invitation from Eerdmans to write a book on the archaeology of Qumran.

In the meantime, a number of scholars aside from the Donceels have proposed alternative interpretations of the site of Qumran. They include Norman Golb, who has suggested that it was a fort; Humbert, who has modified the Donceels' theory and proposed that Qumran was a villa during its initial phase of occupation, before being taken over by the Essenes; Alan D. Crown and Lena Cansdale, who have interpreted Qumran as a commercial entrepôt; and Yizhak Hirschfeld, who believes that Qumran was a fortified manor house.

However, the archaeological evidence does not support any of the alternative interpretations. For example, comparisons of the layout, interior decoration, and finds (such as pottery; Figs 3, 5) associated with contemporary Judean villas indicate that Qumran could not have functioned as a villa or manor house. Advocates of the alternative interpretations also deny any connection between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the site of Qumran by arguing that the inhabitants of the settlement were not responsible for depositing the scrolls in the caves. It is true that scrolls were found only in the caves around Qumran and not in de Vaux's excavations at the site (probably because the Qumran settlement was destroyed by fire, whereas the caves were not).

However, the proximity of the caves to the site (especially Cave 4, which contained approximately 500 scrolls and lies directly below the settlement), and the fact that the same pottery types (including some which are unique to Qumran) are found in both the caves and the settlement, establishes an archaeological connection between them. I believe that de Vaux was correct in identifying Qumran as a sectarian settlement: 'Khirbet Qumran is not a village or a group of houses; it is the establishment of a community. We must be more precise: this establishment was not designed as a community residence but rather for the carrying on of certain communal activities.' As archaeologists, we ignore the small things of life - the everyday material culture of societies - at our peril.
Since excavations began at Amorium (modern Hitarköy, near Emirdağ) in central Turkey in 1988, much light has been shed on the history and material culture of this important Byzantine city, the capital of the Anatolikon theme and home to the short-lived Amorian dynasty of emperors (AD 820-867). Recent work has concentrated on an enclosed area at the centre of the site, near the church that probably served as the seat for the metropolitan bishop (Figs 1, 3). In the past two years - the 2001 and 2002 seasons - an entire complex has been uncovered in this area, in which we can trace elements of change and continuity in the life of the city, as well as glimpse some of the traumatic events that its inhabitants experienced and (in some cases) failed to survive.

The complex comprises an imposing polygonal hall and a rectangular suite of rooms used as a bathhouse that were linked originally by a doorway. The whole complex was constructed in stone and brick, lined and paved with marble slabs, but appears to have been free-standing and was not connected to other buildings. Two other doorways lead from the polygonal hall out into open courtyards or passageways. The architecture, plan, and decoration of the complex (Fig 6) suggest that it was built in the 6th century AD, a date that finds confirmation in the early Byzantine material excavated in the subfloors levels of the polygonal structure. The exact function of the hall remains uncertain. It closely resembles several early Byzantine martyrium buildings that have survived at other sites, but the addition of a bathhouse is unusual. On the other hand, the polygonal room would seem to be excessively grand as the entrance hall for what is a relatively modest-sized bathing establishment. At any rate, what is clear is that its use was abandoned at an early stage, perhaps as the result of earthquake damage, for columns from the central ambulatory were found to have crashed down into the side walls, while elsewhere there was also evidence for cracks and weaknesses in the exterior walls of the complex.

Undeterred by the collapse of the polygonal hall, the inhabitants of Amorium made the best of a bad job, patched up the baths, which they clearly still felt a need for, and sealed up the entrance to the ruined other half of the complex. Before they blocked all three doors into the polygonal hall, however, they carefully and
methodically stripped its interior of as much material as they could. Shaped marble slabs from the floor around the central stone stylobate turned up during the excavation of the fill inside the refurbished baths. This typifies a long-lasting habit amongst the inhabitants of Amorium — that of re-using and adapting existing materials wherever possible. Whether this should be classed as decline and impoverishment remains debatable. It is, however, evidence for economy and inventiveness in the face of limited resources, and the habit continued even when more prosperous times returned in the middle Byzantine period.

The baths probably continued in use until 838, when Amorium was besieged and sacked by the Arabs under the Caliph al-Mut’asim, thus making them a very rare example of a public bathing establishment belonging to the Byzantine Dark Ages. The entire hypocaust system was excavated (almost single-handedly by one of the team members, Yoav Abelson) during the 2002 season. A small furnace room, flanked with brick niches, was found at the western end of the rectangular structure. A large vent carried the heated air from here past two small sweat rooms to a larger room, identified as the caldarium (Fig. 2). Beyond this lay another heated room, the tepidarium, a smaller colc room with a tiny plunge bath, and an entranceway at the eastern end, flacked to the north by a small room that probably served as a latrine. The hypocaust pillars provided further evidence for the ingenuity and adaptability of the Byzantine builders, for they comprised at least four different types, all made of re-used material. The hypocaust was filled with a deep layer of black ash and debris, including a number of pottery vessels, evidently all part of the destruction of the building. A human skull was also found, perhaps hinting at the violent nature of this destruction.

Further evidence of the 838 catastrophe was found in the area between the baths and a fortification wall that was built in the early 11th century, sealing the destruction layer below it. The radiocarbon and dendrochronology samples from the wood and ash recovered from the area just inside the enclosure wall should clinch the dating of this destruction that is suggested by a coin of Leo V (AD 813-820) found on the burnt floor. Here, too, mixed in with the collapsed mud-brick superstructure of less imposing buildings were found quantities of disarticulated human remains. On a less somber note was the discovery in the same layer of a large, open basin made up of fragments from a broken pithos, while nearby an intact copper alloy jug was found; these provide evidence both for recycling of everyday materials and for more sophisticated and expensive consumer goods.

When people returned to Amorium, probably some time after 838, they clearly made use of the surviving major buildings. Naturally, the church was a major focus of attention in the rebuilding of the city (see Minerva, July/August 1996, pp. 26-27, and September/October 1999, pp. 18-19). Further evidence for the continued use of the church and for the habitual improvisation that the Amorians adopted in both life and death was found in 2002. Excavation in the narthex had stopped in 1998 as a result of the discovery of a tomb, thought originally to contain two occupants laid side by side. Study of the bones in 2001, however, revealed no less than three other individuals, including a young child. Before work resumed in the narthex this summer, it had been speculated that other tombs might exist there, but it was never seriously considered that as many as eight more tombs would be found (Fig .7). All but one of these was intact and contained multiple burials belonging to the middle Byzantine period (10th-11th centuries AD). Excavation also revealed the footings of the main west wall of the narthex belonging to the Phase II reconstruction of the church. Several pieces of marble architrave were incorporated into the base of this wall, which was built no earlier than the late 9th century AD. One fragment of the
architrave was inscribed (Fig 5), showing that it came from a public building of the Roman period for it contains imperial titles referring to either the emperor Tiberius (AD 14-37) or Claudius (AD 41-54). One wonders from where the Byzantine builders stumbled across these marble blocks after so many centuries.

One of the tombs was quite remarkable in that it was a sealed stone sarcophagus containing well-preserved organic remains. These included pointed leather shoes, a linen shroud, twisted cords with tasseled ends, and what appeared to be the Byzantine equivalent of a nosegay placed under the head of the deceased as a pillow (Fig 8). The tomb had at least four successive occupants before it was sealed and forgotten, so the nosegay and the drainage hole in the bottom of the sarcophagus were practical but also essential. Another tomb immediately in front of the steps leading to the doorway into the nave was lined and covered with middle Byzantine closure slabs (Fig 4). These had formed part of an earlier set of interior furnishings for the church and could be joined with other fragments found during the excavation of the nave in the early 1990s. They probably once belonged to the ambo, whose foundations still stand in the middle of the nave. Given the lavish refurbishing of the church and the construction of a whole series of tombs in the nave, it is clear that money and patronage were not absent in the late 10th and early 11th century AD. Nevertheless, the re-use of space and materials by the Byzantine inhabitants of Amorium is evidence for continuity and tradition, combined with an ability to adapt and change. The archaeological evidence thus accurately reflects the life of the Byzantine city where, until the arrival of the Turks in the second half of the 11th century AD, there was a continuing cycle of death and rebirth.

Evidence for the final act in the Amorium drama was found during 2001 within the bathhouse. Here, during the middle Byzantine period rooms were filled with deep layers of stone rubble, new tile floors were laid, and various storage installations were added. At the northern end of the building the supposed latrine was similarly filled with rubble, on top of which was found an earth layer containing numerous animal and human bones (Fig 9), as well as a small number of copper alloy coins, identified as anonymous follis dating to c. AD 1075-1080. The disarticulated human remains proved to belong to three adults, a woman and two men, the younger of whom had suffered a blow to the side of the head - the probable cause of his death. The condition of the long limb bones led the team's anthropologist, Julie Roberts, to conclude that the bodies had been exposed for some time before they became buried in the room. Indeed, the fragmentary nature of the remains and the signs of teeth marks on the edges of the bones suggest that the bodies had been scavenged by large dogs or wolves. These three individuals may, therefore, represent some of the last Byzantine inhabitants of Amorium - some of the unlucky ones who failed to get away in time when life in central Anatolia became too disturbed and dangerous for once great and powerful cities such as Amorium to survive.

In addition to excavation, the Amorium Project's guiding principles include an active programme of site enhancement, conservation, and publication. The aim is to preserve the excavated buildings for posterity, while making the site accessible and intelligible to visitors. Likewise, the preliminary reports that appear annually in both English and Turkish are supplemented with both scholarly articles on specific aspects of the site or the finds and with more general survey articles such as this. A series of monographs is also planned, the first volume of which has recently been published: Amorium Reports, Finds I: The Glass (1987-1997) by M.A.V. Gill (BAR Int. Series 1070, 2002; 270pp, 105 Figs/Plts; £42.00 ($60.00); contact bar@archaeopress.com).
MADINAT AL-ZAHRA AND EARLY ISLAMIC SPAIN

Dalu Jones

Although most of Spain was essentially an Islamic country for nearly eight centuries between AD 711 and 1492, only in recent years have the major Islamic sites of the Iberian peninsula been examined scientifically by Spanish scholars. In addition to the results of the excavations of the forts and palaces of the Umayyad capitals (711-1031), the Taifa Kingdoms (1031-1086), the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties (1088-1232), and finally the Nasrid dynasties (1238-1492), much new knowledge has been obtained through rescue excavations conducted in cities such as Murcia and Carmona. Thus, since the 1970s a new generation of Spanish and international scholars have produced an increasingly detailed picture of the typology, chronology, and stylistic development of the ceramics of Islamic Spain, revealing a hitherto unappreciated wide variety of shapes and decorative techniques.

An important turning point in Spain's attitude to its Islamic past was a major exhibition held in 1992, 'Al-Andalus, the Art of Islamic Spain' (see Minerva, Sept/Oct 1992, 24-27), first exhibited appropriately in the Alhambra in Granada - last capital of the Moors in Spain - before it travelled on to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Because of the limited number of excavations undertaken on Islamic sites within Spain, as well as the wholesale destruction of its monuments (even in the most recent past), the task of identifying sites and structures is painstaking, difficult, and, at times, controversial. An example of this is the much debated original layout of the gardens and buildings - some reduced to foundation level - of the Alhambra, the most famous and beautiful of the Islamic city-palaces in Spain.

Here, interpretations have often been tinted by romantic and fanciful 19th-century notions popularised by writers such as the American novelist Washington Irving, who in 1829 actually lived in the ruins of this supremely elegant palatine city that combined diverse functions in its heyday. Traditional assertions still need to be checked scientifically in the field, and it is even necessary for well known and much visited sites such as the Alhambra to be partly re-excavated. Fresh re-investigations would help clarify various problems, including the transformation of the plan of the Roman villa rustica into an Islamic palace transposed from an urban setting. This information would complement that already obtained from the ongoing excavations taking place in the alcazaba (central part of a town or palace) of important cities such as Malaga (Fig 3), Almeria - also built on elevated sites with gardens crossed by water channels intersected by fountains - and the Aljafería in Saragossa. Unfortunately, the results of these excavations are not always published, or appear in regional journals that are relatively inaccessible outside Spain.

The 2001 exhibition, ‘Andalusias from Damascus to Cordoba’, reflects the new interest in varied aspects of Umayyad rule in Spain. The exhibition was first held in Paris at the Institut du Monde Arabe and then moved to Madinat az-Zahra, the capital of the caliphate, located some 5km from Cordoba, former capital of the Umayyads. While a number of buildings still stand almost intact, not least that masterpiece of Islamic architecture, the great mosque at Cordoba, Madinat az-Zahra has lain in ruin since the 13th century, and only one-tenth of the site has been excavated. Although first identified in 1840 using Arabic historical sources, it was only in 1911 that Spanish archaeologists started digging the ruins of the city that had witnessed the flourish of all art in medieval Spain. Over the years the excavators concentrated on the city palaces, reconstructing columns, capitals, and stuccoed walls. In recent years the halls of the
palaces have been reconstructed more professionally, with their stuccoes restored and covered with a modern structure to protect them. It was inside these magnificently decorated and restored palatial halls that the 2001 exhibition was displayed.

The construction in AD 936 of a new city, Madinat al-Zahra, as the personal residence of the caliph and seat of state administration, was the most ambitious of a series of political and economic plans aimed at consolidating the power of the new caliphate proclaimed in Spain in the year 929.

The city is rectangular in shape, encompasses 112 hectares, and was built at the base of the foothills of the Sierra Nevada (Fig 1), affording a breathtaking view of the surrounding landscape. Local topography also determined the terraced layout of its build-

ings: the highest platform corresponds to the alcazar (palace), set in a pre-eminent position elevated about 60m above the lower terrace occupied by the caserio urbano, the city itself, and the Aljama mosque completed in 940. The alcazar was apparently divided into two zones, one public and administrative and another private or residential for the court. Because of the site's steep incline, the elevated position of the upper structures overlooked the palace gardens and onto the landscape beyond. Only three of al-Zahra's gardens have been reconstructed to date, following the original paved walkways bordered by water channels that form a longitudinal axis and an axially aligned square pool. Of these, the Upper Garden - the earliest surviving quadripartite garden in the Maghrib and al-Andalus - faces the reception hall. All that is known about the rest of the city is the tantalising evidence obtained from aerial photography.

In addition to the walled city, the establishment of a new capital made the creation of a complex system of infrastructure necessary. This included roads, aqueducts, quarries, and bridges, which are still visible today in the surrounding area.

The splendour of Madinat az-Zahra was short lived. Between the years 1010 and 1013 the city was sacked as a result of the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty. Pillaging of its ruins has continued into modern times.

The most accomplished craftsmen and the most precious materials were used for the construction and furnishing of the capital. Gold, silver, marble, inlaid wood, textiles in wool, silk, and cotton created a refined style of life never achieved again in Spain. When the caliph moved his court from Cordoba the accompanying entourage included his chancery, army, the mint, the textile manufactory, and other workshops, including those producing high-quality ceramics. White tin and lead glazes for sealing surfaces of ceramic vessels and copper and manganese oxides for decoration were introduced in this period.

The centuries of Umayyad rule in al-Andalus also witnessed the development of revolutionary agricultural techniques, which included the growing of unknown or uncommon vegetables like rice to be introduced. Silk production was also probably a feature of early Islamic rule. Al-Andalus became a producer of consumer goods that were transported as far as India by merchants of many faiths, particularly Jews, who enjoyed a measure of wealth and comfort unknown in the Christian north, becoming the richest and most successful of merchants in Spain. Diplomatic exchanges were established with the northern Christian kingdoms, North Africa, the Byzantine Empire, and the Abbasid court in Baghdad.

Hopefully Madinat az-Zahra will now be excavated more completely and a museum will be built near the site to permanently display under one roof the many magnificent Umayyad objects recently excavated or scattered in various museums and convents throughout Spain. In the present troubled times between the world's great religions, Madinat az-Zahra would thus become an appropriate reminder of a historical period when three great cultures, Islam, Christianity, and Judaism lived in remarkable harmony side by side, creating works of art of exceptional refinement.
THE WINTER 2002 ANTIQUITIES SALES

In his 26th bi-annual report in Minerva on the auctions in London, New York, Basel, and Paris, Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D., presents some of the better objects to go under the hammer and comments on the intense competition and record prices for fine Egyptian antiquities.

CHARTERHOUSE SCHOOL MUSEUM SELLS ITS COLLECTION AT SOTHEBY'S LONDON

In a much publicised auction held on 5 November 2002 Sotheby's London sold off most of the antiquities, tribal, and Asian items donated to its museum, which was built in 1890 at Charterhouse, one of England's oldest public schools founded in 1612. Most of the objects auctioned were acquired between 1874 and 1940; the proceeds will be used for the rebuilding and expansion of the library, which already occupies a significant part of the building where the museum once existed.

The most outstanding object to be sold was a monumental (h. 71.8cm) Egyptian red granite bust of a 19th Dynasty pharaoh (Fig 1), c. 1292-1190 BC, said to be Ramesses II. It was found in 1891 by Edouard Naville in the Temple of Herihor at Hatshepsut Magna and was presented to the Charterhouse museum that same year by Amelia B. Edwards on behalf of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. The bust was probably an 18th Dynasty king whose features were recut during the rededication of the temple for Ramesses II, though it has also been suggested that it might originally have been a ruler of the Second Intermediate Period, at which time this red granite was also used for large statuary such as those of Sesostris IV (c. 1730-1720 BC).

The estimate of just £40,000-£60,000 encouraged a good number of bidders to actively contest it, including two London dealers, but it was finally won for £182,650 by a French dealer apparently bidding for a museum in Geneva ($284,280). (This includes the buyer's premium, which is now 19.5% on the first £70,000 but just 10% on the balance over that on each lot.) The Egyptian government attempted to seek an injunction to stop the sale on the premise that it was originally allowed to be exported only if it were never to be sold for gain. As this issue of Minerva goes to press, Sotheby's has received no further word from the Egyptian government.

Most of the lots were catalogued with very low estimates. For example, the striking cover piece, a fragmentary Cypriot terracotta head of a bearded man, 6th century BC, h. 22.5cm, was estimated at an incredibly low £1,200-£1,800. After much spirited bidding between dealers it was acquired for

Fig 1 (above). Monumental recut Egyptian red granite bust of a 19th Dynasty pharaoh, c. 1292-1190 BC, said to be Ramesses II. H. 71.8 cm.

Fig 2 (below). Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Makron Painter; c. 490 BC; Diam. 19.5 cm.

Fig 3 (below right). Corinthian type bronze helmet, 6th-5th century BC; H. 20.3 cm.
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Fig 4 (left). Early Cretan bronze cuirass, 2nd half of the 7th century BC. H. 48.9 cm.

Fig 5 (right). Early Cretan bronze bell cuirass with a breastplate decoration of two sea dragons and silver bosses. Late 7th-early 6th century BC. H. 45.7 cm.

Fig 6 (middle left). Richly patinated pilos type bronze helmet, with a large olive wreath with berilles; c. 4th century BC. H. 24.2 cm.

Fig 7 (middle right). Iron and tinned bronze alloy Roman cavalry parade helmet with mask, decorated in repoussé on the front with a large victory wreath flanked by two winged Victories, each holding the reins of a stag. c. mid-1st century AD. Helmet H. 23 cm, mask H. 18.5 cm.

Fig 8 (bottom left). Tinned copper cavalry parade helmet terminating in a griffin's head whose paws hold a pendant mask of Medusa, flanked by a high-relief capricorn on each side. Late 2nd or first half of the 3rd century AD. H. 28 cm.

Fig 9 (below middle). Roman polished tinned bronze 'Imperial Gallic' helmet with three bold eyebrows and cheekpieces engraved with winged thunderbolts (fulmen). 1st half of the 1st century AD. H. 28 cm.

Fig 10 (bottom right). Very rare gold tablet with an Assyrian inscription on both sides, recording the erection of a temple by King Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1245-1208 BC) for the god Enlil in a new town just north of Assur. 4.5 x 3.2 cm.

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£16,730 by Royal-Athena Galleries of New York. Likewise, an attractive Egyptian limestone bust of a bearded man, proven 18th Dynasty, h. 17.9 cm, bearing an estimate of just £4,000-£6,000, sold for £47,800, with a London dealer as underbidder.

This conservative evaluation did not apply for the better Attic vases, which received generous reserves, resulting in bids at or near the low estimate in buy-ins. The one outstanding vase was a well-published Attic red-figure kylis, c. 490 BC, attributed by Sir John Beazley to the Makron Painter (Fig 2) and published in the 1947 Burlington House exhibition "Greek Art" and by Beazley in Attic Red-Figure Vase-painters (2nd ed., Oxford 1963, l. p. 479, no. 330). In the tondo a nude young woman bends over holding a pair of red boots. An alabastron and a sponge hang to the left; to the right a basin rests on a lion-paw stand, with a ring set on a plinth. Estimated at £60,000-£90,000, it sold on the phone to the Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University in Atlanta for £66,920, with little competition in the room. The sale of 168 lots included 115 antiquities. Provenance certainly helps - 49% of the lots remained unsold. The sale realised £702,367, with a stunning combination of 96.4% sold by value and 95.8% sold by number of lots.

FIRST PART OF GUTTMANN'S ARMS AND ARMOUR COLLECTION SOLD AT CHRISTIE'S LONDON

Axel Guttmann (1944-2001), born in Krems, Austria, but a resident of Berlin for nearly his entire life, collected ancient arms and armour enthusiastically for over 25 years, a passion which developed early from his earlier collection of medieval arms and armour. Most of his collection, certainly the largest of his kind in private hands, was published by Philipp von Zabern in the eight volumes of Sammlung Axel Guttmann, the first in 1991 and the most recent, Helme und Waffen Alteuropas, in 2001 (written by H. Born and S. Hansen). Dr Born, in addition to authoring much of the material, was also the conservator and restorer of the collection. In addition to Guttmann's museum-like display at home, many of his objects were lent to museums in Germany and Austria. The first part, to 'test the waters', was sold at Christie's London on 6 November as 'The Art of Warfare: The Axel Guttmann Collection, Part I'. The sale of 121 lots included a wide range of objects from the 3rd millennium BC Near East to the Late Roman period in Europe, but the near duplication of many of the helmets, especially Corinthian, Illyrian, and Chalcidian, was evident in the way that they were distributed through the catalogue.

The two early Cretan bronze cuirasses were the top-grossing lots in the sale. The first (Fig 4), formerly in the Norbert Schimmel collection (sold by Sotheby's in the Schimmel sale of 13 December 1992 for £60,500), dating to the 2nd half of the 7th century BC, h. 48.9 cm, estimated at £50,000-£80,000, sold for £124,750 to an American museum bidder on the phone despite obvious damage and restoration. (The prices listed include an additional buyer's premium on each lot which is now 17.5% on the first £50,000 but just 10% on the balance over that on each lot.) The second, an attractive late 7th-early 6th century BC bell cuirass with a breastplate decoration of two sea dragons and a good number of silver bosses (Fig 5), h. 45.7 cm, also estimated at only £50,000-£80,000, sold for only £108,250 to a European museum (see Fig 25 for a comparable piece), no doubt because it was offered prior to the first cuirass noted above.

A well-modelled Corinthian-type bronze helmet (Fig 3), 6th-5th century BC, h. 20.3 cm, sold for a healthy £58,750 to a private collector, well over its estimate of £25,000-£35,000, in spite of restoration, a poor surface, and the lack of a neck-guard. It might be noted that this same helmet brought just £4,620 at the Sotheby's London sale of 12 May 1984, but that was before it was published, provenanced and, most importantly, well catalogued and illustrated. A richly patinated pilos type bronze helmet (Fig 6), c. 4th century BC, h. 24.2 cm, with a large olive wreath with berries, bore an estimate of only £25,000-£35,000. This did not prevent it from selling for £69,750 to another European museum. A striking Roman polished tinned bronze 'Imperial Gallic helmet' (Fig 9) with three bold eyebrows and cheekpieces engraved with winged thunderbolts (fulmen), 1st half of the 1st century AD, h. 28 cm, most probably belonged to an officer and was certainly the finest helmet in the sale. The tinned bronze, when polished, would have given it the appearance of silver; traces of gilding were also present. Estimated at £80,000-£120,000, it brought £86,250 from the same museum that acquired the Cretan bell cuirass.

Not many Roman cavalry parade helmets are offered for sale but this sale featured three of them. A fragmentary iron and tinned bronze alloy cavalry parade helmet with mask (Fig 7) is decorated in repoussé on the front of the helmet with a large victory wreath flanked by two winged Victories, each holding the reins of a stag. The mask is made of bronze alloy over iron; dating to c. mid-1st century AD, the helmet is 23 cm, the mask 18.5 cm. With an esti-
led to some of the more conservative prices being realised as well as the good number of buy-ins - in many cases it was difficult to determine the extent of the restorations which were done by Dr Born. In some cases, Guttman had assembled and mounted groups of armour - helmet, cuirass, and greaves - that not only did not belong together, but were often centuries apart in age. Five of the six reassembled groups went unsold.

Hoping to follow up on the brilliantly successful sale of the Jenkins Venus" on 13 June 2002 for £7,926,650 (against a presale estimate of £2,000,000-£3,000,000), Christie's again published a separate well-prepared catalogue for a much-published single Roman marble statue - the "Newton Hall Athena." The life-size (h. 161 cm) helmeted goddess is of the Athena 'Vesuvvall' type, based upon a Greek prototype of the late 4th century BC. Now the property of Lady Elizabeth Walston, it was once in two early French collections and was passed down from Sir Charles Walston of Newton Hall, Newton, Cambridge, to his descendants. Sir Charles was formerly the Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and of the American School of Archaeology in Athens. Unfortunately the mature figure and its seated and almost nude pose did not receive much acclaim - it was passed at £240,000, well below its presale estimate of about £500,000.

ASSYRIAN GOLD TABLET FEATURED AT BONHAMS
A gold tablet with an Assyrian inscription on both sides (Fig 10) was sold at the Bonhams auction in London on 7 November. Measuring just 4.5 x 3.2 cm, it records the erection of a temple by King Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1245-1208 BC) for the god Enlil in a new town just north of Assur. This is the only known copy of this particular inscription and gold tablets themselves are quite rare. It has been mentioned in ancient literature that gold tablets were buried in the foundations of new buildings being erected. Estimated at £70,000-£100,000, it brought £79,250 (all prices include buyer's premium of 17.5% on the first £30,000 and 10% of the excess over that on each lot) from an enthusiastic new telephone bidder. The purchaser of this lot also acquired a rare Levantine amethyst scaraboid stamp seal in a gold mount, c. 8th-7th century BC, 2.5 x 3.3 cm, for £37,250 against an estimate of just £16,000-£18,000. The same buyer also acquired an Egyptian New Kingdom red granite relief fragment of a bust of Amun-Ra for £46,250 (estimate £25,000-£35,000), as well as a 5.5 cm-high silver gilt seated cat of the 26th Dynasty, estimate £12,000-£15,000, for a totally unexpected £41,850.

In fact the same bidder, rumoured to be an Arab sheikh, dominated the entire morning session, buying the great majority of the 160 Egyptian lots in this session, and also a number of lots from various cultures in the afternoon session. He was obviously determined to outbid all of the other participants and acquired over 100 lots in the morning session alone. A few lots went so far beyond their estimates 10 to 25 times more - before being acquired by this bidder that the sale at times appeared completely irrational. Consignees (and Bonhams, of course) must have been delighted, but it bodes ill for the collectors, museums, and dealers if this continues (and it did so for better Egyptian lots in the New York salas the following month - see below). Some 82% of the 605 lots sold by number and 86% by value, with a total realised, with premiums, of £1,006,761. According to Joanna van der Lande, head of antiquities, it was a record for this department both in volume and in percentages sold.

HELENISTIC MARBLE MUSE IS STAR ATTRACTION AT SOTHEBY'S NEW YORK, WHILE EGYPTIAN PRICES GO 'SKY HIGH'
First exhibited at the Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig in Basel in 1965, a superb 1st century BC life-size (182.9 cm) representation of a Muse (Fig 12) was then shown at the Kunsthalle in Koln in 1968 (where it was first published), the Liebighaus in Frankfurt in 1980, and at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto in 1988. It is most probably represents either Erato, Muse of lyric poetry (note the fragmentary kithara, or Melpomene, the Muse of tragedy (the high-soled footwear, kothanai, were worn to increase the actor's height). Originally from a European private collection, this is was acquired by Dr Elite Borowski in the 1960s and then sold at Christie's New York on 13 June 2000 for $1,656,000 (in spite of its estimate of just $500,000) to the English dealer Robin Symes. Now, in the Sotheby's New York sale of 11 December, estimated at $1,000,000-$1,500,000, it was purchased for $1,549,500 by a New York dealer apparently on behalf of an American collector. (Prices include the buyer's premium, which is now 19.5% on the first $100,000 but just 10% on the balance over that on each lot).

A Cycladic marble statuette of a goddess of the Late Spedos variety (Fig 13), Early Bronze Age II, c. 2600-2500 BC, 21.9 cm, with fragmentary legs, bears traces of black dotted decoration on the face. The late Mathilda Goldman acquired it from the New York dealer Mathias Komor. Estimated at
what the reviewer considered to be a proper $50,000-$80,000, it obtained a resounding $185,500 from the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University.

A striking Attic black-figure Nikosthenic amphora signed by Nikosthenes and attributed to Painter N (Fig 16), c. 530 BC, h. 31.1cm, features a frieze of nude athletes running towards a judge, two boxers flanked by a fifth athlete and an umpire, a sixth athlete facing a jumper with weights, and finally two wrestlers with an umpire to their right. On the shoulder a siren is flanked by a male figure and rider on each side; a hoplite stands guard on each handle. It originally belonged to Robert Hoe III (1839-1909) of New York, a famed American book collector, and was signed by a descendant. It brought $174,500 from an American private collector, just shy of the top of its estimate of $120,000-$180,000. A classic Corinthian-type bronze helmet of fine proportions (Fig 14), c. early 5th century BC, h. 31.8cm, was acquired by a German collector in the early 1980s. With a full estimate of $80,000-$120,000 it nevertheless brought $174,500 from an American private collector.

A magnificent pair of Hellenistic bronze fulcrum handles from the headboard and footboard of a couch, in the form of mule heads with silver and niello inlays (Fig 15), c. 2nd half of the 1st century BC, l. 17.2 and 15.4cm, was acquired by a Florida collector in the 1960s or early 1970s. Bearing a modest estimate of $60,000-$90,000, they were purchased by the Michael C. Carlos Museum for $119,500. The museum also acquired a rare but fragmentary 7th century BC Cretan pottery krater depicting Artemis (or a Mistress of the Animals) for $65,725 (estimate $30,000-$50,000). In the 13
June 2000 Christie’s sale a Roman marble athletic male torso (Fig 17), c. 1st century AD, 76.2cm, perhaps after the 5th century BC sculpture of the Diadoumenos by Polykleitos, sold for $149,000 (against an estimate of just $50,000-$80,000) to an English dealer. It had been in a European collection prior to 1940. Now estimated at $100,000-$150,000, it brought $119,500 from a telephone bidder.

Two life-size bronze portrait heads, one a Hellenistic head said to date from the late 2nd century BC/1st century AD (estimate $400,000-$600,000), the other a bearded Roman head of the 3rd century AD (estimate $200,000-$300,000) were bought in at $250,000 and $170,000.

Following on the heels of the near buy-out of the Egyptian lots in Bonhams’ sale the previous month by one telephone bidder, two telephone bidders, one a known New York dealer, the other a wealthy sheikh, the other perhaps a new mystery buyer, proceeded to play havoc with the better Egyptian objects in the Sotheby’s sale. All six of the top Egyptian lots were acquired by these two bidders, who, unlike the Bonhams’ bidder, kept only to the finest objects, purchasing 18 of the 35 Egyptian pieces in the first session. The first bidder (‘L143’) acquired nine lots totalling about $1,045,000. The second bidder (‘L143’) also acquired nine lots, totalling just about $640,000.

A 12th Dynasty ‘Chephren’ diorite bust of a queen with a ribbed royal Hathor wig (Fig 18), from the reign of Amenemhet III (c. 1842-1797 BC), 22.9cm, was formerly from the collection of the Comtesse de Béhague, then the Marquis de Ganay. It was sold at Sotheby’s in Monte Carlo on 5 December 1987 at the Béhague collection sale (at which the writer was present) for FF 1,110,000 ($197,580), dramatically beyond its estimate of FF 120,000 - FF 180,000 (though many pieces were considerably undervalued). Now estimated at $150,000-$250,000, it sold to ‘L143’ for $295,500, with a Swiss dealer as the underbidder. Fine serpentine ushabitis are rare, but a large, elegant 18th Dynasty figure belonging to Neferhotep, the 4th priest of Amen (Fig 19), 1,475-1400 BC, 12.4cm, is also the only one known of this priest. It was in a French private collection in the late 19th or early 20th century and has remained in the family by descent. The modest estimate of $60,000-$90,000 did not deter our two determined bidders, and ‘L143’ won it for a stunning $229,500.

Once in the collection of Marion Schuster of Lausanne, a brilliantly glazed faience figure of Thoth (Fig 22), the ibis-headed scribe of the gods, 30th Dynasty/Seleucid Period, 12cm, sold at Sotheby’s London, 11 July 1988, for £22,000 over an estimate of £15,000-$25,000. (The writer was one of the underbidders at the time, for he collects turquoises faience figurines - and he had noted that the upper right arm was restored - perhaps even in antiquity.) Now, in spite of this, and its unusually low estimate of only $30,000-$50,000, a battle royal ensued with ‘L143’ ultimately triumphing for a remarkably high $174,300. Even though it measured just 4.5cm in height, a fine bronze mask of a god (Fig 20), once part of a larger 21st-22nd Dynasty figure, sailed far beyond its estimate of just $40,000-$60,000, and was ultimately won by ‘L143’ for $130,000. It had previously sold at Sotheby’s London on 10 December 1996 (in a lot with 3 minor pieces) to the English dealer for £62,000. (Incidentally, that lot had been estimated at a ridiculously low £3000-£4000, even though the mask was illustrated on the back cover of the catalogue - so much for relying on all estimates.)

Even though the cat-headed goddess Bastet is a relatively common Egyptian bronze figure, top quality pieces are rare. A superb 26th Dynasty figure (Fig 21) of the goddess of joy and the patroness of women was sold as part of the famed collection at Christie’s on 23 June 1965 for only £420 (not an unusually low price at that time). It next appeared at Christie’s London on 23 September 1998, estimated at £15,000-£25,000, and selling for £25,000, and subsequently sold at Sotheby’s in Monte Carlo on 5 December 1987 at the Béhague collection sale it brought FF 177,600 ($31,613), far eclipsing its estimate of FF 12,000 - FF 15,000. Again, now estimated at just $20,000-$30,000, it realised an astonishing $130,500 from ‘L143’ who outbid not only ‘L143’ but also a Swiss dealer who was the underbidder this time. A superb 8.6cm Egyptian faience amulet of Bes from the Brummer collection, estimate $12,000-$18,000, brought a stunning $107,550 from a different telephone bidder, and a delicately modelled blue-green 7.9cm faience baboon, valued at $20,000-$30,000, also brought $107,550 from the same buyer.

The sale was obviously a great success, especially with the participation of the two ‘mystery’ telephone bidders for the Egyptian pieces and the sale of the Muse. Richard Keresty, worldwide director of Sotheby’s antiquities department, was quick to note in the sales results notice that of the sold lots, 98% went at or above their high estimate. The sale totalled an impressive $6,326,831, with 85% sold by number and 76.5% sold by value (due in good part to the buy-in of the two Roman bronze heads).
Following the sale of the Japanese collection, the most outstanding piece was a Cretan bronze bell cuirass (Fig 25) of the late 7th-early 6th century BC, similar to one in the Christie’s Guttman sale (see Fig 4), also with a breastplate decoration of two sea dragons and silver bosses. Since the Guttman corset (with a significant amount of restoration) brought £108,250, it was not a surprise when the present example, estimated at £50,000-70,000, brought £207,500 from an American collector. A large (h. 38cm) marble portrait head of a Ptolemaic queen (Fig 26), perhaps Berenike II (wife of Ptolemy III, 246-222 BC), from the collection of the late Dr and Mrs Freddy Homburger, was originally from a 19th century French collection and was first exhibited at the Fogg Art Museum in April 1971. A conservative estimate of £50,000-70,000, no doubt due to the lack of cleaning and the damaged nose, kept the winning bid to £95,600 from a European collector - cleaned and conserved, it no doubt would have brought considerably more. A Roman marble mosaic panel, c. 3rd-4th century AD, with a bust of Diana and conjointed masks of a satyr and maenad, estimate £50,000-70,000, brought £71,700 from an American dealer (the only trade purchase of the top 10 lots). There was active bidding on three other mosaic panels.

The auction included a collection of ancient Judaica formed by the late Daniel M. Friedenberg. The 31 lots are the first American single-owner collection of such items to be offered by a major auction house. A Jewish Byzantine basalt column capital (Fig 27), c. 4th-5th century AD, h. 25.1cm, probably from a synagogue, is crudely carved on each of the four sides with a seven-branched menorah in relief. It sold for $81,260 to an American collector who obviously realised that the $10,000-$15,000 valuation was far too low. An early Jewish dark purplish brown hexagonal jar of the Barag Class B V, c. 578-629 AD, h. 7.3cm, was
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devoted primarily to jewelry but also including related objects, resulted in a successful sale totalling $866,018, surpassing last year’s total of $725,016. The 166 lots were 83% sold by number and 88% sold by value, with the top item, a Greek gold and carnelian finger ring, bringing $35,850, far beyond its estimate of $8,000-$12,000.

CAHN SALE HELD DURING CULTURA FAIR IN BASEL
Jean-David Cahn held his long-delayed two-day sale in Basel toward the conclusion of Cultura, the World Art Fair. The final postponement was due to the sudden death of his father, Dr Herbert Cahn, a most distinguished antiquarian and also co-founder of Munzen und Medaillen in the 1930s (see Minerva, July/August 2002, p. 71). Auction no. 3, held on 18 October 2002, consisted entirely of 125 lots from the collection of his father and 33 lots from the collection of the numismatist Pierre Strauss, once a long-term colleague of Dr Cahn. A fragmentary 18th Dynasty granodiorite lioness head from a colossal statue of Sekhmet or Mut, l. 21cm, from the reign of Amenhotep III (c. 1386-1349 BC), from the Cahn collection, estimated at SFr 145,000, brought SFr 172,500 ($115,000) (all prices include the 15% buyer’s premium).

The second sale, Auction no. 4, held on 19 October, consisted primarily of consignments from private collectors in Switzerland and Germany. A large (38.5cm) Cycladic marble statuette of a goddess of the Late Spedos variety, Early Bronze Age II, c. 2700-2400 BC, estimate SFr 148,000, sold for SFr 189,750, but would have brought considerably more had it not been lacking part of its legs. It was originally sold by Dr Cahn at the KAM Fair in Basel in 1981 to a Swiss collector. A fine-grained Roman marble torso of a youth, h. 43.2cm, sold to date to c. 50 BC - AD 10, apparently can be traced to the collection of the Earl of Lonsdale, Lowther Castle. Despite a large area of restoration that was removed from the chest through to the neck, an estimate of SFr 95,000 was not out of place, for it sold for SFr 120,750.

Even though there was a total of 559 lots in the two sales, only the above three pieces realised over SFr 100,000 - and only a total of eight brought more than SFr 50,000. The majority of the lots sold for SFr 5,000 or less, but only about half of the lots were sold. Part of this may have been due to the fact that the first sale started before the close of the Fair that Friday and the second sale occupied the entire Saturday of the second and final weekend of the Fair. Hopefully the timing for the next sale will be more propitious, especially for those 20 or so antiquity dealers that exhibit at Cultura.

CYCLADIC IDOL SOLD BY TAJAN IN PARIS
Yet another fine Cycladic idol appeared for sale this season. But this time, at the Tajan antiquities sale in Paris of 30 October 2002, it was virtually complete, beyond obvious repairs at the neck and legs (Fig 28). Again of the Late Spedos type, c. 2700-2400 BC, Early Bronze Age II, h. 33.5cm, it was sold by N. Koutoulakis in the 1960s. Estimated at 125,000-155,000 Euros, it was reacquired by his son, E. Koutoulakis, for 182,200 Euros ($180,350). The expert for Tajan, Daniel Lebeurrier, is planning his next sale for 28 March 2003.

Contrary to what was published in our Spring 2002 Antiquities Sales report (Minerva, Sept/Oct 2002), Christie’s Paris did not hold an antiquities sale in November or December 2002 and, in fact, has decided not to hold any antiquity sales in Paris for the time being. Therefore, the expert Jean-Philippe de Serres, has brought his consignments to Plasa, who are planning to conduct a sale on 17-18 March. Mr de Serres had already served as the expert for Plasa for the Aphrodite Freus sold this past June (see Minerva, Sept/Oct 2002, p. 32), but is best known for the excellent series of sales he produced from 1994-2001 for François de Ricqlès (now associated with Christie’s Paris).

Fig 26. Large marble portrait head of a Potinotic queen, perhaps Berenike II (wife of Ptolemy III), 246-222 BC. H. 38 cm.

Fig 27 (below left). Jewish basalt, column capital, crudely carved on each side with a seven-branched menora in relief. Probably from a synagogue; c. 4th-5th century AD. H. 25.1 cm.

Fig 28 (right). Cycladic idol of the Late Spedos type. Early Bronze Age II, c. 2700-2400 BC. H. 33.5 cm.
For many years, research on Viking-age Wales has been hampered by the hitherto largely invisible character of sites in the archaeological record: only five definitely fall between the mid-9th and mid-10th centuries. Most of the known secular settlements belong to a limited and special range of categories - small hillforts and undefended high-status settlements - that can, in reality, only represent a fraction of the settlement hierarchy of this period.

In 1998, Mike Aston (Dec., pp. 49-51) reported on the remarkable finds from a Viking-age enclosed settlement at Llanbedr Goch on the Isle of Anglesey, which have provided a breakthrough in our perception of settlement in North Wales during this period. There have since been further four seasons of excavation at the site, and the results have been no less spectacular, enabling the excavation team from the Department of Archaeology and Numismatics at the National Museums and Galleries of Wales to refine their understanding of the site.

The site is situated in a sheltered location on a free-draining limestone slope, about 1000m from the sea, a short route from the sandy haven of Red Wharf Bay (Fig 1). One important discovery has been evidence for the replacement of the enclosure bank with a massive solid dry-stone wall at some point in the 9th century, 'upgrading' the perimeter into a defensive structure with sufficient height and width to carry a wall walk. The excavations have also established that, during the second half of the 9th and the 10th centuries, the interior contained a larger number of rectangular buildings of silt-wall construction than previously thought. Some buildings were ranged along the inside face of the defensive wall.

The probability that the site provided a base for a community, rather than one extended family, is supported by the discovery in August 2000 of a paved road 3m wide, constructed with raised kerbs on either side, which would have provided a direct, easy access between Building 1 and an early medieval fresh-water spring pool to the south (Fig 2). This road appears to have formed a north-south thoroughfare across the site. The nature of its construction suggests that similar areas of limestone paving dis-covered in 1998 may also represent arterial routes off this main axis. One such route may have run to a building ranged inside the wall on the eastern side of the enclosure.

The above features point to a degree of planning during the 9th and early 10th centuries, and represent a new type of settlement for Viking-age Wales - a low-lying, fortified multi-functional centre, whose Viking-period artefacts clearly place it within an Irish Sea milieu. Forming the largest early medieval assemblage from North Wales, the artefacts shed considerable light on the material culture of the southern shore of the Irish Sea. They have provided evidence for the everyday function and economy of the settlement, such as the working of leather (awl and socketed tools), antler, and metals (silver, copper alloy, lead, iron), the essential farming nature of the settlement (quernstones, grain, animal bone), and its involvement in trading activities (back-silver, lead weights): finds which offer a means of assessing the degree to which Scandinavian culture was assimilated into the society of north Wales. The site appears to have

**Fig 1. Reconstruction of the enclosure at Llanbedr Goch in the early 10th century. The interior appears to have been well organised, with ditched divisions, but the complete layout is not yet known. The huge enclosure wall at Llanbedr Goch reflects the prosperity of the owner and may have been constructed in the time of Rhodri Mawr (844-99) or his sons in response to Viking pressure.**

**Fig 2 (below right). The early medieval spring pool (at left) and post-medieval well-house foundation (at right), excavated in 2001.**

attracted craftsmen and merchants as a component of Scandinavian economic and cultural activities in the Irish Sea area. The role of Scandinavian settlers and traders is not straight forward, but some objects recovered from Llanbedrog heu the unmistakable mark of the Hiberno-Norse style, typical of the Irish Sea area, such as the off-cuts of silver ingot and arm-rings, decorated merchants' weights, ringed pins, and buckles.

During 1998, human remains of two individuals were uncovered in the upper fill of the enclosure ditch, on the western side of the enclosure, immediately outside the postern gate. Contrary to usual Christian practice, the skeletons were oriented north-south. Burial 1, a young woman about 20 years old, was extended on her back, with slightly flexed legs; an adolescent, about 17 years old (Burial 2) lay to her west in partial disarticulation, lying on the left side. Both individuals appear to have been buried at about the same time beneath a rough pile of stones in this unusual location, rather than in the local cemetery. Had we at last come face to face with witnesses to the Vikings on Anglesey? Initial high resolution carbon dating of Burial 1 suggested that there was a 95% probability that death occurred between 770-970. The following year, excavations established that at least three more individuals had been buried nearby in the same ditch fill and similarly without any trace of a cremation or a cremation mound (Figs 4-7). Once again, their orientation was north-south rather than east-west. A young child, about 10 years old (Burial 4) was found in the upper ditch fill, orientated with head to south and feet to north (radiocarbon dated to AD 960-1040). A much older female, about 25-35 years old (Burial 3) had been thrown directly on top of this adolescent, this time with the head to the north (Figs 4-6). Burial 3 has been radiocarbon dated to AD 790-990. To judge from the unusual positions of the arms, the adult's wrists may have been tied behind the back, and he may have suffered a blow to the left eye with a sharp object. An older adult male found nearby, 35-45 years old (Burial 5), may also have had his wrists fastened, but this time in front of his body.

All the bodies appear to have been placed in shallow graves, which probably utilised the depression caused by the by-now silted up enclosure ditch, and may have been interred at the same time, or within a short time of each other. Assuming that they form a coherent cemetery group, and that Burials 3 and 4 are exactly contemporary, radiocarbon dates for all five skeletons indicate that it is likely that burials 1-4 occurred during the second half of the 10th century. This chronology is supported by other radiocarbon dates. Charcoal recovered from the underlying ditch fill has given a calibrated radiocarbon date of AD 620-775, confirming that the ditch was siting up during the preceding century, and rubble over the burials has been added to AD 970-1225.

Four of the faces have been re-created by facial anthropologist Caroline Wilkinson of the Unit of Art in Medicine, University of Manchester (Fig 7). The skulls had all been crushed (post-mortem), and during re-assembly missing areas have been replaced using plastic modelling wax. All show a number of similar features, which include horizontal eye fissures, supra-orbital notches (above the eyes), ambiguous nasal guttering, square jaws, adherent ears (no lobes), and a wide flattered nasal bone. Some of these suggest genetic relationship between the skulls, either familial or because the individuals originate from a small gene pool. The circumstances of burial and lack of Christian orientation have led to speculation that they were victims of a Viking raid in their prime for wealth, which could take many forms: bullion, livestock, hostages, or slaves.

Another intriguing feature within the enclosure, excavated in 2000 and 2001, was a slab-lined rectangular pool or spring reservoir of early medieval date, found beneath a post-medieval layer of compacted rubble, which was associated with the outfall of a post-medieval well-house. The early medieval spring pool was roughly oval in plan, and measured approximately 4.7m in length and 4m in width (Fig 2). The surviving early medieval lenses of grey till and sand, 30cm deep, contained large quantities of animal bone, the end of a silver ingot (hack-silver), a copper-alloy pin with wrythen-decorated globular head, ironwork, and a punch-decorated folded strip of tin. Two simple dry-stone steps had been carefully constructed against slabs lining the northern side of the pool, and would have provided easy access to the water. A radiocarbon date of AD 670-880 from the lower slits suggests that construction of the stone-lined pool occurred during the period when the circular Slavic burial was found only 40m to the east of the spring and some 10m north of the assumed course of its outfall stream.

While a diversity of documentary, annalistic, and sculptural evidence can be combined to suggest the presence of a small number of early-medieval ecclesiastical foundations in Wales, and hint at some regionally significant secular settlements, firm evidence for the character of either during the 9th and 10th centuries has been limited, and Llanbedrog is now helping to fill in the picture. The site was not readily visible from the sea, but like Aberffraw on the west coast of Anglesey (famously associated with the principal royal settlement of the kingdom of Gwynedd from the 7th century, and raided by Vikings in 968), it was able to take full advantage of its seaboard location as a trading centre in an Irish Sea milieu.

To judge from palaeoenvironmental evidence found so far, which points to the continuing importance of sampling at the site, Llanbedrog does not appear to fall within the category of 'specialised coastal trading place' sites as in Scandinavia, where agrarian economy was secondary to other activities. However, the massive dry stone wall is of considerable strength and the planning of its construction (and that of the interior) during the 9th century must have reflected the prosperity of the settlement, and the existence of secular wealth as a target for raiders. The available dating suggests that the construction of the wall took place in the time of Rhydwen I (944-78) or his son, and raises the possibility of a royal hand in the work, possibly in response to Viking pressure (coinciding with the onset of Viking raids on North Wales from the 850s recorded in the Welsh annals). Stone walls are well known around enclosed but groups on Anglesey, such as Pant-y-saer and Din Lligwy, and although much earlier in date they demonstrate a native building tradition on the island. However, the Llanbedrog perimeter wall is substantially larger and corresponds more closely to structures recorded in Ireland, such as those surrounding secular and ecclesiastical sites in Co. Kerry. The similarities with Irish walls are limited, however, for the Llanbedrog example encompasses a much larger area than Irish ring forts (casbhs), which tend to have diameters of only 20-25m. It also lacks evidence for other architectural characteristics found at stone forts in western Ireland, such as interior terracing, mural steps, intramural chambers and ceocheas de frise.

Both as an expression of power and a display of social position, the enclosure walls also suggest the presence of sufficient secular wealth to form an attractive target, and in functional terms may have been intended to repel lightning raids. The site may also have profited from its strategic position, guarding and controlling access from the important landing place on the

All illustrations courtesy of the National Museum of Wales. Fig. 1 reconstruction by Tony Daly.
west side of Red Wharf Bay, astride an east-west route across to Aberffraw.

The artefactual evidence supports the hypothesis that Llanbedrog was the site of a pre-Viking caput in the 9th century, though there is little direct evidence yet that it operated as a commercial or trading site of extra-regional significance. During the late 9th and early 10th century the site's potential as a trading post and 'central place' appears to have developed and intensified with the opening up of maritime commerce and the development of trading places around the Irish Sea. Indeed, the fortifications and hack-silver hint at a fiscal and administrative role, perhaps toll collection, besides trade: a centre to which the population would have rendered payments.

Questions regarding the degree of integration of Scandinavians settlers and native Welsh are raised by the occurrence of certain artefact types, which include a fragment of an oval brooch. The displacement of Viking leaders from Dublin in the early 10th century had repercussions around the Irish Sea, so that by the middle of the century its seaboard supported in some respects a single 'None' community of fashion or culture. The extent of a Viking political presence in Wales is more problematic. There is no evidence for an equivalent to the Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, but there

was arguably Viking hegemony in north Wales in the 10th century (and possibly earlier for short periods). Some leaders had strong Welsh connections, and they ruled in Anglesey and mainland Gwynedd for a period.

Viking sacking of the site and possible take-over for a short period are distinct possibilities. In the 970s and 980s, the Man-based sons of Harald were effectively controlling Gwynedd, and may have had bases on Anglesey in the 980s. Magnus Haraldrsson and his brother Guthruth made efforts to gain political control of Anglesey, which they raided in 971 (ravaging Penmon, 980, and 987 (the battle of Manu was won by Asalt's son and the Danes, and a thousand slain there). According to the annals, Guthruth seized as many as 2000 men from Anglesey. The radiocarbon dates for the burials found at Llanbedrog belong to this period, and may be archaeological evidence for activity of this sort, reflecting the impact of Viking military power, backed by a capacity to range across the Irish Sea, which enabled them to take tribute.

While analysis of the results from the excavations is in its early stages, and conservation of many of the thousands of artefacts has yet to be completed, Llanbedrog is already modifying our perception of Viking-age Wales.

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Fig 4 (left). Burials 3 and 4 (adult and young adolescent, at left) and 5 (adult, at right), outside the defensive wall, during excavations in 1999. All displayed signs of casual and rapid burial.

Fig 7 (below right). The facial reconstructions of (from left to right) Burials 3, 5, 4 and 2 at Llanbedrog, by Dr Caroline Wilkinson (2002), cast in bronze.

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Spillings Coin Hoard

THE SPILLINGS VIKING COIN HOARDS

Inger Hammarberg and Gert Rispling

The circumstances of the discovery of the Viking coin hoards from Spillings, Öster parishes, Gotland (Sweden), have been described previously in Minerva's readers (Jan/Feb 2003, pp. 46-47). Weighing 65 kg the two silver and one bronze hoard are the largest Viking-age treasures in the world. Most of it comprises jewellery and other non-monetary silver, but 17 kg is composed of about 14,300 coins. Spillings is the largest 20th century Viking coin hoard. Hoard I contains 4100 coins and Hoard II, found 3m away, 9200 coins. The deposits are chronologically identical, so are currently being examined as a single hoard. The Royal Coin Cabinet has the responsibility for studying the coins and the Museum of National Antiquities (both in Stockholm) for the other objects. The entire assemblages will be exhibited permanently in Gotland County Museum, Visby.

The hard work of cleaning and identifying the coins has begun. The objects suffer from serious soil corrosion. Thousands of coins will not be properly restored, despite the careful work of the conservation curator, Sophie Nyström. At present, 200 coins from Hoard I and 3000 from Hoard II have been identified and catalogued. As many as 87% are cut or broken into fragments, many of which are tiny. Normally, finds from Gotland - the richest region for Viking finds - are almost always in good condition, due to the calciferous ground, and the number of coin fragments are usually insignificant. Nearly all the coins come from distant countries. On the way they have been dehumidified, changed into silver objects valued by weight. Coins, rings, bracelets, and necklaces, whole or in pieces, were used in barter to buy objects of different value. This stimulated the development of a money economy. Islamic silver coins, dirhams, dominated in the Northern Lands until c. AD 970. In the 990s, the Anglo-Saxon and German coins were imported in great numbers. The deposition of the Spillings treasure probably took place in the 870s, perhaps through concealment under the floor of a house.

The hoards' composition is very interesting and many unique or very rare objects have been found (only a few can be accounted for here). The oldest coin dates back to 539, the most recent one to 870/71. There are, for example, four Nordic pennies from southern Scandinavia, probably struck at Hedeby (Haitthabu) c. 825 or later. During the Viking age Hedeby was Denmark's most important emporium. Two are imitations of Charlemagne deniers of the Dorestad type. Two other Nordic pennies depict a radiant face on one side, and a deer on the other (Fig 1).

It is quite astonishing that only one Byzantine coin has been found, a milliariaton, struck at Constantinople in the 830s for the emperor Theophilius (Fig 2). Byzantine coins are uncommon in Viking hoards as the coin stream ran not via Byzantium but further east.

The remainder of the hoard composition is oriental. A few are of Persian type (Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian). The bulk is Islamic (Arabic or Kufic). There are also Islamic-type coins that do not originate from the Islamic Empire, but are imitations from North Africa and Russia. Quite a few may be attributed to the Khazar kingdom, north of the Caucasus.

Islamic dirhams

A thorough coin-reform was carried out in the year 79 of the Islamic calendar, AD 698-99. With reference to the Koran and Islamic traditions, pictures of living creatures were forbidden. On the coin's of the Umayyad dynasty, lengthy quotations from the Koran were introduced, as well as mint and hijra date (Fig 3). The Abbasid dynasty came into power in AH 132/AD 749. The Abbasid coin (Fig 4) is an example of the largest group of coins from the Spillings hoard. Once the centre of Islam moved from Damascus and Syria to Iraq during this period, coinage was produced at Baghdad (God's gift) from AH 146/AD 763 onwards. Only Baghdad's Arabic name - Madinat al-Salam (City of Peace) - is found on the coins. The most important mint in Islam is also the most frequent mint in Spillings.

The history of Islam is full of conflicts: Sunnis and Shites interpreted Islam differently. According to Shia, the Prophet's son-in-law Ali (the fourth orthodox caliph) and his descendants represent the true Islam. Religious conflict between these two orders threatened the Islamic Empire at the beginning of the 9th century. In an attempt to appease the Shites, the (Sunni) caliph, al-Manun, appointed a Shiite imam, Ali al-Rida, as the next caliph. This decision caused civil war. At the time of the controversial appointment, the caliph stayed in the
Spillings Coin Hoard

Fig 5. Abbassid coin, Marw (Turkmenistan), AH 202/AD 817-18. Inscriptions: A, B, C, D, G. Diam. 30 mm.


Inger Hamm- arberg is Deputy Keeper, Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm. Gert Riislin is curator, Gotland County Museum, Visby.

The 10th. Only the Khazars are of relevance here. Thanks to its favourable location, the Khazar Khaganate was able to exploit commerce between Muslim merchants, Vikings and other northerners, taking titles and starting a silver coinage. The purpose of imitating Islamic dirhams was to make use of their good reputation as a means of payment. Both profit as well as prestige played a part in coinage imitations.

Die Chains
When attributing imitations, a die-chain provides the ultimate evidence. A die-link is created as soon as one of the dies - not the upper one - is proved by another, due to damage, etc. All the coins found to link in a die-chain may be presumed to have the same origin (until the opposite is proven). A die-chain recorded in Stockholm proved useful in establishing the identity of several imitations in Spillings. The chain includes two obverse dies with the mint-name Arn al-Khazar (The Land of the Khazars) and the date AH 223 (AD 837-38; Fig 6).

The Moses Coin
One of the spillings coins (Fig 7) has a most remarkable Arabic inscription: Mūsā rasūl Allāh ‘Moses is the messenger of God’. The Moses inscription is a direct Islamic parallel to Jewish creed, Muhammad being the messenger of God, which is so common on Islamic coins. It is explained by the fact that the coin was minted in the Islamic fundamental need for the sense of the word - issued by Baghdad caliphs - but an imitation manufactured in the Jewish Khazar Khaganate. For some reason, this coin received an extra inscription, which was not copied. Several literary sources in Arabic, Hebrew, and other languages inform us about the conversion of the Khazar Khagan and his court to Judaism (c. AD 740 or 800). Archaeological excavations on sites in Russia have apparently not uncovered any Jewish artefacts, which could confirm the statements of the literary sources. Although there had been no reason to question these, the Moses coin from Spillings greatly complements this evidence, whilst also being of numismatic value because it strengthens the theory of the Khazar origin of the imitations.

North African Imitations
The language on the Islamic coins is classical Arabic, except - very seldom - the date. A pseudo-Abbasid dirham from North Africa (Fig 8) reveals that the kind of Arabic spoken in Egypt today already existed in the 830s. The date AH 217 is written in dialect: ‘sarab sabat čañar wi-nišn’ (but the word order is classical). Few linguistic documents are as early as this coin, which was circulating in c. 840 (terminus post quem dating, based on the most recent coin in the hoard). A piece of the same type, but not from the same dies, has been found in Sinaw, Oman.

Conclusions
In all, 85,000 oriental coins have been found in Sweden. The 9th century hoards are fewer and smaller than those of the 10th century. The research potential of Spillings is enormous and will lead to a transformed picture of the relationship between the 8th and 9th centuries.

Seen on an annual basis, the mint output in the Caliphate in 700-815 was uneven, but generally very high. Spillings confirms this picture, as well as the weak mint output of the 9th century. The find quantities are partly different: higher. Spillings has higher annual average figures for this period than in earlier periods in the hoards. The high proportion of coins from the latest decades is also evident in the die-identical coins in Spillings. They are all new coins and all come from the northernmost mints, like Tashkent, Samarkand, and Armenia. The coins in Spillings were transported out of the Caliphate from Armenia and the Caucasus. The Nordic coins would have been added before the treasure was deposited.

COIN LEGENDS

Obverse
A. Field: There is no god but Allah alone. He has no associate.
B. Inner circular legend: In the name of Allah! This silver coin was struck at (mint and hijra date).
C. Outer circular legend: Allah is the command before and after, and on that day the believers shall rejoice in Allah’s support.

Reverse
D. Circular legend: Muhammad is the apostle of Allah. He sent his apostle with the guidance and the true religion, in order to make it triumph over every religion, even if the polytheists should resent it.
E. Field: Allah is the only one, Allah the everlasting. He did not beget and is not begotten, and none is his equal.
F. Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.
G. To God! Muhammad is the messenger of God. Al-Ma’mûn is the caliph of God. [This coin was struck] By the command of Amir al-Ridd, authorised by the Muslim community as heir-apparent, [whose full name is] Ali, son of Mūsá, son of Ali bin Abi Tālib.
H. To God! Muhammad is the apostle of God. God bless him and grant him salvation! Caliph al-Mahdi.
I. Moses is the messenger of God.

(God = Allah; messenger = apostle.)

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Jerome M. Eisenberg
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EYPT 2000 BC: THE BIRTH OF INDIVIDUALISM
Prof. Dr Dietrich Wildung
An 8-page review (Minerva May/June 2000) of an important exhibition of Middle Kingdom Egyptian art by the Director of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin.

THE LOST CITY OF ANTIQUITY
Christine Konsmann
A 10-page review in Minerva (Sept/Oct 2000) of the first international exhibition about Antiquity, described by the organizer and curator.

GOLDEN TOMB: ANCIENT EGYPT
Andrew S. Baker
An 8-page review (Minerva May/June 2000) of the largest exhibition of the British Museum's distinguished holdings ever made available to an audience outside its own gallery.

THE QUEST FOR IMMORTALITY
Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.
An 8-page review (Minerva July/Aug 2002) of the major international travelling exhibition, mounted solely from Egyptian sources, and originating at the National Gallery of Washington.

ETERNAL EGYPT: MASTERWORKS OF ANCIENT ART FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM
Edna R. Russmann
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11-14 March. FRITZ RUDOLF KUNKER, Osnabrück. Tel: (49) 541 962-020. E-mail: info@kunker.de. Website: www.kunker.com.

13 March. SPINK, London. Tel: (44) 20 7256 4000. E-mail: info@spinksoncom.com. Website: www.spink-online.com.

15 March. JEAN ELSEN, Brussels. Tel: (32) 2 734 6356. E-mail: numismatique@elsen.be. Website: www.elsen.be.

19 March. DIX NOONAN WEBB, The New Continental Rooms, Great Queen Street, London WC2. Tel: (44) 20 7499 5022. E-mail: auctions@dnew.co.uk. Website: www.dnew.co.uk.

27 March. VICO, Madrid. Tel: (34) 91 431 88 07.

10-11 April. MUNZEN UND MEDAILLEN, Stuttgart. Tel: (49) 711 244-457.

23 - 26 April. DR BUSSO PEUS NACHF, Frankfurt. Tel: (49) 69 959 66 20. E-mail: info@peus-muenzen.de. Website: www.peus-muenzen.de.

25-26 April. PONTEIRO & ASSOCIATES, Chicago. Tel: (1) 619 299 0400. E-mail: coins@ponteiro.com. Website: www.ponteiro.com.

6 May. LEU NUMISMATIK, Zürich. Tel: (41) 1 211 47 72.

EXHIBITIONS

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DUBLIN

AIRGEAD: A THOUSAND YEARS OF IRISH COINS AND CURRENCY. A permanent exhibition tells the story of coins and money in Ireland from the 10th century to the present day. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND (353) 1 677-7444 (www.museum.ie). Permanent.

FRANCE

BLOIS, Loir-et-Cher

THE HISTORY OF COINS. MUSÉE DE BLOIS CHATEAU (33) 234 76 06 62. Until 28 April.

ITALY

AOSTA

THE COIN COLLECTION OF ANDREA PAUTASSO. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO REGIONALE (39) 1 65 238-663. Ongoing.

SWITZERLAND

GENEVA

A THOUSAND AND ONE DENARIUS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. A generous new donation, a large collection of Roman silver coins, is now on display in the museum's Roman Rooms. Dating from 280-43 BC, the collection is enhanced in this new exhibition by rare gold coins and carved gems from the museum's collections, together with other objects linked to the period and to the iconography of the coins. MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE VILLE DE GENEVE (41) 22 418 26 00 (www.mahl.ville-ge.ch). Permanent.

UNIFIED KINGDOM

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THE WILLIAM CONTE COLLECTION. One of the finest collections of Norman and Angevin coins, dating from 1066 to 1279. 750 coins including many unique and very rare examples. FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM (44) 1223 332-915. E-mail: fitzmu-seum-coins@lists.cam.ac.uk. Ongoing.

OXFORD

THE ROTHSCHILD COLLECTION OF ANCIENT COINS. ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OF ART & ARCHAEOLOGY (44) 1865 278-000 (www.ashmol.ox.ac.uk). 30 April - 27 July.

LONDON

BRIEF LIVES, CURRENCIES OF WESTERN EUROPE. Modern coinage, currencies, and values presented in comparison with their predecessors. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 20 7323 8525 (www.britishmuseum.ac.uk). Ongoing.

TREASURE FROM THE SALCOMBE CANNON SITE. A remarkable collection of shipwrecked Moroccan metal excavated off north-west England, including 400 gold coins (1510-1636) and jewellery, has returned to public display following significant restoration. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 20 7323 8525 (www.britishmuseum.ac.uk). Ongoing.
Book Reviews

Copper and Bronze in Art: Corrosion, Colorants, Conservation
David A. Scott

In this book David Scott has given us a detailed review of the corrosion and corrosion products of copper (nine chapters), followed by a chapter on bronze patinas, and a chapter on conservation treatments. There are four appendices and two indexes.

I turned first to the 'patinas' chapter, which starts with a discussion of the work of Cyril Stanley Smith, the foremost metallurgist and philosopher ever to have applied his mind to ancient metals, and covers historical views of patination from Pliny in the 1st century AD to Penny in 1993. The question of whether bronzes were deliberately patinated in antiquity is discussed, but a major problem is that so many of our finest classical bronzes have been in museums or private collections for generations: the history of their surface treatment since excavation is undocumented and thus unknown. The chapter includes a description of some scientific studies of ancient bronzes carried out by the author, which are good examples of what a scientist in a museum can achieve.

The last chapter covers conservation, and to many readers this will prove the most important. It is, however, not a simple account of process. The author is more concerned with the history of the treatment of bronzes and the effect that these treatments have had on the present appearance of the bronzes in question. The earliest scientifically researched treatments, developed in Germany in the second half of the 19th century, concentrated on the complete removal of patina and corrosion products. This preoccupation created a stranglehold on the emerging profession of conservation, and numerous bronzes were ruined from an aesthetic point of view. As x-radiography became more widely available from the 1980s, conservators learned the usefulness of the technique for revealing the depth and extent of the corrosion layer. Guided by this information, those few conservators who were lucky enough to have access to a radiography set up could make better-informed decisions about the wisdom of stripping methods.

The core of this tome is the first nine chapters dealing with the corrosion process and all the different types of corrosion products which can occur, from chlorides to carbonates and sulphates to silicates. The effect of different soil conditions, human habitation, and, of course, the atmosphere are all discussed, as each plays its part in what products are eventually formed on the surface of a bronze. I remember being told in a school chemistry lesson in the 1950s that bronze statues in seaside towns corrode to basic copper sulphate and those in inland cities corrode to basic copper carbonate. If only the real situation was so simple. In recent years, the interest in 'outdoor art' and, in particular, war memorials, has led to considerable new research on the behaviour of bronze in the open air. Scott has provided an excellent review of the latest ideas.

There is a good selection of colour photographs of bronzes, many of which are now famous 'icons', such as the head of the Emperor Hadrian in the British Museum and the huge statue of the Buddha at Kamakura in Japan. The coloured plates are excellent but are a pity and seems rather parsiimonious given the lavish production standard of the book as a whole. The white photographs are rather rare in the rest of the text. This is a pity, and more illustrations would have significantly added to the usefulness of the volume.

This, however, is a fairly minor complaint given the thoroughness with which David Scott has treated his subject. The book is a mine of information and a necessary addition to all museum libraries, especially that of the conservation department, as it is an excellent review of past and current practice in the conservation of bronzes, which should be read by every metals conservator as an aide memoire, and by every curator or collector as a guide to what is possible. It will find particular use as a text book for students and will tell them all they need to know - and much, much more. Dr Andrew Oddly, formerly Keeper of Conservation, The British Museum.

Prehistoric Pottery in Britain and Ireland
Alex Gibson

At a rather theoretical conference a few years ago I was horrified to hear a probably bright young research student voice the opinion that we have little or nothing left to learn from prehistory. That is not to say that the (now very old equation, ceramic assemblages = cultural groups, is outdated, and that the learning by rote of endless stratigraphic sequences and their attendant pottery styles was notostufifying. However, the trend towards the study of pure theory has contributed to a serious knowledge gap; latterly students have not had sufficient opportunity to handle the raw materials of their trade, and fragments of received wisdom have endured beyond their shelf-life.

In his new book Alex Gibson teaches us the value of ceramic studies, and shows us how to think outside the box. It is not an 'I spy' book of pot styles, although he takes the reader through form and decoration from the Neolithic of Britain and Ireland to the Roman Conquest. Pots contain invaluable information in terms of economy and technology. Decorative fibre impressions, cereal impressions and organic residues add further dimensions to the study of times and places otherwise ill served by accident of preservation. We also have social and ideological meaning; holistic study of the vessels, their condition and their context has much to reveal. Gibson warns the student not to jump to simplistic conclusions, and this lesson is particularly apparent in the technology section, where the pitfalls in the complexities of fabric, temper, firing, and forming techniques are examined.

A great deal is packed into 160 pages, but although densely written and grounded in academic rigour, the book is always accessible, immensely readable, and thankfully free of impenetrable jargon. Artefacts are the building blocks of history; this book goes a long way towards restoring them to their rightful place in the study of our past.

Gillian Vennell,
Department of Prehistory and Early Europe, The British Museum.

Mycenae, Agamemnon's Capital
Elizabeth French

The bibliography on Mycenae is as extensive as the site itself. It begins with Homer, includes Pausanias and other ancient sources, moves swiftly through the works of travellers and explorers, and then becomes extraordinarily dense from the beginning of the age of excavation. Major and minor campaigns of work and publication have been carried out by a number of scholars more or less continuously from the time of Heinrich Schliemann, to the present day. Excavation reports, publications of finds, general works, and specialist studies of various aspects of the site abound, in an array that is a rich resource for researchers, but perhaps rather difficult for the more general reader, who might scarcely know where to start.

What an excellent idea, then, to publish a handbook such as this: a
brisk, comprehensive and up-to-date account of the site in an accessible form. It will find an immediate audience among school pupils studying Mycenae as part of the National Curriculum, among students taking courses on Aegean prehistory, and certainly, too, among travellers who wish to visit the site with an informed mind. That it will also be used by specialists is assured by the fact that it is written by Elizabeth French, an authority whose own active connection with the site, as she tells us in the introduction, goes back an impressive 60 years. Dr French, then, knows Mycenae backwards. She is in an unparalleled position to write an account such as this, and does it with characteristic no-nonsense thoroughness. An introduction to the geographical setting of the site is followed by an account of its mythology and a brief history of excavation, then the main body of the book is arranged chronologically, taking the story of Mycenae from the earliest traces of human occupation through to the Roman period. Naturally most attention is given to the greatest Mycenaean age of the 14th and 13th centuries BC. Chapters outside the main chronological sweep are entitled ‘The excavated structures within the citadel’, ‘The Mycenaean world’, and ‘The economy and daily life’, and a short but useful section on the contents of the long-awaited site museum at Mycenae, now under preparation, ends the work.

The emphasis is on description rather than interpretation, as indeed it must be if all the information is to be compressed into this scale. Interpretative comments are made judiciously throughout, with the results of recent research and areas of controversy noted. One senses that the author wishes to give ‘those writing co-ordinates’ (as she avowed audiences) the unadorned facts as revealed by excavation, without too much superstructure of personal interpretation. This is an eminently practical approach, and one that provides all her readers with an account of the site firmly rooted in what is really known.

Having recently grappled with the problem of chronology in a book for a general audience, this reviewer was interested (and relieved) to note that French sticks here with the traditional absolute chronology. She tells us this decision was made somewhat to her surprise, but I agree that the arguments for the upward-adjustment of the date of the eruption of Thera, though powerful, are not yet over-riding, and traditional synchronisms with Egypt must still be given weight. The last word has perhaps not been spoken on chronology, but the approach found here is probably the best we can do at present. The book, appropriately for its format, does not have footnotes, and contains only a brief but serviceable bibliography and index. Illustrations are mostly drawn from the ‘Mycenae Archive’. They include some well-known works by artists who over the years have worked for the British School at Athens. It must be said that the drawings, paintings and black and white photographs are rather more successfully reproduced than the colour photographs, which seem to have become somewhat washed out in the reproduction process. This is not primarily a picture-book, though, and no information of value is lost.

In conclusion, this is a most useful book. It is timely, and fills a gap in the existing literature; it has a sure-footed sense of its purpose. It is, being paperback, it is light. I would imagine that copies of it will not only be found on many bookshelves, but will also frequently be carried round the site that it describes and explains so well.

J. Leslie Pittan, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum

The Roman House in Britain

Dominic Perring


This book is a must for any student or professional archaeologist specialising in the study of the Roman house. It includes a wide range of subjects rarely dealt with collectively, highlighting how the buildings and their rooms were used, and the social interaction that took place within them. It begins by describing various Roman house types of the Mediterranean and how the British house was modified, adopted, and evolved from, their architecture; the native aristocracy used architecture to define their position within the new social order. Buildings described include round houses, aisled buildings, town houses, and country villas. A major section deals with building techniques and how these were adapted over time; it is a subject not touched upon seriously since Norman Davey’s A History of Building Materials (1961), but has the benefit of incorporating the results of modern urban excavations. Appearance and superstructures are considered. Other major subjects deal with decoration, the meaning of mosaics, and evidence from their schemes and decoration for Gnostic belief and imagery. Devotees of the cult mastered secrets and sacraments that revealed the soul’s way out of the world. This is a contentious, thought provoking subject.

Another important chapter deals with the admittance to the house, its orientation and aspect, the relationship of the rooms to the entrances, porticos and corridors, and garden terraces. Perring demonstrates a linear progression from the front entrance to the principal...
rooms at the rear of the properties with clearly defined focal points, where rooms could be accessed or views of the gardens obtained. The layout was designed to impress and the procession- nal architecture to mediate between the thresholds of natural and human domains - further ritual connotations on subjects that were once believed to be purely utilitarian.

Audience chambers, reception rooms, halls, and baths are much discussed and possible links to Gnostic-Christian ritual addressed. Perring believes that octagonal cold plunge baths in villas influenced the design of church baptisteries, but possibly much exaggerates dolphins on mosaics as relating to a Christian trend, quoting the cupid and dolphin mosaic from Fishbourne as an example. However, this is just one of several third period mosaics with aquatic themes from Fishbourne and with stylistic links to many mid-2nd century pavements in the south-east of Britain and Gaul; its relatively early date therefore probably rules out Gnostic-Christian associations. Other subjects addressed include the living arrangements, household size and family structure, inheritance and ownership, ballifs and tenants. Perring tries to show how elite society in Britain embraced Roman architecture and so embraced the Roman social order.

The book is a testament to Perring's insight into Roman architecture and the function of space. Although much is controversial, the new ideas will expand our knowledge and encourage field archaeologists to seek supporting evidence. It is regrettable that some silly spelling errors are indicative of hasty editing and the line art is often ruined by a too low scanning resolution. Nevertheless, the book is a vital contribution to Romano-British studies.

David S. Neal, FSA

**Alfred Maudslay and the Maya**

Ian Graham


In the last few years there has been a remarkable increase in the number of books published on the Maya, not least those on the decipherment of Maya hieroglyphs. The Old World has become very perceptive of this most important of New World civilisations. What has been noticeably lacking, however, is a biography of the man who must be recognised as the 'founding father' of Maya studies - Alfred Maudslay (1850-1931). It was in the early 1880s that Maudslay arrived in Guatemala, home of the Maya civilisation, after a spell in colonial service in the South Seas. Totally captivated by what he found, he began to record carefully the enigmatic and undeciphered Maya hieroglyph inscriptions, make plaster casts of large stone monuments, and compile accurate maps of the sites. Not least, concerning the conditions in which he worked, his publication of large size glass photographic negatives of the monuments are an absolute tour de force of clarity and early photographic technique for such monuments deep in the jungle. Today they are priceless records of no other method or managed monuments. His five volumes of *Botanica Centrali-Americana*. (London, 1889-1902), full of photos, drawings, plans and detailed text, stand alongside earlier great works such as the *Description de l’Egype* (2nd edition, 1826), and scholars must continually turn back to them - his are still an essential foundation for Maya studies.

Dr Ian Graham has, in many respects, taken on the cloak of Maudslay, both literally and metaphorically, having spent over 40 years exploring and recording the Maya. In this time he has seen terrible things happen both to the monuments and to their guardians at the hands of looters. It is Dr Graham's work, building on Maudslay, that laid the modern foundations leading to the recent decipherment of the Maya pictographic script. There is no better place than here to write the biography of Maudslay, in so many respects an extraordinary man. His incredible (almost Indiana Jones-like) life in the Guatemalan jungle is truth that is stranger than fiction. Many of Maudslay's own photographs are a major feature of the book.

Maudslay's influence (or ghost?) still lingered in the British Museum, where his negatives are kept, into the 1970s when warden staff still referred to a room then holding medieval antiquities by its old name as 'The Maudslay Room'. Dr Graham has done a great service for Maya studies in writing a lively biography and putting flesh on its previously somewhat shadowy founding father figure.

Peter A. Clayton

**Digging Holes in Popular Culture: Archaeology and Science Fiction**

Edited by Miles Russell


Expanding upon a session of the Theoretical Archaeology Conference of 1997, this volume ranges from socio-

logical analyses of Star Trek and Dr Who through proposing ways 'space debris' can be preserved and exploring the evidence of extraterrestrial civilisations. Several of the 14 papers are firmly rooted in the latest sociological theories, and express surprise that popular culture does not appreciate the routine aspects of archaeology. Indeed, it seems that focusing on the procession of film heroes, such as Indiana Jones or Lara Croft, is missing the point of why these characters are often dressed in few tight fitting clothes - are appreciated by teenaged audiences. For those who do not hold deconstructionist ideals and still believe that results of research are not wholly dictated by social constructs, a few papers are hard reading but the volume contains some papers that are very interesting.

Stephen Membury carefully pieces together the history of celluloid archaeology, displaying a detailed knowledge of films and a good sense of humour. In linking real life events, such as the discovery of Tut's tomb, to popular cinematic themes, he tells a history that many professionals would like to forget. For many not wishing to delve further into B movies, this paper can be considered definitive. The identification of archaeological stereotypes with real-life figures is covered by Miles Russell. Starting with Pitt Rivers (1827-1900) and Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976), with perhaps a heyday under Howard Carter (1874-1939), it is perhaps no surprise that there are rich sources for fiction.

Moving to a new theme, considering the evidence for extraterrestrial archaeology, Keith Matthews tackles a subject that frightens most professional archaeologists. Even a reputation for sane, balanced discussions of these issues may leave one hanging on a career ladder. One wonders if von Däniken's *Chariots of the Gods?* (1969) was countered by 'the establishment' earlier. It is therefore important to examine the history of UFO sightings to establish social norms, and go on to consider the evidence for artificial alteration of the moon and Mars. There is none better to consider alien monument archaeologist - who by training is inclined to use visual evidence - though one fears that the fringe may not read this paper. Serious archaeologists can also take note, there is much similar work left to be done.

In sum this book contains some well researched material which should be of general interest. Considering the varied nature of the subjects and presentations, however, the volume may be one to consult in a library rather than purchase outright.

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

BRIDPORT, Dorset
Currently in the process of acquiring several important collections. BRIDPORT MUSEUM (44) 1308 422-116. Permanent display.

BRISTOL

CAMBRIDGE
FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM COURTYARD DEVELOPMENT. During 2003 a building project will continue to improve access and facilities for visitors. The museum will remain open and the lower floor of the Founder's Building will display antiquities from Ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, as well as Roman and Roman-Egyptian, Cypriot, and Western Asiatic art. Parts of the collection will not be on display, and visitors are therefore advised to contact the museum in advance. FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM (44) 1223 332-908 (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk).

HULL, Yorkshire
REDEVELOPMENT OF HULL AND EAST RIDING MUSEUM. Following the launch of the magnificent new Roman Galleries, which display one of the UK's most famous collections of Roman mosaics and artefacts, the museum is currently in the process of adding Anglo-Saxon, medieval, geological and national history galleries; the final stage of redevelopment. The museum will therefore be closed to the public until Easter. HULL AND EAST RIDING MUSEUM (44) 1482 300 300 (www.hullcc.gov.uk). Permanent exhibition. (See MINERVA, Nov/Dec 2002, p.7.)

LONDON
ART OF THE EAST, one of the greatest exhibitions of Aztec culture ever seen. The spectacular works trace the life and times of the Aztecs, an extraordinary people, who in the space of only 90 years (from 1325 to 1521) created one of the most impressive civilisations in the world. ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS (44) 20 7300-8000 (www.royalacademy.org.uk). Until 11 April. Catalogue. (See MINERVA, Nov/Dec 2002, pp. 8-12.)


700 YEARS OF CHINESE JADE: FROM THE COLLECTION OF SIR JOSEPH HOTTING. A new long-term display illustrates the history of jade in ancient China from c. 5000 BC to the present day. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 20 7323-8525 (www.britishmuseum.ac.uk). An ongoing exhibition. (See MINERVA, this issue, pp. 15-17.)

KAZARI: DECORATION AND DISPLAY IN JAPAN. This exhibition explores the concept and practice of kazari, a highly developed art used to arrange domestic objects and govern the principles of their display. With important loans from some of the finest collections worldwide, including painting, ceramics, lacquer, and textiles from the 15th to early 19th centuries, this exhibition presents striking visual interpretations of this fine and decorative art, and celebrates the dynamism inherent in Japanese aesthetics. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 20 7323 8525 (www.britishmuseum.ac.uk). Until 13 April.

LONDON ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARCHIVE AND RESEARCH CENTRE (LAARC). Following a £.5 million refurbishment, scholars and the general public alike will be able to view important, previously unexhibited archaeological collections in the Museum of London storerooms derived from archaeological excavations. A unique opportunity. MORTIMER WHEELER HOUSE (www.museumoflondon.org.uk).Permanent. (See MINERVA, May/June 2003, p.41.)

LONDON BEFORE LONDON. The 450-year period before the arrival of London by the Romans in AD 50 is the subject of a new permanent gallery at the Museum of London. The museum has internationally important collections of prehistoric material, much of it recovered from the River Thames in London, that are on display for the first time. A unique opportunity. MORTIMER WHEELER HOUSE (www.museumoflondon.org.uk). Permanent. (See MINERVA, January/February 2003, pp. 9-12.)

MAPPING THE TREASURES OF ARABIA. BRUNEL GALLERY, SOAS (44) 20 7889 4915 (www.soas.ac.uk/gallery). Until 21 March.

PREHISTORY: OBJECTS OF POWER. A new display illustrating the varied ways in which prehistoric objects could be used in power and status to determine the highest titles up until the end of the European Bronze Age (800 BC). Material not seen for 50 years. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44) 20 7323-8525 (www.britishmuseum.ac.uk). Permanent. (See MINERVA, July/August 2002, pp. 19-21.)

WONDERFUL JOURNEYS: THE WALTERS COLLECTION FROM EGYPT TO MEDIEVAL CYRUS. The largest exhibition ever mounted by the Walters Art Museum demonstrating the customs, beliefs, and daily lives of ancient and medieval civilisations. WALTERS ART MUSEUM (44) 1 410 547-9000 (www.thewalters.org). An ongoing exhibition.

BERKELEY, California
FACE OF THE BUDDHA: SCULPTURE FROM INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. Small Buddhist sculptures from the museum's collection enhanced by a loan of stone sculptures from China. BERKELEY ART MUSEUM, University of California (44) 1 510 642-0808 (www.bampfa.berkeley.edu). On display throughout 2003.

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama

BOISE, Idaho
IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME: MASTERWORKS FROM AMERICAN COLLECTIONS. A little-publicised exhibition of 3500 years of Egyptian art, as reflected in 48 objects, mostly of small size, from 19 American collections. The inclusion the cartonnage mummy case of Pa-di-mut of the 22nd Dynasty from the Harvard Semitic Museum, Cambridge, is particularly fascinating, and will be shown on the Dowell Ford Museum at Willamette University, Salem, Oregon, after which the exhibition will be curated by Dr J. Romano of the Brooklyn Museum. BOISE ART MUSEUM (44) 1 208 345-1330 (www.boiseartmuseum.org). 8 March - 29 June. Catalogue.

BOSTON, Massachusetts
EGYPTIAN LATE PERIOD. The newly renovated Museum of Fine Arts from the period from 664 BC to AD 250 and includes the newly acquired stone head of Nectneba II, the last native king of Thebes. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON (44) 1 617 267-9300 (www.mfa.org).

THE QUEST FOR IMMORTALITY: TREASURES OF ANCIENT EGYPT. A blockbuster exhibition of carefully selected masterworks from Egyptian museums, most of which have never been exhibited outside Egypt, and including some that have never been published or previously put on display. MUSEUM OF SCIENCE (44) 1 617 589-0100 (www.mos.org). Until 30 March (then to New Orleans). Catalogue: hardback $65; paperback only $30. (See MINERVA, July/August 2002, pp. 8-17. Reprint available for $5 from Minerva or at the venue.)

BROOKLYN, New York
ASYRIAN RELIEFS REINSTALLATION. As of November 2002, 12 monumental reliefs from the palace of Ashur-nasirpal II (883-859 BC) at Nimrud, in storage since 1991, have finally been cleaned, structurally consolidated, and reinstalled. BROOKLYN MUSEUM OF ART (44) 1 718 638-5000 (www.brooklynmuseum.org).

MINERVA 58
SOUTHEAST ASIAN IMAGES IN STONE AND TERRACOTTA. Objects from the museum's collection, including recent gifts. THE NEW YORK MUSEUM (1) 973 596-6550 (www.newmuseum.org). Until June.

NEW YORK, New York ART OF THE FIRST CITIES: THE THIRD MILLENNIUM BC FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN TO THE INDUS. Including 400 works of extraordinary jewelry, seals, and cuneiform tablets. This exhibition explores the emergence of the world's first city states and empires in Syria and Mesopotamia during the third millennium BC, relating these developments to artistic and cultural connections stretching from the eastern Aegean to the Indus Valley and Central Asia. Works of art, many brought together for the first time, illustrate the splendor of the most famous sites of the ancient world, including the Royal Graves of Ur, the palatial ruler's tombs, and the city of Troy, and the great cities of the Indus Valley civilization. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5300 (www.metmuseum.org). 8 May - 17 August.

EARLY BUDDHIST ART FROM KOREA AND JAPAN, 6TH-9TH CENTURIES. JAPAN SOCIETY GALLERY (1) 212 832-1155 (www.jsng.org). 9 April - 29 June.


THE LEGACY OF GENGHIS KHAN: COURTLY ART AND CULTURE IN WESTERN ASIA, 1256-1333. Some 225 works of art including metalwork, tilework, ceramics, ivory, and glass. Produced in Iran during the Mongol period of the 13th and 14th centuries. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 323 857-6000 (www.lacma.org). 13 April - 27 July.

MALIBU, California J. PAUL GETTY VILLA MUSEUM CLOSED. 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, which will probably reopen in 2003 as a centre for comparative archaeology and culture. (See below). THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM (1) 310 459-7611.

MINNEAPOLIS ETHERALITY NASA'S WORKSHOP OF ANCIENT ART FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM. A major exhibition of 140 works of art from the most famous collection outside Russia. MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS (1) 612 870-3131 (www.artmia.org). Until 16 March (then to Chicago). Catalogue. (See Minerva, May/June 2001, pp. 9-16. Reprints of this article are available from Minerva or at the venue for $3.50.)

NEWARK, New Jersey GLAMOUR AND THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN CULTURES. A reinstallation of the museum's renowned Eugene Schaeffer Collection from 1300 BC through to the Islamic period. The exhibition includes video clips demonstrating ancient techniques for working glass. THE NEWARK MUSEUM (1) 973 596-6550 (www.newarkmuseum.org).

GIMPSSES OF THE SILK ROAD: CENTRAL ASIA IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM AD. A new photo exhibition of more than 40 sculptures, paintings, ivory carvings, metalwork, textiles, and stucco, primarily from the museum's collections, produced by the Persians, Kushans, Sogdians, Chinese, and others, in an amalgam of differing influences. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org). Until 13 April.

THE NILE: EGYPT IN 19TH CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHY. 19th century images depicting the ancient Egyptian temples as photographed along the Nile River. MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS (1) 612 870-3131 (www.artmia.org). Until 17 April.


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OBERLIN, Ohio CHINESE AND JAPANESE ART FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT. Objects from the museum’s collection, plus a number of paintings and sculptures from the Sackler Museum in
WASHINGTON, ALLEN MEMORIAL ART MUSEUM (1) 440 775-8665 (www. carrerlart.columbia.edu/art). Until 9 June.

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania
ROMAN AND ETRUSCAN GALLERIES REOPENED. Following a major reinstallation. Over 1000 objects will now be on display. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (1) 215 898-4001 (www.museum.upenn.edu). Opening 16 March.

PHOENIX, Arizona
KEVI AND THE FLAMING ART OF THE SRI LANKA. 1700 years of Buddhist and Hindu art from a seldom seen area, drawn from American collections. PHOENIX ART MUSEUM (1) 257-1880 (www.phxart.org). Until 11 May.

PRINCETON, New Jersey

SAN ANTONIO, Texas

SAN FRANCISCO, California
REOPENING OF THE ASIAN ART MUSEUM. The museum reopened in January 2003 in a new, expanded space. The Beaux-Arts-style building at 200 Larkin Street, in the city's civic center, was formerly the Main Library. ASIAN ART MUSEUM OF SAN FRANCISCO (1) 415 379-8801 (www.asianart.org).

SARASOTA, Florida
MASTERPIECES OF CHINESE CERAMICS: THE KOGER COLLECTION. Includes Neolithic pottery from c. 2500 BC and Tang porcelain from c. 600 AD to later ceramics. THE JOHN AND MABEL RINGLING MUSEUM OF ART (1) 941 359-5700 (www.ringling.org). Until 27 April.

SEATTLE, Washington
IS EGYPTIAN ART AFRICAN? A continuing exhibition comparing ancient Egyptian gods to sub-Saharan masquer- aders. Highlighting similarities between some of the postures, articles of personal adornment, and views of divine kingship. SEATTLE ART MUSEUM (1) 206 654-3100 (www.seattleartmuseum.org).


TAMPA, Florida
MAGNA GRAECIA: GREEK ART FROM SOUTH ITALY AND SICILY. Some 80 masterworks from Italian museums, including clay, bronze, ivory, gold, silver, and terracotta, sculpture and vases, and featuring the early 3rd century BC marble youth of Agasias. TAMPA MUSEUM OF ART (1) 813 274-8130 (www.tampamuse- um.com). Until 20 April (final venue). Catalogue $50 hardcover, $34.94 soft-

VIENNA
AFGHANISTAN. MUSEUM FUR VOLK- EKSTERN (1) 00 43 222 521 770 (www. ethno-museum.ac.at). Until June.

THE ART OF GEM-CUTTING FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE BAROQUE. An exhibition from the museum’s collections of carved gemstones, the most outstanding and precious of which belonged to the Emperor Rudolph II. The Emperor’s collection included a unique group of the largest monolithic rock crystals known to the world, which will form the focal point of this exhibition. KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM (43) 1 525-240 (www.khm. at). Until 27 April.

TSAUERI POLONIJE - THE TREASURES OF POLAND. The first survey of Polish treasures (from the Late Middle Ages to the 18th century) features works on loan from museums in Cracow, Czestochowa, Pozen, and Wawel from the 13th to the 18th century, which form the focal point of this exhibition. KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM (43) 1 525-240 (www.khm.at). Until March.

CANADA
HULL, Quebec
THE MYSTERIOUS BOG PEOPLE. A long-series exhibition featuring objects that were sacrificed in sacred bogs. As well as pottery, flint tools, jewellery, and coins, artefacts include a canoe from near North-Western Europe of c. 850 BC. CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION (1) 819 776-7000 (www civization.ca). Until September.

TORONTO
THE NEW MOSAIC. An exhibition presenting, in two sections, ancient and modern examples of the medium. Of the former section, a highlight is a large mosaic from the 5th century AD (Syrian floor mosaic) dating from the 5th century AD and depicting a donkey in the act of raiding a garden. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (1) 416 586-8000 (www.rom.on.ca). Until 16 March.

DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
ANCIENT CYPRUS AT THE DANISH NATIONAL MUSEUM: THE A.G. LEVEN- TIS GALLERY. New permanent display of ancient Cypriot art dating from 2500 BC into the Iron Age, collected since the early 20th century. Includes fascinating sculptures excavated at the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, Rhodes, in 1902-1914. DANISH NATIONAL MUSEUM (45) 3133 4111 (www.nat- mus.dk). (See Minerva, July/August 2002, pp. 22-24.)

MOLDRUP
THE IRON AGE IN NORTH JUTLAND. A new permanent exhibition of the art and history of the area, including reconstructions of farms, houses, workshops, and graves based upon 40 years of excavations. HISTORY CENTER (www. jemaldelandby.dk).

ROSKILDE

MINERVA 60
MARTIGUES, Bouches-du-Rhône
PASSAGES WITHOUT RETURN. A 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. MUSÉE DE PREHISTOIRE DE L’ILE-DE-FRANCE (33) 164 284-037.

NICE, Alpes-Maritimes

PARIS
SHARIT: PHARAOIC WORKERS FOR ETERNITY. SALLE RICHELEU, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE (33) 140 205-317 (www.louvre.fr), 7 March-30 June. (See Minerva, this issue, p. 8-10).

EARLY ART OF THE LAPYGES: CERAMICS FROM CENTRAL ITALY, 7TH-3RD CENTURY BC. BIRMACCIO FOUNDATION (33) 147 233-888. Until 29 March.


ROANNE, Loire
PREHISTORIC, EGYPTIAN, AND GALLO-ROMAN ART. MUSEE JOSEPH DECHELLE (33) 477 700-090. An ongoing exhibition.

TENDE, Alpes-Maritimes

GERMANY
BERLIN
ARCHAEOLOGY IN GERMANY. MARTIN-GROSSMANN MUSEUM (49) 302 545 6112 (www.grossmannbau.de). Until 30 March.

INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA: FROM MYTH TO MODERN TIMES. A long-term special exhibition. MUSEUM FUEGERKUNDEN (49) 30 850-1231. Until 30 November 2005.

BONN
THE BONNER COLLECTION OF 'AEGYPFICA'. The University of Bonn has opened a new permanent exhibition hall for Egyptian art, with 31 vitrines covering three themes: house, temple, and tomb. AEGYPTISCHES MUSEUM (49) 228 737-282 (www.philik.uni-bo mn.de). Permanent, but closed during school breaks (5 Aug - 15 Sept and 15 Dec - 15 Jun).

COLOGNE, Nordrhein-Westfalen
MAX VON OPPENHEIM: EXPLORER, COLLECTOR AND DIPLOMAT. RAUTEN- STRAUCH-JOST MUSEUM (40) 221 336 9418. Until 9 November.

DRESDEN, Sachsen
SEKRETSKAMER ARTWORKS. SKULP- TURENSAMMLUNG (49) 351 491 4740. Until 1 April.

THE IDEA OF COMPLETENESS: BAROQUE REPAIRS TO ANTIQUITIES. SKULP- TURENSAMMLUNG (49) 351 491 4740. Until 6 March.

ERBACH (ODENWALD), Hessen

HILDESHEIM, Niedersachsen


KASSEL, Hessen
REOPENING OF THE ANCIENT ART COLLECTION. The newly renovated rooms include celebrated sculpture, including the Kassel Apollo, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE MUSEEN KASSEL (49) 561 71543 (www.kassel.de/kultur).

MAINZ, Rheinland-Pfalz
EARLY MIDDLE AGES. A permanent exhibition with over 2200 objects; a major reinstallation and expansion with many pieces acquired from excavations over the past 30 years. ROEMISCH-GERMANISCHES ZENTRALELUNGE (49) 613 1223-231.

NUERNBURG, Bayern
JORJANDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. A new ongoing overview of the rich discoveries of the period from c. 5000 BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD, with special emphasis on Petra. NATURHISTORISCHES MUSEUM (49) 911 227-970 (www.nhm-nuernberg.de).

GREECE
ABDERA
FINDS FROM WEST THRACIAN NECROP- OLIS. Klazomenae sarcophagi, vases, terracottas, and jewellery from the 7th century BC to the 12th century AD from the recent excavations of the Archaeological Society of Athens. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (30) 5410-51003. An ongoing exhibition.

ATHENS
THE NIKHE TEMPLE FRIEZES. The east and west friezes, and some of the south and west friezes, have been 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) 1923-8742. A permanent installation.

REOPENING OF THE BENAKI MUSEUM. After several years of reconstruction and elaborate refurbishment the museum has reopened, adding to its new vitrines hundreds of objects long in storage. BENAKI MUSEUM (30) 1361-2694.

PIRAEUS
PIRAEUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. The museum houses a major collection of Greek sculptures from Piraeus, as well as from south-west Attica and Salamis. Recent finds include those from the sanctuary on Kythera and the Mycenaean sanctuary at Methana. Also on display are vases from the Colchian collection. DAPHNE- ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

ITALY
BAIA FLEGREA, Naples
PARCO ARCHAEOLOGICO FLEGREO. The archaeological park is now open to the public. Glass-bottomed boats afford visitors a view of marine archaeology. (39) 081 524-8169 (www.baiasommersa.it).

BRISCEA
MUSEO DELLA CITTA IN SANTA 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 is the marble statue of a winged Victory, mosaics, wall paintings, and a precious cross that belonged to the Longobard king Desiderius. MONASTERO DI SANTA GIULIA (39) 30 280-7540.

IBRINDISI
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 sea near the Apulian coast. MUSEO ARCHAEOLOGICO PROVINCIALE F. RIBEZZO (39) 831 563-545.

CRECCIO
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM: CASTELLO DUCALE. The museum includes 6th and 7th century AD locally excavated bronze, ceramics, and glass objects demonstrating Byzantine influences. There are also a considerable number of Etruscan objects from the Civita Varra collection, recently bequeathed to the museum (39) 871 941-392.

FLORENCE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF VILLA CORSINI. The rooms of this magnificent villa at Castello contain a large quantity of Etruscan and Roman statues hidden from view for decades. VILLA CORSINI (39) 55 23-575.

MONTAGNANA, Padoua
MUSEO CIVICO E ARCHAEOLOGICO. The museum, created in 1980 following the discovery of the Roman necropolis of the nearby town of Viale degli Scavi, has now been rearranged. Objects on view range from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages (39) 42 980-4128.

PERUGIA
MUSEO ARCHAEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. New exhibition spaces have been added to the museum. New on view is the Giuseppe Bellucci collection of amulets and magical instruments and the Etruscan tomb of the Cai Cutu family and its funerary goods (39) 75 575-9682.

ROMA
NAZIONALE ETRUSCO DI VILLA GIULIA. The reorganisation of the museum is now completed and all rooms are open (39) 6 322-6571.

REOPENING OF THE DOMUS UNDER THE BASILICA OF THE SANTISI GAO AND PAOLO. It is possible to visit the site by appointment from Monday to Friday (39) 6 721-6601. On-going.

ROMPELII
REOPENING OF THE ROMAN BATHS AT AND OF THE HOUSES OF JULIUS POLI- BIUS AND MENANDRUS. The houses and the baths were closed for years because of restoration work. The House of Menandrus is one of the most important of the large mansions decorated with wall paintings that have survived in the ruined city. PORTA MARINA, E-mail: museoonline@asdrkonoms.com. Visits on weekends by appointment.

ROME
SYMBOLS AND ART FROM SIBERIA. MUSEO NAZIONALE DELLE E TRADIZIONI POPOLARI (39) 06 592-6148. Until 26 May.

TURIN

MINERVA 61
DEIR EL-MEDINA: THE ARTISTS OF THE PHARAOHS. The site of Deir El-Medina, excavated by the French Institute, Cairo, 1912-1952 and still undergoing study, housed the community of artists, craftsmen, and workmen responsible for the creation and decoration of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. This major travelling exhibition examines the everyday life and working practices of the inhabitants of this small enclosed village. PALAZZO BRICHIERA SIO (39) 11 571 1811 (www.palazzo-brichiera.it) in conjunction with MUSEO EGIZIO (39) 011 561-7776 (www.museoegizio.it). Until 18 May (the final venue).

VENICE

THE PHAROAHS. Staged in one of Italy's most prestigious exhibition venues, this major show at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice features important objects from museums throughout the world, including Cairo. The exhibition focuses on the concept and personhood of 'the ruler' in ancient Egyptian society, examining his role as a religious and political leader and providing an insight into everyday life at court. PALAZZO GRASSI (39) 041 199-139 (www.palazzograssi.it). (See Minerva, January-February 2003, pp. 13-19.) Until 25 May.

VERONA

FINDS FROM VERONA'S NECROPOLIS. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO AL TEATRO ROMANO (39) 043 80 00 360. Until 1 September.

JAPAN

NAGOYA


NETHERLANDS

LEIDEN

SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR ANCIENT SYRIA. 640 objects from 11 museums and collections in Syria, from 1 million BC to the 16th century AD, organised by the Musée de la Civilisation in Quebec, previously titled 'Syria: Land of Civilizations'. RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN (31) 71 516-3163 (www.rmo.nl). Until 9 March. Catalogue. (See Minerva, May/June 2003, pp. 9-16. Reprints of this article are available from Minerva for $3.50.)

POLAND

POZNAŃ

DEATH AND LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT. MUSEUM ARCHEOLOGICNE (48) 61 526-430. Until 30 October.

WARSAW

GALLERY OF ANCIENT ART. An important collection completely reorganised in 2000, including many major works of art including the well-painted vessels and other objects excavated at Taras. MUSEUM NARODOWE W WARSAWIE (NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW) (48) 22 621 19 31 (www.mnw.art.pl).

SPAIN

BARCELONA

ARMS OF NUBIA: SUDAN IN ANTIQUITY. CAIXAFORUM (34) 93 476 86 00 (www.fundaciola-caixa.es/caixaforum). 11 April - 24 August.

PALMA DE MALLORCA, Baleares


VALENCIA

ARTS LATINA: ANCIENT ROMAN PAINTING. MUSEO DE PREHISTORIA (34) 96 391 7329. 1 March - 30 April.


TUNISIA

LAND OF CULTURE. MUSEO DE PREHISTORIA (34) 96 391 7329. Until 18 May.

SWEDEN

UPPSALA

THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE NILE VALLEY. A new permanent exhibition featuring a selection of objects from the Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities. UPSALSA UNIVERSITY MUSEUM. E-mail: museum@gostavianum.uu.se.

SWITZERLAND

BASIL

OPENING OF NEAR EASTERN GALLERY. In February 2002 a new permanent gallery was opened devoted to the Near East, including Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus. The museum's recently developed collection of Egyptian antiquities is also on view, within a specially designed wing. ANTIKEMUSEUM UND SAMMLUNG LUDWIG (41) 61 271-2202 (www.antenkmuseum.ch).


SCHAFFHAUSEN

THE EBONY AND IVORY COLLECTION: FROM THE DEAD SEA TO THE SILENT OCEAN. An ongoing exhibition of about 800 objects from the collection of Marcel Ebnöther, ranging from Pre-columbian, to ancient European, and Near Eastern antiquities. MUSEUM ZU ALLEHIELIEN (41) 52 633-0777 (www.allerheiligen.ch).

TAIWAN

TAIPEI

A GENERAL HISTORY OF CHINESE CULTURAL ARTIFACTS. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY (886) 2 361 0278. Until 31 December.

A GLIMPSE OF INDIAN CIVILISATION. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY (886) 2 361 0278. 22 April - 20 July.

TANG TRICOLoured AND PAINTED POTTERY. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY (886) 2 361 0278. Until 31 December.

28-29 March. THE ETRUSCANS REVEALED. An international symposium on prehistory. To mark the occasion of the reopening (16 March) of the Etruscan and Roman galleries at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Tel: (1) 215 898-4890 or (1) 215 898-4071; e-mail events@museum.upenn.edu.

29-31 March. EAT, DRINK AND BE MERRY: PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION AND CELEBRATION OF FOOD AND WINE IN BYZANTIUM. 37th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. University of Birmingham. Contact: Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Middle Eastern Studies and Archaeology and Antiquity. Tel: (44) 121 414 5775. Web-site: www.bham.ac.uk/borgm.

28-29 March. USES AND ABUSES OF CAESAR: FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE 21ST CENTURY. British School at Rome, Italy. Website: www.bsr.ac.uk.

3-6 April. ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY CONFERENCE AND THEORETICAL ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY CONFERENCE. University of Leicester. Contact: RACTRAC, School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, Leicester LE1 7RH. Tel: (44) 252 7862872; e-mail: ractrac@le.ac.uk. Website: www.le.ac.uk/arl.

5 April. RECREATING AND PRESENTING OUR ARCHAEOLOGICAL PAST. Organised by the Council for British Archeology. Contact: Ruth Plummer, 266 Wickham Chase, West Wickham, Kent BR4 0BS. E-mail: plums@btinternet.com.

11 April. WRITING IN NEAR EASTERN SOCIETY. Colloquium in honour of Alan Millard. Tel: (44) 151 794 2467; e-mail: winkertarl@liv.ac.uk. Web-site: www.liv.ac.uk/sacos or www.nrm.org.uk.

15-17 April. INSTITUTE OF FIELD ARCHAEOLOGY ANNUAL CONFERENCE FOR ARCHAEOLOGISTS. University of Wales, Bangor. Contact: Conference Committee - fax: (44) 631 6448; e-mail: administrator@archaeologists.net.

3-4 May. THE TABLE: THE MATERIAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF DINING IN HISTORICAL PERIODS (Roman period to 18th century). Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield. Contact: Hugh Willmott, e-mail: h.willmott@sheffield.ac.uk. Website: www.shef.ac.uk/~apcont/dining.

CALENDAR

Lectures

United Kingdom

3 March. Forts, Fountains and Footprints: Recent Work in Khar
Gh Oasis. Salina Ikarou. University of Bristol. 5.15pm. Tel: (44) 117 942
1957.

London

3 March. Gold and other Treasures of the Aztecs. Adrian Locke. Royal
Academy of Art, Piccadilly, London W1. Tel: (44) 20 7300 5839; e-mail:
Events.Lectures@royalacademy.org.uk. 12.30pm.

5 March. Classicalism in Roman Art. Jás Elsner. The Donald Strong Memorial
Lecture. British Archaeological Association (at the Society of
Antiquaries). 5pm.

5 March. The Iron Age Kingdoms of Cyprus. A Late Bronze Age Perspec-
"tive. Maria Iacovou. Who Made Roman Art? Series, Institute of Classical
Studies/British School at Athens. 5pm.

Hellenic Society. 5.30pm.

10 March. Mosaics Saved from Zeugma: Revelations of Roman Art and
Life along the Eastern Frontier. Christine Rondoleon, Institute of Classical Study-
British Museum/Royal Holloway (at Senate House room 311). 5pm.

12 March. Two Eastern Magnates: Portraits and Personal Relations in the
2nd Century AD. Thorensten Oppa. Institute of Classical Studies. 5pm.

13 March. Cylinder Seals and Terracottas: Portable Pictures in
Babylonia. Roger Moorey. British Academy, 10 Carlton House Terrace,
London SW1. Tel: (44) 1460 785 244; e-mail: bsa@british-acad.ac.uk. 5.30pm.

17 March. The Everyday Life of the Aztecs. Joanne Harwood. Royal
Academy of Art, Piccadilly, London W1. Tel: (44) 20 7300 5839; e-mail:
Events.Lectures@royalacademy.org.uk. 12.30pm.

19 March. Classical Phoenician Scars East or West? Professor Sir John
Boardman. Stevenson Lecture Theatre, the Clore Education Centre,
The Great Court of the British Museum, London WC1. Tel: (44) 20 7935
5379; e-mail: PEF@pelfund.bntc.co.uk. 6pm.

21 March. A Journey to the Aztec Underworld. Leonardo López Luján.
Royal Academy of Art, Piccadilly, London W1. Tickets £12 (£6 students).
Tel: (44) 20 7300 5839; e-mail: Events.Lectures@royalacademy.org.uk.
6.30pm.

24 March. Late Antique Art: The Problem of the Concept and the
of Classical Studies/British Museum/Royal Holloway (at Senate House room
311). 5pm.

26 March. Classical Iconography and the Gold of Central Asia. Sir
John Boardman. Institute of Classical Studies. 5pm.

26 March. Archives on the Northern End Frontier: New Letters from
Vindolanda. Alan Bowman, Institute of Classical Studies. 6pm.

28 March. Aztec Sacred Landscapes. Richard Townsend, Royal
Academy of Art, Piccadilly, London W1. Tickets £12 (£6 students). Tel: (44)
20 7300 5839; e-mail: events.lectures@royalacademy.org.uk. 6.30pm.

8 April. The Artist Behind the Arte-
Fact: Identifying the Geoures of
Middle Kingdom Sculptors. Marcel
Marie. Egypt Exploration Society (Main
Auditorium, Theological School, School of
Oriental and African Studies, UCL).
6pm.

14-23 March. TEFAC Maastricht. 200 international art, antiques, and antiqui-
ties dealers exhibiting in 230 sections.
MECC, Maastricht, The Netherlands. Tel: (31) 411 64 50 90.
Website: www.tefaf.com.


Auctions & Fairs

IN MEMORIAM

Elie Borowski, 89, founder and chair-
man of the board of the Bible Lands
Museum, Jerusalem, Dr Borowski, origi-
nally a rabbinical scholar, joined the
"Jews of France Committee of Com-
temptants and Volunteers in 1939,
then enlisted in the Polish Division with-
in the French army. He fought the
Germans until his regiment was forced
to retreat into Switzerland, where he
was interned for the rest of the war.
Borowski then earned his Bachelor's
degre in a new field - that of ancient
cylinder seals. Ten years after receiving a
fellowship as research associate at the Roy-
al Ontario Museum, he moved to Basel,
Switzerland, where he established him-
self as an antiques dealer (the editor-
in-chief first met him there some 40 years
ago).

His private collection was first
revealed to the public in 1975, in the
exhibition "Ladders to Heaven", which
travelled throughout Canada and Europe.
Following his marriage to Batya Weiss in 1982, the couple began
to plan the creation of a museum with his
collection as its foundation. With the
help of the then mayor of Jerusalem,
Templer, and others, a site was
chosen and the museum was estab-
lished. After surrounding several finan-
cial challenges, the museum opened in
the history of the biblical period, finally opened in 1992. The great number of outstanding exhibitions and publica-
tions produced by the museum over the
past ten years underscore its impor-
tance in both scholarly and aesthetic
contexts.

Professor Robert Braidwood, 95, an
archaeologist famous for his innovative
work in the Near East, Emeritus Prof-
essor of Archaeology at the Oriental
Institute, University of Chicago, and
allegedly the inspiration behind the
much celebrated Indiana Jones films.
Braidwood was an early supporter of
Libya's carbon-14 dates in the late
1940s, which enabled him to produce
evidence for the earliest use of cultiva-
tion in the area, notably at Jarmo in
Iraq, and to demonstrate that the agri-
cultural communities had developed at
a slower pace than hitherto thought.

In the late 1930's he was an early
pioneer of systematic area survey, which
is now very much accepted as the prop-
per way to conduct fieldwork. Initially
based in architecture at Michigan in
1933, his move into Near Eastern arch-
aeology made him into one of the fore-
most patriarchs concern who

* His publications have, for many
years, been the basic texts for.concerned
within the Early Near East,
with their emphasis on examining the
shift in architecture in the area of the
Upper Palaeolithic and the so-
called 'Neolithic Revolution' that led to
 sedentary, food-producing communities.
His wife Linda (who died on the
day aged 93) was his constant
companion and a major part of the joint
husband and wife team that laid much
of the foundations for the study of the
archaeology of the Early Near East.

Michael C. Carlos, 75, businessman,
philanthropist, and benefactor of the
Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory
University. His largest gift, of $10 mil-
lion pledged in 1999, was expressly
for the acquisition of ancient Greek and
Roman masterworks. The museum
was named in his honour in 1981 when
he pledged $1.5 million. In 1990 he gave
another $3.5 million toward the con-
struction of the new Michael Graves-
designed building expansion. Carlos' gifts totalled approximately $20 million
over his 21 years of involvement with the
Emory. The museum's most recent
major acquisition, purchased in the last
decade, was a drinking cup by the late
archaic Greek artist Makron.

Minerva 63

Exhibition dates are subject to
change. Before planning a visit
please contact the museum to
confirm 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 and
Germany) send details to:

Isabel Whitelegg, Minerva,
14 Old Bond St, London, W1S 4PP
Fax: (44) 20 7491-1595.

calendar@minervamagazine.com

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

Dr Jerome M. Eisenberg, Minerva,
Suite 20, 153 East 57th Street,
New York, N.Y. 10022.
Fax: (1) 212 688-0412
ancientart@aol.com
GREEK LIMESTONE RELIEF SECTION OF A MUSCULAR NUDE YOUTH

running to the right, a cloak billowing out behind him. Taras, South Italy, ca. 300-280 BC H. 20.3 cm. (8 in.)
Ex-old French collection, acquired 1955. Published: Joseph Coleman Carter, "The Sculptures of Taras", Group L,

Our full colour 2003 catalogue is available upon request.
EGYPTIAN BRONZE CAT
the embodiment of Bastet, seated in the traditional
attentive pose with alert ears and sensitive expression,
the body subtly incised overall to imitate fur; her eyes
recessed to receive inlay.
XXVth Dynasty, 664-525 BC. Height: 17.8 cm (7 in.)
ex collection of Jay Ward, California.

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ROMAN MARBLE HEAD OF THE FREJUS APHRODITE
after a Greek original of the late 5th Century BC, possibly by kallimachos or Alkamenes.
She has a reflective expression; her finely carved hair radiating from the crown is bound with a wide fillet and caught up in a saccos above the nape of her neck.

Mid-2nd Century AD. Height: 20 cm (7 7/8in.) Ex-old French collection, acquired in the 1950s.

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