THE PRESENT CLASSICAL PAST

DRAGONS, MONSTERS & FABULOUS BEASTS IN JERUSALEM

ANCIENT ART IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, MONTREAL

SUMMER & AUTUMN 2004 ANTIQUITIES SALES

COMING OF AGE IN MOCHE PORTRAITS IN THE VALLEY OF THE THRACIAN KINGS, BULGARIA

LATE ROMAN TOMBS OF THE TETRARCHS, SERBIA

COINS OF THE THRACIANS

THE COIN FORGER'S MANUAL: INSTRUCTION OR EXPOSURE?

The Brussels Ancient Art Fair (BAAF) offers you the opportunity to visit more than 20 leading specialists from all over the world, dealing in classical, Egyptian and Near Eastern antiquities. All participants are members of the International Association of Dealers in Ancient Art (IADAA) and follow a strict code of ethics concerning the authenticity and provenance of the objects they sell. They will be the guests of distinguished galleries around the famous Sablon square in the centre of Brussels. BAAF is not a conventional fair housed in a single building but an exciting galleries walk. The combination of ancient art and Belgian hospitality in an historical setting with great atmosphere will once again guarantee a tantalizing event. This year BAAF is taking place at the same time as BRUNEAF, the tribal art fair and BOAF, the new oriental art fair, both also situated in galleries around the Sablon square.

Judging from the reactions of visitors to BAAF 2004, this special combination was much appreciated, and we look forward to repeating the experience. So, if you’ve often thought of a break in Brussels, now’s the time to plan it.

Please visit our website for more impressions of the BAAF 2004 and its participants.
Website: www.baaf.be
Contact: info@baaf.be
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EDITORIAL

Dirty Linen, Old and New Turks at the Royal Academy

'Turks. A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600' has opened in London as the Royal Academy’s latest self styled ‘blockbuster’. The show lays claim to being a landmark exhibition exploring the artistic and cultural riches of the Turks from Inner Asia to Istanbul and beyond through the media of over 350 textiles, manuscripts, calligraphy, woodwork, metalwork, and ceramics loaned from the Topkapi Saray Museum and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul (amongst others).

Huge effort, time, and resources have undoubtedly been thrown behind what will undoubtedly prove a success press coverage has ranged from the enthusiastic to the sceptical. But the eye of the beholder may have been deceived. 'Turks' was launched at the RA in September 2004, with the press arriving eagerly but departing flabbergasted. Remarkably, the RA flouted one of the first laws of publicity: never wash your dirty linen in public. Instead, the world's eyes were caught in the middle of a battle royal between Lawton Pitt, the bright new CEO (now resigned) and a bombastic Norman Rosenthal, Exhibitions Secretary, who proceeded to single-handedly present this prestigious old dame as a hot-bed of elitist senility. From queries about the origins of the Turks as a people to the relevance of the Early Christian church of Hagia Sophia to the exhibition, Rosenthal presented all the knowledge and flair of Fawley Towers. As the audience squirmed, irreparable damage was done in a few short minutes to the long mancured image of a great British institution.

Since then the world has moved on, but a big question remains: has the 'landmark' exhibition suffered from the internal throwing of banana skins? 'Turks' claims to be the first ever journey to explore the extraordinary development of Turkic cultures as nomadic tribes forged their way westwards across the eastern borders of Central Asia to the Balkans of Eastern Europe, assimilating traits of the new cultures they encountered. The show opens with promise. Subdued lighting, select artefacts, and large-scale images frame the movements of Turkic barbarians inside China from AD 535-7 and the establishment of an empire comprising two ghaganates based around the Silk Roads of Mongolia and the Altai Turk State (AD 552-740).

Within the parameters of the exhibition, the early history of the Turkic peoples is without doubt the most fas-
ANTIQITIES NEWS

Afghanistan National Museum - Objects Recovery

Some 2139 further antiquities from the Kabul Museum have been uncovered from vaults beneath the presidential palace complex according to Dr Fredrik Hiebert of the National Geographic Society. Of the 1000 pieces on display in the museum before the beginning of the civil war in 1979, less than 100 now seem to be missing.

The newly uncovered Begram ivories are apparently undamaged, although until an authoritative list of missing pieces is published, the real state of play must remain open. The Mujahedin looted the museum during their 'liberation' and, according to Dr Hiebert, about 70% of the collection has been destroyed, much of it by Islamic extremists, who also sold pieces to willing buyers in cities such as Karachi, Tokyo, London, and New York. (Last year the Iranian government returned to Afghanistan about 200 antiquities that had been smuggled into Iran.) In 2004 it was announced that 20,457 pieces of Bactrian gold treasure were also hidden within the vaults. These have now been catalogued and photographed along with other antiquities. An international tour of some of the antiquities will be organised by the Afghan Ministry of Culture to raise funds to build a new museum.

Roman Bronze Head Stolen from the National University, Australia

A Roman bronze portrait head of a woman dating to the later 1st century BC, h. 13.4 cm, possibly Octavia, was taken from the Australian National University collection in Canberra between the evening and morning of 7-8 December 2004. Also stolen were: a Roman redware cylindrical flask from Asia Minor, 2nd century AD, h. 21.9 cm, with erotic scenes in relief, each taking place beneath an arbour; a Roman gold ring with a cornelian intaglio head of a young woman (the stone 1 x 0.7 cm), 3rd quarter of the 2nd century AD; a Roman flexible gold-plated chain with loop terminals, 1st-2nd century AD, l. 31.5 cm; and a pair of gold earrings with spheres, max. l. 1.9 cm. If you have any information, please contact Crime Stoppers on 1-800-333-0000. (For a full list of images, see www.3p.gov.au/afp/page/3p/U3pStop/ Unsolved-Cases/ANTTheft.htm.)

US Petitioned by China to Restrict Importation of Antiquities

The People's Republic of China has requested that the US restrict the importation of Chinese archaeological materials dating from the Palaeolithic to the Qing Dynasty, including bronze, gold, and silver vessels, sculpture, weapons and armour, utensils, jewellery, and coins; stone sculptures, vessels, architectural elements; ceramics; textiles; lacquer, bone, ivory, and horn objects; painting and calligraphy. As we go to press a hearing on this request was scheduled for 17 February.

British Museum Greek Marble Head Recovered in Canada

A heavily damaged 12cm-high Archaic Greek marble female head, stolen from the British Museum on 30 July 2002, has turned up on the doorstep of Ben Wallis, a Canadian antiquities dealer on 7 December 2004. Wrapped in paper towels and placed in a plastic bag, it was not accompanied by a note. Mr Wallis did not receive any e-mail or phone messages to shed light on its mysterious reappearance, but tracked down the head's source on the internet and, soon after, placed it in the care of the Royal Ontario Museum to await repatriation to England.

Fragment of Throne of Darius Discovered in Iran

According to Alireza Askari, as reported in the Tehran Times, a team of Iranian archaeologists have unearthed a carved fragment of lapis lazuli that they claim may have belonged to the leg of the throne of Darius. Based on historical sources, the throne's upper parts were composed of gold, silver, and ivory, with the legs made of lapis lazuli. According to Dr Askari, the figures on the fragment are similar to those on the much larger Persepolis reliefs. The throne was said to have been moved to the Treasury upon the succession of his son Xerxes I. It has been suggested that the fragment, found in 2003 in a water canal passing beneath the Treasury in south-eastern Persepolis, resulted from the destruction and looting of Persepolis by Alexander the Great.

Smugglers of Jiroft Antiquities Sentenced to Death

In October 2004 the Cultural Heritage Organisation reported that two smugglers convicted of looting thousands of antiquities from the major sites near Jiroft, Iran, including many beautifully carved chlorite vessels (see Minerva, March/April 2004, pp. 2-3), were hanged. This is the first time that such a drastic penalty had been served on smugglers of antiquities in Iran. According to the Islamic Republic News Agency, however, just a few days later the looting was still ongoing. Last summer English customs inspectors took possession of over 100 Jiroft objects in two packages at Heathrow Airport.

Meanwhile, in November Iranian police broke up a large smuggling ring and arrested 36 men in the province of Chaharmahal-Bakhtiari in the central Zagros mountains. Over 940 looted antiquities were recovered, including sculptures, swords, bronze mirrors, vases, and inscribed tablets. In December Turkey announced that they were returning to Iran a number of Seljuk objects that were smuggled into their country over several years. In January the Iranian embassy in London took receipt of 30 more ancient objects that were confiscated by English customs officials at Heathrow Airport.

US Passes Law on Protection of Iraqi Antiquities

On 7 December 2004 the law for the 'Emergency Protection for Iraqi Cultural Antiquities Act of 2004' was signed by President Bush. The law gives him the authority to impose restric-
tions on any cultural materials that have been illegally taken out of Iraq, thus extending the restrictions implemented in August 1990. The legislation includes anything of archaeological, historical, cultural, rare scientific or religious importance.

**Raid Recovers Roman Sarcophagus and Marble Busts in Italy**

In December 2004 a Naples police unit specializing in archaeological thefts raided a number of homes, a hotel, and restaurants, seizing over 100 ancient objects including an important Roman marble sarcophagus, several marble busts, and a number of vases. The commander of the unit, Lorenzo Marinaccio, stated that the objects were derived from scavengers searching out ancient sites that have been abandoned by archaeologists due to lack of funds.

**Gold Mask to be Repatriated to Sicani Museum, Peru**

A large Sican (or Lambayeque) gold and copper funerary mask from northern Peru, L. 35cm, dating to c. AD 800, was turned to the police in December 2004 following a tip-off by US Customs through an Italian collector who donated it to the Italian state, which then sent it to the National Sicani Museum in Peru the following month. The mask represents an image of a sea deity Naylamp, according to Carlos Elera, director of the museum, and its red mercury sulfide decoration imparted a religious importance to the object. It is thought to have been taken out of Peru illegally before the 1970s. 

*Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.*

**ANCIENT FORGERIES**

**British Museum Aztec Crystal Skull Condemned**

The famed Aztec rock crystal skull in the British Museum has been reinterpreted as a forgery cut from large lumps of Brazilian rock crystal (most probably by a German lapidary in the 19th century), according to Professor Ian Freestone of the University of Wales at Cardiff and formerly head of scientific research at the British Museum.

Steve Connor writes in *The Independent* that close examination has revealed that the surface has been cut and polished by a type of rotating wheel commonly used in 19th century Europe and that the hand-polished appearance could only be achieved by relatively modern equipment. Examination with an electron microscope revealed minus-cule scratch marks around the eye sockets, teeth, and the entire cranium, which could only have been produced with a rotating wheel, a device unknown to the ancient Aztecs.

Dr Jane Walsh, an archivist at the Smithsonian Institution, suspects the involvement of a Eugene Boban, a 19th century French collector and sometime dealer who apparently sold at least two large rock crystal skulls (of the dozen or so currently known, all but three in private collections). Boban sold the skull to the British Museum in 1897 through the New York jeweller Tiffany, having failed to sell it to the Smithsonian a few years earlier. A second skull was sold by Boban to a French collector who eventually donated it to the Musée de l’Homme in Paris.

**Israel Files Indictments Against Biblical Antiquities Forgers**

On 29 December 2004 the Israeli police filed criminal charges against four men, including both a prominent collector and a respected antiquities dealer who strongly denies being involved, accusing them of creating and marketing forgeries of rare Early Christian and Jewish antiquities. The forgeries cited include a Jewish limestone ossuary (the ‘James Ossuary’; see *Minerva*, January/February 2003, pp. 3-4) inscribed for James, the brother of Jesus, and a stone tablet (the ‘Yehoshua Stone’) bearing instructions for the maintenance of the First Temple (purportedly erected by King Solomon).

The collector, Oded Golan, also dealt in antiquities, and it is alleged that he was the head of a forgery ring operating since the early 1980s. Some of the objects involved were genuine antiquities that were carefully over-engraved with inscriptions relating them to important persons or Biblical places in ancient Israel. An independent panel has also announced that the famous ivory pomegranate in the Israel Museum bearing the inscription ‘sacred donation for the priests in the House of Jehovah’, originally believed to have belonged to a high priest in the Temple of Solomon, is ancient but not related to the First Temple. The piece itself dates to c. 1400 BC, but the inscription is a modern addition. The object was donated to the Israel Museum in 1989 by a philanthropist who had secured it for $550,000.

*Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.*

**EXCAVATION NEWS**

**New Discoveries near the tomb of China’s First Emperor**

Chinese archaeologists who conduct regular prospecting in the vast area surrounding the mausoleum of the first emperor of China, Qin Shi-huangdi (c. 210 BC), near the town of Xi’an in Shaanxi province, continue to make important discoveries. Recently, they have located and excavated a 3rd century BC ‘sacrificial’ pit, similar to others which have been brought to light since the discovery of the famous terracotta army in 1974 and which are distributed all around the mausoleum.

Pit K0067, as it has been named, is located 3600m from the northern side of the mausoleum and consists of an earthen and wooden structure with an F-shaped plan. Totalling 978 square metres, the pit is accessed through a sloping passage leading to two north-south oriented tunnels intersected by another one running east-west. In this tunnel, archaeologists have found 46 bronze sculptures of aquatic birds, cranes, swans, and geese, set in an artificial water-set.
New Roman Harvest Mosaic from the Golden House Area of Mount Oppius, Rome

In 1998 a spectacular discovery was made by chance during rubble clearance under Mount Oppius in Rome: a magnificent 1st century AD wall painting representing an urban landscape. Some months later a large mosaic, also of the 1st century AD, with the figures of a philosopher and a muse, was discovered in a room behind. Both the fresco and the mosaic are contemporary with the Domus Aurea located nearby and to which they may be related. Further excavations revealed that the rooms were part of an important building – as yet unidentified exactly – containing a nymphaeum and façade decorated with a 15m high arch.

In January this year a further extraordinary discovery was made at a depth of 13m deep under the garden of Mount Oppius and the foundations of Trajan’s baths: a vertical wall mosaic 3m high and 2m wide, which decorated another room. The mosaic depicts a lively harvesting scene with naked men treading grapes underfoot, one playing a flute, and another individual gathering grapes on a white background. Next to this room another hall has a frescoed vault with garlands painted against a gold background and one figure, possibly a seated poet or a playwrite (since the figure seems to hold a theatre mask in one hand).

Restoration of the existing finds continues while new excavations are ongoing despite a chronic lack of funds. There is hope, however, that in view of the importance of the finds under Mount Oppius, and of the popularity of the visits allowed in the excavated sections of the Domus Aurea, that a major archaeological park will be created on Mount Oppius, linking all the underground areas so far excavated to the ruins above ground.

Datu Jones

Recovery and Restoration of the Basilica Ulpia, Rome

Work carried out in the basement of Palazzo Roccagiovine (sponsored by the Italian fashion designer Fendi) to create a new art gallery in Rome inside the palace that overlooks Trajan’s Forum and Trajan’s Column, has revealed a considerable section of the precious marble pavement and friezes of the Basilica Ulpia, the last, largest, and most monumental of the imperial Forums.

Built between AD 107 and 112, the Basilica Ulpia was designed by the architect Apollodorus of Damascus to celebrate the victories of the Emperor Trajan over the Dacians. Trajan’s Forum and the Basilica were built on a military plan, that of the principia, the central square in the middle of a military camp closed on its main side by a basilica. Such was the importance of this celebratory building that in order to make its construction possible near the pre-existing Forum, the sable between the Capitoline and the Quirinale hills was levelled. Because of its largeness and magnificence – 170m long and 40m high – the Basilica has survived longer than other Roman monuments, although some of its decoration was reused at the beginning of the 4th century for the Arch of Constantine. The Basilica was restored in AD 508 by the praefectus urbi et consul ordinaries of Rome and the libraries located at the side of Trajan’s Column were still being used in the 6th century AD. Only in the 9th century AD was the Basilica Ulpia allowed to decline, possibly in the aftermath of an earthquake that hit Rome in 801.

The new excavations have revealed that the Basilica’s vast central hall was divided into five naves by four lines of grey granite columns with white marble Corinthian capitals. The hall terminated at two large, 25m-wide apses. Precious coloured marble columns decorated the side halls and the terraces over covered matronei. As has been
proven by the well preserved sections uncovered under Palazzo Roccagiovine, and now restored to their original splendour, the floors were made of coloured marble, mainly pavonazzetto, giallo antico, and African verde antico, making up geometric patterns in opus sectile.

The Basilica was used both for commercial and judiciary functions and a host of other activities. It contained Trajan’s Column, which was not visible from the outside, and at its centre was a quadriga carrying the triumphant emperor in addition to a number of other statues of Trajan and the insignia of various legions that had fought in Dacia, alongside groups of sculptures representing Dacian prisoners.

It is envisaged that the new Fendi Gallery will present thematic exhibitions inspired by classical archaeology and mythology each year, alongside contemporary art displays.

Datu Jones

CONSERVATION

Restoration of the Etruscan ‘Tomb of the Amazons’, Florence

The restoration of one of the most important Etruscan painted tombs in Italy has recently been completed in the Archaeological Museum in Florence, while the museum itself is undergoing restoration and reorganisation. The sarcophagus restoration is part of an overall campaign to list and restore all the painted tombs surviving in Tuscany. The work is being undertaken as a collaboration between the Archaeological Offices of Pompili and of Southern Etruria in order to compare data and achieve a systematic listing of a type of archaeological material never undertaken so far. (At the same time, an equally important restoration project is being directed at the Etruscan bronze statues in Tuscan museums.)

The 4th century BC ‘Sarcophagus of the Amazons’ was found in the Etruscan necropolis of Tarquinia and acquired by the Archaeological Museum in Florence in 1869. The tomb’s grave goods may be lost, but the family name of its owner, Ramtha Hisczmael, is known because it is painted on the cover of the sarcophagus carved out of one solid block of alabaster that apparently derives from a quarry in eastern Greece. The entire sarcophagus is covered both inside and outside with paintings - probably produced in Magna Graecia - depicting fighting scenes. These are possibly inspired by paintings made in Macedonia at the same period, with which they are stylistically comparable.

Results of chemical analysis of the pigments, combined with the study of the iconography of the paintings (the subject of much debate among scholars both in Italy and abroad), will be presented to the general public when the sarcophagus goes on view in a new section of the Archaeological Museum in Florence reopening very soon.

Meanwhile, work continues on the restoration of the painted tombs in the necropolis of Tarquinia and at Corvet- eri, where new rooms devoted to archaic sculptures and recent archaeological finds have now been opened within Palazzo Vitelleschi, Tarquinia’s National Museum. Both sites were included in the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2004.

Datu Jones

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Dr Eisenberg,

I am delighted that at last someone has dared to say in public, clearly, and plainly, that the ‘Olme Wrestler’ is a fake (Minerva, September/October, pp. 30-32). Although it has been perfectly evident that it was not what it purported to be for the past 40 years or so, ethnocentric delusions, politics, and the very strange unwillingness on the part of the art historical establishment.

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News

to admit that there might be good looking fakes, has kept it proudly displayed, written about, and sent traveling to educate foreigners.

Despite the stance of altogether too many art historians, it is unfortunately the case that falsification is rife in pre-Columbian art and has been for a very long time. It was affecting scholarship when the North American archaeologist W.H. Holmes complained about the problem in the 1896 Annual Report to the Smithsonian Institution. Thirteen years later (in 1909), the prominent Mexican archaeologist Leopoldo Barts found it necessary to publish an entire book on the subject, and a steady stream of news items, legal items, and articles on the topic, largely by archaeologists, has filled the media to the present day.

And yet really egregious fakes, such as the Wrestler and a horde of other pieces enshrined in Mexicanist art historians' hearts, continue to be the subject of worthless babble. People do not bother to seriously consider what is the worth of a reconstruction of ancient religion when the database is largely modern falsifications (as is, alas, the situation with the Olmec and, increasingly, the Maya), nor do they consider the value of a delineation of an ancient style prepared on the basis of modern pieces.

And when will we be able to decently bury that idiotic idea that the trained eye of the art historian can instantly detect the aesthetically unworthy fake(s)? The trained eye, all too often trained on fakes, is not very useful, as is attested by all the fancy precolombian art exhibit catalogues which show us that politics and prettiness are much more important than any considerations of genuineness on the part of the (unprovenanced) artifacts.

Hooray! The Wrestler has been unveiled. Now, will someone please 'out' that ballplayer figureine that is getting so much play in current exhibits? It's no more from Jaina than I am and is probably a lot younger. But, oh boy, it is pretty.

Karen Olsen布拉德斯
Professor of Anthropology,
San Francisco State University

NEWS FROM EGYPT

Was the Sphinx Built by Khafre?
It has generally been accepted that the Sphinx at Giza was built by the 4th Dynasty pharaoh Khafre, reigning c. 2558-2532 BC, son of Khufu (builder of the Great Pyramid) and builder of the 2nd. Pyramid. The face of the Sphinx, it is argued, was made in his likeness. Dr Vasili Dobrev of the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo now suggests that it was actually built by Djedefre, his half-brother and predecessor (who is thought to have reigned c. 2566-2558 BC) in order to identify him with the sun god Ra and to support respect for the dynasty. Dr Dobrev believes that his cartouches on the wood funerary boats found next to the Great Pyramid show that his reign was an important one and longer than previously thought.

However, Colin Reader, a geologist publishing in a recent issue of Ancient Egypt, has argued that the Sphinx predates even the Great Pyramid and could not be the work of either Khufu or his two sons.

Mummy of Tutankhamun Scanned at Tomb
A CT scan of the mummy of Tutankhamun was undertaken in January outside his tomb in a special van under the supervision of radiologist Hani Abdul Rahman. The examination showed no evidence of the pharaoh being killed by a blow with a heavy object, contrary to a major theory proposed at Liverpool University in 1968 following an X-ray examination. This is one of the first scans of a five-year project to study mummies in detail. Some 1700 images of the mummy were taken during the 15-minute scan. A digital image has now been produced of the pharaoh's face. While the van remains in the Valley of the Kings, scans will be made of several other mummies, including that in the tomb of Amenhotep II, which Joanne Fletcher claims is Neferiti.

The scanning project at Luxor created quite a controversy in Egypt. The head of the scientific team, Professor Saleh Bedeir, resigned in protest one week before the scanning, citing the lack of ethics in the implementation of the forensic examination, the lack of scientific procedures involved, the fragility of the mummy, and its exposure to contamination and further decomposition. Further claims assert that the project was basically a media event, with National Geographic magazine paying for the use of the $1 million scanner (with $500,000 more offered for further support), and the Egyptian media being excluded except for a broadcast by Egyptian Television.

American Tutankhamun Tour to Begin in Los Angeles
A major travelling exhibition, 'Tutankhamun and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs', organized by the Anschutz Entertainment Group for the Egyptian government, will begin at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. It is the intention of the Egyptians to clear $10 million for each venue, thus forcing the museum to charge a $30 admission (including the regular $9 adult admission). It has apparently been booked for Chicago and Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and may move to Brooklyn, but museums in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia have ruled it out due to the necessity of charging a high admission fee. This exhibition originally opened in Basel, where it was promoted as the only European venue (Minerva, May/June 2004, pp. 9-13), but then shortly thereafter went to Bonn, Germany, where it will close on 1 May. Meanwhile, over 130 treasures from Tutankhamun's tomb are allegedly scheduled to go on exhibition in the Millennium Dome, London, in 2007.

Important Tomb Found at Bahariya Oasis
The latest finds at al-Bawiti, the capital of Bahariya, in the ‘Valley of the Golden Mummies’ include the tomb of the elder brother of the governor of Bahariya, Djed Khonsu, who ruled during the reign of the 26th Dynasty pharaoh Ahmose II (reigned 570-526 BC), and whose tomb was discovered two years ago at the same site of al-Sheikh Subi. The large anthropoid limestone sarcophagus of Rabi Herkhub is decorated with scenes and hieroglyphics indicating his position as a priest, ‘the one who makes the perfect eye’. The power and wealth of his family were evident in that the sarcophagus weighs about 15 tons and that the nearest limestone quarry was about 100km away.

'Missing' Gold from Beheira Found in Museum
Following a three-month search, the 36 gold bracelets and two gold rings from a hoard discovered at Apollo's Hill in Beheira in 1965, reported missing from the basement storage of the Cairo Museum (Minerva, September/October 2004, p. 7), have been relocated. Their disappearance had at first been written up in the Egyptian press as a theft of gold objects from the treasure of Tutankhamun.

Early Islamic Textile Plant Uncovered in Sinai
An Abassid military residence and a textile plant for the production of military uniforms have been discovered at al-Farama in northern Sinai, 35km north-east of Qantara Sharq, during restoration work to the Farama Citadel. Traces were found of wooden loom bars in holes on facing walls, as well as fragments of linen and silk.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.
The Present Classical Past

Nigel Spivey and Michael Squire discuss the relevance of Greek and Roman antiquity to the modern world.

The past is not all in the past. This is a truism recognised in the grammatical structures of a number of ancient languages - Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit among them - each of which allows its verbs to have an 'imperfect' tense. So a particular set of word-endings is reserved to describe an action or event of incomplete duration. 'Imperfect', in this linguistic mode, does not mean some deficiency or flaw. It simply implies an unfinished process - an open or on-going sequence. The Classical past is imperfect in just such a way - a scattered assortment of literary, epigraphic, and archaeological testimonies that we tend to interpret very much according to our own interests and preoccupations. However earnestly impartial we may proclaim ourselves in seeking 'the truth', our view is always filtered through the various prisms of previous attempts to establish such clarity. But the cognates terms grouped around the very word 'Classical' should be enough to warn us that this fluid state of knowledge tends to go unnoticed or repressed. 'Class', 'classify', 'classic', 'classy' - whether in formal or more idiomatic usage, these words suggest a fixed and absolute standard, or at least some system of ranking that depends upon a distinction of the first-rate: a model of excellence by which other things are measured for their relative worthiness.

It is no radical exposure to reveal that, for centuries, interest in the Classical world has been bound up with hierarchy, imperialism, and cultural snobbery. No one can deny, for example, that the Grand Tours around the Mediterranean, so modish by the late 18th century, were the preserve of a well-heeled élite; that trophies from those tours served to furnish the stately homes of wealthy visitors from Europe (and later America) with Classical relics; and that, in the absence of the real thing, a variety of 'Neo-classical' motifs (from architectural and decorative allusions to fantastic evocations of Classical landscapes and myths) were purposefully designed to imitate grand Classical forms.

It is equally undeniable that Classical art and literature have been wielded as weapons of presumed cultural superiority. In the case of the British Empire, Classicising architecture functioned as a sign of cultural domination: it quashed indigenous forms, flaunting a 'civilised' identity that served to demonstrate (and legitimate) European imperial power. Within that empire, the teaching of Latin and Greek contributed to the enshrining of a 'Western canon' of literature and art. It was part of a larger suppression of non-Western civilisation - what the 20th-century Afro-Caribbean political theorist Frantz Fanon called the forced conversion of 'black skin' into 'white masks'.

The category of the 'Classical' therefore denotes much more than an artistic style or period of history: it comes as a complex ideological package. The Classical world is not merely the stuff of history books, something dead and gone; nor is 'Classicism' some static aesthetic set in stone. Our point may seem a peculiar, perhaps even paradoxical, one: that although the term 'Classical' indeed carries connotations of conservatism, exclusivity, and arch superiority, what has ensured the 'imperfect', ongoing process of the Classical tradition is its durable capacity for change, flexibility, and tolerance - and an intellectual compass that reckons, in the famous phrase of the Latin playwright Terence, 'nothing human out of bounds'.

'Decline and Fall' - Or the Stuff of Dreams?

It was in autumn 1764, amid the ruins on Rome's Capitoline hill, that a portly Englishman by the name of Edward Gibbon conceived his plan of writing a narrative that he was to call The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. His basic theme was prompted not only by the visual spread of disintegrated magnificence around him (Fig 2), but by the sound he could hear coming from what had once been the ancient Capitoline Temple of Jupiter - the chanting of evening hymns, from a choir of barbarous friars. These Christians had colonised the ruins. And they, no less than the barbarian hordes that had descended on Rome in the early 5th century AD, were to be blamed for causing the collapse in the first place.

Gibbon's simple but grandiose the-
asis, completed in 1787, was conceived as a personal claim upon posterity. He wanted to write a ‘classic’ of historical synthesis; he belonged to an age of literary activity in English that aspired to be a second ‘Augustan’ epoch of genius and patronage. Few historians today would accept the broad outline that Gibbon imposed on the past. Quite apart from the question of how far Christianity was responsible for the ‘decline’ of the Roman Empire - and most today would argue that it was a matter of transformation, nothing else - it is no longer tenable to think of the end of Classical antiquity as some terminal switch, plunging Europe into a gloom of ‘Dark Ages’ from which it was not relieved until a ‘rebirth’ of Classical culture after c. 1400, ‘the Renaissance’.

This melodrama eclipses too many bright spirits - from the 9th-century King Alfred the Great of England, a gifted Latinist, to Dante Alighieri, whose Divine Comedy written soon after 1300, along with the work of his junior fellow-Italian Petrarch, who was so sweetly attuned to Classical values and volatiles, not least that of Virgil.

Gibbon’s contemporary, the artist G.B. Piranesi, would seem to have been sympathetic towards Gibbon’s vision of Imperial Rome: his etchings show ancient Roman architectural relics sliding into splendid decay, superceded by the more recent monuments of Christianity (Fig 2). Some three centuries earlier, in 1462, Pope Pius II sanctioned a protection order to be placed on the ancient ruins. Papal legislation anticipated what would, soon after Piranesi’s death in 1778, become a ‘romantic’ response to prospects of architectural decay, by citing an ‘exemplary frailty’ as one reason to preserve the sight of so many toppled columns.

But it was the founder of modern psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, who recognised how the ‘Eternal City’ of Rome might serve as an archaeological metaphor for the mechanics of the human mind. Rome was like a palimpsest - a manuscript covered with erasures, crossings-out, and second thoughts; as such, the stratified layers of the ancient city might function as a model for the human subconscious. The task of the psychoanalyst was to ‘excavate’ the significance concealed within previous phases of experience. With careful questioning - as Freud put it - ‘stones speak’.

**Speaking Stones**: The Parthenon

Freud went to Athens, driven primarily by a desire to visit the Parthenon (Fig 4), in the summer of 1904. As he later recalled, the experience was a revelation that moved him in a very peculiar way. Not only did he find the temple the most beautiful thing he had ever seen, he could hardly believe it really existed - or that he had actually made the pilgrimage to find it. It was not only a dream come true, but as if a mythical fantasy had suddenly materialised. Freud would come up with his own psychological explanation for the overwhelming sensation of wonder and incredulity that struck him on the Athenian Acropolis. But it was perhaps no accident that all ancient buildings, it should have been the Parthenon that caused this minor trauma. For, as Mary Beard has recently concluded, ‘the Parthenon belongs...to that elite band of monuments whose historical significance is overlaid by the fame of being famous’.

However we engage with this building and its art, constructed during the administration of Pericles in the third quarter of the 5th century BC, our response can be contextualised within a lengthy and continuous timeline of previous engagements - one that must include, for example, the procurement of a substantial portion of the Parthenon’s metopes, frieze, and pediments by Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin; numerous architectural reproductions, among them a full-size replica of the building and subsequently its cult statue in Nashville, Tennessee; and both modern Greek claims to cultural ownership and contemporary debates about a shared ‘world heritage’ under UNESCO auspices.

It is perhaps possible to detect the same sorts of cultural, aesthetic, and political reverence for the Periclean buildings of the Acropolis in the writing of Plutarch. Although working in the 2nd century AD, he invoked a comparable language of ‘classic’ status.
These monuments (of which the Parthenon was only one) are, according to Plutarch, in a state of perpetual organic florescence, defying the wear of time - 'eternally new, blooming and yet remaining untouched by the ravages of time, as if they had been infused with some ever-flowering inspiration, some changeless spirit' (Life of Pericles 13.3).

What is especially interesting about this relatively early attempt to describe what, in our terms, is Classical about Classical art, is the way in which its attributed timelessness is achieved through the suppression of the building's own temporality. Although the monument is located within the age of Pericles, that era is treated not as a chronologically determined historical period but rather as a mythical golden age. The very attribute of timelessness serves to offset Plutarch's own cultural distance from the period that he, as a Christian historian, was writing in the period today known as the 'Second Sophistic' (roughly the late 1st to mid 3rd centuries AD), when all things Greek enjoyed a revival within the Roman Empire. It is the same cultural phenomenon that we witness a little later when Pausanias, ascending the Athenian Acropolis, discusses the Parthenon without a word about the more recent Temple of Rome and Augustus that flanked its east façade (Guide to Greece 1.24.5-7); or when, in the 15th century, the Italian merchant Cyriac of Ancona described the Parthenon while entirely overlooking its later history as a Christian church. Indeed, there is also a striking parallel with the 19th-century restoration of the Parthenon as a nunnery, a Classical relic. The almost perpetual veil of present-day scaffolding is there for a purpose - to enable modern tourists to experience a frozen moment of history, a wishful 'perfect' past.

In 1808, just eight years before the British Government would purchase the Elgin marbles, the British Museum had opened a gallery of restored, 'perfect' and often prudishly 'fig-leaved' Roman sculptures, based on the collection of Sir Charles Townley (Fig 3); these were the sorts of statues that had previously been admired and fervently imitated by the likes of Antonio Canova (Fig 6). With the installation of the Parthenon sculptures in the British Museum came a marked distance away from restored Roman statues (that patently adapted Greek themes) in favour of Greek 'originals', albeit incomplete and damaged ones. The 'Elgin Marbles' were soon placed at the absolute pinnacle of artistic achievement - a vertiginous level of admiration that was confirmed in the 1930s, when the spurious gallery endowed by Joseph Duveen seemed to give them an unparalleled status within the extensive holdings of the museum.

**Claims on the Classical**

Does the Parthenon stand for democracy and political liberalism? It tends to be used as just such an emblem in modern Greece. But in the mid-20th century the building was confidently claimed as the rightful property of the ideologues of National Socialism. Occupying Greece from 1941 to 1944, German troops took care to visit the Acropolis and study local antiquities (Fig 7). Adolf Hitler himself declared Greek Classicising aesthetics as the distinctive heritage of an 'Aryan' race descended from the Dorians; they were defined in opposition to the 'degenerate' Modernism that was deemed symptomatic of Russia's Bolshevik malaise ('if the creative spirit of the Periclean age be manifest in the Parthenon, the Bolshevik era is embodied in its cubist grinace', Hitler enthused in Mein Kampf). There was a long tradition of philhellenism in Germany, but it was the Nazi party that promised truly to reconnect the country with her latent - but timeless - ethnic roots. Classical styles were imitated and glorified in the works of Arno Breker, Josef Thorak, Fritz Klimisch, and other artists, and championed in the annual 'Great German Exhibition of Art'; Neoclassical forms were accordingly thought appropriate for the national monumenets and gathering-places of the German Volk, designed by Hitler's favourite Classicising architect, Alfred Speer; and the end of the opening sequence of Leni Riefenstahl's film of the 1936 Berlin Olympics has a copy of Myron's Diskobolos magically melted into gleaming Aryan muscle.

In Italy, meanwhile, Benito Mussolini presented his Fascist régime as a continuation, and culmination, of Augustan Rome. 'Within five years,' he declared in 1925, 'Rome must appear marvellous to all the peoples of the world - vast, orderly, powerful, as in the time of Augustus.' Mussolini proceeded to celebrate the two-thousandth anniversary of the first Roman emperor's birth in 1937-1938 with a huge exhibition ('Mostra augusta della Romanità', or 'Augustan Exhibition of Roman Culture'); to parade the connection in a specially constructed museum to Roman civilisation in the EUR district of Rome; and to forge physical links with an idealised Roman past by constructing the 'Via dell' Impero' between the centres of ancient and modern Rome, in addition to numerous other building projects.

But we digress. All of this follows Hitler and Mussolini - not to mention the countless other fanatics who have
staged their political régimes against ancient Greek or Roman backdrops - in imagining Classical antiquity in proto-fascist terms, the Classicising monuments of almost any modern western democracy offer an important corrective. For in politics, as in so many other spheres, the Classical world has supplied models for an astonishing range of theories, opinions, and leanings. Antiquity has certainly had its fair share of traditionalist, right-wing, and reactionary veneration. But Classical ideas and traditions have also been deployed in the service of radical reform and liberalism - the abolition of slavery, the resistance to empire, and the Suffragette movements of the early 20th century among them.

And it is here, in the pluralistic claims that have been made of the Classical world, that we find the importance of antiquity surely rests. What we find to admire or despise in the ancient world, in our response to every aspect of its arts and literature, is always in a state of flux, as we explore its precedents in relation to shifting aspects of our own. To the Classical antiquity, then, does not constitute a way of idolising a petrifed canon or embalming European prejudice; rather, to study the Classical past is necessarily to think about how and why certain aspects of the Classical world might still be relevant to our own.

Knocking the Ruins

Some detractors of the Classical tradition still characterise the authorities of Greek and Latin culture as so many 'Dead White European Males'. To certain defenders of the same tradition, this 'canon-busting' is itself tantamount to a national, and even international, crisis ('Dumbing-down', 'The Closing of the American Mind', 'Killing Homer'). But as early as the 17th century, following the publication of Sir William Temple's controversial 'Essay upon the Ancient Learning' in 1692, the question of antiquity's canonical status was already a subject that was violently disputed in Britain and elsewhere. The satirist Jonathan Swift imagined the conflict between the 'Ancients' and the 'Moderns' as coming to blows. In A Tale of a Tub at St James's Palace in London, when modern books threatened to invade the top-shelf 'Parnassus', which had previously been reserved for Classical authors, Swift's account, which appeared in 1704, narrates the all-out war - the 'Battle of the Books' - that ensued. The battle that Swift anticipated some three centuries ago still continues to rage.

Like other thinkers and writers, artists too, burdened by the influence and status of Classical art, have periodically rebelled against its vested author-

ity. During the 20th century, numerous plaster casts of ancient sculptures - casts which 19th-century art schools had celebrated as 'masterpieces', using them to instruct their budding artists - were exiled or smashed to pieces. For Filippo Marinetti, whose controversial 'Futurist Manifesto' was published in the Parisian newspaper Le Figaro in 1909, the Parthenon symbolised not the 'glory that was Greece' but 'the prison of futile wisdom'. Again, the protest was not entirely novel. 'We do not want either Greek or Roman models if we are but just and true to our imaginations', petitioned William Blake as early as 1804 - anticipating Futurism, Dadaism, and countless other artistic movements in the 20th century.

It is sometimes easy to overestimate how anti-Classic some of these 're-education' projects of style actually are; but we can find in different places, and at different times, within the Classical world makes its art resilient against modern changes in aesthetics and fashions. Just as the mid-19th century put the craggier (and more fragmentary) sculptures of the Parthenon firmly at the pinnacle of Classical art, by the mid-20th century 'primivism' had become a virtue: prevailing taste shifted in favour of Archaic Greek kouroi figures and artefacts from Etruria, Phoenician Iberia, and the indigenous inhabitants of regions in the Roman Empire, whose art was praised, rather than criticised, for its 'provincialism'.

So while the 20th-century British sculptor Henry Moore resisted the legacy of Greek naturalism, deploiring the reverence with which his teachers were treating Athenian masters such as Praxiteles, he found a more acceptable precedent in the sculptures from the Cycladic islands of the 3rd millennium BC, with their arms folded over their chest, unseparated legs, and straight profiles (Fig 5). For Moore, Cycladic art constituted a sort of proto-Modernism from which 'to start again from the beginnings of primitive art'. Others, like the Italian sculptor Alberto Giacometti, could look to Etruscan art for their inspiration, enthusing over its supposed 'ethnical' originality, sensuous abstraction, and most importantly, perhaps, its emotiveness from the arts of ancient Rome (then tainted by Mussolini's Fascist appropriations). Neither was the work of Pablo Picasso without its share of Classical allusion. The beauties of the Parthenon, Venus de' Medici, Narcissus, are so many lies', he proclaimed..."art is not the canon of beauty, but what the instinct and brain can conceive beyond any canon: when we love a woman, we don't start measuring her limbs.' Still, for Picasso, what icon could more poignantly evoke the political and cultural struggles in the late 1920s and 1930s, as well as the turmoil of his own private life, than that of the Cretan Minotaur, half man and half bull?

Classical Past, Presents, and Futures

The past, since it cannot be destroyed, because its destruction leads to silence, must be revisited, but with irony, not innocently. This statement of the cultural condition at the end of the 20th century (by the Italian scholar and novelist Umberto Eco) offers a broad insight into the manner of contemporary literary and artistic engagements with Classical antiquity. Strict Neoclassicism - paying complacent homage to the Classical past by imitating its forms - seems to have been superseded. At the same time, all avant-garde efforts to jettison the past have also been challenged. What remains - Postmodernism - is no self-contained style or straightforward movement. It is a phenomenon that incorporates the past into the present by means of an artificial collage, an eclectic pastiche. It selectively puts together the fragments of cultural and artistic histories while reflecting self-consciously recognising (and celebrating) its own fragmented state, and thereby the viewer's own cultural relativity. So Imperial Rome is resurrected as the Caesar's Palace casino on the plains of Las Vegas; icons of Classical sculpture are plagiarised into novelty lights and other such kitsch; and a mural in California's Venice Beach can transform another Classicised Venus, the subject of Botticelli's Birth of Venus, into a modern-day beach-babe, clad in bikini and rollerblades. A speech bubble nicely encapsulates the latter image's sentiment: 'history is myth'.

A fresh, banal, or irrelevant form of Classicism? However we may view such contemporary references to the Classical past, they testify to the essential durability of a tradition. Wherever we go to it as pilgrims or as vandals, the Classical world is still there - a past that is still present, as landmark, haven, or point of departure.

This article is adapted from Chapter 10, 'Panorama of the Classical World', in Nigel Spivey and Michael Squire (Thames & Hudson, London; 368pp, 590 illus, 400 colour, hardback).

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Fabulous Beasts in Jerusalem

DRAGONS, MONSTERS AND FABULOUS BEASTS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST


Supernatural, composite creatures and awe-inspiring monsters featured prominently in the imagination of the peoples of the ancient Near East and the classical world. The hybrid figures portrayed in the art of the ancient Near East testify to the belief in unseen forces acting on the world - both for the benefit and disadvantage of mankind. These mystical beings, which combined both animal and human features, commonly represented benevolent creatures thought to ward off evil. However, evil and fearsome entities often co-existed alongside these sympathetic beings. It has been suggested that the idea of combining the elements of different animals indicates an attempt to harness the most awesome and powerful characteristics of each, in order to create a being more capable of effectively challenging the forces of evil.

In most religions, there is a belief in various kinds of supernatural beings ranking between the level of gods and men. 'Demon', in its original Greek sense of 'supernatural being, 'spirit', serves as an approximate term for these supernatural beings. The demons control an extensive range of phenomena from weather spirits of winds and storms, to disease and death, but also guardian spirits of protection.

Modern interpreters differentiate between two kinds of creatures: monsters and demons. Those that walk on all fours, like animals, are designated as monsters, while those that walk on two legs, like humans, are considered demons. The greater the resemblance to human beings, the greater the propensity that the demon would be predisposed toward the benefit of humankind. Evil beings were usually formed of the fierce and dangerous elements of two or more animals.

Dragons belong to neither of these two classes since, whatever shape they later assumed, they...
remained essentially snakes. While dragons are found in almost every culture in the world, ancient and modern, in a myriad of forms, usually with a snake- or lizard-like body, in the ancient Near East these frightful creatures are usually a hybrid of a reptile, such as a serpent, and another animal, such as a lion. For instance, the fire-breathing Chimera, who had three heads, one of a grim-eyed lion, another of a goat, and another of a snake - a fierce dragon; in her forepart, she was a lion; in her hind part a dragon and in her middle, a goat' (Hesiod, Theogony 322). In ancient Mesopotamia, many of those creatures designated as snakes (Sumerian must/Akkadian tenu) by the ancients are read as various kinds of dragons in modern scholarly literature. The legendary dragon of medieval folklore is usually conceived as a huge, reciprocal to the one ...
bat-winged, fire-breathing, scaly lizard or snake with a barbed tail. Despite assertions to the contrary, snakes were not symbolic of the principle of evil, and dragons possessed both protective and terror-inspiring qualities.

It is important to understand that, in antiquity, the character of the composite being was not a constant. For instance, the Anzu-bird (Fig 1), a composite of an eagle with a lion’s head, was considered the protector of various city-states of southern Mesopotamia in the third millennium BC. Ur-Namma, founder of the third dynasty of Ur, placed Anzu on the lintel to guard Enlil’s temple in the holy city of Nippur, while a large copper image of Anzu has been found which originally graced the entrance to the temple of the mother goddess Ninhursag in Nutur (modern Ubaid). Nevertheless, by the beginning of the second millennium BC, Anzu was known as an evil bird, who stole the Tablets of Destiny and had to be overcome by the champion of the gods, Ninurta.

Symbolic representation was not uniform but fluid, especially in the ancient Near East, where the meaning and significance of the image changed depending on the context of the accompanying imagery. Good examples are the composite beings incorporating such fearsome attributes of the lion or bird: five-pronged claws and sharp teeth, which can be understood as both attackers and defenders. Their role is determined by context as much as by characteristics. For instance, the so-called lion-demon found among Mesopotamian composite creatures - a creature with the head of a lion, upright ears, and talons of a bird, and a two-legged human torso - appears in Mesopotamian iconography for two millennia. It has been identified as ugalu, the ‘avertor of the evil-doers and the enemies’, figures of which were to be buried on the right and left sides of the passage of the outer gates of buildings, indicating their function as gate-keepers. Another gate-keeper, Petēl (‘Opener’), the doorkeeper of the underworld, had the same characteristics: the head of a lion, the hands of a human, and the feet of a bird. He imprisoned the evil demons plaguing individuals with panic attacks, terrifying dreams, ghosts, and every other evil. However, on second-millennium (Old Babylonian) seals, the same image of the lion-demon often holds a human victim upside down by one leg or grasps his head. Similarly, also included among the inhabitants of the underworld is the evil utukku, who is described as having the head of a lion and the hands and feet of the Anzu-bird. The close affinity in the iconography of beneficent and malevolent composite creatures is probably no accident and may derive from the magical

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Fig 9 (top left). Seal with mythical creatures. Haematite. Syria, c. 1800-1600 BC. H. 2.1cm. Mesopotamian humanoid figures (two gods and a human carrying a sacrifice) and mythological animals (a pair of sphinxes, a griffin, and lion-serpent hybrid). BMJ 561. Cat. no. 88.

Fig 10 (above bottom left). Seal with fish-garbed Apkallu. Chalcedony. Neo-Babylonian. 800-600 BC. H. 2.8cm. Two winged genii hold buckets in their left hands and gesture with cones in their right towards a stylized sacred tree. To the right a fish-man, apkallu also grasps a bucket and cone. The scene depicts a Babylonian interpretation of an Assyrian ritual: the purification of the sacred tree. This possibly symbolized both divine world order and its earthly administrator, the king. BMJ 575. Cat. no. 13.

Fig 11 (above right). Seal and impression with mushussu platform. Grey stone. Southern Mesopotamia, Neo-Babylonian. 700-600 BC. H. 2.2cm. Conoid stamp seal with the mushussu-dragon supporting a platform and two standards, a spade, and a stylus (the emblem of Nabu, god of writing). BMJ 1024. Cat. no. 23.

Fig 12 (above bottom right). Stamp seal depicting suhrusha. Amethyst. South Mesopotamia or southern Arabia. 1st millennium BC. W. 2.0cm. The seal depicts the suhrusha with a head, neck, and forelegs of a goat and the scaly body and tail of a fish. A broken inscription in South Arabian script seems to refer to the seal’s owner. BMJ 1099a. Cat. no. 1.
and psychological notion of combating like with like.

These composite creatures, although springing from the manipulation of human-headed bison (Taurus) and human-headed bull (Capricorn) and from the imagination, were well suited to participate and operate in the magically charged reality conceived by ancient peoples. Accordingly, various evil demons could be controlled through practising magical rites intended to protect humans from their malevolent attentions - by speech (invoking curses, incantations and spells) and through actions (making physical representations of the specific evil demons which were to be exorcised). Likewise, good demons could be invoked by similar processes. While it was necessary for representations of evil demons to be destroyed at the end of the rite, images of good demons were preserved to ensure continued protection against future attacks by their malevolent counterparts. These images were placed at doorways, buried under doorills, hung on walls, or placed in furniture, and worn around the neck of a suffering person.

These hybrid creatures were thought to inhabit various liminal spaces in the sea, earth, and sky, in those regions that were on the periphery of the universe. For instance, in the first-millennium Babylonian World Map, the beasts which Marduk created, in addition to real animals, on top of the restless sea at the edge of the world, included the bazu-stu-dragon, the great mushussu-dragon (Fig 11), Anzu the lion-headed eagle, the human-headed ram, and the lion-headed man. However, in the third millennium BC, the monsters were associated with the mountains at the ends of the earth and only in the course of the second millennium BC did the sea replace the mountains as the geographical focus of monster mythology. Lastly, beginning in the second millennium BC, the sky was home to the monsters that appear in the night sky as constellations, such as the snake-dragon (Hydra), bull-man and human-headed bison (Taurus) and human-headed bull (Capricorn). The standardisation of the zodiacal signs in the first millennium BC and their adoption by the Greeks led to identical monsters inhabiting the night skies in both Babylon and Greece.

Although the images are similar in the ancient Near East and in the classical world, their symbolism may be similar or different. Indeed, certain images do not appear to have crossed into other cultures. The Anzu-bird, the snake-dragon, and the lion-man of Mesopotamia never entered classical iconography, while the ketos (sea dragon) and the satyr were limited to the classical world. On the other hand, the image of the winged lion appeared not only in the ancient Near East and in the classical world but also remains with us to this day as the symbol of St Mark. The religious iconography of the ancients who personified their fears as awe-inspiring monsters thus continued into the medieval world of fable and heraldry, enduring today even into modern conceptions of the imaginary.

'Dragons, Monsters and Fabulous Beasts' runs at the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem until early April. The exhibition is divided into four categories: creatures of the sea; of the earth; of the air; and battles of the gods and mortals against the monsters. A catalogue by the same name and edited by Joan Goodnick Westenholz is available in paperback for £31.99 (Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem 2004; 193pp, 157 colour illus.).
ANTIQUITIES AT THE MONTREAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, CANADA

Hilliard T. Goldfarb

The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (Fig 1), founded in 1860 and the oldest public collection in Canada, is perhaps best known for its collections of European and Canadian paintings and sculptures and its extensive holdings in the decorative arts, including approximately 4000 post-War works. For nearly a century, however, important artefacts from the ancient Near East and the cultures of Greece and Rome have been acquired. Approximately 700 works in the permanent collection have been augmented by 74 pieces recently placed on extended loan from the Dinacopoulos Collection of Quebec and a remarkable late 5th-century mosaic floor on loan from the government of Syria (Fig 18). These collections include some highly interesting

![Fig 1 (right). The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Facade of the Michal and Renada Hornstein Pavilion. Photo: Christine Guest, MMFA](image1)

![Fig 2 (below left). Vase with decoration of flamingos. Pottery, Egypt. Pre-dynastic period, 4000-3200 BC. H. 14.8 cm. Gift of Miss Mabel Molson, 1925.B.1.](image2)

![Fig 3 (bottom left). Hippopotamus statuette. Wood, Egypt, New Kingdom, 1570-1085 BC. L. 15.8 cm. F. Cleveland Morgan Bequest, 1962.B.2.](image3)

![Fig 4 (below middle). Middle Kingdom statue of a man. Wood, traces of polychrome. Egypt, 12th Dynasty, 1991-1786 BC. H. 94 cm. Gift of F. Cleveland Morgan, 1951.B.1.](image4)

![Fig 5 (below). Coffin of Isis-weret, the aulstrum player of the god Min. Carved, gessoed, and painted wood. Egypt, Abydos region, 26th Dynasty-Saitet, 664-525 BC. H. 180 cm. Gift of the Honourable Serge Jolal, P.C., O.C., 1999.36.](image5)

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Ancient Art in Montreal

and rare works and noteworthy groups of objects. This article presents a selection of some of the highlights to the public for the first time.

The first Egyptian antiquities to enter the collection, three Coptic textiles, came as the result of a gift made in 1917 by F. Cleveland Morgan, a Montreal collector and decorative arts curator. The museum now owns well over 100 ancient Egyptian objects (Fig. 9). These range in date from a handsome pre-dynastic two-handled ceramic vase (4000-3200 BC) bearing reddish paint decorations of zig-zag bands and flamingos (Fig. 2), one of five notable pieces from that period, to a relief fragment representing an offering to Osiris by Nectanebo II, the last native Egyptian pharaoh, dating to the 30th dynasty (359-343 BC). The collection encompasses works dating from the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms (Figs. 3, 4).

Late pieces include two Fayum encaustic funerary portrait masks. The earlier, of a young woman, dates to about AD 100, while that of a bearded man dates to between AD 175 and 200. Coptic-period pieces include the aforementioned textiles and a handsome 5th-century capital with animal frieze ornamentation and Roman decorative motifs, one of three intricately carved relief fragments, deriving from the 4th-century convent of Sheikh Ibâda in central Egypt.

One of the most exceptional Egyptian pieces (Fig. 4) is an unusually large sculpture in wood of a young man dating to the 12th dynasty (1991-1786 BC). The figure retains extensive traces of its original polychrome, including the subject's wig, eyes, necklace, and detailing of his abdominal musculature. Wearing the high-waisted kilt and rounded wig of an official, he originally held a spear or pole in his upright hand.

A recent addition to our Middle Kingdom holdings is a polychrome statuette of a seated Anubis, executed in wood and plaster. Another recent accession is a carved coffin-case of painted and plaster-coated wood of Isis-Wedet, a musician to the fertility god Min (Fig. 5). This work dates to the 26th dynasty, the Saite period (664-525 BC). On the cover, beneath the head and extended necklace design, the goddess Nut is depicted with outstretched wings. Extensive hieroglyphic inscriptions identify her priestly father, as well as her mother and daughter, as temple sistrum players. Dating to the Persian period (525-332 BC) is an elegant bronze, polychrome wood and plastered canvas ibis, 30 x 27 cm. The collection also includes a range of utilitarian and small objects, including several lovely New Kingdom and Saite period alabaster pots and jars and a perennially popular funerary figurine of a hippopotamus in wood (Fig. 3).

Fig 8 (left). Bronze pinhead talisman of a goddess flanked by two rampant monsters. Luristan, Iran, 8th-7th century BC. Gift of Elizabeth Fisher, 1933. Dm. 4.

Fig 9 (below). View of the Egyptian and Assyrian Gallery at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art. Photo Brian Merret, MMFA.
Moving to the Asian continent, the museum possesses many Luristan ornamented bronzes (Figs 7, 8), including axe-heads and blades, a bracelet, horse cheek plates, harness ornaments, pins, and idol figures, as well as bronze vessels. The museum also owns a particularly fine and intact Amlash culture female steatopygous figure in terracotta from c. 1000 BC. Noteworthy is the imposing Assyrian alabaster bas relief from the architectural decoration of the palace at Nimrud of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC). The fragment, dating before 877 BC, depicts a richly attired eagle-headed and winged genie anointing a sacred date-palm tree with his right hand while holding a bucket in his left (Fig 6). The extensive cuneiform inscriptions enumerate the king’s titles and victories. As indicated by the end of the toe at the far left of the fragment, the tree was originally flanked by a symmetrical genie figure. (That part of the relief is now in the collection of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Connecticut.)

The museum’s collection of Greek and Roman antiquities was initiated in 1918 with the accession of a Bronze Age (14th-century BC) ovoid-shaped amphoroid jar from Rhodes with painted panels bearing geometric designs, a Hellenistic rhyton with bull’s head, and two Roman bronze bracelets. While the collection continued to grow steadily into the 1960s, a re-energised focus on antiquities in the last six years has been undertaken by the current director, Guy Cogeval. His initiatives are reflected in the hiring of Dr John Forsey, a distinguished specialist in ancient Greece (especially Boeotia) as curator of archaeology, making a number of important acquisitions and loans, initiating the unique North American presentation of the recent Tanagra terracottas exhibition organised by the Louvre, and re-opening the expanded antiquities galleries in 2003. These activities have generated new attention and study of Montreal’s holdings.

The collection has expanded since its inception to encompass marble sculpture, a wide range of Greek black- and red-figure pottery and terracotta statuettes, numismatics, painting fragments, and a particularly rich collection of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine glass vessels. Originating with the donation by Harry A. Norton of 169 fine pieces, mostly presented in 1953, and enriched by notable recent acquisitions, the glass collection presents the development of glassmaking tech-


Fig 11 (above right). View of the Greek-Roman Gallery at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art. Photo Brian Merrett, MMFA.

Fig 12 (below left). Athletes with trainers on an Attic black-figure white ground lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter. Pottery. Attica, Greece, S05-485 BC. H. 27.5 cm. Purchase, gift of Miss Mabel Molson, 1925.25.B.

Fig 13 (below right). Three men celebrating a komos on an Attic red-figure column krater by the Leningrad Painter. Pottery. Attica, Greece, c. 450-425 BC. 45 x 38 cm. Purchase, 1946.CB.2.
niques from the Greek to Byzantine periods: from a 6th century BC core-formed aryballos with combed decoration (Fig 10) to Roman blown glass of various styles and decorative techniques (Fig 16), and a 7th-century Jerusalem mould-blown pilgrim flask with lozenge-shaped decorative panels and a Cross of Golgotha. The museum also owns a large collection of ancient lamps spanning 2000 years of development, geographically crossing the ancient Near East, Greece, and the Roman and Byzantine empires.

Greek pottery in the permanent collection includes several outstanding pieces: a handsome group of early ripe animal style Corinthian pieces from c. 625 BC; a fine Attic black-figure amphora by a Leagros Group painter dating from the late 6th century and depicting Dionysos with maenads and satyrs, and other deities; an Attic black-figure hydria (c. 500 BC) depicting Dionysos and two satyrs, attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter; a black-figure lekythos of the same date depicting an athlete and his trainer, by the Edinburgh Painter (Fig 12); a handsome red-figure statue of a girl seated dating to about 465 BC and depicting Dionysos, maenads and satyrs with an interior decoration of a courtyard couple, by the Ancona Painter; and a spectacular red-figure column krater by the Leningrad Painter (second quarter of the 5th century BC) with three celebrants of a komeos on side A (Fig 13) and three youths on side B.

Overall, the vase collection spans the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period with a wide range of types of vessels and regional origins. Other notable works among the terracotta and pottery holdings include three Southern Italian pieces: a Sicilian archaic portable altar with a moulded frieze of racing equestrians, dating to...
Ancient Art in Montreal

the 7th-6th century BC, a Hellenistic funerary urn (with lid) of a woman from Chalkis, notably for its fine condition and extensive polychrome decoration and drawing; and a recently acquired Ephesimos group, with a confirmed thermoluminescence-tested date of about 170 BC, in which the girl conventionally shown riding on the back of another has been converted to an eke. This work is notable for its extensive original polychrome surface (Fig 15). Several small Boeotian figurines dating from the Archaic period (including an 8th-7th century BC horse with geometric designs and a 'pappus' bird-faced terracotta from the mid-6th century) to the late Hellenistic period have also been recently added to the collection. Amongst the museum’s reliefs is a complete 4th-century AD lead sarcophagus from Tyre with a lid executed with repoussé decoration of Corinthian columns, kantaths, and spirals, with most of the remaining polychromy preserved by its very finely preserved condition.

The sculpture collection is small and includes common types, such as a Meleager torso and 1st and 3rd century Roman portrait heads. However, the group does include a few notable pieces, the earliest of which is a Cycladic II female idol of the 'Dhokathomata' type, carved in Parian marble and dating to the third millennium BC. An exciting recent acquisition is a lifesize marble Apollo of the 'Apollo Chigi' type (Fig 15), after a Greek original of c. 370 BC, in the style of the school of Polykleitos, dating to the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century AD. Compared with the four other known versions of the type in Rome, the Vatican, Oxford, and St Petersburg, the Montreal Apollo is clearly the most beautifully carved. The work, which, even missing its head, remains a monumental example of the 2nd century BC. The body is painted in a vivid red-figure manner, and the face is skillfully rendered, with a Hellenistic sensuality and sensitivity notable for the period. The fact that a recent examination of the character, the quartz crystal structure, and silver veins of the marble indicates Paros as the source, confirms the importance and wealth of the patron. Soil stains, evidence of the ancient hand-held drill, and traces of ancient paint further authenticate the piece. The work retains a small fragment of the bow of Apollo. The sculpture was evidently intended to be seen primarily from the front and sides in the Roman manner.

The Diniacopoulos Collection
Born in Istanbul and later resident in Alexandria, in the early 20th century, Vincent Diniacopoulos and his wife Olga acquired a remarkable collection of Egyptian and Greek art, especially vases, terracottas, and stone sculptures. After their immigration to Montreal in 1951, this antiquities collection became the most important private one in Canada. Upon his death, 74 objects from the Greek and Roman group were acquired in 1968 by the Quebec government. Until recently the collection was placed in reserve at Laval University, but was transferred in winter 2003 to the Musée National des Beaux-Arts du Québec (then the Musée du Québec). The pieces are now on an extended loan to Montreal through the generosity of that institution, and many of them are currently on exhibition.

The Diniacopoulos collection wonderfully complements the holdings of the Montreal Museum, filling in lacunae, especially in certain types: black- and red-figure vases, Greek stone sculpture, and metallic objects.

The collection includes the following noteworthy vases: two small geometrically-designed Mycenaean striaup jars (1350–1190 BC), a handsome Attic Diphros head, a Cycladic female amphora; and a remarkable Attic red-figure panathenaic amphora attributed to the Kleophon Painter and dating to c. 430 BC. The amphora features Hermes leading a dead youth to Charon and his boat on side A and three young Bacchantes playing the lyre on side A. The vase is the only known red-figure representation of Charon.

The stone sculpture group includes two exceptional pieces, both dating to the early 4th century BC. The larger piece is the fragment of an Attic funerary stele, representing the head of a woman with a hairstyle, possibly of a horsehair coiffure. The second fragment derives from a funerary stele, also from the necropolis of Koropi in Attica. It poignantly depicts at right a woman seated on a diphros who has died in childbirth, with a female relative at the left in chiton and mantle, like the seated deceased, holding the infant wrapped in swaddling clothes. The piece is missing the head of the attendant figure, including her face and a portion of the base, but most of the figure group is intact and the palpable grief subtly suggested in the gestures and tiling of the head of the deceased are very moving.

Among the works in metal, three are particularly worthy of comment: a bronze mirror from Alexandria, dating to the 3rd century BC and featuring a head of a Gorgon in relief and a pair of lovely decorated silver khanthari, also from Alexandria and dating to the 1st century BC.

Major Loan from the Syrian Republic
The museum is also fortunate to have a Palaeo-Christian masterpiece on loan from the government of Syria. Between 1996 and 1998, 82 fragments of mosaic stolen and smuggled out of Syria were intercepted in Montreal en route to the United States. Professor John M. Fossey of McGill University, later to become our curator, directed the examination and research of these pieces, identifying their origin at a Palaeo-Christian site in north-western Syria and dating the mosaics through character and style to the early 6th century. The majority of the works decorated the floors of churches.

As a result of this detective work, the Canadian authorities decreed to repatriate the mosaics back to the Syrian government. However, opposition from the Office of the Canadian and the researches of Dr Fossey and his team, the Syrian government consented to lend to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts an extraordinary mosaic floor measuring 347 x 194cm (Fig 18). Originating from a church, the floor is decorated in its centre with a panel of lambs with low relief of the Tree of Life, framed by roundels with eucharistic symbols including bread, fish, a chalice, a ewer, and birds of paradise/peace. The restrained palette of tans, browns, greys, and black corresponds to the geometry of the mosaic region in which the mosaic was created and installed. As is evident (Fig 18), the thieves cut the floor into two segments to facilitate transport. Fortunately, the composition remains virtually intact. The floor is now dramatically exhibited on a re-enforced wall in one of the re-installed antiquities galleries.

As is evident from this preliminary overview, Montreal's antiquities collections, while of moderate scale, contain treasures that are only now receiving the scholarly and public attention they merit. For the casual visitor and expert alike, the re-opened galleries offer many interesting encounters.

The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, PO Box 3000, Station H, Montreal, Quebec H3G 2T9, Canada.

THE SUMMER & AUTUMN 2004 ANTIQUITIES SALES

A record number of quality antiquities were offered in the London, New York, and Paris salerooms this past season. Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D., presents his 29th bi-annual report which corroborates the rapidly growing fervour for the best available ancient art.

THE BOOMING 2004 ANCIENT ART MARKET

The past year saw a spectacular increase in the number of top objects being offered for sale in the US and Europe. In the main auction rooms of New York and London there was a surprising turnover of about $70,800,000 (or £38,000,000), a remarkable 82% increase over the previous year. This will be a very difficult act to follow. Considering that the principal private owner sales in the New York and London salerooms (Mildenberg, Morven, Pankow, Guttmann, and the Bonham glass vendor) added up to about $27,387,000 (only 38% of the total volume), the results of the many other choice pieces offered in the mixed owner sales were certainly impressive. In addition, the salerooms in Paris brought forth some unexpectedly rich results, adding at least another $10,000,000 in sales.

In the writer's review of the 2003 market (Minerva, March/April 2004, pp. 25-26), a noticeable increased interest by the public was emphasised, especially serious art collectors, in collecting ancient art despite the continuing negative press instigated by such foes of the market as Lord Renfrew in England and Dr Ricardo Ella in the United States. This and the many articles and TV programmes published on the unfortunate looting of the museum in Baghdad have also served to bring about an increased awareness of the fact that one can actually buy ancient works of art from many reputable sources and quite often with excellent provenances.

The great leap in sales last year, and the rapidly increasing activity, are certainly noticeable in the following figures based on the sales for Christie's and Sotheby's in New York and London, and including Bonham's London for 2002 through 2004, at which time their sales increased substantially. The figures include 'single owner' sales. The effect of the American stock market crash at the end of 2000 on the entire auction market, and its recovery the following two years, is apparent in the totals for 2001-2003, when it was a challenge for the auction houses to attract major consignors.

1992: Total for Christie's & Sotheby's - $18,620,436
1999: Total for Christie's & Sotheby's - $30,317,591
2000: Total for Christie's & Sotheby's - $36,809,000
2001: Total for Christie's & Sotheby's - $27,437,043
2002: Total for NY & London sales - $37,440,656
2003: Total for NY & London sales - $38,872,184
2004: Total for NY & London sales - $70,800,000

The total this past year of 'single owner' sales realising over $1,000,000 is quite impressive - $27,387,000. Only ten were held by Christie's and Sotheby's from 1990 to 1994 totalling $39,222,619; just three from 1995 to 1999 totalling $18,028,448; and seven from 2000 to 2003 totalling $19,261,834. Eager new buyers and increasingly higher prices are attracting potential consignors, some of whom have remained on the sidelines for several years.

ROMAN CONSULAR DIPTYCH LEAF
SOLD AT SOTHEBY'S LONDON

It is rare that a choice Late Roman ivory consular diptych leaf is offered for sale (Fig 1). In a 22 June sale of western manuscripts and miniatures at Sotheby's London, the example once owned by Martine, Comptesse de Béhague, was again offered for sale having appeared last at the sale of her property...
at Sotheby's Monaco on 5 December 1987, when it was acquired by a French collector for Frs 1,800,000 (though estimated at Frs 2,500,000-3,500,000), equal to £320,400 at the time. The youthful consul holds a sceptre surmounted by a cross. At 34.6cm high, it is one of only 43 known and was the only one in private hands.

Until the late 19th century the dipylon was in the Barberini Library, after which it was acquired by the Comtesse by 1909. In 2004 it was purchased by Madrid's Museo Arqueológico Nacional for £851,200 ($1,549,184) against an estimate of £500,000-700,000. (All prices realised in this article include the premium, which usually ranges from 15% to 20%).

BONHAMS RE-OFFERS MAJOR GROUP OF GLASS VESSELS AND EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE

As briefly noted in the September/October issue of Minerva, Bonhams held an unusual single-owner sale on 14 July of 25 'highly important antiquities' in London, including 13 ancient glass vessels, seven Egyptian antiquities, and three Precolumbian gold objects, all acquired in 1997-98. The famed Constable-Maxwell Roman glass cage cup (Fig 4), c. AD 300, h. 10cm, estimated at £1,500,000-2,000,000, sold for £2,646,650 on the telephone, slightly increasing its previous world record price of £2,311,500 set in 1997. This and all of the other glass vessels, except for a cameo glass skysthos, were acquired from the present owner, thought to be a Qatari sheikh, at the British Rail Pension Fund sale at Sotheby's on 24 November 1997. (For a full report see Minerva, March/April 1998, pp. 25-29.) The British Rail Pension Fund had paid £572,000 for it at the Constable-Maxwell sale, Sotheby's London, in 1979 - then also a world record. Seven of the 12 glass vessels were purchased by the Fund at the 1979 sale. 
The Constable-Maxwell Roman cameo glass skyphos with charioteers (Fig 5), first half of the 1st century AD, height as restored 8.1cm (the foot and one handle are new), estimate now only £100,000-150,000, brought £215,650 from the buyer of the cage cup. Having brought £496,500 in 1997, why was the estimate so drastically reduced? This is one of only two cameo glass vessels that was in private hands. A Hellenistic pale green glass skyphos (Fig 3), late 3rd-2nd century BC, h. 13.2cm, sold for £182,650 against an estimate of £150,000-180,000; in 1997 it had reached £265,500. Another Hellenistic glass vessel, a mosaic bowl (Fig 5), late 3rd-2nd century BC, h. 7.5cm, estimate again £150,000-180,000, brought just £171,650 from the same buyer; in 1997 it sold for £276,500.

A Roman iridescent yellow-green mould-blown glass cup signed by Aristeas (Fig 7), mid-1st century AD, h. 6.4cm, sold for £227,000 in 1997; now estimated at just £100,000-150,000 it reached £160,650 secured by the cage cup buyer. On the other hand, a Late Hellenistic-early Roman opaque red glass bottle, 1st century BC/AD, h. 16.5cm, that sold for just £58,700, now brought £116,650, well over its £30,000-£50,000 estimate. In addition, a Roman yellowish-green glass ‘swan’ kylix festooned with white trailing, 2nd half of the 1st century-2nd century AD, h. 13.3cm, brought £100,150 from the buyer of the cage cup, also considerably higher than the estimate of £40,000-60,000 and its sale for £56,500 in 1997. Estimated at £60,000-£80,000, a Roman mould-blown yellowish-green ‘mythological’ beaker, late 1st-early 2nd century AD, h. 12.3cm, sold for
Autumn Antiquities Sales

£105,650 to the same buyer, well below the £144,500 it brought seven years ago. An Anglo-Saxon pale green glass bucket excavated in 1972 in Bury St Edmunds, c. 5th century AD, h. 13 cm, brought a resounding £205,000 in 1997 (having been acquired for just £17,600 in 1977), but now went for only £116,650 to the buyer of the Helenistic skyphos, not much higher than its estimate of £70,000-90,000. (See Minerva, March/April 1998, pp. 25-29, for illustrations and full details of these last few and other vessels which were in the current sale.)

A superb Egyptian dark grey basalt block statue of General Pakyry (26th Dynasty, reign of Psamtek I, 664-610 BC, h. 31.4 cm from the Omar Pacha Sultan collection (Fig 2), was published in 1929. It sold for £680,000 at Sotheby’s New York on 17 December 1997. Now estimated at an inexplicably low £200,000-300,000, it fetched £666,650, nearly double its last sale, from the buyer of the Helenistic glass skyphos, an American attending the sale. A striking large white faience shabti of Ay (Fig 8), governor of Thebes and later pharaoh, 18th Dynasty, c. 1360-1330 BC, h. 22.7 cm from the same collection, was acquired in a 1905 French sale. In 1997 it reached £189,500. Now bidding another extremely low estimate of £50,000-80,000, it elicited a three-way battle, including two telephone bidders, finally taking the bidding to a well-deserved £215,650 from the buyer of the cage cup. (See Minerva, March/April 1998, p. 31, for full details on these two items.)

Three private buyers accounted for all but one of the 25 lots! The sale totalled £5,261,300, with all of the lots sold. It was obvious that the owner wanted to sell his property quickly and at a profit, a strategy consistent for the fine prices. The group of glass vases brought a total of only some 10% more than their 1997 prices, though the original purchases made to the Fund in 1979 increased nearly four times in value by the time they were sold in 1997. Much speculation was bandied about not only the identity of the vendor but also that of the three bidders.

THE HOPE PHARAOH SOLD AGAIN BY CHRISTIE’S NEW YORK
Six antiquities were included out of the 704 lots at the 20 October Christie’s New York sale of the C. Ruxton (1903-1971) and Audrey B. Love (1903-2003) collection, which featured European furniture and Asian works of art. The sale featured an outstanding Roman banded alabaster fragment figure of a paedagogus (Fig 9), c. 1st-2nd century AD, h. 99.7 cm, from the collection of Thomas Hope (1769-1831), acquired by him in the late 18th century and published by him in a book of his furnishings and antiquities in 1807. Sold by his descendants at Christie’s London, 23-24 July 1917, it was purchased by Mr Love at Park-Bernet, New York, on 23-25 September 1954. Once thought to be an example of 18th-century Egyptian faience, the Hope Pharaoh is now recognised as Roman and perhaps the Emperor Domitius in the guise of a pharaoh. Now offered again by Christie’s 87 years later and estimated at £300,000-500,000, it made £791,500. The six antiquities totalled £879,572.

MILDENBERG ANIMALS AUCTIONED AT CHRISTIE’S LONDON
Leo Mildenberg (1913-2001) was a distinguished numismatist, scholar, and author specializing in ancient Sicilian and Jewish coins. He established the numismatic department at Bank Leu in Zurich in the late 1940s, which he ran for many years, while also dealing in small antiquities. For some 50 years he was a passionate collector of animals, eventually acquiring some 1500 pieces for his zoo. Parts of his collection were exhibited in American, European, and Israeli museums from 1981 to 1999, and five books were published on parts of his collection during this time. A sixth, A Peacable Kingdom, Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection (Part VI, 2004), has just appeared. (The writer had the pleasure of his close friendship for 47 years.)

The Christie’s sale, held on 26-27 October, ‘A Peacable Kingdom: The Leo Mildenberg Collection of Animals’, consisted of 415 lots, comprising some 500 animals. The star of the sale was ‘Hubert’, an exceptionally fine Egyptian Middle Kingdom turquois-blue faience hippopotamus with drawings of Nilotic fauna and flora featuring a delightful frog eyes and a cross-eyed butterfly (Fig 10), c. 2040-1783 BC, l. 12.8 cm. Estimated at £300,000-500,000, it brought £621,250 (1,141,236) from a Japanese dealer, Noriyoshi Horuchii, probably bidding for the Miho Museum, setting a record for an Egyptian faience antiquity at auction. Since the hippo from the Reverend MacGregor collection sold at Sotheby’s London on 10 July 1990 for £528,000 to a London dealer, one would have expected it to sell for considerably more, even though the colour was not as strong, for the scene depicted on it places it amongst the finest examples known.

‘Omar’, a small, fragmentary but extremely rare Mesopotamian inlaid limestone leopard (Fig 11), late 4th millennium BC, l. 8.8 cm, estimated at £400,000-600,000, sold for £296,450 winning bid by Mr Horuchii. A highly stylised Elamite banded agate recumbent bull (Fig 12), c. 12th century BC, l. 7.1 cm, bearing a low estimate of £15,000-25,000, was highly contested, finally selling for £89,250. ‘Ferdinand’, a large, intricately inlaid Egyptian bronze Apis bull, 26th Dynasty, l. 11.4 cm, bearing an inscription naming him ‘Osiris-Apis’, brought £65,725 from a European private collector, just over the £40,000-60,000 estimate. A very pale green Egyptian faience crouching cat, with a broken neck, just FFr 88,000 at the Sotheby Monte Carlo sale for Martine, Comptesse de Béhague, 5 December 1987, jumped far beyond its £20,000-30,000 estimate, reaching £65,725. A small and fragmentary light green Egyptian faience cricket or grasshopper, 19th c. l. 5 cm, estimate £72,000-18,000, also leaped to a surprising £65,725.

A unique Attic black-figure amphora depicting octopods, dolphins, tunny fish, crabs, and swans flanking the handles (Fig 13), rather than the usual mythological or human representations, late 6th century BC, h. 27 cm, was estimated very conservatively at £50,000-80,000, despite its rarity and beauty. Following a protracted battle, one of two determined telephone bidders won it for a resounding £397,250. An Attic geometric kantullos with two confronting horses tethered to a tripod manger on each side, c. 750-730 BC, h. 17 cm, bearing a proper estimate of £15,000-20,000, went for £53,775. A striking but busy Apulian fish plate by the Costantini Painter, with two large octopods and four fish, c. 320-300 BC, d. 24 cm, already estimated at a healthy £20,000-30,000, set a world record for a fish plate when it brought £47,800 from an English collector. This very successful sale realised £3,617,460, with 89% of the lots sold by number and 98% by value. A further selection of Mildenberg animals was offered at Christie’s New York 9-10 December sales.

MORE VOLLMUeller COPIC TEXTILES SOLD AT CHRISTIE’S LONDON
A small sale of 101 lots of antiquities at Christie’s London’s two-day Mildenberg sale. It included several more Coptic textiles from the Heidi Vollmueller collection. A large (127 x 34.5 cm) brilliantly coloured textile panel of a grape vine branch flanked by bands of leaves (Fig 15), c. 4th century AD, estimate £60,000-80,000, sold for £77,675 to a European museum. A second museum purchased a fine wool and linen textile fringed panel depicting a centaur playing a double flute (Fig 14), c. 5th-6th century AD, 52 x 46 cm. A small but rare Egyptian limestone bull-headed ceremonial mace head, c. 3000 BC, h. 3.8 cm, from the Colonel Norman Colville (1893-1974) collection, was certainly conserv-
Fig 16 (left). Attic red-figure ‘kalo’s kylix from the Proto-Panathian Group, c. 510-500 BC, max. diam. 24 cm. The tondo depicts a himation-clad male looking adoringly at a naked nude boy, holding a hoop and stick, returning his gaze. An inscription reads ‘Athenodotus is beautiful’.

Fig 17 (above right). Roman marble double-faced revolting panel, c. 1st-2nd century AD. 37.5 x 25cm. Carved in high relief with profile heads of the young Dionysos and a bearded satyr, a pedum between them.

Fig 18 (left). Egyptian polychrome sarcophagus mask, 19th-21st Dynasty, c. 1305-946 BC. W. 22.6 cm.

Fig 19 (below left). Egyptian limestone pair statue of the steward Kar and his wife Khentetnut, 5th Dynasty, c. 2520-2340 BC. H. 60.9 cm.

Fig 20 (right). Polychrome wood coffin board of a lady, 21st Dynasty, c. 1075-944 BC. H. 198 cm.

Atively estimated at £7,000-10,000, but brought about a no-holds-barred contest from two determined buyers, finally being knocked down for a surprising £59,750. The sale totalled £607,250, with only 62% of the lots sold by number and 66% by value.

BONHAM'S SELLS HUNT ‘KALOS’ KYLIX

In their antiquities sale of 28 October, Bonham's offered the Attic red-figure 'kalo’s kylix (Fig 16), c. 510-500 BC, max. diam. 24 cm, once in the collection of Nelson Bunker Hunt and sold in the Hunt sale at Sotheby's New York 19 June 1990 for $231,000, well over its $75,000-$125,000 estimate. Now finally attributed to the Proto-Panathian Group, the tondo depicts a himation-clad male looking adoringly at a naked nude boy, holding a hoop and stick, returning his gaze. The kalo’s inscription reads ‘Athenodotus is beautiful’. Each of the sides depicts a warrior arming himself, flanked by three companions. Another inscription reads 'The boy is beautiful'.

On 20 October 1999 Christie's London placed it on sale with an estimate of £150,000-200,000, but it found no buyer near that price. Now estimated at a more realistic £100,000-150,000, it sold to an American collector for £116,650.

A well-executed Roman marble double-faced revolting panel (Fig 17), c. 1st-2nd century AD, 37.5 x 25 cm, is carved in high relief with profile heads of the young Dionysos and a bearded satyr, a pedum between them. On the low relief reverse a keros (sea monster) rides the waves. These panels and their circular companions were placed in windows for ventilation. The very low estimate of £15,000-20,000 did not prevent it from selling to a European dealer for £111,150. The only other piece in the sale that sold for more
than £5800 was an Attic black-figure amphora, c. 525-500 BC, h. 40.4cm, that had just a register of three animals on each side of the shoulder and the usual palmettes on the neck. Though the estimate of £4000-6000 was quite low, one certainly did not expect it to bring a whopping £52,580! The sale of 322 lots totalled £37,038, with 76.6% sold by number of lots and 82.9% sold by value.

PANKOW EGYPTIAN COLLECTION SOLD BY SOTHEBY'S NEW YORK
Charles Pankow (1923-2004), chairman of a major construction company based in Altadena, California, assembled a major collection of Egyptian art from 1978 to 1986, buying mainly at auction and adding just a few pieces thereafter. He housed it, along with his other collections of classical antiquities, Chinese art, Pre-Columbian art, icons, and impressionist paintings in a historic mansion in San Francisco. His Egyptian collection, consisting of 162 lots, was sold by Sotheby's New York on 8 December.

A monumental granodiorite half figure of the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet from an enthroned statue (Fig 21), reign of Amenhotep III, c. 1390-1353 BC, h. 78.7cm, estimate £200,000-300,000, finally realised a resounding £612,800, despite its fragmentary condition, to a New York dealer executing the bids by mobile phone. This figure is most probably one of the very few such statues that stood within the precincts of the Temple of Mut at Thebes. An impressive (53.7cm) 21st-30th Dynasty enthroned bronze figure of another lion-headed goddess, Wadjet (Fig 22), inscribed 'May Wadjet give life to Ptolemy(?), son of Hor', sold at Christie's London on 12 December 2004 for £75,600. Now bearing an estimate of £200,000-300,000, it brought £33,600 from a telephone bidder. On an attenuated 5th Dynasty limestone pair statue of the steward Kar and his wife Khentetsut (Fig 19), c. 2520-2360 BC, h. 69.9cm, from the Vluger collection, the heads are unusually small for the bodies. However, that did not prevent a private collector from acquiring them for £400,000, a bit over the estimate of £250,000-350,000. Previously it had sold at Sotheby's New York, 1-2 March 1984, to Mr Pankow for £148,500.

A superb, delicately carved polychromé sarcophagus mask of the 19th-21st Dynasty (Fig 18), c. 1305-946 BC, w. 22.6cm, passed through two Sotheby sales - London, 10 July 1979 (sold for £462, lot no. 115), then New York, 11-12 November 1985, when Mr Pankow bought it for £17,600. Featured on the cover of the catalogue, and now valued at £50,000-70,000, it brought an astounding £372,000 from the buyer of the bronze Wadjet. An impressive (47.7cm) Predynastic dark brown basalt vase (Fig 23), c. 3500-3200, was sold at Sotheby's Hearammanek Collection sale,
22 May 1981, for $22,000. The extremely low estimate of $25,000-35,000 did not deter several bidders, but it finally went to the dealer who bought the granodiorite Sekhmet for a commission bid of a stunning $299,200. A large (33.7 cm) 26th Dynasty banded alabaster vase inscribed with the names of Necho II, 610-595 BC (Fig 24), originally from the Brummer collection, sold at Sotheby’s London 9 July 1973 to Avery Brundage for £2800 (Lot no. 77), then to Mr Pankow at Christie’s London, 10 December 1981, for only £3850. Now the estimate of $60,000-90,000 did not discourage the new buyer, a dealer - he purchased it for $232,000, no doubt for a client.

A large (109.9 x 63.5 cm) 6th Dynasty limestone false door for the priestess Henet (Fig 25), somewhat damaged, went for $24,200 at Sotheby’s London 10-11 December 1984. Estimated at only $50,000-80,000, it was secured by a dealer on the telephone for an impressive $232,000. A handsome granite sarcophagus of a prophet of Isis (Fig 26), c. 225-222 BC, 43.1 cm, probably from Mendes, acquired by Eloise Spaeth from Charles Dikran Kelekian, was sold to Mr Pankow by Sotheby’s New York on 30 May 1986 for $36,300. Conservatively valued at $70,000-100,000, it was sold to a private collector for $153,600.

An encaustic mummy portrait of a female, painted on wood, c. AD 55-70, 36.8 x 22.2 cm, published in the 1970s, bore an extremely low estimate of $20,000-30,000 (perhaps because one could not examine it by removing it from the glass frame), but quickly climbed to $142,400 to be won by a telephone bidder. A striking polychrome wood coffin board of a lady with a blue wig (Fig 20), 21st Dynasty, c. 1075-944 BC, h. 159 cm, was hammered down for $131,200, far over its $25,000-35,000 estimate (and due largely to the amount of repainting). It had sold for $33,000 at Christie’s London on 13 December 1988.

Lack of space precludes illustrating a number of additional pieces which brought winning bids over $100,000. Needless to say, the sale was certainly an unqualified success. All of the top ten lots sold exceeded their high estimates, often extensively. The sale totalled $6,961,291, nearly twice the high estimate, with 97.5% of the lots sold by number and 98.7% by value. There are obviously a number of new serious collectors in the market - of the 22 lots that sold for over $100,000, there were 13 different bidders.

The writer notes that a Ptolemaic basalt torso of a queen or goddess in the sale was sold by him for $100,000 in 1969, then bought back by the Metropolitan, New York in 1979, and now sold for $54,000. It is safe to say that fine Egyptian antiques have risen sharply in value over the past generation, but what with the competition for most of the top pieces nowadays between just a very few major collectors (several with apparently unlimited funds), can this continue if one or two stop buying in this field?

ROMAN PORTRAITS HIGHLIGHT SOTHEBY’S NEW YORK SALE

The cover piece for the catalogue of the 9 December Sotheby’s New York regular antiques sale was a superb Roman bronze head of Ptolemy of Mauretania (Fig 27), c. AD 5-20, h. 17.8 cm. He was the grandson of Antony and Cleopatra and the last of the Ptolemies. He and his father, Juba II, ruled Mauretania jointly after AD 21 and he was the sole ruler from c. AD 23-24. Acquired by Count Gustav Hamilton in Uppsala in the 1860s, it was passed down by descent to the present vendors. First published in 1901, it was published several more times and exhibited in the Landesmuseum, Bonn, in 1979-80. Estimated at $300,000-500,000, it easily surpassed it, selling to a telephone bidder for $960,000, setting a record for a Roman bronze portrait at auction.

An important Roman marble portrait bust of a woman with an elaborate coiffure of cork screw curls (Fig 28), c. AD 100-110, h. 58.4 cm, was first published by the Italian dealers Cesare and Ercole Canessa in 1902. Again, an estimate of $300,000-500,000 did not prevent. Mr Michael C. Carlos Museum from acquiring it for $820,000, another auction record (for a Roman marble portrait). A large Roman marble figure of the nude Aphrodite (Fig 29), perhaps a representation of the Empress Crispa, wife of Commodus, h. 81.6 cm, purchased by Count Doré de Nion in Rome in c. 1840 and passed down by descent in the family until the 1980s. It was acquired by a New York dealer who sold it to the present owner, a New York collector, in 1989. Yet again, a healthy estimate of $300,000-500,000 resulted in a purchase by a telephone bidder for $596,000. A handsome large Roman marble scul- lpture of a woman (Fig 30), c. late 1st century AD, h. 33.3 cm, purchased for $110,000 by a New York dealer at Sotheby’s New York on 2 December 1988, now sold to an American collector bidding by phone for a resounding $310,400, far above the low $75,000-125,000 estimate.

A Roman marble portrait head of Faustina the Younger, daughter of Antoninus Pius and wife of Marcus Aurelius, c. AD 160-180, h. 39.1 cm, sold at Sotheby’s New York on 8 December 1995 for $88,750. Estimated at $125,000-175,000, it was
knocked down for $176,000 from a phone bidder. A well-published late Hellenistic bronze figure of the nude Zeus, 1st century BC/AD, h. 24.7cm, from the Lawrence Fleischman collection, bearing a full estimate of $150,000-250,000, sold to a phone bidder for $164,800.

Complete stylised marble goddess figurines of the Kilia type from Anatolia, c. 3300-2500 BC, are difficult to find, especially larger examples, though the loose heads are not uncommon. The exceptional example in this sale (Fig 31), h. 15.9cm, from the Gustave and Frainyo Schindler collection, was estimated at what appeared to be a full price - $100,000-150,000. No one was prepared for the fantastic bidding war that broke out between a phone bidder and a New York dealer bidding for a client. It resulted in the dealer's final winning

Fig 27 (above left). Roman bronze head of Ptolemy of Mauretania, grandson of Antony and Cleopatra and the last of the Ptolemies, c. AD 5-20. H. 17.8 cm.

Fig 28 (above middle). Roman marble portrait bust of a woman with an elaborate coiffure of corkscrew curls, c. AD 100-110. H. 58.4 cm.

Fig 29 (above right). Roman marble figure of the nude Aphrodite, perhaps a representation of the Empress Crispina (AD 180-192), wife of Commodus. H. 81.6 cm.

Fig 30 (below left). Roman marble strigilated vase, c. late 1st century AD. H. 33.3 cm.

Fig 31 (right). Anatolian marble goddess figurines of the Kilia type from Anatolia, c. 3300-2500 BC. H. 15.9 cm.

Fig 32 (far right). An early Spedos Cycladic figure, c. 2700-2600 BC. H. 21.9 cm.
Autumn Antiquities Sales

Fig 33 (left). An Egyptian black granite head of a prince and high priest of Ptah, perhaps Khaemweset, 19th Dynasty, c. 1290-1213 BC. H. 28.6 cm, the face 17.1 cm.

Fig 34 (below left). An Egyptian 21st dynasty mythological papyrus of Tjenet-Sched-Khonsu painted in black, red, and yellow, c. 1075-944 BC; 22 x 124.5 cm.

bid of $764,000. In June 2003 a 10.3cm high idol, but not as choice, brought just $17,925 at a Christie’s New York sale.

Four Cycladic idols from the Schindler collection brought strong competition and unusually high prices. An early Spedos type (Fig 32), c. 2700-2600 BC, h. 21.9 cm, estimate $80,000-120,000, rose to $288,000 from a phone bidder even though it was missing a foot. A late Spedos type, c. 2600-2500 BC, h. 24.5 cm, though chipped in several places, estimate also $80,000-120,000, sold to a second phone bidder for $209,600. A slender Kapsala type, c. 2700-2600 BC, h. 24.1 cm, estimate $50,000-80,000, sold for $142,400 to yet a third phone bidder.

A slender, highly simplified Louros type, c. 2800-2700 BC, just 14 cm, was acquired by a floor bidder for $131,200. The buyer of the late Spedos idol also purchased a fine Cycladic head, c. 2600-2500, estimate $30,000-50,000, for $14,000. Two other Cycladic idols and several kandila vessels were consigned by other vendors.

A sensitive fragmentary black granite head of a prince and high priest of Ptah, perhaps Khaemweset (Fig 33), 19th Dynasty, c. 1290-1213 BC, h. 28.6 cm, the face 17.1 cm, was purchased in Kobe, Japan, in the 1950s. Estimated at $100,000-150,000, it was acquired by the Michael C. Carlos Museum for $220,800. The museum also bought a 21st Dynasty mythological papyrus of Tjenet-Sched-Khonsu (Fig 34), c. 1075-944 BC, 22 x 124.5 cm and painted in black, red, and yellow, belonging to John George Dodson (1825-1897), 1st Lord Monk Bretton, then by descent to the vendor. Though estimated at only $50,000-70,000, it was bid up again to the same $220,800. A second 21st Dynasty mythological papyrus, of Padi-Amun, 14 x 119 cm, but just painted in black, from the

Fig 35 (below left). Inscribed Egyptian 26th Dynasty steatite figure of Pt-Shepy-Aset, c. 664-595 BC. H. 24.9 cm.

Fig 36 (left). Roman-Egyptian encaustic mummy portrait of a young bearded man, c. AD 80-140; 39.7 x 21.6 cm.

Fig 37 (below). Roman onyx cameo portrait of the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54). L. 7.6 cm.
same owner, with another low estimate of $30,000-50,000, sold for $108,000 to a phone bidder.

A finely sculpted and inscribed 26th Dynasty stela figure of Pe-Shery-Aset (Fig 35), c. 664-595 BC, h. 24.9cm, was published in the catalogue of the Tigrane Pasha in Paris in 1911 and several times thereafter. Bearing a conservative estimate of $60,000-80,000, yet another phone bidder took it to $176,000. However, an important 19th Dynasty granite block statue, originally deaccessioned from the Cairo Museum, bearing an estimate of $350,000-$500,000, failed to sell. A sensitive Roman-Egyptian encaustic mummy portrait of a young bearded man (Fig 36), c. AD 80-140, 39.7 x 21.6cm, came from the collection of the Swiss art dealer and collector Han Coray (1880-1974). Sold at Christie’s New York on 13 June 2000 for $116,000, it now brought the owner a handsome and relatively quick profit, bringing $220,800 from an American collector bidding by phone.

The sale of 212 lots realised $8,190,920, again, as with the Pankow collection, bringing far more than the
Autumn Antiquities Sales

high estimate of about $5,700,000, with 82.5% of the lots sold by number and 93.3% sold by value. Eighteen antiquities each brought in excess of $100,000, perhaps a new record for a mixed owner sale, and there were 15 different bidders. With the Pankow sale included it totalled $15,152,210, setting a new record for a consecutive series of antiquities sales at Sotheby’s.

CHRISTIE’S NEW YORK JEWELLERY SALE STARS THE MARLBOROUGH CAMEO

Christie’s New York started off their usual twin Winter sale with their 206-lot Ancient Jewels sale on 9 December featuring a well-known Roman onyx cameo portrait of the emperor Claudius (Fig 37), originally from the collection of the fourth Duke of Marlborough (1738-1817). Sold by Christie’s London in 1899 it remained in the collection of Sir Francis Cook and his heirs until sold again by Christie’s in 1925. Bearing an estimate of $300,000-500,000, this finely sculptured large (7.6cm) Imperial cameo sold to an American collector for $321,100, a world auction record for any Roman cameo.

The sale included 41 additional lots from the Mildenberg animal collection (see the Christie’s London sale of 26-27 October). An East Greek gold and garnet scarab finger ring, c. late 6th century BC, from this collection, brought $35,850. The entire sale totalled $1,206,415, with 79% of the lots sold by number and 89% sold by value, the highest total for the Jewellery sales since they were initiated in 1999.

ROMAN SILVER SKYPHOS SOLD AT CHRISTIE’S NEW YORK

An important Roman parcel gilt silver skyphos featuring a Nilotic scene (Fig 38) was one of the two featured antiquities in Christie’s New York regular Antiquities sale of 10 December. Dated to the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD, it depicts a grotesque, hunched man stepping on the head of a crocodile; on the other side another grotesque man carrying a basket and skopos approaches a baby hippopotamus. At 10.6cm in height, it was valued at $60,000-80,000 and realised $623,500 from a private buyer. The second major antiquity offered, a monumental Roman bronze draped woman of the late 2nd-early 3rd century AD, h. 170.5cm, was left unsold.

A Roman marble figure of Syl- vanus accompanied by a fruit-laden goat (with head restored as a ram), late 2nd century AD, h. 68.9cm (Fig 39), was sold in a Sotheby’s New York 12-13 December 1991 sale for $93,500. Now estimated at $100,000-150,000 it was finally won for $110,000 by a European collector bidding by phone, the underbidder being a Lebanese collector. A fine Roman marble statue of Mercury (Fig 40), c. 1st-2nd century AD, based on a Greek 5th century BC original, h. 94.9cm, brought £22,000 at Sotheby’s London on 23 May 1991. With an estimate of $200,000-300,000, and lacking all of the earlier restorations, it sold for the same $265,100 to the same client and with the same underbidder. A marble Apollo of the Apollo Mantua type (Fig 41), 1st-early 2nd century AD, h. 56.5cm, sold just 14 years ago at a Sotheby’s New York sale to a London dealer, evaluated at $120,000-180,000, went for £231,500 to a Beirut collector. A fourth Roman marble, an over-life-size sphinx (or Venus Genetrix) (Fig 42), c. AD 250, lacking the head and most of the arms, h. 167.5cm, brought £44,000 at Sotheby’s London, 10-11 December 1984, from the same London dealer. Now estimated at $150,000-250,000, it realised £197,900 from an American collector.

A Classic Corinthian bronze helmet, c. early 5th century BC, h. 27.6cm, already estimated at just $60,000-80,000 due to a mottled surface, brought a surprising $186,700 from a New York dealer bidding on commission. A large, rather bulky Cycladic marble torso of the late Spedos variety, c. 2500-2400 BC, h. 24.4cm, bearing a full estimate of $70,000-90,000, nevertheless reached $153,100 with a telephone bidder. An unattributed Attic black-figure hydria featuring an ‘assembly of the gods’ on the main panel (Fig 43), c. 530-520 BC, h. 45.7cm, estimated $50,000-70,000, unexpectedly rose to $125,100, won by another phone bidder. A powerful Roman marble table support (trapezophoros), w. 70.8cm, is carved with the foreparts of two winged lynxes (Fig 44). Sold at Sotheby’s London for a mere £13,000 on 10-11 December 1989, it now went to a phone bidder following much competition for a hefty £119,500. The sale also included another 41 lots of animals from the Mildenberg collection.

This sale totalled $5,220,127; with the jewellery sale, the two sessions sold $6,426,542, with 77% of the lots sold by number and 81% by value. There were nine different bidders for the ten lots totalling more than $100,000 each, again confirming the strength of the marketplace worldwide antiquities sales for 2004 hit a new peak, totalling more than $30,000,000.

DRUSUS MINOR PORTRAIT SOLD AT PIASA

The antiquities market in Paris this past year was also exceptionally active, with the four principal auction houses featuring antiquities achieving total sales in this field for well over 10,000,000 Euros. It is difficult to obtain exact figures since some of the sales included major sections of Islamic art or other specialties.

In the Piasa sale of 28-29 September, a superb over-life-size portrait of Drusus Minor (Fig 45), the son of Tiberius, early 1st century AD (but catalogued as Tiberius, though his son is much rarer), h. 35cm, though under the hammer at 180,000 Euros, climbed to 324,013 Euros before being won by a Swiss dealer. According to Jean-Philippe Mariad de Serres, the expert for the sale, it was found in North Africa in the 1950s with the Tiberius head, obviously from the same work-piece, sold by Piasa on 18 March 2003 and acquired by Royal-Athena Galleries. An 11th-12th century Byzantine agate cameo of Saints Theodorus, George, and Demetrius surmounted by a bust of Christ, l. 5.1cm, estimated 35,000-50,000 Euros, brought a hammer price of 82,000 Euros.

A rare Roman x-shaped iron tabouret inlaid in silver and brass, estimated a mere 20,000-22,000 Euros, rose to a hammer price of 94,000 Euros. A delightful and extremely rare 12th Dynasty Egyptian doll from Beni Hasan made of vegetable fibres with faience and turquoise heads (Fig 46), h. 12cm (not including hair), from the famed Hilton-Price collection, published in 1897, and the finest of the three known, bore an inexplicably low 15,000-20,000 Euros estimate, but soared to a hammer of 125,000 Euros hammer.

The sale of 589 lots totalled 2,263,715 Euros (including premiums) with 75% sold by number of lots.

BOISGIRARD SELLS UNIQUE GREEK HORSE HEAD TO THE LOUVRE

The Boisgirard sale of 7-8 October, with Annie Kervorkian as the expert, justly featured a unique archaic Greek Paros marble head of a horse (Fig 47), h. 52.5cm, l. 62cm, apparently dating to the end of the 6th century BC. It appears to have been found about 1810 and was acquired by the noted French dealer and collector Félix-Bienamé Feuardent (1819-1907) prior to 1880 and before any comparable sculptures from the Acropolis had been uncovered in 1886. A highly controversial sculpture, it was questioned by several experts. However, scholarly research and scientific tests appear to confirm its authenticity, including traces of
pigment in the eyes and ears that is the same as that on the Acropolis horses. Estimated at 1,500,000-2,000,000 Euros, it brought a resounding 2,849,259 Euros (including premium), certainly a world record for a marble animal head, but was quickly preempted for the Louvre. However, by placing an export ban on this piece just one day before the sale, the museum effectively kept the price down.

The sale of 520 lots, which included 263 of antiquities, totalled 4,618,536 Euros, with just slightly more than half of the lots sold due to the failure of a large group of Coptic textiles to sell.

Fig 43 (above left). Attic black-figure hydria featuring an assembly of the gods on the main panel, c. 530-520 BC. H. 45.7 cm.

Fig 44 (above right). Roman marble table support (trapezophoros) carved with the foreparts of two winged lynxes. W. 70.5 cm.

Fig 45 (right). Roman over-life-size portrait of the son of Tiberius, Drusus Minor, early 1st century AD. H. 35 cm.

Fig 46 (below left). 12th Dynasty Egyptian doll from Beni Hasan made of vegetable fibres with faience and turquoise beads, 1991-1782 BC. H. 12 cm.

Fig 47 (below right). Archaic Greek Paros marble head of a horse, apparently end of the 6th century BC. H. 52.5 cm, L. 62 cm.
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Moche Portraits

COMING OF AGE IN MOCHE PORTRAITS

Christopher B. Donnan

Moche civilisation flourished on the north coast of Peru more than a thousand years before the Spanish arrival in the early 16th century. Although the Moche had no writing system, they left behind a remarkable artistic record of their beliefs and activities in beautifully modelled and painted ceramics. Among the greatest achievements of Moche potters was the production of true portraits of individuals. Many are so life-like that one can sense the nuance of individual personality.

I recently completed a study of more than 900 Moche portraits in museums and private collections throughout the world. One question that intrigued me was whether portraits were ever made of the same individual at different times in his life. Obviously, since an individual’s appearance changes significantly as they age, a portrait made in their youth may have little resemblance to a portrait produced years later. It occurred to me, however, that facial scars might provide a key - if an individual acquired distinctive facial scars in his youth, and if these scars were consistently shown in their portraits, the scars should make it possible to identify portraits of them at a later age.

One particular individual has a distinctive scar on the left side of his upper lip (Fig 3). In many of his portraits it consists of two short, slightly converging lines, but in other portraits they actually merge to form a wishbone shape. Most of his portraits also exhibit two short parallel scars above the right side of his upper lip. Some also display a short scar on the right side of his upper lip. No less than 47 portraits of ‘Cut Lip’ have been recorded in my sample (Figs 1-9).

There is no way of determining the precise age of an individual in any Moche portrait and even estimates are clearly subjective. Nevertheless, I have suggested Cut Lip’s age in each portrait based on the judgments of various people who I asked to arrange photographs of his portraits in sequence from youngest to oldest and assign an age to each. Despite some discrepancies there was a remarkable consensus regarding his youngest and oldest portraits and the overall sequence and approximate ages were very similar.

The youngest portrait of Cut Lip portrays him as a boy of perhaps ten years old (Figs 1-3). Further images show him perhaps in his mid and late teens (Fig 4). By the time Cut Lip was in his early twenties his face had matured considerably, with his jaw becoming considerably broader than before. In his mid-twenties (Figs 5-6) his face became fuller - apparently he put on weight. By his early thirties Cut Lip appears to have lost weight once again, and for the first time wrinkles appear above his nose (Fig 7). By far the greatest number of portraits depict him in his mid-thirties (Fig 8).

Since the youngest portrait of Cut Lip shows him about aged ten, his status was probably inherited rather than achieved; it is unlikely that he could have earned such an important position in Moche society at such a young age. Much more likely is that he was ascribed a high status by being part of an elite family.

Cut Lip’s headress varies considerably in different portraits, but does not become more elaborate as he ages. In contrast, the use of ear ornaments does appear to correlate with age. None of the younger portraits - those showing him before his early thirties - have ear ornaments. Yet nearly all portraits after this age portray him wearing them (Fig 7).

The use of face paint also appears to correlate with age. None of his portraits before his early thirties bear face paint. From then, until his mid-twenties, however, an increasing percentage of portraits show him with red cheek stripes (Figs 5, 6, 8), and nearly all of his later portraits show him with this type of face paint. The black designs painted on his chin and neck do not occur on his portraits until his thirties, but from then on become almost omnipresent (Fig 8). These designs are often present on warriors depicted in Moche art. Sometimes warriors with this chin band are shown wearing head rings similar to the one worn by Cut Lip with two vertical tubular elements projecting up in
Moche Portraits

front, and rectangular elements along the sides (Fig 6). This strongly suggests that as an adult Cut Lip participated in combat. Portraits of him at his oldest (mid-thirties) with ear ornaments removed (Fig 9) imply that he was ultimately captured and sacrificed.

It is not possible to determine whether the portraits of Cut Lip were made at different times as he grew older, or if the portraits of him in his youth were produced when he was considerably older. However, the scar on the left side of his upper lip changes between his earlier and later portraits. All portraits showing him younger than 30 depict the scar with a distinctive wishbone shape, while nearly all after that age depict the scar as two unconnected lines. The section of the scar where the two lines connected may have become less apparent as he aged. If so, the portraits of him in his youth were probably made when the wishbone shape was clearly visible, and the later portraits when the scar appeared more like two separate lines.

Of all the individuals who lived in ancient America, Cut Lip is the only one whose life we now can witness over a period of 25 years. We recognize him as a young boy, and then watch as he grows older through his teens and twenties, until he finally becomes a mature adult in his thirties. This provides a remarkable sense of connection to an individual who lived in this hemisphere more than a thousand years before European contact.

Fig 4 (above, far left). 'Cut Lip' mid to late teens. Moche, c. AD 550. Private collection.

Fig 5 6 (above, middle and far right). 'Cut Lip', mid-thirties. Moche, c. AD 550. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge and from a private collection.

Fig 7 (below, far left). 'Cut Lip', early thirties with ear ornaments. Moche, c. AD 550. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum.

Fig 8 (below, middle). 'Cut Lip' in his mid-thirties with black lines painted on his chin, a motif used to denote warriors in Moche art. Moche, c. AD 550. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum.

Fig 9 (below, far right). 'Cut Lip' in his mid-thirties with ear ornaments removed. Moche, c. AD 550. Museo Nacional de Antropologia, Arqueología y Historia, Lima.

This article is based on Moche Portraits of Ancient Peru by Christopher B. Donnan (University of Texas Press, 2004; 202pp, 258 colour illus., $8 drawings. Hardback, $39.95).
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IN THE VALLEY OF THE THRACIAN KINGS

Georgi Kitov

Thracia in modern Bulgaria possesses around 100 stone-built tumular constructions that are usually identified as tombs. About 15 of these are clustered in the Kazanlak Valley, the densest archaeological landscape in Bulgaria. The only known Thracian town, Scythopolis (capital of King Seuthes III at the end of 4th and early 3rd century BC), has been excavated 12km from Kazanlak and has led to Kazanlak becoming known as 'The Valley of the Thracian Rulers'.

The tombs (actually underground tumulus temples) vary widely in design and date between the end of the 6th and early 2nd centuries BC. The tombs' physical variation can be explained largely by the extraordinary imagination of Thracian architects and by the independent design concepts of each ruler or family's preferences for a home in the after-life.

The first major discovery in the Valley dates back to April 1944, when two

Fig 1 (right). Detail of a gold necklace from the 4th century BC Malkata tumulus. Photo: G. Dimov.

Fig 3 (below left). Silver gilded phiale from the Sashova tumulus; late 3rd century BC. Photo: G. Dimov.

Fig 4 (middle right). The temple to Sabazios in the 4th century BC cult and mortuary complex in the Ostrusha tumulus. Photo: G. Kitov.

Fig 5 (bottom left). A phiale from the Zareva tumulus; 4th century BC. Inscribed lines are divided into pentagons and hexagons.

Fig 2 (above). A 5th century BC gold ring seal from the Malkata tumulus. Photo: G. Dimov.

Fig 6 (below). A 4th-3rd century BC wall painting from the Kazanlak tomb; a driver with horses and a chariot. Photo: G. Dimov.
soldiers stumbled across the entrance to a structure at Kazanlak while digging military trenches. Inside, they found themselves in a forgotten world filled with ghosts, images of strange men and women wearing picturesque clothes stared down at them from the walls. This late 4th century BC Thracian tomb incorporated two brick-built chambers (rectangular and round) covered with scenes of battling warriors, a ruler with his wife near a table abundant in food, servants offering gifts, a driver with horses (Fig 6), and chariots being driven at full speed. The Kazanlak tomb still fascinates scholars and the general public with its enigmatic insights into the everyday life and religion of the Thracians.

Some 15 years later, construction work on the Koprinka Dam exposed the walls of a well-fortified Thracian town comprising a palace, intersecting streets, and houses with large rear courtyards. The director of excavations, Professor Dimitrov, was fortunate to discover an inscribed marble slab specifying the name of the town as Seuthopolis, the ancient capital of King Seuthes III, renowned for its temple of the Great Samothracian Gods. (The inscription was a contract between Seuthopolis and another Thracian town, Kabile, located in the Yambol region.) Two dilapidated brick-built and domed tombs were discovered during the excavation, clarifying that the Thracians were amongst the first ancient peoples to rely on fired brick in architecture.

In 1965 the Kazanlak region attracted the attention of Italian geophysicists from the famous Lerici Foundation in Milan, who measured the magnetic resistance of the embankments in some tumuli. In two cases they identified the ‘ghostly’ outlines of massive buildings. Subsequently, the archaeologists Gergana Tabakova-Tsanova and Lyudmila Getov discovered two stone- and brick-built tombs. The first, near Maglizh, features a long corridor, chambers, and wall paintings, now in the Iskra Museum at Kazanlak. These depict vegetal decoration, amphorae, and Thracian chariots. The second tomb, near the village of Kran, was found partly destroyed. Although the site awaits full investigation, the tomb’s walls are clearly covered with differently coloured horizontal zones.

From 1992-99 the Thracian Expedition for Tumular Investigations (TEMP) initiated the largest excavations in the Kazanlak region under the writer’s direction. About 100 tumuli were investigated. Dozens of graves came to light, dating between the Late Bronze Age and the Roman period, and hundreds of objects of gold, silver, bronze, clay, glass, and stone were uncovered.

The beginning of our excavations was both dramatic and curious. The geophysicists Nikola Tonkov (Kolyo) and Iliyan Katevski had identified two sites covering tumuli. We chose to focus on Malkata, located between Shipka and Sheynovo. Unfortunately, the anomaly we anticipated failed to materialise but as we prepared to close the site earth-moving machinery hit a large sarcophagus and, beneath it, the outlines of primitive stone masonry. The next day we uncovered two clay
vessels and a bronze vessel, and, on the crucial third day, gold started to appear, in the presence of Dr Zarev (Figs 1-2, 9-10), the director of the Kazanlak Museum. These discoveries paved the way for future sponsorship and funds.

Equally important was the discovery of a bone double-axe (labrys) - the symbol of power in ancient societies - and a spiral-shaped silver band that had been coiled around the axe shaft. The tomb clearly held the remains of a powerful political and religious ruler.

The Malkata site turned out to be the first un plundered tomb investigated by archaeologists attributable to a Thracian ruler that had not been plundered. It contained the skeleton of a male alongside local and imported Greek vessels and two bronze situlae (buckets) used to strain wine, with two handles and decorated bases. The head of a satyr is depicted on one side (Fig 9). This set the style for the other. Additional grave goods included a bronze bowl, two silver cups and a bronze and iron weapon (Fig 10). Another is a Thracian masterpiece produced from thousands of miniature loops welded from the inside to form a free-moving interlaced work. The necklace is decorated with a female head (presumably the Gorgon Medusa), who protected the owner from the evil eye. Also incorporated into the design are two amphora-shaped pendants covered with dozens of miniature spheres that form bunches of grapes, palmettes, and rossettes. This necklace is the most exquisite ever found in Thrace (Fig 1).

The jewellery is completed by a pectoral, rosette-shaped decorations, buttons, and pendants. A signet ring with an elliptical bezel further reflects the royal status of this tomb. The ring depicts a man and a woman (Fig 12). In his left hand the man holds a sceptre behind his back, which seems to be in the shape of a griffin - a symbol of royal power. The man’s head is carved with what seems to be the head of a bird. His right hand is outstretched towards the woman, who seems to hand him an object - presumably, a raytime, yet another symbol of royal power. In short, the scene on the signet ring represents an investiture: the empowering of the ruler by the Thracian Great Mother Goddess, a ritual known from other images in Thrace art.

In August 1995 a second intact tomb was discovered about 1km north-west of Malkata. The Sashova tumulus (Fig 11) was used as a mausoleum over a period of time. It features a central chamber covered with a semi-cylindrical vault built of large stone blocks in the Balanitsa style. In one chamber, a man and horse were buried alongside a full set of weapons including a bronze helmet, chain-mail armour, a large iron sword, spearheads, and a shield. Exotic finds included a gold fibula, a bronze and silver pin, whose base is decorated with a twelve-leaf bar and sides with three bands of thickly gilded vegetal and geometric decoration (Fig 6). Two large amphorae stamped with manufacturers’ names date the last burial in the tomb to the first half of the 2nd century BC. However, the mausoleum had existed for at least 100 years before this deposition.

The Ostrusha tumulus near Shipka was found in April 1993 (Fig 4), having experienced a traumatic second life as the headquarters, observation point, and firing point for the Russian army during the Russian-Turkish War of Liberation. This mid-4th-century BC high tomb contains impressive wall paintings. The complex contains six spacious sub-divisions covering 100 square metres. The single chamber contained a horse burial with a full set of silver appliqué trappings. One decorative head-piece is unique, with a flat lunette shaped like a strongly stylised double-axe that turns into a griffin head with a vigorous bear beak (Fig 12). Also uncovered were a silver jug and a cup (phiale type), as well as an iron pectoral collar from a leather breast-plate.

The northern chamber proved particularly important. Carved from monolithic stone blocks measuring 3.5 x 2.5 x 2.5m (each weighing more than 60 tons), the chamber is fronted by a ritual bed with lion-paw legs. The ceiling is divided into dozens of square, rectangular, and triangular fields filled with wall paintings. A circular field symbolising the sun, originally gilded and now encrusted with gold, occupies the centre of the composition. The remaining fields feature portraits, people and animals, and vegetal and geometrical decoration. In Thrace this is the first ever recorded use of gold for encrustation. Regrettably, this scene was destroyed through iconoclasm in the 4th century AD, when the southern periphery of the embankment was used for Christian burials. The archaeological results from Ostrusha suggest that this site was an impressive open-air temple with six structures, majestic façades, pediments and other architectural details such as antefixes with palmettes.

A tumulus at Helvetsia (Fig 13) is unique with a roof that is an architectural transition from the two-slope roof of the Griffin tumulus and Goliama Arsenalaka tumulus to the semi-cylindrical vaults at Slavchova and Sashova tumuli. Its sloped lateral walls are ‘crossed’ by a horizontal band and the temple has a corridor, an antechamber—altar, and a rectangular chamber. All of the floors and walls are covered with a thick coat of lime. Archaeological evidence that a horse was sacrificed on the floor of the antechamber is proven by residue of blood found splashed over the walls, floor, and parapet that accommodates a small hole that channeled the blood along the sloped corridor.
The Thracians used to offer animal sacrifices on similar shaped sacrificial stones in the open air. Based on the configuration of blood spots and the way the blood flowed, they predicted the future. The sacrificial stones, antechamber, as well as the laboratory testing of the blood spots, prove categorically that the antechamber is an altar and the entire building a Thracian temple.

The second most important tumulus construction in the Valley of the Thracian Rulers (after the temple at Chetinya near Starosel) was discovered at Shushmanets in August 1996. The site features a large corridor, an antechamber with a semi-cylindrical vault, and a round domed chamber. This temple has a unique combination of a semi-cylindrical and domed roof, and is the first known example with a column support (Fig 14).

Four horses and two dogs had been sacrificed in the antechamber. Particularly fascinating is a ‘shining’ white column in the central chamber (Fig 14) that supports a large disc, which undoubtedly symbolises the sun. Furthermore, 15 radial stone slabs radiate out from it: sun beams that represent the heavens and the celestial world. A further two horizontal bands are relevant to Thracian religious symbolism and their world belief. The numbers three, seven, and ten were sacred to the Thracians, and the walls of the chamber were divided into three sections intended to symbolise the underworld, the terrestrial and celestial worlds. The lowest band is set vertically and is divided into seven vertical fields by seven columns. Each semi-column incorporates ten longitudinal channels.

Historical sources indicate that the Thracians had an ‘addiction’ for the chase and fighting on horseback. Only in one of the eight temples investigated is categorical proof of a horse burial or sacrifice absent. Horse remains are also found alongside almost every rich grave in the Valley of the Thracian Kings. At sites such as Zareva, Smailova, and Tsyatyakova, horse skeletons were positioned along with those of men, while in others they were deposited in individual pits. At the Binyova tumulus two horses were buried in two different places without any traces of human burials. In many cases the Thracians paid much more attention to the appliques for horse-trappings than to the decoration of their own personal vessels. In addition to the three full sets of appliques for horse-trappings (in silver and all dating to the 4th century BC), and several individual pieces and remains of reins, fieldwork at Starosel discovered a further four complete silver sets in 2000. All are decorated with animal motifs and some are unique. The forehead-piece for horse-trappings from Binyova is the first from Thrace to present a three-dimensional central image of a ram. The reins from Leshnikova are particularly beautiful, with their bronze end pieces incorporating three radiate beams coming out from a ring-like centre – the prototype of the Mercedes symbol 2300 years earlier!

In terms of jewellery discoveries, a signet ring from Sineva is worthy of special attention. The grape bunches, tassels, and griffin’s head adorning the bezel form a combination so far unknown in Thracian art. Interpretations differ. Does it mean that he who drinks wine lives as long as a turtle, is as strong as a lion, and free as an eagle?

The fact that the rich graves in the Valley of the Thracian Kings belonged to noble warriors is suggested by the significant quantity of weapons found. Three Thracian helmets (and one other type) have turned up in the area (Fig 8), and other weaponry includes a shield, bronze arrowheads, iron spear-heads, swords, curved Thracian knives, and parade accessories for breastplates.

The discovery of seven silver phialae caused a sensation because these objects are judged to be symbols of royal power. Besides the beautiful gilded example from Sashova (Fig 3), two others are notable. One from Zareva (Fig 6) is semi-spherical and its external surface decorated with straight incised lines, which divide it into pentagons and hexagons. A phiale from Leshnikova confirms categorically that this kind of vessel is used for Royal power: incised letters form two royal names, ‘Deynas son of Dzunots’.

The material excavated from the Kazanlak region is held in the National Museum of Archaeology, the Archaeological Institute and Museum, and at Iskra Archaeological Museum. Many artefacts have been included in extraordinary exhibitions in Japan, USA, Italy, and Finland. Meanwhile, the architecture of these imposing remains remains in an excellent state of preservation and attracts tourists from both home and abroad. Their appeal is enhanced by belonging in tune with the natural landmarks of the region and the many monuments dating from various historical periods. The mild climate, the mineral springs in the area, the forests rich in game, and the rivers abound in fish will hopefully convert the Valley into a profit-making resort for tourists and entertainment.
TOMBS OF THE TETRARCHS - THE LATE ROMAN PALACE-MAUSOLEA OF SERBIA

Charles Le Quesne

Diocletian’s retirement palace at Split in Croatia is widely renowned as a splendidly preserved archaeological site visited by many thousands of tourists every year. Its influence on the western architectural aesthetic has been profound ever since it was studied, drawn, and published by Robert Adam in 1746. What is far less-known is that two other imperial palace/mausoleum complexes of the Tetrarchy have been identified and explored over the past 20 years in northern Serbia - and in their own way Gamzigrad and Sarkamen are as extraordinary and fascinating as Diocletian’s Palace.

The reasons for their relative obscurity are undoubtedly partly the result of the regional turbulence during the past decade. While Serbia turned its face from the world during this period, its archaeologists, working in a long and distinguished tradition of research, have not been idle. Their work has led to a steady stream of excavations, multi-lingual publications, and exhibitions in recent years focusing, in particular, on Serbia’s rich Late Antique archaeology.

An additional reason for their long obscurity is the remote location of the sites. They both lie in the rich rolling countryside of eastern Serbia, hidden in side-valleys from the main routes of communication and trade. Both are far from medieval and modern settlements and, as a result, both are remarkably well-preserved (in the case of Gamzigrad still standing in places to heights of 15m). The isolation of Sarkamen protected it sufficiently for an extraordinary cache of magnificent gold jewellery to survive within the mausoleum overlooking the main complex.

The Tetrarchy

Diocletian did much to save the Roman Empire from destruction in the later 3rd century: he reorganised numerous forms of central administration from currency to the military and its fundamental political and administrative character. Desperate to escape from the political chaos of the mid-3rd century, he established a structure of

Fig 1 (above left). Porphyry statue of Galerius, wearing a jewelled crown, the corona triumphalis. (Gamzigrad (Felix Romuliana), c. AD 300. H. 3.5 cm. National Museum, Zajecar, no. G/1477.)

Fig 2 (left). Reconstruction model of Late Roman Felix Romuliana, c. AD 312.


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rule and succession apparently bound by iron hoops of protocol and co-opted religious tradition. The Empire was divided into two parts, with two ruling Augusti assisted by two junior Caesars - initially Maximian (as Diocletian's fellow Augustus), Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine. Every 20 years the Augusti would retire to be replaced by the Caesars, and new Caesars were appointed. The first two of these men were, like Diocletian, drawn from the yeomanry of the central Balkans, who had formed the backbone of the Roman army that had redrawn the Imperial frontier along the Danube. For a short period the area that we know today as Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia lay at the heart of Roman Imperial power. From it emerged the future shape of the western world, not least because the future Emperor Constantine was born in Nis (Naissus), now in southern Serbia.

Lying at the centre of the new politics was a totalitarian emphasis on the religious identity of the Augusti as Jupiter and Hercules, and of the brotherly love and unity of the Empire's four leaders. Images of the tetrarchs, often cut from Egyptian porphyry (Fig 1), were set up right across the Roman world, from Luxor to Milan (the most famous surviving example, originally from Salona, now forms one corner of St Mark's Cathedral in Venice). Gamzigrad and Sarcazen are products of this religio-political ideology: elegant symbolic constructions of multiple monuments within carefully ordered sacred and funerary landscapes. Together, with Diocletian's Palace at Split, they are unique. The process of their gradual discovery and understanding - moving from Split to Gamzigrad to Sarcazen and back again - is a compelling archaeological story of intuition, deduction, and, of course, very good luck.

Gamzigrad: Felix Romuliana
Although first identified by travellers in the 19th century, formal excavations at Felix Romuliana only began in 1953. Almost immediately it was clear that the site was exceptional. Within the massive and elaborate fortifications were found pillared halls with unusually fine mosaics (Figs 2, 5, 13). This was clearly a luxurious residence occu-

Fig 5 (left). Plan of Felix Romuliana; D-3, Imperial palace and small temple;
Fig 6 (above right). Section of the archivolt from Gamzigrad bearing the inscription FELIX ROMULIANA.

Fig 7 (below left). Schematic reconstruction of the juxtaposition of the two mausolea and consecration monuments on the hilltop of Magura, located 1km from Felix Romuliana.

Fig 8 (below). Reconstruction of Mausoleum 1, Gamzigrad, built c. AD 305 of a mortar core with limestone exterior. Each side of the square foundations measures 9.79m. Probable burial site of Romula, 'Valeria's' mother.
Tombs of the Tetrarchs, Serbia

Figs 9-11 (below left and right). Mausoleum 2, Gamzigrad, the tomb of Gaius Valerius Galerius Maximianus, built in AD 311. The tomb is set on a twelve-sided platform (diam. 8.65m) with an inner ring (diam. 2.28m) that houses a staircase, crypt, and rectangular tomb. Mortar foundations and core with limestone, marble, and porphyry facing form a tholos surrounded by a porch with twelve Ionic columns.

The final pieces of the puzzle fell into place between 1989 and 1993, when the local woods were cleared from the Maqura Ridge a kilometre east of the defences. The four small structures which they had concealed were finally exposed and excavated (Figs 7-11). These turned out to mirror the internal arrangements of the palace, with two pairs of similar buildings. Firstly, there were two monumental mausolea, with burial chambers set within their bases. Stratigraphy and strong similarities with the earlier phase of fortifications suggested that the northern one was the earlier. Beside each were massive mounds defined by circular retaining walls, that to the north slightly smaller (30m diameter) than that to the south (40m diameter). These covered the remains of large pyres, within which were found traces of large rectangular structures as well as various quite exceptional finds (despite substantial robbing). From the northern mound came more than 3kg of molten silver, a band of gold foil, fragments of gilt bronze, silver sheeting, parts of seven large silver vessels, and gold coins of the emperors Probus, Maximian, and Diocletian. From the southern mound came fragments of a coat of mail, plates of armour, buckles, a silver vessel, and a variety of iron objects including probable sockets for standards.

On the basis of these finds, and of the other known facts, it seems highly likely that the northern mound and mausoleum marks the burial place of Romula (Fig 8), who must have died some time between AD 305 and 310,
Tombs of the Tetrarchs, Serbia

when her son was senior emperor. The southern mausoleum (Figs 9-11), then, almost certainly belongs to Galerius, who died in 311, two years before the final collapse of the Tetrarchy. The nature of the pyres and the mounds which cover them is less clear. Srejović and Cedomir Vasic have plausibly suggested that the structure and character of the south mound at least indicates a regia consecrations, multi-platformed wooden pyres used for the ceremonial cremation and formal apotheosis of emperors (as depicted on some 2nd-century coins). This ceremony would have culminated in the release of an eagle from the top of the pyre at the moment it was lit.

In the end, there was barely time for Galerius to be buried in the soil of his birth before the glittering façade of the Tetrarchy came crashing down. The southern temple was left unfinished; so too the building works around the mausoleum, while the intended removal of the earlier inner fortifications never took place.

Sarkamen

Even within Serbia, Sarkamen was considered to be a site of only moderate significance until recent years. It was known primarily for its well-preserved fortifications, just under 100m square with unusual butted round towers of opus mixtum. It lies on the lower slopes of a small valley, 20km south-west of Negotin, the nearest large town. On the slopes of Mount Kastil, remains of a series of buildings. Investigations of one of these in the 1970s produced pieces of another imperial porphyry statue similar to those found at Gamzigrad, and identified as either Diocletian or Constantine.

Following the completion of the excavations at Gamzigrad, Srejović and Vasic, together with Miodrag Tomović, turned their attention to Sarkamen in 1994, attracted by its similarities to Felix Romuliana. Excavations within the fortifications showed them to have been only partially completed, the western walls only ever having been built as foundations. Those sections that had been completed, however, were truly monumental in size and conception with gate towers 18m in diameter and walls up to 5.3m thick. Much of the interior was never built upon, traces of buildings only being found in its southern half.

The most dramatic discoveries, though, were among the group of structures further uphill. Excavations concentrated first on a stone building, c.10m square, where the porphyry stau- yra had been found 20 years earlier. It very quickly became clear that this was a mausoleum, very similar to that believed to belong to Galerius at Gamzigrad. This was confirmed by excavation, although the grave, rather than being constructed of masonry as at Gamzigrad, was simply cut into the natural rock. Although robbed, it contained what were clearly the remnants of a funeral pyre, which had presumably taken place on the spot marked by an adjacent mound. However, the most extraordinary find came from a crevice in the rock a metre or so from the bur- rial pit, where a cache of largely gold objects - jewellery and votive plaques - had escaped the notice of the tomb robbers and earlier archaeologists.

The jewellery, which clearly belonged to an extremely wealthy woman of the highest rank, included earrings, three necklaces, a pendant, and a series of finger and hair-rings. One of the necklaces was particularly splendid, formed by a series of seven medallions of two-tone blue paste in box-settings. The gold plaques (in other contexts across the Empire dedicated to pagan deities such as Mars and Jupiter had, in the case of the 4th-century hoard from Water Newton in England Christ) were simply stamped with the impression of gold solii of the tetrarchs, the 'sons' of Jupiter and Hercules.

Clearly Sarkamen was an imperial complex, where an important member of the ruling family, probably a woman, was buried. But who? By a process of elimination, the site's excavators have identified the anonymous sister of Galerius and mother of Maximinus Daia as by far the most likely candidate. If correct, this suggests that the mausoleum and fortification at Sarkamen were conceived by Maximinus in very similar terms to Gamzigrad. Indeed, it was probably based on his uncle's model, both in its symbolism and in its public display of filial devotion.

Visiting the Sites

Neither of these two remarkable sites is difficult to get to by road today. Sarkamen is 20km west of Negotin; Gamzigrad is signposted from the town of Zajecar in the Timok Valley, 100km north of Nis. The latter is the site of classical Naisso, where yet another major Late Roman palace, believed to have been built by Constantine, is presently being excavated. However, they are, in truth, rarely visited by tourists these days.

The legacy of a decade of political turmoil has been an effective disincen- tive to potential visitors to Serbia. You will not find the sanitised, gravel-pathed homogeneity so familiar to many key sites of western cultural heritage. The walls of these long-lost monuments stand so peacefully during much of the year that they retain a palpable sense of the forgotten majesty and mystery that was truly theirs until very recently. A good reason, you would rightly think, to get there while it lasts.

Illustrations - Figs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 from Roman Imperial Towns and Palaces in Serbia, edited by Dragoslav Srejovic (Belgrade, 1993); Figs 1, 7, 9, 10 from Imperial Mausolea and Consecration Memorials in Felix Romuliana by Dragoslav Srejovic and Cedomir Vasic (Belgrade, 1994).


Fig 13 (below). An early 4th-century AD mosaic depicting Dionysos holding a thyrsus entwined with a vine from Hall G, Palace 1, at Felix Romuliana. L. 1.98m.
The coin production of the ancient Thracians represents one of the most interesting but, for the present, still little known branches of ancient numismatics. During its near 500 year development from the last decades of the 6th century BC up to about AD 44 Thracian coinage was subjected to two main stages (neither defined by chronology, quantity, or quality in circulation).

The first stage, dated in broadest terms to between 510 and 466 BC, consists exclusively of the coins of the Thracian tribes - the Derroni (Fig 1), Orescii (Fig 3), Tinteni, and Edoni, amongst others. These are large silver issues of high nominal value: staters weighing 9.82g or tetradrachms (4 x 9.82g), which were minted according to the Thraco-Macedonian monetary system and participated actively in busy international commercial traffic. Their presence in numerous hoards within present day Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iran, and Turkey verifies this function.

These issues are found in modern Bulgaria either in the form of homogeneous hoards, like that from the village of Velichkovo in the Pazardzhik region (consisting exclusively of tetradrachms of the Derroni, a unique hoard as far as its contents are concerned), or in the form of isolated examples. The political presence of most Thracian tribes (Derroni, Tinteni, Orescii, Bissalti; Fig 4) is not mentioned by Greek authors. Their names, inscribed on the coins in abbreviation or in full form, are the only reliable sources available about their existence and development.

The obverses in high relief and the composition scenes are dominated by images of Zeus, Ares, or of characters connected with the cult of Dionysus (a centaur embracing a nymph in his arms; Fig 3; a Silenus with a nymph) leading us into the fairy-world of their Indigenous religious beliefs and ideologies.

The coins of the Thracian rulers and dynasties that form the second stage in the development of Thracian coinage have different functions and characteristics. In most cases they are represented by bronze coins struck in small quantities and generally in very poor condition. They were either a means of promoting royal authority as propaganda (showing regalia) or compromised local means of payment within a restricted area of operation and distribution. The small silver coins in circulation were of low nominal value (less than 1gm: chremekte or triemioiobol). The tetradrachmes in circulation are even rarer. So far only three Thracian rulers are known to have minted in a limited quantity large silver coins of a comparable type (Sparadokos, second half of the 5th century BC; Skostokos, first quarter of the 3rd century BC; and Mostis, end of the 2nd to early 1st century BC).

Also from this period date coins that remain the only reliable indications of the names of other unrecorded rulers. Such are the cases of the exquisite small silver coins of the unknown Saratokos, whose territory at the end of the 5th century BC lay close to the island of Tassos, and of Skostokos, a contemporary of Lysimachus, on whose behalf bronze coins, as well as tetradrachmes, were struck.

The iconographic repertoire that characterises the coinage of the Thracian rulers is extremely varied and interesting. Together with types influenced by the Greek and Roman coinage, there are also amazingly original images. A case in point is the horseman depicted on the obverse of the bronze coins of Kotys I, whose right hand is lifted in greeting. Such is also the individualised portrait of the enigmatic Seuthes III.

Thracian coins are only one of the windows into the mysterious world of the Thracians. This window is for the present only slightly open. We do not know yet what surprises are hidden behind it.

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Forging Ancient Coins

A MANUAL FOR COIN FORGERS: INSTRUCTION OR EXPOSURE?

Paul Craddock

The vexed question of the disclosure of information liable to be used by those engaged in the fraudulent alteration or outright forgery of coins has long been debated in the art world. The issue has arisen again with the publication of Numismatic Forgery: An Illustrated, Annotated Guide to the Practical Principles by Charles M. Larson, The Times of London (July 22nd 2004) entitled a review of this book ‘Coin Dealers Braced for Forgery Orgy’, and H. Robert Campbell, past president of the American Numismatic Association, opined simply that ‘this book is dangerous’. But to whom?

The forgery of coins, legal or illegal, is described by Larson in great detail, in an engaging home-spun, folksy style. The necessary equipment is such as might be expected in a well-stocked amateur metal craftsman’s home workshop, and the reader is assured that knowledge is a poor substitute for work. Larson describes how coins may be produced by altering similar but more common objects or by creating new coins by making casts, electrotype, or striking from purpose-made dies. The making of these is described in great detail, either by casting, by creating an electrotype, or by hubbing (using an existing coin impressed into a plain disc to create the die impression). One ingenious method is literally to shoot a genuine coin from a shot gun into the blank to create the die impression. Naturally, the gun is being used in the furtherance of a crime, although one of forgery rather than of robbery, and that in itself in America, as in Britain, is a much more serious offence than forgery!

Larson claims the die-struck forgery he produces are virtually identical to the real thing, having been made in the authentic manner. As he deals mainly in coins selling for a few hundred dollars apiece, the authentication checks are not going to be too rigorous, but one suspects that trace element analysis of the alloy and inspection by scanning electron microscopy would reveal differences. The surfaces of his creations or alterations are toned down by gentle heating to give them a superficial oxide layer.

Wear is simulated in a simple rock tumbler and, where required for forgery of ancient coins, pitting is achieved by flicking acid onto the surface. Patina is produced by burying the coins in a pot in the ground for a few months with liberal applications of urine. In this Larson follows the methods that were used by Carl Wilhelm Becker in the 18th century, who was probably the greatest coin forger of all time. Larson claims his patina is visually convincing, but it is likely to be rather flaky and to be easily detected by scientific methods.

It has frequently been stated that technical information about antiquities should be withheld because it informs the forger of the correct materials and techniques to use. For example, when the British Museum’s over-life-size porphyry Head of a Tetrarch was published as a forgery, Brian Cook discovered, witheld details of the technical mistakes that exposed the carving as a forgery, lest they benefited future forgers. After the ancient methods of wire making by strip twining were widely published in the 1970s, most subsequent forgeries of gold jewellery used twisted wires where previously they had used drawn wire.

So should information likely to be of use to a forger be withheld? As Jack Ogden, the noted expert on ancient jewellery, stated ‘Do you risk educating forgers or having generations of ignorant museum curators?’

Ultimately suppression is as impractical as it is undesirable, quite simply because the information concerned is not restricted to authenticity issues alone. This issue falls into four broad categories: the technical relevance to the forger; the characteristics of condition of artefacts; the characteristics of age; and, finally, the methods of artificial ageing or of creating a forgery.

The technical description of an antiquity is part and parcel of the material culture of the civilisation that created it and can be as much suppressed as the more purely stylistic and artistic elements. The methods that will be taken to test the authenticity of an object are clearly of concern to the forger. Hans van Meegeren had clearly read de Wild’s 1929 book The Scientific Examination of Pictures with its accent on radiography and pigment analysis, before embarking on the forgery of paintings in the style of Vermeer in the 1930s. However, all the methods used in authenticating standard scientific techniques, even specific physical dating techniques such as radiocarbon dating and thermoluminescence are mainly used for routine archaeological and geological dating, and are consequently openly published in scientific literature. In fact, if de Wild’s methods had been rigorously applied, van Meegeren’s forgeries would have been revealed at the outset.

Characterising and defining the processes and appearance of age is the business of conservation and, as such, are fully published in conservation literature. Potentially more damaging are the publications of the details of the rapid ageing techniques used to test the long term effects of conservation treatments. Larson’s works deal specifically with artificial ageing and the creation of a forgery. The techniques for the former, of course, are routinely dealt with in works on surface treatments in all their variety from the antique bronzes solutions used by the metalsmith to the coffee-based inks used in forgeries to texts an appropriately antique look.

It is perhaps understandable that books which set out specifically to instruct in the art of forgery should cause most alarm. Another fairly recent work was Eric Hieborn’s The Art Forger’s Handbook, of which the Art and Antiques Squad of the London Metropolitan Police stated ‘It could cause serious problems for the market which is already extremely concerned about how much fake material they have accepted as genuine’. However, careful reading of Larson’s works show that, in reality, they expose the methods of forgery from which the curator/collector can learn. Thus, in the introduction to Larson’s book Campbell relates how he had a bad feeling about a particular rare coin that was being offered for sale at over $25,000 but could not see how it could have been forged until he read the book. Then all became clear.

The methods described in these works are no more than the standard painting or metalworking techniques respectively applied to the business of fine art and numismatic forgery. The potential forger would already know these techniques. It is the rest of us who are being alerted to their potential misuse and, of course, the tell-tale signs of fakery and forgery to look out for. Thus these works should rather be seen as beneficial exposures of forgery. It is surely better to have informed and aware curators and collectors - one does not combat fraud with ignorance.
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NUMISMATIC CALENDAR

AUCTIONS & FAIRS FEATURING ANTIQUE COINS
7-8 March. GORNY & MOSCH. Auction 138, Ancient Coins. Maximiliansplatz 20, 80333 Munich, Germany. Tel. (49) 89 24 226-430; www.gmcoinart.de.

12 March. JEAN ELSEN. Auction 83, General. Avenue de Tervuren 65, 1040 Brussels, Belgium; Tel. (32) 2734 6356; e-mail: numismatique@elsen.be; www.elsen.be.

31 March. SPINK, LONDON. Auction 5003. Ancient, Islamic, English, Foreign Coins and Commemorative Medals. 7th Floor, 4 Southampton Row, London. Tel. (44) 020 7563 4000; e-mail: info@spink.com; www.spink.com.

18-19 April. SPINK, NEW YORK. The Louis E. Eliasberg, Sr., Collection of World Gold Coins and Medals. New York. Tel. (212) 20 7563 4020; e-mail: h rambach@spink.com.

10 May. LEU NUMISMATIC. Roman Gold Coins. In Gassen 20, CH-8022, Zurich, Switzerland. Tel. +41(1) 211 4772; info@Leu-Numismatik.com; www.leu-numismatik.com.

LECTURES UNITED KINGDOM
London
15 March. The Circulation of Aurei in the Roman Empire. David MacDowall, Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London. 5.30pm.

22 March. Precious Metal 'Hoarding Hotspots' in Late Roman Britain. Richard Hobbs, The British Numismatic Society, c/o The Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London. E-mail: secretary@britnumsoc.org. 6.00pm.


EXHIBITIONS

ENGLAND
London
WEALTH OF AFRICA: 4000 YEARS OF MONEY AND TRADE. Africa has a long and rich history, spanning ancient kingdoms, colonialism, and independence. The exhibition examines this complex continent through its money, from coins to copper ingots, raffia cloth, and cowrie shells. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (ROOM 69A) (44) 20 7323 8299. Until 26 June.

ITALY
Padua
PALAZZO ZUCKERMANN. A new museum complex located near the Roman amphitheatre exhibiting a series of private collections of works of art from different periods bequeathed to the city. The most important is the Bottacin Collection assembled in Trieste in the 19th century and famous for its coins and medals. One of the most important collections in Europe. Holdings range from early Greek coins to Roman, Byzantine, Longobard, & Islamic. PALAZZO ZUCKERMANN (39) 049 8204551. Permanent.

ROME
CAPITOLINE COIN AND MEDAL COLLECTION. Established in 1872 as a consequence of Ludovico Stanziati's bequest to the museum of his collection of ancient coins and precious gems. Major further holdings include donations given by Augusto Castellani, 456 Roman and Byzantine gold coins by Giampietro Campana, and Giulio Bigarni's collection of Roman Republican coins found in Rome during excavations and development work in the capital. Also on display is the "Treasure of Via Alessandria" (17kg of gold coins and jewellery) found in 1933 during the construction of the Via dei Fori Imperiali. CAPITOLINE MUSEUMS (39) 06 3996 7800; www.museicapitolini.org. Permanent.

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

SWEDEN
Stockholm
HISTORY OF MONEY, BANKS, AND MEDALS. ROYAL COIN CABINET (46) 8 5195 5314 (www.myntkabinetet.se). Eight exhibitions of Swedish and international coins, hoards, medals, and tokens from c. 600 BC to the credit-card. Permanent.

New York

MINERVA 55
Bronze and the Bronze Age: Metalwork and Society in Britain, c. 2500-800 BC
Martyn Barber

Never before has there been a scholarly book synthesising the many significances that bronze metalwork and metallurgy held for Bronze Age societies. Martyn Barber’s readable, wide-ranging volume fills a gaping hole in six well-judged chapters that show how bronze metalworking is about far more than technological achievement and, interestingly, an idea generated in all aspects of Bronze Age life.

In his introduction, Barber rightly questions the unity of the Bronze Age based solely on the use of bronze as a key material - indeed, he seems to doubt the validity of the concept of a Bronze Age at all. This is not particularly contentious given the even more elaborate dynamic of change we are able to interpret from 2500-800 BC. However, his far from novel proposal for an Age of Monuments linking the earlier Bronze Age to the Neolithic is no more than a matter of superficiality. The important message is that our epoch of convenience, The Bronze Age, is not a static, coherent period; it was socially, economically, technologically, and ritually dynamic so that no century within it featured a society unchanged from before in some critical way.

Metalwork is no longer just about the intrinsic attributes of the objects; instead understanding metalwork is all about contexts and contextual differentiation. Martyn Barber’s book is rich in contextualised examples, whether archaeological or hypothesised scenarios. And in this it is excellent. What the reviewer finds least heartening is the false picture painted of current metalwork studies for the sake of dramatic effect. Barber greatly labours the limitations of the ‘traditional approach’, by which he is really referring to the generation of study when archaeological contexts for metalwork were scant and the modelling of societies from diverse branches of evidence rather less sophisticated. This is an unnecessarily false disjunction which does the subject no service.

One can add a number of other, sometimes surprising, mistakes and oversights. It cannot be historically correct to credit the discovery of Flad Fen with a sea-change in attitudes to votive deposition (p. 49). The few researchers specialising in metalwork in this country had begun to question ritual deposition motives from the late 70s. Flad Fen platform was discovered in the early 1980s and, at first, regarded by the excavator as an occupation site! It was only the later discovery of the Fenbere Power Station part of the complex that prompted a rethink of its overall raison d’etre. Again, the Middle/Late Bronze Age transition as defined by metalwork does now seem to have close temporal correlates more generally with material culture (contra p.42). This was not predestined to be the case, of course, since there are many (a doze) equally well defined transitions in metalwork assemblages during the course of the Bronze Age; any one could be culturally more significant than another.

Although Bronze and the Bronze Age is published in a semi-popular format, it is well researched and supported by a decent-sized bibliography. The absence of comparable synthesizes will make it gospel for this subject area among diverse readers, from students to portable antiquities liaison officers and metal detectorists. This makes particularly lamentable the misrepresentation of parts of the history of metalwork and, at times, the failure to cite sources for the derivation of key ideas. Many readers would also have valued a chronological chart with assemblage definitions, whatever the author’s personal antipathies to that approach. Perhaps luck was an opportunity for him to put forward a different way of thinking about the temporal structure of the material.

Setting aside these gripes, this is a useful book. It rightly stresses the non-industrial nature of bronze metalworking, the symbolic importance of many if not all bronze types, and the way in which metalwork deposits in the Bronze Age landscape served as signatures of various events or circumstances - in other words they relate to real historical social relationships.

Dr Stuart Needham, Department of Prehistory & Europe, The British Museum

Ancient Germanic Warriors: Warrior Styles from Trajan’s Column to Icelandic Sagas
Michael P. Speidel

This book ranges far more widely through time and space than the title suggests. Indo-European sources are considered in general, and various Asian and African peoples are used to illuminate what otherwise may be scant information from the period 200 BC to AD 1000. Taking depictions of various types of warriors on Trajan’s column as the primary evidence, the author presents their historical background as well as fast forwarding into the medieval future. Some minor points - as well as some conclusions - will continue to be debated, but perhaps the most important feature of the book is the big picture painted with a wide brush.

Germanic warriors have often been considered in relation to their better equipped and what has often been assumed to be better organised Roman counterparts. By carefully examining texts and massaging art historical information, the author suggests that Germanic warriors had a variety of fighting styles available to them. Animals such as bears and wolves played a part in mythological mythology as well as warfare. Naked berserks may lay claim to very ancient Indo-European roots. At the other end of the spectrum, disciplined fighting may also have been a Germanic speciality: shield castles are attested in both art and literature. Shield boss may then be interpreted not simply as decoration but more for purposes of alignment on the battlefield.

Rorse is read as a group of warriors that may have been previously overlooked. Classical texts suggest that agile and quick warriors specialised in getting underneath horses to immobilise them. While there are some depictions that appear clear enough, the author presents others that may easily be interpreted as the common theme of ‘running down the barbarian’. There is certainly room for argument in individual cases, but raising the issue is the significant point.

The book does have some drawbacks. Many of the themes are supported by a very small number of sources it is important to keep in mind the nature of the evidence as it pertains to ancient German warriors in particular. Fortunately the author writes in a very clear style. Maps are always useful, and would not have been out of place. Overall, however, seeing the book sets itself for out, it should be a most interesting read for anyone with a general interest in ancient warfare.

Dr Murray Eiland

Archaic Eretria:
A Political and Social History from the Earliest Times to 490 BC
Keith G. Walker

Could Eretria, the ‘rowing city’, really have been the dominant sea-power in the Aegean from 505 to 490 BC, as the Thalassocracy List informs us, and why does Plato give such high praise to Eretrian valor in his Menexenus? Readers will find well-documented and well-
The book is structured in 14 chapters, copiously illustrated with maps, diagrams, photographs, and construction drawings. After setting the scene in the prologue and providing the context of discovery in chapter two, the book takes a broadly chronological approach, interset with thematic issues that are relevant to the entire period, such as shipping, harbour construction, and shipbuilding, which together reveal the political, economic, and social aspects of the exploitation of the Mediterranean world in classical times. The book concludes by offering a comprehensive conclusion to the entire period, which is a major contribution to our understanding of the Mediterranean world in classical times.


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Baltimore, Maryland

ART OF THE AMERICAS. An exhibition featuring objects learned to the museum by the directors of the Austen-Stokes American Indian Foundation. More than 120 objects represent the highlights of the foundation's collection. All of the major civilizations of Mesoamerica are featured, including Olmec, Maya, and Teotihuacan. The earliest objects are diminutive ceramic figures from the Valdivia culture (2300 BC), and the latest 6th-century Aztec and Inca sculpture. THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM (1) 410 547-9000 (www.thewalters.org). Until 30 September 2012.

WONDEROUS JOURNEYS: THE WALTERS COLLECTION FROM EGYPTIAN TOMBS TO MEDIEVAL CASTLES. Objects demonstrating the customs, beliefs, and daily lives of ancient and medieval civilizations. THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM (1) 410 547-9000 (www.thewalters.org). Ongoing exhibition.

Boston, Massachusetts

EGYPTIAN LATE PERIOD. Newly renovated gallery. Artefacts, ranging from 664 BC to c. AD 250 include the newly acquired stone head of Nectanebo II. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON (1) 617 267-9300 (www.mfa.org). Permanent.

Brooklyn, New York

EGYPT REBORN: ART FOR ETERNITY. The reinstallation of one of North America's finest collections of ancient Egyptian works. Newly designed galleries have allowed the museum to double the number of its holdings on public view. Some pieces had previously been in storage for more than a century. Over 600 works now document Egyptian art from the Predynastic period to the reign of Amenhotep III. THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM (1) 718 638-5000 (www.brooklynmuseum.org). (See Minerva, May/June 2003, pp. 11-14.)

living legacies: the arts of the americas. The first of two new permanent installations for the Hall of the Americas has opened, featuring the famed textile collection, North-west Coast art, and the indigenous pictorial traditions. THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM (1) 718 638-5000 (www.brooklynart.org).


Brunswick, Maine

ART AND LIFE IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE PERIODICAL COLLECTION. A fine academic collection of Greek, Roman, Cypriot, Egyptian, and Assyrian antiquities. BOWDINON COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART (1) 207 725-5275 (www.bowdoin.edu/artmuseum). Ongoing exhibition.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

THE ART OF ANCIENT ROME. Stone sculpture, bronze, terracotta, and glass from the museum's collection. ARTHUR M. SACKLER MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY (1) 617 495-9400 (www.arthazar.harvard.edu). Ongoing exhibition.

PAINTED BY A DISTANT HAND. A long-term installation examining the origins, culture and the culture of the Mimbres. The exhibition is based on a 1920s excavation, the Swarts Ranch ruin in New Mexico. It features more than 100 rare pieces of Mimbres pottery, none of which have ever before been displayed. PEMBROKE MUSEUM (1) 617 496-1027 (www.pembody.harvard.edu). Ongoing exhibition.

The Sphinx and the Pyramids: 100 Years of American Archaeology at Giza. HARVARD UNIVERSITY SMITHSONIAN MUSEUM (1) 617 495-4631 (www.fas.harvard.edu/~semic). Ongoing exhibition.

The Sport of Kings: Art of the Hunt in Iran and India. ARTHUR M. SACKLER MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY (1) 617 495-3146 (www.arthazar.harvard.edu). Until 26 June.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa


Chicago, Illinois


Grand Rapids, Michigan

PETRA: LOST CITY OF STONE. This exhibition examines the history and culture of this important archaeological site in southern Jordan between the 4th century BC and the 6th century AD when Petra was a crossroads for major trade routes linking the lands of Mesopotamia, Arabia and Southwest Asia. On exhibit are colossal architectural sections of Petra's monuments, stone sculpture, ancient documents, metalwork, and display) include a monumental human-headed bull from Khorsabad, the mate of that in the Baghdad Museum, and a number of fine Early Scythian bronzes of the 3rd millennium BC. ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM (1) 773 702-9520 (www.oic.uchicago.edu).

CAIRO

CAIRO: THE ROYAL MUMMIES. 12 additional mummies have been added to the display of 11 pharaonic mummies, including Ramesses II. THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM (20) 2 575-7035. Permanent exhibition.

FRANCE

BIBRACIE, Burgundy

CELTIC MUSEUM. A new museum of the Celtic civilisation includes objects from France, Switzerland, Germany, Slovakia, Budapest, and the Mediterranean region. Bibracte is part of a huge Celtic fortified oppidum, with most of its fortifications still intact. MUSÉE CELTIQUE DE BIBRACIE (33) 85 865-235.

DIJON, Côte-d'Or


ILE D'OUESSANT, Finistère

SUB-MARINE STUDIES. MUSEE DES PHARES ET DES BALESES (33) 298 48 86 37. Until 30 June.

LONGS-LE-SAUNIER, Jura


Marseille

MUSEE D'ART DE ALLEY. Over 250 ancient bronze sculptures, arms, jewellerly, and other objects from the museum's collection have been examined for provenance by 14 specialists from the Université de Provence. MUSÉE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE MÉDITERRANÉENNE (33) 491 14 56 80. Until 30 March.

MONTROZIER, Aveyron

SOME ULTIMATE ROOTS. MUSÉE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DU ROUERGUE (32) 56 75 70 95. Until 15 May.

NICE, Alpes-Maritimes

A GREAT PREHISTORIC PLACE. MUSÉE DE PALéONTOLOGIE HUMAINE DE TERRA AMATA (30) 493 55 59 93. Until 30 April.

MEMORY OF THE MIAO IN CHINA. An exhibition dedicated to a forgotten people in south-west China. MUSÉE DES ARTS ASIATIQUES (33) 4 92 29 37 00 (www.arts-asiatiques.fr). Until end of April.

PARIS

PHARAOHS. Major exhibition examining multiple functions of the pharaohs, sovereigns of Egypt: God among the gods, priest-king, victorious warrior, head of State, man in harmony. The different facets of the pharaoh are highlighted by 200 objects mainly datng from the New Empire (c. 1550-1069 BC), one of the most brilliant periods of ancient Egypt. INSTITUT DU MONDE ARABE (33) 140 513-838 (www.imarabe.org). Until 10 April.

REODEZ, Aveyron

FACES OF ELAM. MUSÉE FENNAIRE (33) 565 77 89 85. Until 25 March.

STRASBOURG, Bas-Rhin

MEROVINGIAN TREASURES IN ALSACE. MUSÉE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE (39) 388 52 50 00. Until 31 August.

URILLAC, Cantal

PAGES D’ALLAYR : UN FORERUNNER OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN CANTAL. MUSÉE D’ART ET D’ARCHÉOLOGIE (33) 471 45 46 10. Until 30 September.

GERMANY

BERLIN

HIEROGLYPHS ABOUT NEFERITTI. KULTURFURST POTSDAMER PLATZ (49) 30 2090 555 (www.smk.de). Until 2 August.


ANTINOUS: LOVER AND GOD. Berlin acquired a 3.27m statue in the late 18th century. This exhibition includes other portraits, casts, and coins with his image. PARAGAMONMUSEUM (49) 30 2090 5555 (www.smk.de). Until 1 May.

BOCHUM, Nordrhein-Westfalen


BONN, Nordrhein-Westfalen

CROWN AND VEIL: THE ART OF FEMALE MONASTICISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES. A survey of the role of women in medieval art, with about 600 objects created by and for nuns and canonsesses. KUNST- UND AUSTELLUNGSHALLE DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND (49) 228 917 1200 (www.bundeskunsthalle.de). 19 March - 3 July.

10,000 YEARS OF ART AND CULTURE FROM JORDAN. KUNST- UND AUSTELLUNGSHALLE DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND (49) 228 917-1200 (www.bundeskunsthalle.de). 8 April - 21 August.

TUTANKHAMUN - THE GOLDEN BEYOND: TREASURES FROM THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS. 120 antiquities from the Cairo Museum including about 50 objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun. KUNST- UND AUSTELLUNGSHALLE DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND (49) 228 917 1200 (www.kahun.de). Until 1 May.

CELLE, Niedersachsen

GLASS CULTURE IN NIEDER SACHSEN. Glassware from the Middle Ages onward. BOMANN MUSEUM (49) 5141 12372 (www.celle.de/kultur/bomann). Until 1 May. Catalogue.

DRESDEN, Sachsen

A LOOK AT THE REAFTER. Egyptian burial customs illustrated by 130 objects. LANDESMUSEUM FÜR VORHISTORISCHE
played in individual galleries, including The Treasury, featuring Celtic and medieval art, Ireland's Gold, Prehistoric Ireland, and Viking Age Ireland. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRLAND (353) 1 677-7444 (www.muse- um.ie).

ISRAEL
HALIFA ANCIENT CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES PHOENICIONS ON THE NORTH COAST OF SYRIA IN THE BIBLICAL PERIOD. HECHT MUSEUM (972) 4 825-7773 (www.research.halifa.ac.il/hec/H.html).

JERUSALEM


BIBLICAL TREASURES. Permanent dis-play of material culture related to the cultures of all the peoples mentioned in the Bible - from Egypt eastwards across the Fertile Crescent to Afghanistan, and from Nubia north to the Caucasian mountains. BIBLELANDS MUSEUM (972) 2561-1066 (www.blmj.org).


GODS OF CANAAN. PHOENICIA, MOAB, AND AMMON. An ongoing exhibition exploring the gods of Israel's close neighbours. BIBLELANDS MUSEUM (972) 2561-1066 (www.blmj.org).


THE PHILISTINES. This exhibition commemorates their origins, arrival in Canaan, their cultural influence, and eventual expulsion into exile by the Babylonians. ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 670 8811 (www.imj.org.il). Until December.

- SHRINE OF THE BOOK REOPENS. The architectural complex in the Israel Museum housing the Dead Sea Scrolls (3rd century BC to 1st century AD) has reopened following a three-year, $3 million restoration. ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 6708-811 (www.imj.org.il).

THE VENUS OF BETH SHEAN. After ten years of conservation the 2nd-century AD marble statue of Venus accompanied by a cupid naive a dolphin, excavated in 1968, will go on display on 29 March. The removal of a hard layer of limestone revealed extensive original polychrome. ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 670-8811 (www.imj.org.il).

ITALY
BRINDISI FROM THE SEA TO A MUSEUM. On permanent display after careful restoration, two rare Roman bronze statues of the late Republican period found in 1966 off the Apulian coast. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO PROVINCIALE F. RIBEZZO (93) 831 563-545.

MILAN FROM OLYMPIA TO ATHENS 776 BC 2004. Small but refined exhibition centred on the myths linked to the Olympic games. Among the works on view are important Greek vases, the marble head of an athlete, and a rare set of instruments used by a Roman athlete before competing. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO. Tel (93) 02 796-354. Until 31 May 2005.

MONTAGNANA, Padova. MUSEO CIVICO E ARCHEOLOGICO. The museum, created in 1980 following the discovery of the necropolis of the near by gens Vassilia, has now been reorganised. Objects on view range from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages (39) 4 2980-4128.

PERUGIA MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. New exhibition spaces have been added to the museum. Now 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) 75 357-9692.

POMPEII THE ROMAN BATHS AND HOUSES OF JULIUS POLIUS AND MENANDER. The houses and the baths were closed for years because of restoration work. The House of Menander is one of the most important of the large mansions decorated with wall paintings that have survived in the ruined city. PORTA MARINA (museionline@adn kronos.com). Visit on weekends by appointment.

ROME MUSEO NAZIONALE ETRUSCO DI VILLA GIULIA. The reorganisation of the museum is now completed and all rooms are open (39) 6 3226-6571.

TRIESTE ANCIENT EGYPT. Since July 2004 two new rooms have been added to the large Egyptian room where thousands of Egyptian antiquities have been on display. The new objects come from the Natural Museum History in Trieste, where they were stored in the 19th century. MUSEO DI STORIA ED ART (39) 040 310-500.

TURIN THE ETRUSCAN COLLECTION OF MARCO UMBERTO DIANZANI. Marco Umberto Dianzani has bequeathed his collection of over 400 Etruscan objects found in southern Tuscany by his grandfather. It will go on display on 29 March. The removal of a hard layer of limestone revealed extensive original polychrome. ISRAEL MUSEUM (972) 2 670-8811 (www.imj.org.il).

VERONA ROMAN GLASS. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO AL TEATRO ROMANO. Until 2 October.

VETULONIA THE TOMB OF RACHU KAKANAS. The magnificent terracotta, bronze, silver, and gold funerary objects found in the Etruscan tomb of Rachu Kakana dated to the 7th century BC. Vetulonia was one of the most important cities of the Etruscan world. MUSEO CIVICO ARCHEOLOGICO ISIDORO FALCHI (39) 0564 948-058. Ongoing exhibition.

VITTORBO EXCAVATIONS WITHIN EXCAVATIONS: THE UNKNOWN ETRUSCANS. Over 400 objects from southern Etruria. FORTEZZA GIULIOI (39) 0761 332 286. Ongoing exhibition.

JAPAN
TOKYO NATIONAL TREASURE GANJINWAJO AND BUDDHIST SCULPTURE FROM TOSHODAIRI. An exhibition of Buddhist sculptures from the Kondo Hall of Toshodaiji in Nara, commemorating the restoration of this temple. TOKYO NATIONAL MUSEUM (81) 3 1382-1111 (www.trnm.jp). Until 6 March.


MEXICO
MEXICO CITY THE MAYA HALL. Re-opened after three years of extensive renovation. The museum's collection of ceramic figurines from the island of Jaina are publicly displayed for the first time. The hall also includes sculpture, finials, stele, and reliefs selected for display from its own holdings, which include the largest Maya collection in the world. New features include reconstructions of Maya architecture, and interactive information kiosks. MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGIA (52) 53 53-6266 (www.mna.im.h.gob.mx).

NETHERLANDS LEIDEN THE TRAIL OF THE MUMMY. An interactive exhibition of 133 human and animal mummies from the museum's collections, which have recently been scanned and x-rayed. RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEIDEN (31) 71 516 3163 (www.rnm.nl). Until 4 September (then to other venues).


UTRECHT VIKINGSI CENTRAAL MUSEUM (31) 30 236 2362 (www.centraalmuseum.nl). Until 10 April.

PERU LAMBAYEQUE THE TREASURES OF SIPAN. A new museum, opened in 2002, displays the wonderful treasures uncovered in the tombs of 13 individuals buried in pyramid at Sipan in northern Peru. These include gold and turquoise ornaments, a gold and silver sceptre, and hundreds of ceramic vessels. MUSEO TUMBA REALES DE SIPAN (51) 74 283-1978.

POLAND WARSAW GALLERY OF ANCIENT ART. An important collection, including major works such as the wall paintings excavated at Faras. MUZEUM NARODOWE W. WARSZAWSKIE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW (48) 22 620 10 31 (www.mnw.art.pl).

SPAIN BARCELONA ROMANIC CATALONIA: SCULP-TURES FROM THE RIU VALLEY. Important 12th century sculptures from a region west of Catalonia. Just reopening with this exhibit, the museum underscored a $160 million renovation. It is noted for its Romanesque altarpieces, wood carvings, and has an extensive coin collection. MUSEU NACIONAL D'ARTE DE CATALUNYA (34) 93 623 0360. Until 20 March (then to Musée de Cluny, Paris).

SWEDEN UPPSALA THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE NILE VALLEY. A permanent exhibition featuring a selection of fine objects from the Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities. UPPSALA UNIVERSITY MUSEUM (www.gustavianum.uu.se).

SWITZERLAND BERNE STONE AGE, CELTS, AND ROMANS. The archaeology of Switzerland from the Stone Age to Late Roman times: a new long-term exhibition. BERNISCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM (49) 31 350 7711 (www.bhm.ch).


MINERVA 62
5 March. ROMAN PORTRAIT SYMPOSIUM. Art Institute of Chicago. Contact: Karen Manchester. Tel: (1) 312 443-3698; e-mail: kmanchester@artic.edu.

18-19 March. LIFE AND DEATH IN ANCIENT CHINA AND ANCIENT EGYPT. 24 scholars compare and contrast the two great tomb-building civilisations. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Tel: (1) 215 898-4000. Website: www.upenn.edu/museum.


4 April. MIDLANDS VIKING SYMPOSIUM. For anyone interested in the history and culture of the Vikings. University of Nottingham. Contact: Christine Lee. E-mail: christina.lee@nottingham.ac.uk. Website: www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/research/cma/news.

17-21 April. ROMAN ARMY CONFERENCE. For anyone interested in the Roman army. Hadrianic Society, Durham, UK. Contact: janemwatkins@hotmail.com. Website.

4 May. TRADE AND INTERCONNECTIONS. The Uluburun Shipwreck: Mediterranean Trade in the 14th Century BC - Cemal Pulik; Trading Fashion -Trading Ideas: Portrait Mummies and the Question of Identity - Barbara E. Birg; From Palace ot Bazaar and Back Again: The Role of Trade in Safavid Art - Priscilla Soucek (Charles K. Wilkinson Lecture) Metropolitan Museum of Art (Uris Center Auditorium), 2-5pm.

6-8 May. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD. Kent University, Canterbury. UK. Contact: Lally. E-mail: Infancy Childhood2005@kent.ac.uk. Website: www.kent.ac.uk/sezl/classics/Bishopstone.htm.

10-13 May. MEDITERRANEAN CROSSROADS CONFERENCE. New directions in Mediterranean studies. Athens, Greece. Contact: Sophia Antoniadou. E-mail: pierides18@athinais.com.gr.

20-21 May. MAY WHICH PAST, WHOSE FUTURE? TREATMENTS OF THE PAST AT THE START OF THE 21ST CENTURY. King's Manor, University of York, York, UK. Contact: Emma Waterhouse. E-mail: whosepast.conference@gmail.com.


20 April. LACHISH, MEGIDDO AND THE PHILISTINE SETTLEMENT IN THE COASTAL PLAIN. Professor David Ussishkin. Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society lecture. The Stevenson Lecture Theatre, Clere Education Centre, British Museum. 6.00pm.

5 May. PHENOMENOLOGY AND ITALIAN PREHISTORY. THE TAVOLIERE-GARGANO PROJECT. Sue Hamilton. Accademia Research Institute/institute of Archaeology (31-34 Gordon Square). 5.30pm.

MANCHESTER

5 March. CREATING A 'VIRTUAL MUMMY' AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM. John Taylor. Egypt Exploration Society Northern Branch (Main Arts Theatre, University of Manchester. 7pm. Contact: Rosalie David at (44) 161 275 2647; e-mail: rosalie.david@man.ac.uk.

USA

PHILADELPHIA

18 March. RECENT DISCOVERIES IN EGYPT: THE SECRETS OF THE PYRAMIDS. Zahi Hawass. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. For brochure e-mail: events@museum.upenn.edu.
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