THE MONTELEONE CHARIOT FORGERY

VILLAGE LIFE IN THE LOWER PALAEOLITHIC

GREECE & ROME AT THE MET, NEW YORK

LAOCOON IN LEEDS

MEROVINGIAN GOLD AT THE HERMITAGE

THE CAPITOLINE SHE-WOLF: ETRUSCAN OR ROMAN?

THE TEMPLE CHERUBIM IN ANTIOCH

TOURISM IN ANCIENT ROME

EXCAVATING ROME IN THE RENAISSANCE

THE MAYA BLUE CREEK PROJECT, BELIZE

The central panel of the Monte Leone chariot in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. H. 84.5cm, W. 50.2cm, MMA Rogers Fund, 1903, 03.23.1. Photo: Jerome M. Eiselberg.
An Egyptian Limestone Relief of Sai-Em-Petref

The Supervisor of Goldsmiths in the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos is depicted kneeling in prayer, written above: ‘Hail to thee Re, Harakhti, Atum, Lord of Heliopolis; bring my heart to its rightful place and to where it belongs; for Sai-em Petref, true of voice’. To the right are two columns of text recommending the deceased to ‘the Lord of Denderah & of Sokaris at every feast on earth.’

XIXth Dynasty, ca. 1313-1185 BC. H. 60 cm. (23 5/8 in.); W. 37 cm. (14.8 in.)
Ex collection of Prof. Dr Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr Von Bissing (1873-1956), the Hague; collection of Dr H.C. Jelgersma, Oegstgeest; by descent to M. Jelgersma, the Netherlands.
Published: H.P. Blok, ‘Fünf Grabeliefs aus dem Neuen Reich’, Ac.Or. 10, 1931, 81-94.

Send for our new full colour catalogue, Art of the Ancient World Vol. XVIII (2007), featuring 256 objects.

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EDITORIAL: WORLD EXCLUSIVE

Upright Man Sets Down to Village Life - A New Palaeolithic Revolution

For decades archaeologists have rightly respected the Neolithic period c. 8500 BC as a revolutionary era of the most profound change, when the wiring of mankind's brain shifted from transient hunter-gathering to permanent settlement in farming communities. Hearths, temples, articulated burials, whistling 'wheat' fields and security replaced the uncertain ravages of seasonal running with the pack. Or so stereotypes maintain.

Now, from the remote shores of Budrinn on Lake Fezzan in Libya, and Melka Konture on the banks of the River Awash in Ethiopia, a series of stunning discoveries are set to challenge the originality of the Neolithic Revolution. After 39 years of surveys and excavations, Professor Helmut Ziegert of Hamburg University presents his results as a world exclusive in Minerva (pp. 8-9). In both African locations he has discovered huts and sedentary village life dating between an astonishing 400,000 and 200,000 Before Present - if correct, literally a quantum leap in our understanding of man's evolution. Near aquatic resources, and not alongside agricultural fields, 'Professor Ziegert contests that our ancestors settled down for the first time in small communities of 40-50 people.

This sensation just scratches the surface of one of prehistory's most incredible revelations: from Chatounien in China to Bilzingsleben in Germany, Ziegert claims to have identified 35 other Lower Palaeolithic villages with comparable huts and even cemeteries. A pattern prevails. After decades of fieldwork and contemplation, Helmut Ziegert is convinced that future discoveries will uphold his conclusions. His discoveries have nothing to do with luck, he maintains, but are a matter of applying problem-oriented research. Where evolutionary biologists have typically hunted ancestral human bones exclusively to understand adaptations to mankind - missing links - as an archaeologist Professor Ziegert has asked more specific, holistic questions of the wider evidence.

At the heart of this new Lower Palaeolithic 'out of Africa' village theory are two world-changing ideas. First, that Homo erectus, Upright Man, had far more modernistic tendencies than previously believed; and second, that as unique as the farming villages of Jericho in the West Bank and Catalhoyuk in Turkey are, their occupants were not the brains behind the origins of sedentism. The innovative capacity of Homo erectus has challenged scholars for decades and remains a scholarly caution. Anthropologists such as Richard Leakey have long insisted that Upright Man was socially more akin to modern humans than to his primitive predecessors because the increased cranial capacity coincided with more sophisticated tool technology. Other scientists contend that Homo erectus was sufficiently advanced to have even mastered maritime transport. Yet both this assertion and the very idea that he ever got to grips with controlled fire are still considered controversial.

Only three years ago, however, Nira Alperson of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem discovered the oldest evidence of fire management at Gesher Benot Ya'akov on the banks of the Jordan River in Israel's northern Galilee. The team analysed over 50,000 pieces of wood and nearly 36,000 flints from two hearths associated with a Homo

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ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION (6 issues)
UK £21; Europe £23
Rest of world: Air £33/$US53; Surface £25/$US40
For full information see p. 29 and www.minervamagazine.com.

Published bi-monthly.
Send subscriptions to either the London or New York offices below.

ADVERTISEMENT SALES
(Outside Europe) Minerva,
14 Old Bond Street,
London, W1S 4PF
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Fax: (020) 7491 1595
E-mail: minerva@minerva magazine.com

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TRADE DISTRIBUTION
United Kingdom:
Diamond Magazine Distribution Ltd
Tel: (01797) 225229
Fax: (01797) 225657

US & Canada:
Distrector, Toronto

Egypt & the Near East:
American University in Cairo Press,
Cairo, Egypt

Printed in England by
The Scansplus Print Group,
London.

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ISBN 0955 7718

© 2007 Aurora Publications Ltd.

Minerva (issn no 0957 7718, is published six times per annum by Aurora Publications Ltd and distributed in the USA by SPF 75 Aberdeen Road Emigsville PA 17318-0437. Periodical postage paid at Emigsville PA. Postmaster send address changes to Minerva, c/o SPF, PO 434 box, Emigsville PA 17318-0437.

The publisher of Minerva is not necessarily in agreement with the opinions expressed in articles therein. Advertisements and the objects featured in them are checked and monitored as far as possible but are not the responsibility of the publisher.

The 'Rauugi Papa' ('Father of all Rafts') built using Palaeolithic technology and approaching the coast of Komodo, Bont, having succeeded in crossing from Sumuhawa, 7 October 2004. The vessel travelled 36.4km in 9 hours 22 minutes, battling strong currents. Photograph: Robert G. Bednarik.

Minerva, July/August 2007
erectus settlement dating back 790,000 years.

More contentiously, Robert Bednarik is convinced that Upright Man ushered in the dawn of trans-ocean travel between 900,000 and 800,000 years ago as part of a wider revolution, usually attributed to the anatomically modern Homo sapiens, that included communicating with a spoken language and eventually carving and painting art 400,000 to 300,000 Before Present. To test his theory, Bednarik built a 17.5m-long, 2.8-ton bamboo raft, Nale Tasih 4, and crossed the 29km-wide stretch of sea from the east coast of Bali to the neighbouring island of Lombok. The results have convinced Bednarik that ‘Between 400,000 and 200,000 years ago, hominins are also known to have crossed to at least two islands in Europe, Corsica, and Sardinia. This is soundly demonstrated, but in addition it is possible that much earlier they managed to cross the Strait of Gibraltar. Unfortunately, that cannot be proved conclusively, because the alternative of reaching Europe by land has always existed’. Stone Age ‘seafaring appears to have been possible’, agrees anthropologist Tim Bromage of Hunter College of the City University of New York, who has identified 30cm-wide South-east Asian bamboo as providing a versatile material for building rafts with simple stone tools.

Below left: Foundations of the podium of King Herod of Judea’s mausoleum at Herodium in the West Bank. Photo: courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

So, Professor Ziegert’s ‘Out of Africa’ aquatic model for the rise of village life in the Lower Palaeolithic does not emerge out of a cultural and intellectual void. As a veteran of over 81 archaeological surveys and excavations from Germany to Ecuador, ranging in date from the Lower Palaeolithic to the Islamic period, Ziegert is nothing if not scientifically cautious, which makes the current revelation all the more exciting. Between 2007 and 2010 he will be back in the field, returning to Buddina and Melka Konture to fine-tune his life’s work. To delve in greater depth into the mystery of the ecology, function, structure, and economy of these villages, he plans to search out cemeteries (complementary signs of fixed settlement) and use potassium-argon isotopic dating, stratigraphy, and tool typology to measure the ebb and flow of village life in this dizzy, distant prehistoric past.

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


EXCAVATION NEWS

Hunting Herod: the King of Judea’s Tomb in the West Bank

After a 30-year obsession hunting King Herod of Judea (c. 37 to 4 BC), Professor Ehud Netzer of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has finally got his just rewards. On the northern slope of Herodium, a volcano-shaped mountain 15km south of Jerusalem in the West Bank, parts of the sarcophagus and mausoleum of the Bible’s most infamous ruler have come to light. In his Jewish War, Josephus records that Herod built Herodium as a memorial to the king’s defeat of the Parthians, fusing a fortress with lavish palaces.

Herodium certainly looks purely defensive from the outside, yet, as Josephus clarified, the half-Jewish king also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition... and filled up the remaining space with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was laid out on the outward walls, and partitions, and roofs also... He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill...

It is also through Josephus that Professor Netzer first identified Herodium as Herod’s final resting place decades ago. According to the ancient historian, ‘Archelaus, omitting nothing that could contribute to its magnificence, brought forth all the royal ornaments to accompany the procession in honour of the deceased. The bier was of solid gold, studded with precious stones, and had a covering of purple, embroidered with various colours; on this lay the body enveloped in a purple robe, a diadem encircling the head and surmounted by a crown of gold, the sceptre beside his right hand. Around the bier were Herod’s sons and a large group of his relations; these were followed by the guards, the Thracian contingent, Germans and Gauls, all equipped as for war... behind these came 500 of Herod’s servants and freedmen, carrying spicery. The body was thus conveyed for a distance of 200 furlongs to Herodium, where, in accordance with the directions of the deceased, it was interred. So ended Herod’s reign’ (Jewish Wars, 1.23.9).

Herodium lies 758m above sea level and rises 60m above the surrounding plain, and since 1972 Netzer’s excavations have uncovered a marvel of the imagination. Its 62m diameter walls are protected by 30m-high fortifications and four round and semi-circular towers up to 18m wide. Herod designed his two-storey private palace with its triclinium, bath-house, garden, and multi-coloured mosaics and wall paintings inside the fortifications.

The plain below the fortress, Lower Herodium, was also exquisitely land-
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scaped across 38 acres, all radiating out from a monumental pool, 70 x 46m, surrounded by a 250m-long colonnaded pavilion and flowing gardens, including a frescoed octagonal room - perhaps a cistern. Adjacent stood a large bath-house with mosaics decorated with pomegranates, grapevines, and grape clusters motifs, which probably served the royal entourage and the king's guests.

South of the pool Netzter has excavated the 350 x 30m Monumental Building and an elaborate square hall within, 12 x 9m, whose architectural design is characteristic of elaborate burial monuments in Jerusalem. The ritual bath found here formerly led Netzter to assume that this building was part of King Herod's mausoleum, the square room being a triclinium for memorial ceremonies. However, no signs of the king surfaced here or in the underground cisterns, into which Netzter sent divers from the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums in search of the elusive king in the early 1980s.

The 2007 excavations have now exposed a monumental flight of stairs, 6.5m wide, custom-built for Herod's final funeral procession. Netzter's team found the king's mausoleum dismantled, with only part of its podium foundations intact. The mortuary character of the area is further expressed by a group of elaborate cremation urns of Nabataean inspiration, all solid and solely architectural in function.

Shattered across the excavated area the team recovered fragments of a large sarcophagus and triangular cover crafted of reddish Jerusalem limestone. Measuring 2.5m in length, and decorated with rosettes, it is said to be unique in Israel, leading Netzter to argue that 'This is assumed with certainty to be the sarcophagus of Herod. Only very few similar sarcophagi are known in the country and can be found only in elaborate tombs such as the famous one at the King's Tomb on Selah a-Din Street in East Jerusalem.'

Some scholars, of course, will point to the absence of epigraphic evidence to denounce the Herodian nature of the current discovery. Even though Netzter is hopeful of uncovering inscriptions in forthcoming work, it would be prudent to expand the excavation area and to define more accurately the functional character of this quarter. Is this part of a wider burial ground? Why can't this be the mausoleum of Archelaus, Herod's son?

After 30 laborious years spent trying to understand Herod by excavating his palaces at Masada, Jericho, Macherus, and Caesarea, Professor Netzter's life work has reached a wonderful climax. And perhaps it is appropriate that after all these years he did not come face to face with Rome's puppet king. The smashed sarcophagi and under-ground tunnels criss-crossing Herodium betray the seething hatred of Jewish zealots, who deliberately violated the king's tomb. In AD 66 class warfare erupted across Israel in response to Herod's cross selection of Temple High Priests not of the ancient ancestral line. The revolutionaries converged on Herodium between AD 66 and 72 to scatter Herod's mortal remains to the four winds. No trace of Rome's sycophant, who infamously murdered the first born to try and terminate the rumoured birth of the king of the Jews, Jesus, in Bethlehem, survives. In an act of poetic justice for sowing the seeds of the destruction of Israel, Herod died consumed by worms. Perhaps this memoria damnaio to a man who sought immortality through his ambitious building programmes is the most apt fate for one of history's most self-serving rulers.

Dr Sean Kingsley

INRAP Uncovers the Heart of Roman Nîmes

Since its inauguration in 2001, INRAP, France's official preventive archaeology institute, has made huge strides forward in the safeguard and study of the nation's archaeological heritage. The latest discoveries of international importance have come to light along the 18th-century Avenue Jean-Jaurès in the heart of ancient Nîmes. This tract of land is fortuitously located for archaeologists between the Gallic oppidum to the north and the Roman city rampart to the south. Following preventive excavations from 1980 to 2000, a new 10-month programme of fieldwork commenced in October 2006 within the central lane of the avenue in a long, narrow band of approximately 400 x 15m, encompassing an area of 6500 square metres.

Roman Nîmes (Nemausus) is best known for its splendid aqueduct bridge, the Pont du Gard, and temple known as the Maison Carrée, both completed by Agrippa in 19 BC. Crucially, results from the nearby excavations have illuminated the development of the city from the 2nd century BC to the end of the 3rd century AD, when it was abandoned after barbarian raids. Unlike many Roman cities, the street plan of this part of Nîmes was not laid out as a grid, but had diverging paved streets, which suggests that urbanisation in the Roman period was progressive, only reaching a peak in the 2nd century.

Many of the characteristic trappings of a typical Roman city unearthed so far include prosperous quarters with street porticos and nymphaeae (fountains) bordering groups of finely decorated houses with wall paintings and mosaics. Alongside are areas devoted to craft production, with pottery kilns and grounds.
reign of the emperors Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) and Commodus (AD 180-193) amongst followers of a Christian heretic from Phrygia brought to Rome by Marcus Aurelius. The Montanus sect then moved to North Africa, where one of its distinguished members was the early Church Father Tertullian. Such images of gladiators are rare in the Imperial period: a famous example was found in the Baths of Caracalla and another near the Via Casilina, now paving a room in the Museum at Villa Borghese in Rome.

The Santa Maria Nova baths must have been built just before or during the reign of Commodus, who was infamous as a great lover of gladiatorial fights and who entered the arena for sport himself. The latest discovery was made in an area of 3.5 hectares recently acquired by the Italian government next to the 24-hectare Villa del Quintili that the emperor Commodus misappropriated after eliminating the Quintilli brother owners. The baths are situated at the fifth mile of the Appian Way, where the city of Rome ended and Albano began (and where a funerary pyramid near the monumental nymphaeum of the Quintilli still awaits excavation).

Regrettably, the ancient heritage in this part of ‘downtown’ Rome remains unprotected. The immediacy of safeguarding the monuments and ongoing excavations was dramatically proved at the end of April, when vandals destroyed the lower part of the bath-house mosaic scene showing Montanus while attempting to steal it. Part of the tepidarium walls were also pulled down. Carabinieri are now investigating the crime to find the culprits and determine whether this is a case of theft or a warning to archaeologists not to work in an area where illegal building over protected zones of archaeological value continues to be a very serious problem. The archaeologist and scholar, Adriano La Regina, was appointed President of the Appian Way Archaeological Park in the spring precisely to counteract the damage produced by traffic and unlawful activities, including waste dumping and rife prostitution along the magnificent ancient road, monuments, and tombs that line and surround this ancient highway.

Gladiator Mosaic Vandalised along the Appian Way, Rome

A 2nd-century Roman bath-house excavated in the spring at Santa Maria Nova on the Appian Way, near the Villa del Quintili, has turned up two remarkable mosaic floors from the caudarium and tepidarium. These focus on a racing horse called Invictus, obviously a revered horse of the age, a referee known as Antonius, and Montanus, a retiarius gladiator who holds his fighting net in one hand and a trident in the other. Depicted in the act of leaping on his opponent, one of his shoulders is covered by a galeris cuirass. Montanus was a popular name in the main city. Three in situ tomb reliefs depicting gladiators provided the initial clue to the identity of the site and dated it epigraphically and iconographically to the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

The excavated skeletal remains were analysed by Professor Karl Gross Schmidt and Professor Fabian Kanz, pathologists based at the Medical University in Vienna, and each bone was examined for the age of the individual, injury, and possible cause of death. One of the most striking factors to emerge is that many of the gladiators had healed wounds, which the pathologists suggest indicates they were prized fighters who may not have routinely fought to the death and who, instead, received the benefits of professional medical treatment. The evidence in fact indicates organised duels under strict combat guidelines under the supervision of referees.

Bone traumas also reveal that many of the gladiators suffered a violent death. Roman writers record that, in some cases, if a gladiator lacked skill or demonstrated cowardice, the crowd could call for him to be lanced through with the cry of ‘iugula’. Reliefs from other parts of the Roman Empire depict gladiators kneeling to receive a sword rammed down their throats into the heart - the ‘standard way’ of executing gladiators who had fallen from grace. Some of the remains from Ephesus have incisions on the vertebrae and across other bones, proof of just such a dispatch.

Other traumas are of a more unusual nature and indicate death in combat. In one instance a mortal blow to the skull was inflicted by a trident - a well-known gladiatorial weapon. Equally gruesome are the rectangular...
Injuries on several skulls that could only have been inflicted by blows with a hammer. Professor Kanz thinks this fate may have befallen severely injured gladiators by an assistant in the arena ‘who basically gave the gladiator the coup de grace’.

Gladiators who survived three years of combat in the arena won their freedom as a reward, and would often aspire to teach in the gladiatorial school. One skeleton seems to have attained such success against the odds. Examination revealed him to be of a mature age, and his skull exhibited healed wounds from previous combats. According to Professor Kanz, ‘He lived quite a normal Roman lifespan... and most probably, he died of natural causes’.

Significantly, analysis of this cemetery proves the accuracy of Roman historical texts on the one hand, and extends our knowledge of gladiatorial combat and the brutal techniques used to execute those born into the age of the savage arena. Dr Mark Merrony

MUSEUM NEWS

Greek Masterpiece of a Bronze Horse Rides Again in Rome

The restoration of a rare 5th-century BC Greek bronze statue of a horse has been completed, with the statue presented to the public in May in the frescoed rooms of the Sala degli Orari e Curaio of the Capitoline Museums in Rome, where it will remain on view for a few months. The horse was found in 1849 during an excavation in Vicolo delle Palme in the Trastevere district of the capital. So spectacular was the find that it led to the horse being set up in the square of Piazza Santa Maria in Trastevere, after which it was transferred to the Vatican Museums by the papal authorities. Through political upheaval when Rome was torn between an independent Republic and the Vatican, the statue ended up finally in the Capitoline Museums, where it was put on display along with other bronze fragments found with it. A first restoration was immediately undertaken by the sculptor Pietro Tenerani.

Soon after, and near the site where the horse was found, the marble statue of the Apollo terracotta now in the Vatican Museums was also unearthed. Then in December 1849 the left hind quarter of a colossal bronze bull, extraordinary because of the thinness of the metal and its huge dimensions, were retrieved. Finally, in 1850 the left foot and leg of a horseman were dug up from the same site, possibly those of a rider for the bronze horse. Altogether, these chance finds acquired during hasty excavations in a densely built up area, never properly documented, with formal excavations never later resumed, seem to belong to a group of statues brought to Trastevere at an uncertain date for reuse or melting down.

Scholars date the statue to between the second half of the 5th century BC (because of similarities with the horses of the Parthenon Sculptures) and the 4th century BC, when the horse may have been made in Athens, possibly even by Lynips. If correct, the horse might have been cast by order of Alexander the Great for a monument to commemorate the battle of Granicus in 334 BC. This famous group of 34 equestrian riders and horses was later plundered from Greece as war spoils by Quintus Metellus Macedonius and set up in front of the two temples enclosing the Porticus of Octavia in the Field of Mars in Rome. On stylistic grounds, however, it seems more likely that the artist who crafted the horse was Hegias, who worked in Athens around 490-460 BC, and who is said to have taught Phidas bronze casting. The fact that the horse was found in Rome may substantiate this attribution because in his

Natural History Pliny mentions a group of the Dioscuri attributed to Hegias set on the Capitol near the temple of Jupiter by Augustus.

An inscription on the left hind leg of the horse, incised L I XXIX after casting, seems to be an inventory number used when the statue was shipped from Greece to Rome, or is a registry number corresponding to works of art curated in the capital. A letter C on the right shoulder of the horse and XIX on the left possibly reflect changes in the inventory records.

The horse was cast in the lost wax technique in separate pieces then soldered together. The back was left open to allow the statue of a horseman to be fitted above. The statue was damaged when a heavy weight fell on it, distorting its proportions. The head and neck, however, are intact and clearly in the style of the greatest masterpieces of early Greek bronze statues. Dale Jones

ANTICITÀ NEWS

Greece

To borrow a phrase from Shakespeare, ‘Much ado about nothing’ took place at the Agora in Athens on 18 April when, to quote the ANA (the national news agency of Greece), ‘A poigniant ceremonial was held... to mark the return of six priceless black-glazed ceremonial pottery pieces’ from the collection of the late British scholar Martin Robertson, author of A History of Greek Art, presented by his son Stephen. His son drew a comparison to the Greek campaign for the return of the Parthenon marbles, stating ‘the ceremony can be compared to the British Museum’s administration that a similar return of antiquities [viz. the Parthenon marbles] is not impossible’. However, what all of the ongoing publicity failed to point out is that the six small cups are very common, undecorated black-glazed ware of the 5th century BC, presented as a token present to Dr Robertson by Lucy Talcott, the recording secretary of the Agora excavations in the 1930s and 40s, and now still worth much less than £1000 as a group. Dr Talcott had purchased these minor pieces legally from an antique shop in Greece.

India

At least 38 ‘heritage’ sculptures, idols, and other protected artefacts have been reported missing since 2004. Six have been recovered, including a Jain sculpture from Alatur in Tamil Nadu, an Anant Shesh idol from the Laxman temple in Chittisagar, and a sacred lingam from the Bumzuva Cave in Anantnag. It is thought that the other missing pieces have been exported out of the country, perhaps with the concurrence of officials. In April, a sand-
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stone statue of Vishnu stolen in 2000 from a temple in Mandsaur, Madhya Pradesh, was returned to the Indian government by the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement in New York. It had been stored in a warehouse in the New York borough of Queens by a Manhattan gallery owner, who surrendered it voluntarily. At least 10 other sandstone sculptures are known to have been stolen from Madhya Pradesh. India is now considering increasing penalties for smuggling by amending their Antiquities and Art Treasures Act of 1972.

Iraq
An important limestone head of King Sanatruq I of Hatra, 1st century AD, stolen from the National Museum of Iraq, was recovered in April in a raid by Lebanese police on the home of a well-known Lebanese decorator following its appearance in an Al Jazeera television broadcast about the decorator. An archaeologist from the University of Turin, who had excavated at Hatra, saw the report and informed Interpol. An investigation followed and the head was seized two weeks later.

Libya
The 'Venus of Cyrene', a headless Hellenistic statue of Aphrodite, c. 100 BC, after a 4th century BC prototype and found by Italian archaeologists in Cyrene in 1911, when Libya had just become an Italian colony, is now being returned to Libya. It was removed by Italian troops and brought to Rome in 1912, where until recently it was exhibited in the new Museo Palazzo Massimo. Italy agreed to return the statue in 2002, but a legal action by a political group blocked its repatriation until an Italian tribunal ruled in April that it should be sent back.

Pakistan
A gang of robbers was arrested in March by police in Karachi in a major case involving the theft of 37 rare Indus Valley seals and two tablets from the Mohenjodaro Museum in 2002. The stolen objects were brought to Karachi, then Quetta, later on to Afghanistan, and finally to Dubai where they were sold. 2080 smuggled objects have been seized by the Pakistani authorities since 2004, including 1400 pre-Indus, Indus, Gandharan, and Islamic items confiscated at the port of Karachi in 2005, and 619 more at Karachi airport in 2006. In September 2005, 38 stone and terracotta Gandhara sculptures were seized by US Customs authorities at Port Newark, New Jersey, and returned to Pakistan. This was the first time that antiquities confiscated by another country were returned to Pakistan.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

NEWS FROM EGYPT

Flower Bouquets Found in Tomb of Djehuty
An Egyptian-Spanish Mission has uncovered 42 flower bouquets and 42 clay pots that had been thrown into the XVIIIth Dynasty tomb of Djehuty, overseer of works at Thebes under Queen Hatshepsut, in the Dra-Abu-Naga area on Luxor's West Bank. Interestingly, his family is depicted on the wall of his burial chamber, along with priests, holding similar flower bouquets, and clay pots. Other carvings show hunting in the desert and marshes, the annual pilgrimage to Abydos, funerary rituals, and a harpist accompanied by two singers.

AI-Arish National Museum Opens in North Sinai
A new National Museum, located on the north-eastern coast of Sinai at al-Arish, its largest city, has opened with some 1500 objects from the Predynastic Period to the Islamic conquest, selected from eight Egyptian museums. Emphasis is laid on the city’s important military history and its location as the starting point of the Horus Road, the vital link between Egypt and Asia, and the eastern gateway to the Delta. The museum of 2500 square metres, constructed at a cost of LE50 million, is surrounded by a 16,000-square-metre garden of Egyptian trees and plants.

Two XIIth Dynasty Alabaster Duck-shaped Boxes Recovered
In 1979 Dieter Arnold, now a senior curator in the Egyptian Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, excavated some food vessels in the form of ducks made of Egyptian alabaster (a form of calcite) at Dahshur in the XIIth Dynasty pyramid complex of Amenemhet III, c. 1842-1797 BC. At that time they were put into storage in the magazines at Saqara. Recently, the museum was offered two duck-shaped boxes by private collectors, one in New York, the other in London (previously in Paris). Comparing his excavation notes and the Saqara magazine inventory registers, Dr Arnold and an associate soon realized that they were from the Dahshur finds, but slightly altered to appear different. Both have now been voluntarily returned by their current owners to Egypt.

DNA Lab to be Established in Cairo
A DNA laboratory with state-of-the-art technology will be established by the Supreme Council of Antiquities in the basement of the Egyptian Museum to conduct tests on mummies. It will be supervised by Dr Hani el-Nazir, head of the National Centre for Research and Tests. The $3 million cost will be borne by the US National Geographic network, which will initially produce a TV documentary on the examination of the mummy said to be Queen Hatshepsut, found in the Valley of the Kings. The recent results of a CT scan of her mummy, that of her father, Tuthmosis I, her half-brother and husband, Tuthmosis II, and Tuthmosis III, will be announced in July.

New Pyramid Theory Denied Onsite Tests
The French architect Jean Pierre Houdin has theorised that the Great Pyramid was constructed by using an internal spiral ramp rather than the external ramp long accepted by Egyptologists. He suggests that the long external ramps, remains of which have been found, were used only to build the base. Houdin has also proposed the formation of a joint expedition of Egyptian specialists and French engineers to make an examination of the interior of the pyramid with the use of infrared and radar. Mr Houdin, however, has been denied his request since he does not have the backing of a prominent institution. Meanwhile, teams from Hong Kong, Manchester, and Singapore have been competing to be the first to develop camera robots to explore the series of small 'air' shafts that lead from the Queen's chamber in the pyramid.

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

Minerva, July/August 2007
Village Life in the Palaeolithic

A NEW DAWN FOR HUMANITY: LOWER PALAEOLITHIC VILLAGE LIFE IN LIBYA AND ETHIOPIA

Helmut Ziegert presents a stunning world exclusive in Minerva for the emergence of village life 390,000 years before the Neolithic Revolution.

Recent excavations in North and East Africa under the direction of the author and on behalf of the University of Hamburg, have eroded science's image of the emergence of permanent settlement. Astonishingly, rather than cultural achievements of the Neolithic Revolution of 10,000 to 8000 years ago, broadly identified as the period when sedentary communities first settled down in single locations and started farming crops and domesticating animals for meat and milk, sensational new evidence comprising dwellings of the Lower Palaeolithic period now dates the emergence of village life to between 400,000 and 200,000 years Before Present (BP).

These extraordinary villages not only date to an epoch normally associated with mobile hunter-gatherers, but were occupied by Homo erectus and not by the anatomically modern Homo sapiens. These conclusions are the culmination of several seasons of excavation at Budrínna in Libya and in Ethiopia.

Budrínna is located on the shore of the extinct Lake Fezzan in south-west Libya, 800km south of Tripolis (Fig 1). The settlers of this lake-side community lived off the annual and terminal inundations of the lake, exploiting its 130,000 square kilometres of freshwater and fishing resources. Our excavations of 1972, 1973, 1996, and 1998 have discovered a site comprising the remains of permanent huts dating to the Old Acheulean period in a 2.2m deep strata associated with hand-axes and other stone tool assemblages dating to around 400,000 years BP. The huts are characterised by artificially cut hollows in the tuff (consolidated volcanic ash) and by postholes (cut features to hold surface timbers or stones). Far better preserved are the substantial remains of final Acheulean dwellings in the last phase of occupation, constructed of locally quarried quartzitic sandstone and associated with stone tools from the same source, diagnostic of around 200,000 BP (Fig 3). These included a large quantity of blades, scrapers, bifacial hand-axes, round plates, and figure-of-eight shaped tools (Fig 2). The huts are circular in form, with a narrow front entrance and a 3-4m inner diameter, and are preserved to a height of 65cm, with the gaps in between the stones plugged in many cases with smaller stones gathered from the ground surface. The village occupied an area of at least 100m along the shore of the lake.

At Melka Konture in Ethiopia (Fig 4), discovered by Jan Chavaillon in 1971, some 50km east of Addis Ababa, a large cache of 840 hand-axes, the multi-tool of the final Acheulean period (c. 200,000 years BP) used for cutting and scraping, is spread across an area of 12 x 10m. The high numbers of hand-axes - totalling several thousand - deposited as waste, points to settlement permanence. The site, preserved under a 1.5m deep layer of volcanic tuff, is located on the southern bank of the River Awash and was deliberately chosen for its abundant fish reserves. The village is also characterised by concentrations of animal bone fragments, reflecting the practice of butchery and the manufacture of other tools most likely used for fishing.

According to the instructions of the author in a letter of 7 April 2007, J. Chavaillon and M. Piperno are now excavating again here to uncover hut remains and probably a cemetery as the author suspected. In 1971 the author discovered another village site on the northern bank of the River Awash at Melka Konture and is preparing field investigations for February 2008.

Professor Helmut Ziegert lectures at the Institute of Archaeology, The University of Hamburg.

All images courtesy of Professor Helmut Ziegert.

Fig 1. The landscape of the extinct Lake Fezzan in Libya, above the Acheulean village remains of Budrínna, 400,000 and 200,000 Before Present. Slope deposits cover huts, quarries and tools.

Fig 2 (above). A figure-of-eight shaped bifacial tool from Budrínna, Libya, crafted from quartzitic sandstone. Final Acheulean period, c. 200,000 Before Present.

Fig 3 (right). Circular hut remains at Budrínna in Libya, constructed from locally quarried quartzitic sandstone. Final Acheulean period, c. 200,000 years Before Present.
Fig 4 (right). The Final Acheulian village of Melka Kunture-North, Ethiopia, 200,000 years Before Present, showing the site of a workshop beneath a crust of volcanic tuff, naturally eroded away by the River Awash.

Fig 5 (below). An Old Acheulian handaxe (lower right) of 400,000 years Before Present in situ at El Greifa in the Fezzan, Libya.

The significance of these discoveries is profound. Early sedentary society is traditionally identified as an offshoot of the so-called 'Neolithic Revolution', one of the most crucial phases of human development, when anatomically modern humans made the transition from hunter-gatherers to farmers in Asia. This led to the domestication of plants and animals, technological innovations, and sedentary, organised society in what have been universally regarded formerly to be the world's first permanent settlements. Before this, even when 'culture' emerged in the Palaeolithic period with articulated butchered art and rock art, evidence to date has suggested an exclusive picture of small groups of people living as hunter-gatherers, foraging for plants, snails, and eggs, and hunting small animals.

Evidence from Budirnna, Melka Kunture, and other sites now overturns this historical picture. The first archaeological revolution in fact was not triggered by anatomically modern humans in the Neolithic, or indeed in the technological and cultural revolution associated with the Upper Palaeolithic, but by Homo erectus, an altogether different ancestral species making waves at the dawn of humanity. These Palaeolithic groups favoured the same geographical zones as the far, far later Neolithic communities, but up to 390,000 years before or even earlier. Living in villages seems to have been the typical behaviour pattern of Pleistocene societies, possibly from the very beginning of humanity.

Part of the reason why this staggering shift in our perception of man's evolution has not been acknowledged until now, is that research and excavation has not been problem-orientated: the correct questions for the sites and data have not been asked. Now that long-term settlement and planned village life, with the security of roofs over heads, has been detected at Budirnna and Melka Kunture, other anomalies, far and wide, are starting to complement our understanding of this widespread Palaeolithic pattern. Neither site was an isolated prototype settlement.

So, in Ethiopia the author has identified further villages of the same early period on the northern bank of the River Awash. In Libya, the Final Acheulian phase of the riverside Site 106 at Jebel Ben Ghnema in the Fezzan is associated with the waste of 1250 hand-axes in a discrete 'workshop' area. Thousands of stone tools, exceeding 360 per square metre, litter the ground floor (Figs 6-8). Further afield, some 40 skeletons and large quantities of artefacts of the so-called 'Pebble Tool Culture' at Choukoutien betray similar permanent settlement in China. A 'house' at Blizzingselen, Germany, associated with vast numbers of artefacts and bones from new point to permanent settlement.

To advance our understanding of this revolution, the author has the University of Hamburg scheduled a further programme of excavations at Budirnna from 2007-2010 to examine further dwellings 100m to the south of the current site and at Melka Kunture for 2008-2010. Amongst questions about everything from food slaughtering, storage, and cooking, to leather working, water transport (on skins?), religion, housing, and toilet practices, we also hope to discover how and where Lower Palaeolithic villages were buried. Were they simply left to the ravages of crocodiles, hyenas, and vultures, or might articulated graves emerge in organised cemeteries, as contemporary sites at Choukoutien and El Foga in Libya have revealed?

Fig 6 (left, second from top). The Jebel Ben Ghnema in Libya's Fezzan, the site of a Final Acheulian river and lake fishermen's village (200,000 years Before Present), where 1250 hand-axes have been found in a discrete 'workshop' area of a permanent settlement for many thousands of years, in the 1963 excavations.

Fig 7 (left, third from top). Aterian stone tools of about 40,000 Before Present from a village 'workshop' at Site 21, Jebel Ben Ghnema, the Fezzan, Libya.

Fig 8 (bottom left). Thousands of Aterian stone tools and flakes on the floor of the village 'workshop' at Site 21, Jebel Ben Ghnema, Libya.
THE NEW GREEK AND ROMAN GALLERIES AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D.

Following 15 years of planning, redesign, and installation, including five years of construction, the long-awaited and spectacular final section of the Greek and Roman galleries has opened to great acclaim at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The centrepiece is the magnificent Leon Levy and Shelby White Court, a monumental peristyle hall with a two-storey atrium, devoted to nearly 20 large Hellenistic and Roman marble sculptures (Fig 1). The atrium brings to mind the garden of a large Roman villa. The new floor is composed in part of coloured marbles and a mosaic, with a huge 2nd-century Roman fountain basin made of purple Egyptian porphyry at its centre that has already received donations of coins from many visitors. The glass roof, an original concept of the south wing of the building, the Lamont Wing, affords a view of the objects in daylight. At its entrance is part of a newly-conserved, colossal fluted marble column and part of its shaft, measuring over 3m in height, from the Temple of Artemis at Sardis, c. 300 BC (Fig 2). The court was originally designed by the architectural firm of McKim, Mead, and White from 1912 to 1926 as a display area for Roman art. However, after little more than two decades it was converted into the museum’s restaurant and cafeteria, serving that purpose from 1949 until 2003.

The featured Roman marble statue group of Dionysos accompanied by an archaistic figure of the goddess Spes, known as the Hope Dionysos (Fig 14), named for the collector Thomas Hope, who acquired it in 1796, was the first major acquisition of Dr Carlos Picon, shortly after he became Curator in Charge of the Department of Greek and Roman Art in 1990. A life-size bronze portrait statue of an aristocratic youth (Fig 13) is prominently on view, as are two over-lifesize statues of Hercules from the 17th-century Giustiniani collection, and two statues of members of the Julio-Claudian family recently donated by the late Bill Blass. Also featured is a realistic Julio-Claudian marble statue of an old market woman (Fig 15). A grouping of some two dozen Roman marble portrait heads, including a number of Roman emperors, has now been put back on display (Fig 17).

Fig 1 (below left). View of the Leon Levy and Shelby White Court for Hellenistic and Roman Art, 1st century BC - 2nd century AD. The atrium, evoking the ambulatory garden of a large private Roman villa, features some 20 sculptures.

Fig 2 (above right). Column from the Temple of Artemis at Sardis. Greek, Hellenistic, c. 300 BC. Marble, H. 361 cm. The original ‘Sardis Column’, with its fine ionic capital, stood nearly 18m in height. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of The American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, 1926 (26.59.1). Cat. no. 208.

Fig 3 (below right). Funerary relief with woman and warrior. Greek, South Italian, Tarentine, Hellenistic, c. 325-300 BC. Limestone, H. 58.7 cm. This scene has been interpreted as Elektra and Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1929 (29.54). Cat. no. 173.

Minerva, July/August 2007
Fig 4 (left). Loutrophoros (ceremonial vase for water) with male deity between Persephone and Aphaenrite. Greek, South Italian, Apulian, Late Classical, red-figure, c. 340-330 BC. Attributed to the Darius Painter. Terracotta, H. 93cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.210.3 a, b). Cat. no. 170.


Fig 6 (above right). Statue of a veiled and masked dancer. Greek, 3rd-2nd century BC. Bronze, H. 20.6cm. This type of professional entertainer, a combination of mime and dance, was famous in ancient Alexandria. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.35). Cat. no. 237.

Fig 7 (below left). Pair of armlets with triton and tritoness, each holding a winged Eros. Greek, Hellenistic, c. 200 BC. Gold, triton H. 14.6cm; tritoness: 18.9cm. Each one weighs over 170 grams. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1956 (56.11.5.6). Cat. no. 229.

Fig 8 (below right). Statue of Eros sleeping. Greek or Roman, Hellenistic or Augustan period, 3rd century BC - early 1st century AD. Bronze, L. 88.4 cm. Few large ancient bronze statues have survived, as most were melted down for their metal content in later times. This is the finest known example of a type that was popular in Hellenistic and Roman times. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1943 (43.11.4). Cat. no. 240.

Of several Roman marble sarcophagi on display, the most impressive is the Badminton Sarcophagus, a huge late 3rd century AD masterwork carved in high relief and depicting Dionysos seated on a panther, surrounded by Pan, satyrs, maenads, and the youthful Four Seasons (Fig 19). A large, early 3rd-century marble garland sarcophagus from Tarsus, Turkey, entered the Museum in 1870 as the first object to be acquired by the new institution. A huge, recently acquired Roman marble sarcophagus cover features a reclining couple accompanied by their faithful hound. One wall of the court houses vitrines with examples of Hellenistic and Roman funerary art and Roman architecture, including marble fragments from the Palatine palace of the emperor Domitian, long in storage. The court is flanked by a group of seven new galleries devoted to South Italian art (Figs 3-5), Hellenistic art and architecture, a magnificent Hellenistic Treasury of gold and silver objects and jewellery (Fig 7), the art of Augustan Rome, Roman imperial art of the 2nd century, and Late Roman imperial art of the 3rd century. In addition to the marble sarcophagi featured in this last gallery, there are two major portraits - the monumental bronze statue of the
Roman emperor Trebonianus Gallus (r. AD 251-253) and the colossal marble head of Constantine the Great (r. AD 307-337). The Hellenistic Treasury also includes gems and an important series of Greek coins on loan from the American Numismatic Society. Two reconstructed rooms of Roman villas with their original wall frescoes are also adjacent to the court (Figs 9-11).

A completely redesigned mezzanine level (with an impressive view of the court below) contains a gallery for Etruscan art, prominently featuring the famous Monteleone chariot. (See this issue of Minerva, pp. 49-60 for a critique by the writer of the three main panels, reassigning them to the early 20th century.) There is a selection of small, but exceptional, bronze figures, a series of bronze mirrors engraved with mythological subjects, and a group of Etruscan and Italian armour. The most impressive set of Etruscan jewellery ever found is complemented by an amber masterpiece, which is the finest and most complete ancient group in amber known (Fig 18).

The mezzanine also houses a spacious Greek, Etruscan, and Roman study collection a city block in length, with a myriad of objects, most of which have never before been put on display. The thousands of Greek, Etruscan, Roman, and Cypriot objects give the visitor a comprehensive view of the vast range of objects from our ancient past, over 3,400 works in 60 vitrines. It is arranged largely in chronological order from the 6th millennium BC through to the early 7th century AD, and also by material, such as bronzes, terracottas, vases, oil lamps, glass, jewellery, and gemstones. Other vitrines are devoted to specific styles, and geographical areas, including Cyprus, or themes such as deities, mythical beasts, winged figures, animals, sports, athletics, women and children, and inscriptions.

Unfortunately, this wonderful material is aimed primarily at the scholar and serious student, for there are no labels in the many vittines, only titles above the subject matter and then only the inventory numbers. In order to learn more about an object, it is necessary to walk to the long side wall on which is mounted a series of six computer touch screens, which give up-to-date information on every object. It is hoped that the curators will eventually at least put a brief general description of the objects in each case, perhaps pointing out several of the most interesting items, which could easily be so marked, as in many museums. There are so many masterworks in this huge room, it is a shame not to highlight them. An audio guide would also be of great benefit, especially for teachers and students. The sign ‘Study Collection’ at the entrance of the first floor staircase leading to the mezzanine, and at the entrance to the room itself, is foreboding and will certainly keep most visitors from even entering this vast and fascinating assemblage.

To enter the sculpture court and the new galleries, the visitor must proceed.
through the ten prehistoric, Archaic, and Classical Greek galleries covering the period from the 3rd millennium BC to the 4th century BC that were previously opened in 1996 and 1999 (see Minerva, July/August 1999, pp. 6-13). In addition, to complete the museum’s survey of the Classical world, on the second floor there are four galleries of Cypriot art that opened in 2000. A total of some 5300 of the department’s 17,000 objects are now on display. It should be noted that nearly the entire collection has now finally been photographed, and a great many objects conserved, remounted, and relabelled. Since 1949 more than half of the Classical collection previously on view was in storage - only now can one appreciate the scope and complexity of the project that occupied the staff for so many years.

The team of curators who were responsible for the selection and installation of the antiquities for these brilliant new galleries were led by Carlos Picon, Curator in Charge of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, with the assistance of Christopher Lightfoot, as well as Seán Hemingway, Joan R. Mertens, Elizabeth J. Millett, and especially the Collections Coordinator, William Gagen. The project was designed and overseen by the Museum’s Jeffrey L. Dey and under the original plan created by the museum’s architects, Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo and Associates LLP. These glorious additions to the galleries were substantially aided by the generous financial contributions of Shelby White and her late husband, Leon Levy, the late Bill Blass, and the late Frank A. Cosgrove, Jr. The entire project was budgeted at $220 million with $142 million of it dedicated to the Greek and Roman galleries reconfiguration, and $50 million for the Islamic galleries and an education centre.

The museum’s website (www.metmuseum.org) contains a special section on the new Greek and Roman galleries, including narrations by Director Philippe de Montebello and Dr. Picon, a history of the collection, and a photographic record of the creation and installation of the galleries. A series of related audio and video podcasts are being added. A visit to the museum’s Timeline of Art History (www.metmuseum.org/toah), a chronological, geographical, and thematic exploration of art history worldwide, would be rewarding, as it has a wide range of thematic essays discussing Greek, Hellenistic, South Italian, Etruscan, and Roman art illustrated by objects in the museum’s collection. Audio guides with some 115 messages about the works on view in the new galleries are available not only in English, but also in French, Italian, Japanese, and Spanish, complementing the 120 existing messages in the previously opened galleries.

A magnificent catalogue, Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art - Greece - Cyprus - Etruria - Rome, complementing the opening of the new galleries, has been published by Yale University Press in association with the museum, featuring over 500 of the finest antiquities in the collection of over 17,000 objects from the Classical world. The authors are the five curators listed above, with contributions from Richard De Puma. There are 643 illustrations including 595 excellent colour plates. The only drawback is an utterly confusing
Fig 15 (left). Statue of an old market woman. Roman, Julio-Claudian, AD 14-68. Copy of a Greek statue of the late 2nd century BC. Marble, H. 125.98cm. Dressed for a festival, she wears an elegant dress and a Dionysian ivy-leaf crown. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.39). Cat. no. 432.

Fig 16 (above middle). Cameo portrait of the emperor Augustus as a semi-divine being. Claudian, AD 41-54. Sardonyx, H. 3.8cm. Masterwork from the 17th-century collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Augustus holds a spear, wears the laurel wreath of victory, an aegis (scaled cloak with a Gorgon’s head), and a baldric (sword scabbard belt). Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1942 (42.11.30). Cat. no. 384.

Fig 17 (above right). Portrait of the emperor Caracalla. Roman, Severan, AD 212-217. Marble, H. 36.2cm. Under his rule, all free male inhabitants of the Roman Empire were granted full citizenship. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1940 (40.11.1a). Cat. no. 454.

Fig 18 (middle left). Carved bow of a fibula (safety pin) with reclining woman and youth, attendant, and bird. Etruscan, Archaic or Classical, c. 500 BC. Amber, L. 14cm. This masterwork is the finest and most complex work in amber ever found in Italy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.2067). Cat. no. 326.

Fig 19 (bottom left). Sarcophagus with the Triumph of Dionysus and the Four Seasons, known as The Badminton Sarcophagus. Roman, Late Imperial, c. AD 260-270. Marble, 86.4 x 215.9cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955 (55.11.5). Cat. no. 470.

Index in which it is an arduous task to look up most of the objects, which are alphabetised strictly according to the captions. For example: the sleeping Eros statue (Fig 8) is not indexed under ‘E’ as ‘Eros’, but under ‘S’ as ‘statue of Eros sleeping’. Oval gems are listed under ‘oval’. No less than 12 items are indexed with individual listings under ‘fragments’, 31 items under ‘statue’, and so on. Despite this unusual flaw (the task must have been assigned to a computer, not an editor), the book is excellent value at $75 hardback and $45 paperback - a must-buy for any lover of ancient art.

All images courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Eros at the Colosseum

EROS AT THE ROMAN COLÓSSEUM

Dalu Jones

The programme of didactic exhibitions at the Colosseum in Rome continues this year. After examining classical sports, the mystery cults, and the Iliad (see Minerva January/February 2007, pp. 15-16), the alluring subject of the new exhibition, 'Eros, the Most Powerful God', is guaranteed to draw in the crowds (Fig 1). More than 60 works of art, mostly sculpture and painted vases, illustrate through seven different sections the various facets of the passions unleashed on men and women by the god of love. Though ironic, it is a positive sign that sexual love be celebrated openly - including homosexuality on painted vases - in an exhibition open to all and housed inside Italy's most visited ancient monument. The Colosseum's Eros exhibition coincides with an era when the Vatican hierarchy is thundering against any form of union other than that sanctioned by a Catholic marriage with the aim of procreation.

The exhibition opens with a section devoted to the god - the lover of all the immortals - as he was perceived in classical antiquity. Eros was believed to be a cosmic force: the animating and ordering principle in the universe, the embodiment of the power of love, a contriver of social relationships, and a metaphorical and religious allegory. Thus, he emerged directly from primordial chaos to be responsible for the genesis of all future deities and for the creation of the cosmos.

Even Jupiter succumbed to Cupid's arrows and was forced to disguise himself in order to kidnap and possess the objects of his lustful desires. To seduce the youth Ganymede (Fig 2), he metamorphosed himself into an eagle, appeared as a swan to make love to Leda, and turned into a shower of golden coins to impregnate Danae.

The following sections illustrate the bitter-sweet power of Eros, who created happiness but could also destroy it: Eros and Aphrodite; Eros and Eos; homosexual love and its settings (the gymnasion, the symposium, music and dance); Eros and marriage; Eros/Dionysos and the rules of society; Eros as a child; Eros between philosophy and religion; and platonic love and the myth of Amor and Psyche.

Eros and ethos explores the social aspect that rules the behaviour of people. In Greece, homosexual love was generally initially seen to be a pedagogical relationship involving an adult erastes and a young ephebos-eromenos. At its highest level it was a kind of ritual initiation between responsible men even prepared to die to defend each other's honour. It was in the gymnasium that young males began to develop their physical and moral qualities, and where sexual initiation took place (as well as during the symposia).

On display in the Colosseum is an Attic skyphos from the National Museum of Archaeology in Taranto with a representation of young athletes and the inscription kalos, 'beautiful', obviously a gift from a lover to a loved one. Also on view is a curiously shaped 5th-century BC Attic rhyton found at Civita Castellana of a type used during banquets. This depicts a contract of philia (friendship/love) being undertaken between an older teacher and a young disciple - the youth loves and admires the adult for his worth as a citizen and soldier and will defend the courage and honour he strives to acquire.

Women had a private role in Greek society with marriage as the ultimate goal. They were meant to produce worthy offspring and to manage the home (oikos). Marriage is in fact depicted on an Apulian red-figure plate from the Etruscan Museum at Villa Giulia in Rome, where Eros crowns the betrothed couple. In Greek art, female nudes appeared in the early 4th century BC, first in painting but very soon after also in sculpture (famously by Praxiteles), taking a worthy place beside male examples. One of the most sensual and beautiful rep-

![Image 1](below). The majestic setting of the Colosseum provides an impressive architectural space to showcase the splendid objects in 'Eros, the Most Powerful God'.

Eros at the Colosseum

Representations of a female nude is a Flavian or Antonine copy of an original by the mid-3rd century BC artist Diodotus, found in Rome and now in the Museo Nazionale Romano Palazzo Massimo. Also on view is a charming 1st-century BC/1st-century AD small bronze Venus from Herculaneum loosen her sandal and only wearing gold anklets and bracelets.

In Rome, women enjoyed greater freedom, but in essence freedom in sexual behaviour - both in Greece and Rome - was limited to free adult males: the orgies presided over by Dionysus include females as hetaeae and prostitutes (porsai). Orgiastic scenes are depicted on an Attic cup in loan with three other objects from the Louvre.

From the 4th century BC onwards, Eros was represented on Attic red-figure vessels with his brother Anteros in the presence of Aphrodite, where he is transformed from a youth into a winged putto. When he is blind or absent minded, the elusory but ubiquitous putto can be misconceived and create havoc.

Various other charges took place at the end of the Classical period in the iconography of Eros and in the settings in which the god appeared. He is found more frequently in scenes of heterosexual love and marriage, and less often in scenes of male courtship in the gymnasia or the symposium. Eros often accompanies Dionysus’ procession. From being an adolescent, the ideal symbol of the eros in homosexual relationships, he became a child who aroused amorous passion together with his mother Aphrodite. The child Eros was added to the classical pantheon in the Hellenistic period, where his boyish quality was emphasised and he now took a more active, almost decisive role. Childish erotes appear in various settings: sometimes they are busy with human occupations, as in a wall painting from Herculaneum where they work as perfumeers, surveyors, shoemakers, and carpenters (children imitating the work of adults), or as putti playing the cithara (Fig 5). Putti also appear on sarcophagi.

From the 3rd century BC, frequently associated with the initiation of neophytes in the mystery religions, Eros could also symbolise the journey of the soul towards its union of divine love with god. In order to achieve this, Eros had to fall in love with Psyche, according to the myth narrated by Apuleius in the 2nd century AD Metamorphoses. At the end of difficult trials, love is finally admitted to heaven after making amends for its errors. As the emblems of human and divine love, Amor and Psyche are often represented on Roman sarcophagi between the 2nd and 4th century AD. In a more mundane context, they are simply the symbol of true love forced to struggle against adversity.

The difficulty of anthropomorphising the concept of Eros, as well as the rarity of major cult centres dedicated to him (as opposed to those where his mother Aphrodite and the mother goddess were worshipped), is probably the reason for the relatively few large Greek sculptures of Eros. In the god’s temple at Thespiae in Boeotia, however, were two sculptures of Eros made by the greatest sculptors in 4th-century BC Greece. Here Praxiteles portrayed the god as a young ephebos in the act of pouring a libation, while Lysippus sculpted him as a boy stringing his bow to shoot the arrows of love. A beautiful Roman copy of this 4th-century BC Greek original is on loan to the exhibition from the Capitoline Museums in Rome.

The exhibition catalogue has a pleasant layout with short texts in English and Italian and large black-and-white and colour illustrations (Electa, Milan, 2007; 60pp, 10 euros). However, it would perhaps have been useful if its editors had included the size of the objects depicted and avoided several minor errors in the captions and illustrations. These small complaints aside, Eros at the Colosseum continues the successful pattern of examining refreshing themes through classical art.


Fig 4 (right). Marble statue of Eros drawing his bow from the Villa d’Este near Tivoli. Early Renaissance, H. 1.5m. Photo: Ufficio stampa Electa.

Laocoön in Leeds

TROJAN LAOCOÔN - A UNIVERSÁL IMAGE

Stephen Feeke and Jens Daehner examine the inspiration behind a new exhibition at the Henry Moore Institute, Leeds.

Laocoön was the Trojan priest who warned his compatriots that the infamous wooden horse was a Greek trick. Not only was he ignored but the Greek gods permanently silenced him by sending giant serpents to slay his sons. This legend is the subject of the ‘Laocoon’ group, an antique sculpture which has a legacy unlike that of any other. It is more than 2000 years since the group was made, and over 500 years since its rediscovery; so in a sense we have known the subject for all the attention it has received in the past, the ‘Laocoon’ continues to generate responses in the present and retains an unassailable ability to remain unknown.

Acquired in 1506 by Pope Julius II, the Laocoon has - aside from a few years in the Louvre - remained in the Belvedere of what is now the Vatican Museums since that date. Given how long the ‘Laocoon’ has been in the public domain, interest has waxed and waned at different times, but the work has fascinated many artists and writers over the centuries, with every generation finding a previously unexplored aspect. It has been admired as a bravura example of stone carving, for its drama and spectacle as well as for its psychological resonances, with a seemingly endless cycle of interpretation and re-interpretation. That interest in the ‘Laocoon’ continues today suggests it is indeed a remarkable sculpture.

Even if it is impossible to convey the ‘Laocoon’ in writing, it has not stopped many people from trying since Pliny the Elder first made mention of the group in AD 77. Pliny reported that the work was carved by the Rhodian sculptors Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros from one single block of marble, thereby setting up some of the various inaccuracies which only enhanced the work’s legendary status. Pliny also described the sculpture as one of the very greatest works of art, and thus established the laudatory tone followed by most other commentators.

Pliny’s description - so the story goes - was also the source that enabled the identification of the sculpture when it was rediscovered in 1506. The timing of the find is interesting, as the work both responded to a contemporary preoccupation with classical ideals and also pointed to something more mannered, if not baroque in appearance. This pluralistic ‘Renaissance’ moment helped secure the work’s position. Michelangelo saw the newly excava-

tightly tied together by snakes. Dated to the 4th or 3rd century BC, it may reflect a two-dimensional image of Laocoon that could also have inspired the artists from Rhodes. If indeed genuine, this scarab is the only evidence linking the ‘Laocoon’ to an older iconographical tradition. A sculptural model for the ‘Laocoon’ from that time can however be excluded.

Despite Pliny’s praise (and compared to the enormous impact the ‘Laocoon’ has had since it was discovered in 1506), there are scant historical references to speak of in later ancient periods. No more popular in Roman iconography than it was in Greek art, Laocoon mostly appears in illustrations of Virgil. After it was published around 19 BC, the ‘Aeneid’ may have popularised the myth but did not encourage depiction of it. Two wall-paintings from Pompeii, both created before the publication of Pliny’s text, take the sculpture as a point of departure and - in order to go along with the epic - modify it by breaking up into narrative elements what the group so marvelously unites. One son has already been killed, the other still wrestles with a snake; Laocoon, dressed in priest’s garb, does the same while the bull seizes the opportunity to escape from the scene.

Stephen Feeke is Assistant Curator at the Henry Moore Institute, Leeds; Jens Daehner is Assistant Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum. Both contribute chapters to the current exhibition catalogue.
of its sacrifice. It was the text of the Aeneid that triggered and informed these images. The artists, it appears, had some memory of the marble group, their Laocoon being cannibalised versions of it. Remarkably, there is no visual reflex of the group following the appearance of the Natural History in AD 77. The work’s canonisation remained a literary rather than a visual phenomenon until the Renaissance. A number of contorniates - bronze or bronze medallions with a deep groove around the edge - of the late 4th century AD show a Laocoon group with the Trojan priest raising his hands into the air, while snakes tie the small sons to his naked body. This is exactly the composition reused by the early 5th-century illustrator of the Vergiliius Vaticanus manuscript, indicating that these late antique images are versions of a common model. The speculation that this model, as a remote reflex, ultimately derived from the Vatican group, remains inconclusive. Laocoon’s nudity may provide an iconographical parallel supporting the connection, but the billowing chlamys (or cloak), sweeping up behind Laocoon’s head is a feature that - for lack of technical feasibility - contradicts the assumption of a sculptural model.

But how much Virgil, if any, is there in the ‘Laocoon’ group? Even if one accepted the existence of a ‘Laocoon’ before the Aeneid, as many archaeologists do, the situation is further complicated by the difficulty of dating the Vatican group. In the 1990s the almost religious controversy between archaeological giants Nikolaus Himmelmann and Bernard Andreae was even carried into the pages of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Germany’s most respected daily newspaper.

Pliny says the work was made ex uno lapide, from one block of stone, a phrase that attracted much criticism and has been used to argue that his ‘Laocoon’ is not identical with the Vatican group. It was soon observed that the group is, in fact, pieced together from several blocks, one of which, the back of the altar, is even made from a different type of marble. One explanation for the discrepancy could be this: Pliny discusses the ‘Laocoon’ as an example of artists’ collaboration, in this case, of the three Rhodians Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodorus, and of how difficult it is to discern the individual hand. In fact, this is the whole point of Pliny’s mentioning the ‘Laocoon’ at all. In this context, Pliny uses the phrase ex uno lapide to convey that the work is really conceived as one single image by three artists, rather than as a series of separate figures, each carved by a different artist. So Pliny’s is not simply a technical observation, but an aesthetic one in the sense of quasi ex uno lapide; ‘as if from one block’.

This way both Pliny (who is neither literal nor wrong) and Sangallo (whose identification holds) are rehabilitated.

Still, one question remains relevant to today’s viewer. Whose ‘Laocoon’ are we looking at when we look at the Vatican group? It is certainly not Pliny’s because in his time it would have been complete and coloured. Nor is it Sangallo’s or Michelangelo’s. They knew it in its first ‘archeological’ look, which was lost when natural break surfaces were re-cut in order to accommodate restorations of limbs and snake parts.

Nor do we any longer see Montorsoli’s famous completion with Laocoon’s outstretched right arm, which was added apart following the example of the original arm but lives on in countless reproductions. What we are looking at is a hybrid state created 50 years ago by Filippo Magi, who removed the restorations of the younger son’s right arm and the right hand of the older. His de-restoration, however, spared the modern snakehead attacking Laocoon’s side, a ‘reconstruction’ that goes back to Sadoletto’s 1506 poem and which has informed many readings of Laocoon’s pain. But the traces of teeth which Magi observed at the hip may well be the remains of a strut, as they are used elsewhere on the group to stabilise protruding marble parts. Moreover, over the original piece connecting Laocoon’s right arm to the shoulder had been cut away for the earlier restoration. It was ‘recovered’ from an 18th-century cast made in Paris at the time of the French competition for the restoration.

In his Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks (1765), J.J. Winckelmann famously described antique sculpture as having a ‘noble simplicity and secrete grandeur!’ Whilst there are many surviving examples which do possess these qualities, it is difficult to place the cromatic ‘Laocoon’ amongst them. The violence and horror of the attack on the priest and his sons can still be affecting and the pathos of their predicament is one reason for the group’s enduring appeal. The detail of the work, where we imagine sharp teeth piercing naked soft flesh and venom entering Laocoon’s body implies the injection of energy into dead matter (although the plot of course works in the opposite direction); a force spreading throughout the sculpture and transforming an inert substance into something more vigorous. The muscular arm of the priest flexes as his hand grabs hold of the snake, which coils round the rest of his body appearing solid and yet fluid at the same time.

The unredictable and uncontrollable movement of the snakes has equivalence in the modern works of Tony Cragg, Eduardo Paolozzi, and Richard Deacon chosen for this exhibition. Each seems so vital because of the energetic arrangement of their various materials, such as pipes, tubing, loops of wood, and metal. Like their antecedent, they are immobile but share a sense of continuous narrative encapsulated in one pregnant moment.


The catalogue is edited by Stephen Feke and Penelope Curtis (Henry Moore Institute, 76pp, £20) and is available from the Institute website below or through http://www.comerhouse.org/books.

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Fig 2 (above left). Proportions of the ‘Laocoon’ numerically described in the Encyclopedie ou dictionnaire raisonne des sciences, des arts et des metiers (Desson), 1751-1766 (Plate xxxvi), edited by Denis Diderot, National Art Library, London.

Fig 3 (above right). Bust of Laocoon by Joseph Wilton, 1788, H. 61cm Photo © V & A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
MEROVINGIAN GOLD AT THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM

Aleksej Furasiev and Mark Merrony

As the Western Roman Empire crumbled towards the end of the 5th century AD the power vacuum in Gaul was quickly filled by the Merovingian Franks under Clovis I (r. 481-511). Far from abandoning the Roman past, the emerging barbarian power shrewdly adapted aspects of Roman administration in the spheres of administration, art, politics, fiscal system, economy, and religion to consolidate their stranglehold on the region. By the end of the 7th century, under the puppet king Clovis IV (r. 682-695), the Frankish kingdom had become a united Romano-barbarian amalgam, encompassing a large area of Western Europe. The legacy of this cosmopolitan kingdom is best expressed through the most exquisite examples of post-classical jewellery in Europe, and the crème de la crème of this material is the focus of the present exhibition, ‘The Merovingian Period. Europe without Borders’ in the Winter Palace at the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, until 16 September (Fig 3).

The exhibits displayed are an eclectic mix of objects from the Berlin Museum and a broad range of artefacts from the excavations of Russian archaeologists in Eastern Europe. The story of how much of this material was gathered together and eventually placed on public display is as extraordinary as the quality of the jewellery itself. Controversially, in Berlin in June 1945, a month after the fall of the Third Reich, three chests containing 1538 gold and silver objects were loaded on to a plane bound for Moscow, and a substantial further quantity followed by train in the winter of 1945/46. The treasures were demanded by Soviet officials from Wilhelm Unverzagt, Director of the so-called ‘bunker museums’, who was responsible for curating Germany’s most valuable museum collections in the bunkers of Berlin and Silesia and in central Germany’s salt mines. Prior to the Second World War, the Merovingian objects formed part of the collection of the Prussian State Collection of Prehistoric Antiquities, which ranked among the best museums in Europe. The Soviet Union returned a significant quantity of this material in 1958 and this formed a principal part of the Museum of Ancient and Early History established in East Berlin in 1963.

Given the prominence of the present exhibition and the circumstances in which the treasures were removed from Germany, it is not surprising that the German authorities have made demands for its restitution. Crucially, and to Germany’s great credit, the exhibition has in fact received support from the German government and is a product of collaboration between curators from the Berlin Museum, the Pushkin State Museum in Moscow (where the treasures were first exhibited), and the State Hermitage Museum. Recently commenting on the Pushkin exhibition, Germany’s Culture Minister Bernd Neumann hailed it as offering ‘a blueprint as to how seemingly intractable cultural disputes could be resolved’. Russia’s Culture Minister, Alexander Sokolov has also praised the ‘pragmatic and sensible way’ curators from Russia and Germany have worked together.

Ironically, this cultural solidarity was also one of the principal character-
istics of the Merovingian domain, in which a fragmented Europe of disparate Germanic cultures including Ripuarian and Salian Franks, and Goths, were united by a process of ‘neo-Romanisation’. The interchange which inevitably emerged from this intriguing cultural mix occurred not just within Merovingia but also on its frontiers, which interfaced with the nomadic tribes on the western Eurasian Steppe, the Slavs, the Byzantine Empire, and the Sasanian Persian Empire, interactions which are graphically expressed by many of the items on display.

Cloisonné, with its roots in the area of the Black Sea, is the most exquisite style of jewellery of the Merovingian era and was a fusion of Byzantine, Sasanian, and Transcaucasian artistic traditions. This technique was a complex process that involved several intricate stages of production. Primarily, the artisan shaped the raw product (typically gold or silver) into the form of the finished object. Cloisons (partitions, which give the technique its name) were applied to the pattern and held in place by solder. Polishing plates or cabochons of almandine (red garnets) were inserted into these partitions. Some of the finest examples displayed (Figs 4, 5, 10) include a cover-plates for a mid-5th century silver sheath from Kerch in the Crimea, a late 5th century Gothic fibula from Russia, and a Bavarian and a 6th century Frankish fibula from Germany.

Another charming technique employed in Merovingia was kerbschnitt or the Keil technique (three-edged carving). This evolved from the barbarian region of the Danube in the Late Roman period and was essentially a fusion of Roman and Germanic artistic traditions. After the casting of a silver object, it was worked with a chisel, most typically into scroll patterns or other geometric forms, such as swastika meanders and triangles. Particularly fine examples include a pair of 6th century palmate Ostrogothic fibulas from the Crimea and a late 6th century Lombardian fibula from Italy (Fig 8).

An extraordinary early 8th century belt ferrule from Germany with two anthropomorphic figures exemplifies yet another of the diverse artistic techniques inherited by the Merovingians from their predecessors (Fig 6). Known as tauschiens, this intricate manufacturing process is a fusion of traditions from the Roman and Sasanian Empires, which involved shaping an object in iron and adding fine threads of silver to form a purely ornamental or figuative pattern - in this particular example the subject matter is framed by a thin silver beading.

Many of the exhibits make the inherited Romanisation of the Merovingians explicit and manifold. This is especially true for a medal-
Merovingian Gold

Fig 9 (above left). Obverse of a gold medallion made from a Byzantine solidus of Theodosius the Great, AD 379-395.
L. 2.2cm. Pushkin Museum, No. A3-760.

Fig 10 (above middle). Cover plate of a cloisonné decorated eagle from the grave of a barbarian leader from Konczshy, Romania, early 5th century AD. L. 6.6cm.
The State Hermitage, No. 2160/59.

Fig 11 (above, far right). Gilt silver eagle-head belt buckles from the Crimea, early 6th century AD. L. 12.7cm and 13.3cm.
The State Hermitage, No. 1820/385 and 1820/287.

Fig 12 (below left). Silver flabula from the grave of a Finnish-Austrian leader from Russia, late 5th-century AD.
L. 14.7cm. Historical Museum, No. 109824.

Fig 13 (below right). Gold Lombardic necklace with a cross from Italy, 7th century AD. L. 25cm. The Pushkin Museum, No. A88 1426.

The so-called ‘imitation of Empire’ in the Merovingian era is most often artistically portrayed in the form of an eagle. In 102 BC the Roman Consul Gaius Marcus decreed that the eagle - symbolic of the Roman god Jupiter - would henceforth be the symbol of the Senate and People of Rome, and subsequently the eagle became the most potent symbol of Roman imperialism from the throne to the legenary standard. This motif was widely adapted by the Merovingians as a symbol of their own imperium (Figs 10, 11) and the eagle has been universally employed ever since to express power, from the heraldic symbolism of the medieval period to the national emblem of several modern states. The early examples displayed are a pair of 6th-century buckles fashioned into the shape of eagles (Fig 11) from the Crimea. Two heraldic eagles embellish a cloisonné sheath cover-plate from the Crimea, while a 5th-century cover-plate from a barbarian grave in the Danube region is shaped as an eagle (Fig 10).

As a Christian realm, the eagle also had symbolic connotations of resurrection and immortality of the soul. Clovis’ baptism at Rheims in 496 (Fig 2) marked his conversion from Christian Arlanius to Catholicism and ensured the eventual spread of the Catholic doctrine throughout Merovingia. This is expressed in a splendid 7th-century gold funnel cross and necklace (Fig 13) from Lombardy.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this fascinating exhibition is the light it sheds on the diverse cultural mixture in Europe and the accordingly rich eclecticism of art in the Merovingian period. From a modern perspective the exhibition is a triumph of cultural resource politics between two very practical and sensible nations who have been prepared to bury the hatchet for the benefit of thousands of people who will enjoy the privilege of viewing this impressive material.

Dr Alexei Furasev is a Curator in the Department of Archaeology at the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg.

‘The Merovingian Period. Europe without Borders’ is at the Winter Palace at the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, until 16 September.

For further details, www.hermitagemuseum.org.
SCANDAL IN ROME: THE CAPITOLINE WOLF, AN ETRUSCAN OR MEDIEVAL MASTERWORK?

Dalu Jones

Heated discussions among archaeologists and art historians are currently raging across Italy concerning the date of the lupa capitolina, the classic bronze statue of a she-wolf until recently believed to be a 5th century BC Etruscan masterpiece (Figs 1-3). New evidence, however, has now led scholars in some circles to re-assign it radically to the early medieval period. When the statue was returned to the Capitoline Museums in Rome in 2000 after the completion of the first phase of its conservation (begun in 1997), the event was celebrated with an exhibition dedicated to the history of this iconic she-wolf feeding Romulus and Remus, the mythical twin founders of Rome. Naturally the centrepiece of the exhibition was the lupa capitolina itself, the very emblem of Rome, which legend says has been on uninterrupted display in the capital since Roman times. Around 1471 the she-wolf was donated to the city of Rome by Pope Sixtus IV and transferred from the Lateran, where it had been on public view since the 9th century AD according to some sources, to the town hall on the Capitol (Fig 1). It was around this time that Romulus and Remus were added to the composition.

Coinciding with the 2000 exhibition, Anna Maria Carnuba, an art historian and well known specialist in the restoration of ancient bronzes, who directed the conservation of the Capitoline Wolf, revealed that the statue had been cast in a single fusion through a lost-wax technique. This particular technique, she argued, was never used by Etruscan, Greek, or Roman sculptors, who instead favoured separate casting of the various statue pieces, which were later soldered together. Nor did analysis of the wolf show any sign of damage by lightning or of gliding; so the lupa capitolina cannot have been the same gilded she-wolf mentioned by Cicero as displayed on the Capitol and hit by a thunderbolt in AD 65.

Nevertheless, the Superintendent for the Cultural Heritage of Rome, Eugenio La Rocca, and other prominent scholars writing in the exhibition catalogue, adhered to the traditional date of the statue to 480-470 BC, identifying it as most probably the work of the Etruscan sculptor Vulca or one of his pupils. This attribution was based on similarities with the lion heads in a temple at Himera celebrating the victory over the Carthaginians in 480 BC. In this context it is significant that the oldest representation of a she-wolf feeding a child occurs on a 5th-century BC Etruscan funerary stele now in the archaeological museum of Bologna.

In the past, the Etruscan date of the she-wolf had already been challenged, but with little serious reaction. In 1934, for example, Emanuel Löwy excluded any possibility that it could be an Etruscan-Italic object, and concluded that it was a Late Antique sculpture from Magna Graecia, Rome, or Italy. Following the discovery in 1919 of the celebrated Apollo and other clay statues at Veii, the distinguished archaeologist Giulio Quitino Giglioli ascribed the...
Wolf to the workshop of Vulca, a famous sculptor from this important Etruscan city north of Rome. A she-wolf defending her people was a convenient symbol for the past and future glory of Rome and thus corresponded fully to the mood and nationalist ideology of the 1920s and 1930s. After World War II, in 1951, Friedrich Matz again returned to a date of 480-470 BC in Etruria, and thus guidebooks continued to describe it in the Capitoline Museum.

Now the tide has turned yet again. At a presentation held in Rome in March for Anna Maria Carruba’s La Lupa Capitolina. Un Bronzo Medievale (The Capitoline She-wolf: a Medieval Bronze; De Luca Editore, 2007), Superintendant La Rocca came out in agreement with the author’s new medieval attribution based on bronze casting techniques and stylistic analysis. The wolf should thus be dated to a period running from the Carolingian to the early Romanesque periods, not earlier than the 9th century AD, when sources mention for the first time the existence of a bronze she-wolf in the Lateran Palace and when the Carolingian renaissance was in full swing following rediscoveries of classical antiquity. It therefore seems most likely that the statue was made in the ancient style in the reign of Otto III (AD 980-1002), who promoted a cult of Divus Petrus and when advanced bell casting skills permitted the pouring into a single mould of more than 500 kg of molten metal. Alternatively, the statue may even be a later 12th century cast, on the grounds of similarities with Romanesque sculpture such as the bronze ‘Lion of Braunschweig’ (Fig 7).

Following the debate set in motion by Carruba’s book, a one-day conference was held on 4 March at the University of Rome La Sapienza to try and resolve the date and provenance of the she-wolf. Further vehement discussions took place when Giovanni Colonna, a specialist in Etruscan art, advanced a 6th-5th century BC date for the wolf, citing Sardinia as a provenance for its ore. This identification is based on lead isotope analyses made in Oxford laboratories by the metallurgy expert Claudio Giardino, revealing that the bronze used to cast the statue seems to come from the Calabona mine, south of Alghero, in Sardinia. This mine was exploited extensively by Phoenicians and Carthaginians, but was subsequently left untapped until the beginning of the last century. According to Giardino it is therefore possible that Carthaginians provided Republican Rome with ore at a time when the city had recently liberated itself from the Etruscan kings. Giardino furthermore revealed that the she-wolf is made of ‘new’ bronze, not recast metal.

Another group of scholars maintain the ancient attribution on the basis of style and iconography. The archaeologist and specialist of early Rome, Andrea Carandini, points to the naturalistic features of the she-wolf to date it to the 5th century BC. In his opinion, it is thus a rare survival of Etruscan antiquity that must have been used as a much admired model for medieval sculptors. Claudio Pianti Presti, curator at the Capitoline Museums where the bronze she-wolf is on display, is also convinced that the ancient world had the capacity and the furnaces to cast the sculpture. According to him its alloy is similar to that used to cast Etruscan statues and was produced in a workshop in the Tiber valley as far back as the 7th century BC.

Anna Maria Carruba, supported by a group of scholars and restorers, among them Adriano La Regina, president of the Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte, and a specialist in Etruscoology, are sticking to their guns: the she-wolf is undoubtedly medieval, precisely because of the casting technique used to fashion it. And there the emotional matter stands. It now remains to open up the debate internationally in the hope of reaching a definitive attribution for this magnificent symbol of ancient Rome.
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- **JULY/AUGUST 2006**
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  - Mosaic News from Portugal and Tunisia

- **MARCH/APR 2007**
  - Afghan Treasures at the Guimet
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ROME: AN ANCIENT TOURIST RESORT

Philip Matyszak

It may be thought, given the difficulties of overland travel in antiquity, that the number of people visiting Imperial Rome each year would have been relatively low, but the evidence indicates that this was far from the case. There were several reasons for this. In AD 200 Rome was the biggest metropolis the world had ever seen. Estimates of the city's size range from a million inhabitants upwards, spread over the famous seven hills. The economic weight of such a mass of humanity did not just distort the local landscape and economy - but communities as far apart as Spain and Egypt were deeply engaged in the business of keeping this huge population fed, watered, and entertained. Unsurprisingly, this meant that these people, or their representatives, had to make regular trips, either to co-ordinate their markets, establish personal relations with business partners, or simply to assess conditions at first hand.

The resident population of ancient Rome was not a static mass – it could not be, for Rome was overall a net consumer of people. That is, the birth rate within the city was lower than the death rate, so the population of Rome needed constantly to be maintained by an influx of immigrants from all over the empire. This meant that Rome was not merely metropolitan, but also cosmopolitan, as reflected in Martial's Epigrams, which lists a lady with a range of lovers, including Germans, Parthians, Dacians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, Alans, Egyptians, and Jews!

These factors meant that Rome entertained both a resident population and a substantial number of temporary visitors. A third factor brought in even more visitors: the fact that Rome was capital, the administrative centre of the 'world'. So visitors came to Rome on official business of all kinds: from the centurion who brought St Paul and his fellow prisoners to the city to the delegation of Gallic tribesmen a century before, who became embroiled in Calatin's schemes for revolution.

It is interesting to briefly examine the experience which these visitors would have taken away from their visit. Some of these factors are universal to every traveller, others had a uniquely Roman dimension. Most travellers we know about from historical texts and archaeological information went to Rome with their accommodation pre-arranged. The centurion who accompanied St Paul was one of many military visitors, to the extent that a special barracks was set aside for their use. St Paul himself found shelter with Christians already within Rome. Envoys generally sought the hospitium of their local patron, and even in the 1st century BC we hear of Titus Quinctius Crispinus offering the shelter of his household to the visiting Campanian notable Rutilus when he fell ill on his visit to the city.

Of course, those visiting their family could count on a greater or lesser degree of welcome. In fact in family groups there was probably a large degree of what geographers call 'circular immigration', whereby visitors came to stay with family for a part of their working lives, and then returned home, as the poet Martial appears to have done. For those without pre-arranged lodgings, Rome offered a wide range of rented accommodation, from cauponae (inns) offering rooms by the day (or even for certain specialised purposes, by the hour) to rental's lasting years.

Almost certainly, the two environmental factors of Roman living that would have struck visitors most profoundly would have been the density of the population and the concurrent noise levels. Rome was small for the size of its population, not only because it was necessary to travel everywhere on foot, but also because all the prime space was already taken. The elite, naturally, seized the hilltops where their houses were sufficiently elevated to be fanned by the breeze and whose occupants could literally look down on their neighbours. Naturally too, the amount of space each house had to itself became a form of status display, so Rome's hilltops were relatively underpopulated.

Rome was not only a city, but also a Goddess – as Haddian made plain in his massive temple of Venus and Rome on the Vella. Citizens did not rearrange the accoutrements of their goddess at random, even if they were not afflicted with the ingrained conservatism which was such a defining Roman trait. When old temples and monuments were venerated, but imperial egos demanded more for their portraits, even new temples and basilicas had to be shoehorned into whatever space could be found, leaving even less room for housing. It has been estimated that over three-quarters of Rome's population were crammed into
one-third of its area, mostly in the sprawling suburb on the west bank, known today as Trastevere, and to the ancients as Transiberim, a space only 3km wide.

With crowding came noise. Juvenal (Satires 3:234) remarked that 'the sick die here from lack of sleep'. The racket began well before dawn because the Romans were unequivocally morning people who thought nothing of putting in a few hours of work before breakfast, or turning up at someone's house at dawn expecting to do business. School teachers also started lessons at dawn, and quite often lessons were held outside, often in marketplaces. Add to this the sounds of Rome's artisan community getting to work at their forges and work-benches, vendors crying their wares, and the usual babble on the street, and it becomes evident why Martial complained that 'there is nowhere in this city where a poor man can find a quiet moment.'

Certainly night brought little relief. Heavy carts were banned from the city during the day to ease traffic congestion. As with most Roman vehicles, the axles on these carts were primitive, lubricated with the occasional handful of grease, and they generally squealed as loudly as the livestock being herded at the same time through the streets to market. The frequent disputes between drivers over right of way in the narrower alleys would, Martial assures us, keep even a deaf man from his bed. Little wonder then that the grander houses on Rome's hilltops tended to have relatively narrow frontages and extended back some distance from the street.

Roman houses were not exactly islands of tranquility. A Roman familia consisted not merely of mothers, fathers, and their children, but of grandfathers, grandmothers, aunts, second cousins, and other sundry members of Rome's extended families. Such household populations shifted constantly with the vagaries of divorce, remarriage, and mortality (death in Rome was at least as frequent among the young as the old). But a Roman familia also included the slaves, who slept in little cubicles in the basement or attic, and their presence in a household, essential though it was, further eroded any vestiges of privacy. It was a truism that anyone investigating the behaviour of a household member merely had to question the slaves.

In fact a visitor to Rome would be well advised to accept that life was very much lived in public. Many of the functions which we regard as essentially domestic were handled differently in Rome. Most of the population lived in multi-occupancy apartment blocks (insulae), and in many of these cooking fires were forbidden due to the ever-present hazard of flames. However, every street boasted several tabernae, and it can safely be assumed that these offered an international cuisine. 'Jews, Syrians, Egyptians and Romans - can all these be right in their opinions about food?' asked the philosopher Epictetus (Discourses 1).

Toilets were generally behind bath-houses and flushed by waste water run-off. Users were expected to hoist their tunics and sit on a communal bench whilst exchanging sociable chit-chat with their neighbours. Martial (Epigrams 11.77) remarks on an acquaintance 'he spends all day on the loo - but he's not sick, he's fishing for a dinner invitation'. The wonderful Roman baths (Fig 4) on the other hand, the best offering libraries and gymnasia en suite, far outclassed the average 21st century tub and loofah.

It should not be forgotten what effect Rome's architecture would have had on a visitor. In a world where few buildings rose more than two storeys, the massive apartment blocks were as awesome as the skyscrapers of Manhattan are to visitors today. Structures such as the Circus Flavius (Colosseum) and the even larger Circus Maximus were so far out of the ordinary experience that in later ages people thought they had been built by giants.

The Roman games and circuses did not greatly affect the everyday lives of the citizens; for instance, only an estimated 5% of the population could fit into the Circus Flavius at any time, and the games only occurred at particular times of the year. However these spectacles were essential viewing for visitors who would time their arrival to coincide with the best shows. On one occasion a German diplomatic delegation was taking its seats at the games when they saw a Parthian group being seated in the front rank. Deciding that they were no less worthy, they muscled their way to the top seats and defiantly sat there too.

The monuments and the glories of temples such as the Temple of Mars the Avenger (Fig 2), the Pantheon (Fig 3), and Jupiter Optimus Maximus would also have contributed to an experience that must have been overwhelming to all but the most sophisticated visitor. This brings us to the final reason why so many came to visit Rome - tourism, pure and simple. Given the opportunity, who even today would pass up a chance to visit the Rome of the Caesars?

Rome on Five Denarii a Day
by Philip Mattyszak is published by Thames & Hudson (2007, 144pp, 11 col. & 32 b/w illus. Hardback, £12.95).
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Goethe, the 19th-century German traveller and writer, said that the deaths of the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum were significant, not for the brevity of life but for the perpetuity of art. Art played an important part in the daily lives of the inhabitants of Pompeii. Although they lived in a provincial country area, the people of Pompeii were surrounded by decoration that had meaning for them. The architecture complemented the frescoes, mosaics, stucco reliefs, and sculptures in such a way that it can give us an understanding of how the Romans lived. We can see the cruelty of the gladiatorial contests, see human desires and fantasies at the brothels and try to understand the secret rites of initiation into the cult of Dionysus in the Villa of the Mysteries. But the most exciting experience is seeing this art in the rooms or buildings where the people of Pompeii and Herculaneum had wished to see and enjoy them.

To help understand the chronological development of Pompeian wall painting, the scholar August Mau, writing in 1882, established that there were four styles of wall painting. His definition of these four styles is still in use today. The name of one painter has survived from the many that must have painted at Pompeii. Pliny the Younger wrote that Studius, who lived at the time of Augustus, introduced ‘the delightful style of decorating walls with representations of villas, harbours, landscape gardens, sacred groves, woods, hills, fish ponds, straits, streams and shores, any scene in short that took his fancy’ (Pliny, Natural History, Vol. IX, books 33-35).

To create these wonderful paintings the wall had to be prepared with up to three coats of fine plaster. The background of the picture was painted first, and left to dry and the figures and decoration were then added. The paint mixture probably included glue and wax to give a shine to the surface that was also polished. The subject matter was seldom original; there were no copyright laws in ancient Rome and most Roman paintings (and some sculptures) were derived from Greek originals. The more famous the original Greek artist had been, the more he seems to have been copied and, occasionally, emulated.

The First Style of painting (according to August Mau) dates from the late 3rd century to the early 1st century BC. It imitates variegated marble, porphyry or alabaster relief marble walls. Occasionally called the ‘incrustation style’, from crusta, a slab of marble, it was executed in stucco relief and then painted and polished to resemble colourful marble walling. The best examples can be found in the Basilica, the House of the Faun, and the Temple of Jupiter at Pompeii. Painting in this style sometimes displayed small architectural features which became more widespread and painting evolved into the second style. Also known as the ‘architectural style’, it dated from the end of the 2nd century to the beginning of the 1st century BC. The wall paintings were much more theatrical, with the image frequently divided into three areas, top, middle, and bottom. The middle area was divided vertically with columns. Vitruvius wrote that theatrical scenes influenced Roman interiors. Tragic scenes are delineated with columns, pediments, statues’ (Vitruvius The Ten Books of Architecture).
Pompeian Wall Painting

The use of such architectural motifs made the walls seem three dimensional. Windows were painted on the walls and seemed to open on to vistas that were made to appear in the distance by the use of misty contours and diminishing colours. The best example is probably the wonderful series of paintings from a room at the Villa of Publius Fannius Sinistor, a country villa located just to the north of Pompeii near Boscoreale. The pictures are divided by thin columns, which give the room the appearance of a pergola looking out on to the vistas of other columned halls, streets, and houses. The Boscoreale paintings introduce another element of the Second Style, which is the vista of a rural arcadia through an illusionary opening painted into the architectural framework. Subject matter ranged from flocks and herd shepherded by rustics in a timeless landscape to formal parks with pavilions and shrines.

The Pompeians wished their own garden to be painted, either as it was or, more usually, how it should be. Paintings of flowers, extended gardens, shrubs, and birds on the surrounding walls gave the illusion of extending the garden and making it look larger. This idea was not new: Greek painters had been warming to this theme from at least the 2nd century BC. The first landscape painter whose name is known — Demetrius, the son of Selucus — had been painting in Rome from 164 BC, and was called a topographer, or landscape painter. One of the best examples are in the atrium of the House of Fabius Amandio where a group of three birds sits on the rim of a marble bird-bath, and, a little further afield, the beautiful Villa of Poppea at Oplontis.

Another new pictorial element introduced in the Second Style is the representation of monumental figures within architectural frameworks called megaligraphy by historians. The best example is the stunning series of paintings found in the triclinium (dining room) of the Villa of the Mysteriae, just outside the Herculaneum Gate at Pompeii. The villa, a huge 90-room mansion, contains the most famous of all Pompeian paintings. The decoration consists of 29 life-size figures seemingly involved in rites associated with Bacchus (Fig 2). They show the preparation for the wedding, the scouring of a woman, the playing of a lyre, women dancing, and so on. The figures seem totally preoccupied and almost in a spiritual trance, completely oblivious to the outside world. It has been said that the people in the paintings seem entirely absorbed in their own existence, engrossed in their pursuits and abiding in a world apart from ours. It seems that the bride-to-be has to undergo terrible torments of a physical and sexual nature to win salvation with the cult of Bacchus. The date of the painting has yet to be resolved, possibly towards the end of Julius Caesar’s dictatorship (d. 44 BC) or from the early part of Augustus’ reign (from 27 BC).

It is likely that the Third Style of painting, also known as ‘ornamental’, developed under Augustus and continued until the fall of AD 62 (Fig 40-60). The style is simpler and more organised than the Second Style, and the walls are more solid, with fewer dramatic architectural motifs. The central panel was usually painted quite dark, occasionally black, and the painting in the centre of the panel had become much smaller and was usually mounted on ornate and intricate painted candlelabras. Panel borders comprised delicate frames of foliage, arabesques, candlelabras, masks (Fig 4), and ribbons. One of the best examples is in the tablinum of the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, where the top part of the wall was painted in a delicate architectural fantasy, similar to the backdrop (scenaevia frontis) of a theatre. Below the central panels, the dado painting showed a marvellous garden, complete with garden walls in white marble, and embellished with an urn fountain and white marble benches awaiting prospective visitors.

The Fourth Style of painting covers a whole host of different styles and types of paintings and is occasionally called the ‘fanciful’ or ‘illusionist’ style. There are numerous examples in Pompeii and Herculaneum because the Fourth Style of painting was being used at the time of the earthquake of AD 62. The extensive restoration and re-painting followed the serious damage inflicted to the houses by the earthquake meant that there was much work done in the Fourth Style. It has been estimated that up to 17 painters were at work in Pompeii following the earthquake.

The Fourth Style is a pot-pouri of elements from the Second and Third styles with the inclusion of stucco reliefs in the paintings, as seen in the Stabian and Forum Baths at Pompeii. The architectural structures in the paintings appear unreal and the decoration fussy. Some of the better examples of this style of painting can be found in the House of the Tragic Poet, the House of Lorenzus Tiburtinus, and the House of the Vettii, which has a wonderful painting on the east wall of the dining room (triclinium), depicting the punishment of Ixion, a story of infidelity, betrayal, and punishment. The dates given for the four styles of painting can only be approximated. Clients’ tastes must have changed slowly and painters were probably reluctant to discard a style of painting at which they were adept. There has been much discussion about whether the wall paintings of Pompeii are true 'frescoes' - painted rapidly on to newly laid damp plaster. A large room, recently excavated at the house of the Chaste Lovers was found to be in the process of being painted at the time of the eruption. The technique being used, in this case, was definitely fresco, but it is difficult to tell in other cases.

Roman wall painting flourished at Pompeii, and gives us an idea of the amazing richness and colour of Roman domestic interiors. Without Pompeii our perception of the world of Rome with its sun-bleached architecture and statues would be quite different, but it is a picture which must be seen to be believed. It is essential to visit Pompeii and experience first-hand how the painters of Pompeii took on the challenge to out-do Rome and succeeded.
In 25 BC the Emperor Augustus annexed the province of Galatia in central Turkey, a large province inhabited by a wide variety of cultural groups, some of whom were aggressively opposed to external rule. As part of his plan to stabilise the region, Augustus founded a series of colonies composed of military veterans. The most important of these colonies, strategically and politically, was Caesarea Antiochiae, known today as Pisidian Antioch (Figs 1, 4). The city is well known thanks to excavations carried out by a team from the University of Michigan in 1924, which produced a wealth of archival material. The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology now houses this archive, including the daily excavation log, scores of architectural drawings, and more than 1600 photographs. This material has been the focus of a recent study by a team of graduate students from the University of Michigan, led by Dr Elaine K. Gazda, Curator of Hellenistic and Roman Antiquities at the Kelsey Museum.

Pisidian Antioch was originally founded by King Antiochus I (r. 280-261 BC), with settlers from Magnesia on the Maeander. The re-founded Augustan colony acted as the hub of the imperial road network and as the regional assize (court session) centre for lower Phrygia. In the late 3rd century AD, Antioch became the metropolis of the new province of Pisidia. As recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, St Paul visited the city during his missionary journey through Asia Minor, and in Late Antiquity Antioch became a Christian bishopric. Arab invaders reportedly destroyed the city in the 8th century AD, but small-scale habitation continued until the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in the 12th century.

For centuries, Antioch was lost to the Western world until the British chaplain, Francis V.J. Arundell, re-discovered it in 1833. The site later came to the attention of Sir William Ramsay, who launched the first archaeological expedition to Antioch in 1912. Ramsay conducted a series of poorly documented excavations both in the city itself and in the nearby sanctuary of Mên Askenos, a local lunar deity. The outbreak of World War I interrupted this fieldwork, but Ramsay planned to return when hostilities had ceased.

After the war, Ramsay partnered Professor Francis W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan to undertake more extensive excavations. Kelsey insisted on using only the latest excavation techniques and recording methods. Accordingly, he assembled an experienced team that included Professor David M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University (director of excavations), George R. Swahn (photographer), and Frederick J. Woodbridge (architect), among others. In May 1924 the team travelled by train from Istanbul to Isparta, then on by automobile to Yalvac, the modern town adjacent to ancient Antioch. According to Robinson this was 'a very difficult ride, at times through water but mostly over an extremely rocky road, which seemed
almost impassable, but with beautiful views of the wonderful Lake of Egdir."

Upon their arrival, the first order of business was to hire workmen to assist in the excavation, most of whom were farmers from the surrounding countryside (Fig 2). The original group of 80 workmen would expand to over 200 before the end of the campaign. Excavation commenced on 10 May and continued, with occasional interruption, until 2 September. Over the course of the season the team unearthed a number of important monuments, including an Augustan-era imperial cult sanctuary, two Christian churches, a row of Byzantine houses, and an impressive triple-arched city gate (Fig 1). The materials excavated from these buildings allowed the Michigan team to form a deeper understanding of the religious and cultural history of Antioch from the late 1st century BC to the 6th century AD.

The Michigan team’s highest priority was to uncover the remains of the imperial cult sanctuary located on the eastern acropolis. The first two weeks of the season were spent clearing the entrance to the sanctuary, where Ramsay had previously discovered several dozen marble fragments of an inscribed Latin copy of the Res Gestae Divi Augusti, an autobiographical account of Augustus’ accomplishments. Soon, over a hundred new fragments were found scattered along the base of the monumental staircase that led into the sanctuary (Fig 3). On top of the staircase were the remnants of a magnificent triple-arched propylon built in the form of a Roman honorific arch (Fig 6). Robinson theorised that the inscription was originally displayed in front of the propylon on a set of pedestals rising from the staircase. The propylon was also decorated with a variety of sculptures that celebrated Augustus’ victories on land and sea. In the context of colonial Antioch, this ideologically charged programme of text and images articulated a compelling statement about the legitimacy of Roman rule in Galatia.

The propylon stood at the top of a wide colonnaded street known as the Tiberia Platea or the ‘Plaza of Tiberius’. A bronze inscription sunk into the pavement recorded that a certain T. Baebius Asaticus paved this plaza in fulfilment of his duties as municipal aedile officer. In 1924 the pavements of the Tiberia Platea were still in an excellent condition (Fig 3), with ancient game boards and Latin crosses still visible scratched into the paving stones. Unfortunately, this pavement no longer exists: soon after 1924 a group of local villagers used the paving stones to construct a mosque in Yalvac. The Michigan team also excavated a series of shops, bars, and restaurants along the edges of the Tiberia Platea, which were supplied with water via four fountains located at the base of the propylon staircase. The abundant food and cool running water made this spot an ideal place for worshippers to eat, relax, and congregate before entering the sanctuary of Augustus.

The Michigan team began to clear the Temple of Augustus (Fig 5) in August 1924. Ramsay had conducted preliminary excavations inside the temple in 1913, but never published the results. Aware of Ramsay’s apparent disinterest, Robinson carefully re-excavated the temple and recorded all of the surviving architectural fragments. As is clear from Woodbridge’s reconstruction drawing, the temple was constructed in typical Roman fashion: a Corinthian prostyle with a high podium and monumental staircase (Fig 7). Along the pediment was a lush vegetal frieze symbolising the bounties of the Paz Augusta, Augustan Peace. The Michigan team also excavated the area behind the temple, which was originally occupied by a two-storey, semi-circular portico, the first of its kind in Asia Minor. Today what remains of the portico is a 6.5m-high, rock-cut wall, which provides an imposing backdrop for the few remaining ruins of the imperial sanctuary (Fig 5).

Another of the team’s research interests was the history of Christianity in Antioch. After clearing the Tiberia Plateau, two visible churches and their surroundings were excavated. The foundations of the smaller ‘Byzantine church’ suggested to Robinson that the building’s plan was a Latin cross with a semi-circular apse, but the scant
remains made dating the structure difficult. Positioned directly opposite the Tiberia Platea, this church was probably built as a foil to the pagan Imperial cult sanctuary (Fig 1). Near the church several Byzantine houses had been built on the foundations of earlier Roman buildings. Perhaps the most surprising discovery in these late houses was a well-preserved head of Augustus found beneath a thick layer of ash and destruction debris (Fig 8). This portrait drew the attention of Turkish locals, who staged a demonstration to prevent the head of Augustus being sent away. But their efforts failed, and today it resides in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

The team also brought to light a much larger and better-preserved church on the western edge of the city, today commonly called the 'Church of St Paul' (Fig 9). The interior of this basilica-plan church was over 50m long, divided into a wide nave and two narrower side aisles (Fig 10). A semi-circular apse punctuated the east end, and a narthex provided entry from the west. The lowest floor level was the most spectacular, decorated with a brightly coloured mosaic of spiraling forms and geometric patterns. An inscription on the mosaic floor records that a certain Optimus 'fulfilled his vow to God', presumably by paying for the elaborate mosaic. This appears to be the same Optimus who was bishop of Antioch in AD 381, making the 'Church of St Paul' one of the earliest monumental churches in Asia Minor. Robinson reports that 'much damage was done to the mosaic' during an extended break in excavations, and that the floor was re-buried for its own protection. The fate of the mosaic shows the conflicting responses of the local Turks to the excavated material.

The final building excavated by the Michigan team was the Hadrianic city gate at the south-western edge of town. The affinity of the gate's sculptural programme with the propylon of the Imperial cult sanctuary was immediately identified. Both of these monuments...
relief decoration included winged figures carrying garlands, as well as a frieze of weapons highlighted by hippocamps flanking trophies (Fig 11). But not until the final days of excavation did they discover that the city gate also imitated the triple-bayed form of the propylion. Woodbridge’s reconstructions (Fig 12) show that these two monuments represent an intriguing example of ancient architectural and sculptural emulation.

On 2 September excavations concluded. Over the next few years Robinson and Ramsay published a handful of cursory articles on the sculptures and inscriptions, but no definitive publication of the excavations was ever produced. A dispute between Robinson and Ramsay caused a rift that was not to be repaired, and excavations planned for future seasons never occurred.

Since the mid-1980s there has been a renewed interest in Pisidian Antioch, and Turkish archaeologists have reopened excavations in the monumental centre of the city (Figs 1, 5). After 60 years of accumulated debris was removed, it became clear that some of the most important discoveries from 1924 were preserved only in photographs and drawings. A great number of stones from the site had been used for building materials in the intervening years. As a result, the Michigan archive remains a fundamental starting point for all studies of Antioch and its history.

In order to give this material the attention it deserves, Elaine Gaala and a team of graduate students have prepared an exhibition entitled ‘Building a New Rome: The Imperial Colony of Pisidian Antioch (25 BC-AD 700)’ and the results are currently available online. The exhibition synthesised the data collected in 1924 with the results of more recent research to provide the most comprehensive view of the city to date. Perhaps the most striking feature of this exhibition was a 3D digital model of the city prepared by J. Matthew Harrington and the present authors (Figs 13, 14). These new reconstructions complement the beautiful architectural drawings prepared by Woodbridge. Our study of the archival materials continues with a view toward a more complete publication of the discoveries from the 1924 season.

The online exhibition on which this article is based can be visited at www.lsa.umich.edu/kelsey/antioch
King Solomon’s Cherubs

THE ARK OF THE COVENANT AND ENIGMA OF THE LOST TEMPLE CHERUBIM

Sean Kingsley

The subject of eternal romance and fascination, hunted down by explorers and Hollywood alike, sad truth be told the Ark of the Covenant disappeared from the pages of history in 586 BC, when King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon razed Jerusalem and ‘carried off all the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king’s house; he cut in pieces all the vessels of gold in the temple of the Lord, which King Solomon of Israel had made...’ (2 Kings 24:13-14). Artistically superior to the Ark, and intimately responsible for safekeeping the power of the Ten Commandments within, however, was the royal pair of cherubim statues in Solomon’s Temple. The cherubim were God’s earthly representatives, his ‘right-hand men’, who protected heaven and guarded the path to the Tree of Life in the garden of Eden (Genesis 3:24). Each of the Temple pair’s outstretched wings was colossal, 10 cubits (5m) wide, and crafted of olive wood overlain with gold. Together, the wings of the two statues stretched from one side of the Holy of Holies to the other, a distance exceeding 20m (1 Kings 6:23-28; 2 Chronicles 3:10-13).

Though the original Solomonic statues were burnt to oblivion by Nebuchadnezzar’s henchmen, theologians, archaeologists, historians, and explorers have almost entirely overlooked the enduring survival of cherubim statues in the Temple of Jerusalem precint into the 1st century AD. A crucial source for exposing the fate of these ‘angels’, John Malalas lived and wrote in Antioch in southern Turkey in the 6th century AD, before relocating to Constantinople in the middle or later part of the reign of the emperor Justinian (AD 527-65). Having unique access to Antioch’s official government documents preserved in the local archives, Malalas lays to rest one of the greatest mysteries of the Bible.

Following his crushing victory of the First Jewish Revolt in AD 70, under the command of his father, the emperor Vespasian, Titus revelled in the local adoration by going on a mini-tour of the Near East and dispensing largesse from the overflowing treasury of Jerusalem’s Temple. After sponsoring ‘in Caesarea in Palestine out of the spoils won: Judea a very large Odeon, the size of a large theatre’ on the site of a former synagogue (Malalas, Chronicle 261), Titus travelled to Syria, enjoying the luxuries of Beirut and Zeugma. Another city that he simply could not ignore was Antioch in southernmost Turkey (not to be confused with Pisidia, Ionia Turkey), one of the greatest metropolises of the empire, the granary of Syria, and a vital strategic stronghold. The new Flavian dynasty also had a soft spot for Antioch: it was also here that in spring AD 66 Vespasian assembled his forces to begin the long march on Israel.

Antioch had proven doggedly loyal to the imperial dreams of the new Flavian dynasty, but trouble was brewing on the horizon because its pagans seised on Rome’s subjugation of Israel as an ideal opportunity to topple the town’s Jewish powerbase. Antioch’s pagan citizens had become more fanatically anti-Jewish than the emperor. Yet for centuries one of the greatest Jewish communities in antiquity had lived peacefully here, ever since Jewish mercenaries who had fought under Alexander the Great’s general, Seleukos I Nikator, were rewarded with lands in the Hellenistic city named after Seleukos’ father, Antiochus, in 300 BC. Antioch may have been 500km away from Jerusalem, but it was intimately embedded in Jewish priestly politics.

It was here that a profound diplomatic gesture had been initiated to right the evils of Antiochus IV Epiphanes after he carried off Temple plunder to Syria 169 BC (1 Maccabees 1:20-4). Subsequently, ‘his successors on the throne restored to the Jews of Antioch all such votive offerings as were made of brass, to be laid up in their synagogue’, according to Josephus (Jewish War 7.44). At its peak of prosperity in the 1st century AD, about 22,000 Jews lived in the city and worshipped in an estimated minimum 20 synagogues. No wonder Israel’s King Herod the Great was so keen to be seen to patronise the town by sponsoring its central colonnaded street. Antioch’s Jewish lobby was a political heavy-weight, and even in the 4th century John the ‘Golden Mouthed’ Chrysostom railed against Christians going to synagogues and participating in Jewish festivals. It would be amidst the synagogue of Antioch that Jesus’ disciples would be called ‘Christians’ - the ‘Anointed Ones’ - for the first time (Acts 11:26).

Josephus’ Jewish War reports how Rome’s conflict with Israel had stoked up violent anti-Jewish feeling in Antioch. A local Jew called Antiochus, the son of the city’s chief magistrate, had leaked a false rumour to the city’s assembly that Jews planned to burn down the city by night. A general massacre ensued, with Jews rounded up in the theatre and burnt at the stake. Later, a fire broke out in the market square, burning down the magistrate’s

Minerva, July/August 2007
quarter, the record office, and basilicas. Once more Antiochus accused the Jews of the deed, ‘And so, like maniacs, in a wild frenzy they all rushed upon the accused.

Even though Josephus admits that the fire was started by pagans trying to destroy evidence of their financial debts, as Titus approached Antioch on his mini-tour of AD 70 its citizens lined the approach to town for 6km to sit up anti-Jewish sentiment. Titus was entreated to throw the Jews out of town and to remove the bronze tablets on which their age-old privileges were inscribed. Josephus is clear that to all this Titus, refused, and, leaving the status of the Jews of Antioch exactly as it was before, he set out for Egypt’. History proves the image of Rome as unsympathetic beasts to be absolute fantasy. Where the opportunity existed, the empire preferred peaceful coexistence, politically preferring to appease the rainbow of cultures living under its pantheon.

But this is not the whole truth. In fact Titus confronted a major dilemma at Antioch. As in Rome, the city’s Jews were key power players and contributors to the Roman dream; the Flavian dynasty had no intention of shooting a good target. On the other hand, the fanatical urban mob of 300,000 citizens and freedom had to be appeased. Showing early skills of diplomacy that would benefit his later imperial reign, Titus adopted a Solomonic strategy.

John Malalas’ research amidst Antioch’s dusty archives turned up a golden thread of historical evidence. The 6th-century writer tells us that Titus took the mob semi-seriously by a superficial show of strength: at Daphne he made a big show of pulling down a synagogue and replacing it with a theatre inscribed Ex praeda Judaee, ‘From the Spoils of Judea’. Meanwhile, also ‘Out of the spoils from Judaea’, wrote Malalas, ‘Vespasian built in Antioch the Great, outside the city gate, what are known as the Cherubim, for he fixed there the bronze Cherubim, which Titus his son had found fixed to the temple of Solomon. Whèn he destroyed the temple, he removed them from there and brought them to Antioch with the Seraphim, celebrating a triumph for the victory of the Jews that had taken place during his reign. He set on an upper level a bronze statue in honour of Selene (the Moon) with four bulls facing Jerusalem, for he had captured the city at night by moonlight’ (Chronicle 261).

Unattested in any other contemporary source, John Malalas offers a gem of Biblical history: replicas of the noble cherubim continued to be crafted down the centuries in a one thousand year cultural legacy. But how can we be sure that the historian did not fabricate this story merely to spice up his Chronicle? Fortunately, infallible complementary evidence confirms the cherubim’s relocation: so characteristic were the Temple statues, and so memorialised was this historical event, that the entire city district where Titus set them up became renowned as the Cherubim of Antioch.

Thus in the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161), Malalas reported that the main colonnaded street was paved with Theban granite, an act commemorated through an inscription set on the ‘Gate of the Cherubim’, where the operation started. The name stuck. The Life of St Simeon Stylites the Younger, written soon after the holy man’s death in AD 592, describes how as a child Simeon had a vision of Christ ‘at the old wall called that of the Cherubim’ (Life 9). The same source remembers a later visitation of the devil, which haunted Antioch after Simeon had established himself standing on his holy pillar, when ‘the Destroyer went to the gate which is at the south, which leads out toward Daphne, and there arose from the so-called Cherubim, and as far as the Rhodian, in all the quarter which is called Keretia, a great cry, and weeping, and much lamentation’ (Life 126).

A later version of the same event, recorded in the reign of Basil II (AD 976-1025) in Nicephorus Magister of Antioch’s Acta Sanctorum, confirms that the vision of Christ was seen ‘in that part of Antioch which is called Cherubim, evidently from the fact that Titus, when he took Jerusalem, removed the famous images of the Cherubim from the Temple, which he destroyed, and took them to Antioch, and set them up there, since it was a prominent part of the city’. Courtesy of Raphael’s Sistine Madonna, today the term cherub conjures up an image of podgy winged
King Solomon's Cherubs

angels in the form of children or of graceful Victorian heroic adults. But this is a mirage fabricated by a metamorphosed reception of Roman erotes and putti in Renaissance art. The biblical ideal of the cherub was both more oriental and fantastic, its characteristics known primarily from Ezekiel's vision of the chariot. Whilst in Babylonian exile, c. 573 BC, along the banks of the River Chebar, Ezekiel saw 'the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord', hybrid creatures that supported God's throne. These creatures had calf's feet, wings, and the faces of a human, lion, ox, and eagle (Ezekiel 1:4-28). Rather than a product of a prophet's imagination, Ezekiel drew on contemporary Near Eastern art; this precise hybrid creation survives in numerous ivory furniture inlays from Samaria and 9th-century BC Arslan Tash in Syria, where composite creatures feature a human face, the wings of an eagle, the forepart of a lion, and hind part of an ox (Figs 2, 4).

Although winged hybrists such as the demon Pazuzu and the Akkadian lion-demoness Lamassu were extremely popular in the Near East in the second and first millennia BC, the biblical cherub owed its major artistic debt to the sphinx. Sphinges were highly popular across Israel, imported on the back of second millennium Egyptian colonisation to appear on the Megiddo ivories of c. 1250-1150, literally supporting the king's throne (Fig 3). The motif endured, assimilated into Phoenician and Israelite royal art. In the Arslan Tash ivories the female human head wears an Egyptian wig (Fig 2), and in biblical descriptions of Solomon's Temple and palace the throne of God and king are identical to the Egyptianising form supported by a sphinx at Megiddo (Fig 3). Solomon's ivory throne overlain with gold rested on two lions (2 Chronicles 9: 17-19), respecting the royal and divine concept of 'You who are enthroned on the cherubim' (Psalms 80:2). But it would be Near Eastern myth that would make the sphinx fly, epitomised by the 4m-tall human-headed winged bull of 710-705 BC that once guarded the palace of King Sargon II at Khorsabad, northern Iraq, and now in the British Museum (Fig 1).

So much for the First Temple period up to Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Jerusalem in 586 BC. But what did a cherub look like in AD 70, when Titus plundered the artistic wonders of Herod's Second Temple? It would be easy to read into the cheeky images of mischievous Roman erotes and putti the substance of god's cheeky helpers, but these figures are associated with the god of love, Eros, and thus wholly inappropriate for divine art. And given the cherubim's direct descent from the hybrid world of the Near East (Fig 5), a winged, sphinx-like characteristic is to be expected.

Contrary to superficial impressions of the creature's antiquity, the sphinx remained extremely popular in the Roman period, losing much of its mythical potency to become appreciated for its Egyptian resonance - art for art's sake. A pair of stone sphinxes guarded the foot of a recently excavated staircase in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, while Pliny was familiar with a bronze sphinx placed beneath the spear point on Pheidias' Victory in the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Pausanias' Guide to Greece described a sphinx emblazoned on Athena's helmet on her ivory and gold cult statue in the Parthenon.

But perhaps the best representation of what Titus found in the Temple precinct of Jerusalem, and set up above the city gates of Antioch, was unearthed in 1896 in the hall approaching the palaestra of the bath-gymnasium complex in the Harbour Baths of Ephesus in Turkey. With its majestic outstretched wings (Fig 7), this 110cm-long, early 2nd-century AD creature morphing a sphinx's lower body with a human face and torso, and harpy-like claws and wings, and crafted of greywacke of probable Egyptian origin, captures the majesty and monumentality of Titus' cherubim (excluding the maimed youth). The imagination can easily conjure up an impression of just such a rearing cherub glaring down from the gates of Antioch from the late 1st century onwards into the Early Byzantine period. How long they graced this city thereafter, a daily thorn in the heart of its Jews' memory of a lost nation, and a reminder to pagans and Christians of the decline in Jewish political power, remains unresolved.

Yet, as the wonder of Rome faded into nostalgic memory in the Late Roman period, Antioch did not forget its classical legacy. From the ruins of a mid-5th century AD house excavations have uncovered cache of classically inspired sculptures, all based on Sth-3rd century BC originals. Alongside replicas of the Ares Borghese, a crouching Aphrodite, and a pot-bellied Silenos, a basalt disc turned up with a sphinx at the centre, proudly rearing up on her lion's paw, her hair billowing in the wind (Fig 6). Who knows, perhaps this very Late Roman incarnation may have imitated the actual Temple cherubim, one of the great forgotten mysteries of biblical history.
EXCAVATING ROME IN THE RENAISSANCE

Sally Hickson

Writing in the early 1400s, Flavio Biondo, one of the earliest Renaissance topographers of ancient Rome, realised that Rome’s history was quickly being eroded by the modern city, but that acts of preservation designed to preserve its churches for holy pilgrims could also save her ancient, pagan monuments from passing into obscurity. His insight made him one of the pioneers of Renaissance archaeology, a movement that began in the circle of humanists and artists of his generation in Rome, reaching its zenith in 1506 when the ancient statue of the Laocoon was excavated on the Esquiline Hill (Fig 2). The recent 500th anniversary of this remarkable discovery makes it an appropriate time to examine the role of archaeology in creating the Renaissance.

In the early 1400s, archaeology tied to activities surrounding saints, cults, and relics was regarded with mystery and reverence, but activities related to preserving ancient ‘pagan’ monuments were regarded with suspicion and skepticism. Some of our knowledge of the popular attitude to archaeology in the early Renaissance comes from the accounts of visitors who came to the city to admire her churches and ended up praising her antiquities. In 1490, the knight Giovannì da Tolentino wrote a diary of his trip to Rome and, obviously overwhemed by the wealth of antiquities he encountered, mistakenly identified the equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius (once on the Capitoline Hill; Fig 3) as a statue of Mark Antony. It is a sign of the spirit of the age that he describes with equal enthusiasm how he had also viewed the recently exhumed, uncorrupted bodies of three local saints before he left Tolentino, a site no less miraculous to him than the salvaging of living history in the form of ancient statues.

The magisterial Roberto Lanciani, who pioneered the historical study of Rome’s archaeology in the late 19th century, published several accounts of the discovery of the perfectly preserved body of a young Roman girl in a tomb along the Appian Way in 1485. According to onlookers, the body was covered in a thick, aromatic paste that had prevented it from decaying. The corpse seemed almost to be sleeping rather than dead. The descriptions are similar to hagiographical accounts of the revelation of uncorrupted bodies of saints in the Middle Ages, reminding us that Renaissance antiquarianism was not so very far removed from the reliquary market, at least in the popular imagination. In his Commentaries of about 1450, the Florentine sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti also talks about ‘marvellous’ and ‘wondrous’ statues excavated in various Tuscan cities, reinforcing the idea that early archaeology, when it wasn’t a source of skepticism, was widely viewed as a form of miraculous resurrection.

Gradually, though, humanistic study led to a more systematic view of ancient history, and antiquities came to be viewed as authenticators of the past, living pieces of history that could be measured against written historical accounts. Even so, early archaeology in the papal city was largely in the service of recycling. When Pope Martin V

Illustrations - Figs 2-6, 8 courtesy of Peter A. Clayton.

Fig 1 (below left). The Triumph of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna, c. 1484-92, showing the triumphal parade of spoils of war, including statues, captured by Julius Caesar. One of nine paintings commissioned by the Marquis Ludovico Gonzaga. The Royal Collection © 2007, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. RCIN 403959.

Fig 2 (below right). The monumental Laocoon statue showing the Trojan priest Laocoon and his sons Antiphantes and Thymbraeus being strangled by sea serpents. Attributed by Pliny the Elder to Agenasder, Athenodorus, and Polydorus of Rhodes. Marble, 42-20 BC, H. 3.3m. Unearthed in 1506 near the Golden House of the Emperor Nero. The Vatican Museums, Rome.

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returned the official seat of the papacy to Rome in 1420, he began to refurbish the neighbourhood around the Vatican. The excavations required for new buildings, streets, and improvements to the water system revealed many classical ruins, which project managers were quick to mine for re usable construction materials: marble columns and architectural fragments that could be used to adorn new churches, palaces, and civic buildings.

The rebuilding of Rome was taken up with great enthusiasm by Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455), who took a more measured approach to the resurrection of the ancient city, probably at the urging of his humanist advisors, especially Flavio Biondo and Leon Battista Alberti. Using written sources, like the popular Mirabilia Urbis Romae (The Marvels of Rome), written by a canon of St Peter's in the 12th century as a guide for religious pilgrims, and the descriptions of ancient buildings in the Natural History of Pliny the Elder and in the architectural treatise of the Roman writer Vitruvius, the papal humanists were able to compare texts against visual evidence. They studied not only buildings but statues, reliefs, inscriptions, and other antique fragments as 'living monuments' with stories to tell.

The research allowed Flavio Biondo to write the earliest modern topography of the ancient city, the De Roma Instaurata (Rome Established, 1481-82). At about the same time, Alberti stunned his colleagues by drawing up an accurate map of the city using methods of land surveying and cartography gained both from his practical experience as an architect and from ancient sources. He also wrote his own guide, the Panorama of the City of Rome, laying out the precise locations of the city walls and key monuments from his view at the top of the Capitol.

line Hill. Alberti's accomplishment is not surprising, since we know he possessed considerable archaeological expertise. Early in his career he supervised a salvage operation in Lake Nemi to recover two Roman ships reportedly sunk there; the whole enterprise marks the first serious attempt at marine archaeology in Italy.

Some evidence for archaeological activity in Rome near the end of the 15th century can also be found in the works of the Paduan artist Andrea Mantegna (c. 1431-1506), who spent some time in Rome in the 1480s and who we know from contemporary accounts practised archaeological 'field-work'. Growing up in Padua he would certainly have had the opportunity to see the remains of the Roman arena that still surrounds the Scrovegni or 'Arena' Chapel, home to Giotto's famous frescoes, and as part of his artistic training he drew the antique fragments in the collection of his master, Francesco Squarcione.

In 1487, the Pope called Mantegna to Rome to paint a cycle of frescoes in the chapel of the Belvedere Palace (a life of John the Baptist, destroyed in 1780) and his trip allowed him to experience first-hand the antiquarian fervour that had taken hold of the city. His arrival came on the heels of the greatest antiquarian event of the latter part of the 15th century: the accidental rediscovery of the uppermost chambers of the deeply buried remains of the Golden House of Nero. Many artists, among them Domenico Ghirlandaio, Pinturicchio, and Filippino Lippi visited the site and, even though it was only possible to crawl from room to room practically at the level of the vaults, they studied with wonderment the original Roman painted decorative motifs (Fig 4), later called 'grotesques' because of their discovery in the 'grotesques' of what seemed to them a subterranean treasure-trove.

The Golden House became a kind of artists' pilgrimage site, widely advertised by an anonymous pamphleteer who called himself the Prospettivo Milanese (published 1500), whose little booklet describes how the summer breezes seemed to refresh the painted caves and destroyed grotescoes. Though we have no letters from Mantegna to attest to his direct involvement with excavations at this site, his awareness of archaeological activity is suggested in the details of some paintings influenced by his Roman sojourn. In the distant background behind his monumental figure of the Virgin in the Madonna of the Stonecutters (Florence, Uffizi) we see the activity of excavators, stone-cutters, and finishers at work on the creation of antique style columns. Surely Mantegna must have witnessed this sort of activity as he wandered through Rome.

Mantegna was deeply affected by archaeological culture, becoming a life-long collector of antiquities. The house that he designed and built for his own use in Mantua, which is now a museum, features a circular central courtyard, exactly like the one found in Nero's Golden House in Rome. In the 1490s, again for the Marquis Ludovico Gonzaga in Mantua, he painted nine canvases depicting The Triumph of Caesar (now at Hampton Court Palace), a series of processions highlighting the spoils brought back to Rome from the military victories of
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Fig 5. The Apollo Belvedere was the first ancient statue to go on display in the Vatican's Belvedere Courtyard c. 1505 by order of Pope Julius II. Marble, H. 2.28m. Roman copy of a Greek original, possibly by the Athenian sculptor Leochares, who worked for Alexander the Great c. 320 BC. Pio Clementino Museum, Vatican.

Julius Caesar (Fig 1). In the Statue Bearers, soldiers drive carts populated with ancient statues. Nowhere in the Renaissance is there a more evocative and thoroughly contemporary tribute to antiquarian culture, to the literal and figurative 'narrative' of objects as the signifiers of the past. The Triumph of Caesar are also a nod to the new passion for collecting antiquities and to the growing cult of conspicuous display that grew up around the new archaeology.

In about 1505, as part of his undertaking to rebuild St Peter's and to re-establish Rome as the true centre of Europe, Pope Julius II urged his architect Donato Bramante to significantly expand the Vatican complex by adding a connective courtyard to join the ancient palace of the popes to the Belvedere Villa, the same villa Mantegna had been called to Rome to decorate. Two long, vaulted corridors on the lateral sides of the courtyard joined the palace to the villa, and at one end Bramante created the outdoor sculpture museum still known today as the Belvedere courtyard. The courtyard was then, as it is now, the architectural setting for the display of the most valuable antiquities in the Vatican collections: the Belvedere Torso (Fig 6), the Apollo Belvedere (Fig 3), and the most recent of the major discoveries of the time, the statue of the Laocoon.

The only one of these ancient treasures for which we know the excavation history is the Laocoon (Fig 2), which was discovered in 1506 in the environs of the Golden House of Nero near the Esquiline Hill, which had obviously continued to be an active site. At the moment of discovery, the excavators sent for experts to identify the statue. One of these was Michelangelo who, at this time was hard at work sculpting the marble figures for the tomb of Julius II. Gazing into the pit, he immediately recognised the work as the famous statue of the Laocoon described by Pliny the Elder in his Natural History. One of the marvels of the work as it was described by Pliny, who attributed it to three sculptors from Rhodes, was that it had been carved from a single piece of marble.

Even though close inspection on the part of Michelangelo and another antiquarian expert revealed that this Laocoon was made of at least four pieces of marble joined together (current experts say even more), Pliny's authority and Michelangelo's authentication reigned supreme and the prize was captured by Julius II for his Belvedere. Once in the papal collections, the statue became the key figurative inspiration for the development of Michelangelo's monumental Hellenistic figurative style in the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel ceiling. In fact, the Laocoon is a kind of leitmotif of the High Renaissance, appearing in works as diverse as Titian's dramatic tale of Bacchus and Ariadne on the island of Naxos (London, National Gallery), as the inspiration for the figure of Minos writhing in the deepest pit of hell in Michelangelo's Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel, and in countless other works.

The tale of the miraculous rediscovery of the Laocoon, and the fact that it could be viewed in the papal collections, brought droves of artists to the Eternal City to sketch its monuments. Evidence for this new enthusiasm for recording antiquity can be seen in the drawings made by the anonymous artist of the so-called Codex Estensis, a book of drawings of the monuments of Rome purchased by a Spanish visitor to the city in 1509 and now housed in the Royal Collections in Madrid. The artist of the codex was primarily interested in recording the ruins of monumental buildings, but he also included sketches of pilgrims to the ruins, some of them engaged, as he was, in recording them for posterity. In about 1516 the gradual surge of interest in accurately describing the monuments of the city in the form of drawings inspired Pope Leo X to commission the painter Raphael of Urbino to complete a comprehensive topographical survey of the city's major ancient buildings in the form of a drawn catalogue. In a letter to the Pope about the project, Raphael boasted that he would survey the ancient remains to create drawings of the monuments as they existed in their pristine and original state. He was going to re-imagine Rome as it was in all of its ancient glory.

Of all the artists of the Renaissance, Raphael was the one who most faithfully and accurately represented the archaeology of Rome. He seems to have been the first of the topographers to realise that the remains of the Arch of Constantine must have come from different periods and, basing himself on what the Roman writer Vitruvius had to say about the use of the architectural orders, Raphael even began to discern between different architectural styles in the history of the city. Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to complete his project, but a drawing he made...
of the Pantheon's interior, now in the print collection at the Uffizi, shows the discernment and exactitude he brought to his project to 'restore' the glories of the past.

After Raphael's death, drawings gave way to reproductive prints of the city's treasures. In 1527 Fabio Calvo, who had in fact assisted Raphael in his survey, produced the illustrated Anti-
quae Urbis Romae Simulacra (the Image of Ancient Rome). But Calvo's engravings were based heavily on ancient coins and earlier graphic sources, and reflected none of Raphael's precision. In 1550, Jacopo Mariliani, another topographer and indexer of the city, produced his Urbs Romae Topographia (the Topography of the City of Rome), a more rigorous attempt to document the most significant monuments of the city, including the most important ancient statues. Shortly afterward, the French printer Antoine Lafrery began work on his Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae (The Mirror of Roman Magnificence), an enormous undertaking which over many years resulted in over 100 plates of the monuments of the city engraved by various artists. The subjects range from representations of ruined monuments to pristine reconstructions of the perfected past. The Speculum was based on the illustrated collections, antique connoisseurs, and antiquarian pilgrims could all choose the plates they wanted and have them bound into unique volumes. As a result, no extant version of the Speculum reflects exactly the same vision of Rome. In the age of Lafrery, the archaeological print became the new form of Roman relic, a new kind of pilgrimage image.

In the meantime, excavation work in the city continued, but the digs were largely unregulated and the results often disappointing. Moreover, Redoutef's excavations that even in the early years of the papacy of Pope Paul III Farnese (1534-49), many torsos and statues were sent to the kilns to produce superior-quality lime, which, as the antiquarian Pirro Ligorio advised in his treatise on art, made a very fine artists' plaster. Wary of the wholesale destruction of valuable fragments, it was Paul III who appointed Latino Giovenale Manetti to be the first of a long line of official papal antiquarians charged with protecting the archaeological patrimony of Rome. Perhaps the Pope's protective instinct was motivated by a growing interest in antiquities. In the 1540s he ordered new excavations to be carried out in the Baths of Caracalla, and the 17th-century antiquarian Pietro Sante Bartoli informs us that the workmen found copious quantities of torsos, fragments, and other valuable antiquities that swelled the Farnese collections. The

most spectacular finds were the famous Farnese Bull and the Farnese Hercules (both in Naples Museum; Figs 7-8).

Like the Laocoön, the Farnese Bull was immediately recognised from its description by Pliny the Elder, and its impeccable provenance and overwhelming monumentality ensured its fame and preservation. As his tribute to the power of the monuments of the past to exert new authority over modern Rome, Paul III also supervised the transport of the ancient equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius to the centre of Michelangelo's newly redesigned Capitoline Hill, where a copy still stands today (the original now in the adjacent museum). Our understanding of Rome's archaeology owes a great deal to the Renaissance humanists and artists who first understood the importance of material evidence in the service of history, and who pioneered the science of excavation, even though much of what they learned has been revised through more rigorous modern scientific methods. But it is probably a fitting coda to this study to be found in the story of Raphael's own tomb. Just before he died in 1520, the artist stipulated that he wished to be buried in his beloved Pantheon, the monument he considered the most powerful, persistent, and perfected emblem of the glories of the Roman past. His sepulchre was to be an antique tabernacle found in the Church of Santa Maria Rotonda and his commemorative monument, the 'Madonna of the Rock', was crafted by one of his assistants from a fragment of an ancient statue excavated in Rome, two acts of metamorphoses entirely appropriate for the artist who was the most perceptive reader of Rome's ruins, the self-proclaimed recorder of the 'authentic' record of the city's monuments.

Lanciani tells us that in 1833 a group of 'modern' archaeologists, artists, priests, and notaries, spurred on by Raphael's own legendary artistic accomplishments, decided to open the Pantheon tomb to examine his remains. The bones were duly studied, measured, weighed, recorded for posterity, and displayed in a glass case for several days before they were finally re-interred in the Pantheon. But this time, there was to be no uncorrupted corpse, no waking of the dead; only the briefest interruption of the silent, persistent communion of Raphael, and of the Renaissance, with the enigmatic nature of the material past.
The ancient Maya civilisation thrived for a millennium and a half from 600 BC to AD 1100 in an area about the size of France and was inhabited by an estimated 25 million people. Unlike France and other modern states, however, there was no central government. Instead, dozens, perhaps hundreds, of independent kingdoms formed alliances and fought wars in an ongoing power struggle. Some of their cities, like Tikal, had a population of up to 200,000 people, others, such as Blue Creek, a mere 10,000.

Inaugurated in 1992, the Maya Blue Creek Project has established an annual summer field programme of excavation and survey at the city of Blue Creek in north-western Belize. This has presented the opportunity to use the site and its hinterland as a case study to enhance our understanding of Maya society. Superficially, Blue Creek appears exceptionable: surrounding its main plaza are 15m-tall public buildings, which are relatively small by Maya standards (Figs 2, 6), as is its only ballcourt. However, just under the surface of Blue Creek there are surprises to be found.

By the end of the Late Preclassic period (AD 150-250) and through the Early Classic period (AD 250-600), it became a wealthy city. Unfortunately, the carved stelae which characteristically proclaimed the accomplishments of Maya rulers in Maya cities are absent at Blue Creek, either because of theft or reburial.

Jade was the most important commodity in Maya civilisation and is thus also a principal area of interest for archaeologists studying this civilization. More properly known as jadeite and nephrite, these were the most precious stones in Mayan world. Like many naturally sourced products of great value, jade was only available from a restricted and remote area, only accessible to elite members of society. The largest collections of jade objects from the Maya world have been found in the palace of the Cancuen royal family in the large city of Calakmul, near the stone’s source at Copan. Intriguingly, the fourth largest cluster of jade objects from the Maya world have been found in the apparently unimportant city of Blue Creek. Many other types of prestige goods were also available to the city’s inhabitants, including metamorphic grinding stones, obsidian tools, and sponges from the Caribbean. This indicates that Blue Creek was considerably wealthier than other cities of its modest size.

One of the project’s most important results is that Blue Creek’s wealth derived from two equally important factors. The first was the availability of some of the richest and most extensive agricultural soils in Central America. The territory of Blue Creek encompassed an area of approximately 150 square kilometres, more than half of which was used for agriculture. Research has demonstrated the simultaneous use of different agricultural practices, from small household gardens to the large-scale production of upland non-irrigated and lowland drained field farming. Blue Creek produced far more food than its population could consume.

The central precinct of Blue Creek straddles a 100m-long escarpment which divides the low coastal plain from the eroded limestone hills of the uplands (Fig 3). Above and west of the escarpment the terrain is a mixture of eroded limestone hills separated by large expanses of clayey soils that are prized by modern large-scale farmers. These bajos range in size from a square kilometre to 40 square kilometres. No Maya homes have been found on them, and on adjacent hillsides fields were expanded and terraces and dams built, which indicates that the bajos were under full cultivation in the Early Classic period.

Moreover, below the escarpment are equally rich soils, but these were subject to seasonal inundation that could easily lead to complete crop losses. To prevent this, several hundred kilometres of drainage ditches...
were dug, and progressive research indicates that they were cut in the Early Classic period and maintained until the abandonment of Blue Creek c. AD 850. Research has also shown that a wide variety of crops for food and other purposes were grown. Parts of these fields may have been covered by orchards of cacao (cocoa seeds) which the Maya used in the same way as money is used in the modern era.

Beyond Blue Creek’s ability to grow food and other agricultural products, the second factor that contributed to its economic success was its extraordinary access to trading markets. Archaeologists have known for many years that Maya coastal trade in prestige goods was active throughout the Classic period. It is now widely thought that Maya trade canoes navigated the coast of the Yucatan Peninsula and into its interior via the river system.

Blue Creek’s economic success was also possible because of its favourable position in relation to regional trade on the Rio Hondo, the northern-most river draining into the Caribbean Sea, which could be reached by canoe in three days. From this location it was possible to export goods on seagoing canoes bound for cities in the north which had lesser agricultural potential and a higher risk of crop failure. Crucially, Blue Creek would have also been a vital port of call for canoes travelling from the Caribbean en route to the interior. From here commodities were most likely conveyed overland to Petén sites such as Tikal and Uaxactun.

The central precinct of Maya cities such as Blue Creek consisted of large open plazas, surrounded by graceful yet massive temples, where carved stelae proclaimed the accomplishments of the ahaus (kings), and

Fig 3 (below left). Blue Creek looking across Kin Tun (foreground hills) and the Central Precinct (mid-ground hills), to the lowlands east of the Bravo Escarpment.

Fig 4 (right). Masks on the pyramid Structure 9-IV depicting the Ahau (king). Early Classic, AD 250-600.

Fig 5 (right middle). Lidded ceramic vessel depicting God K or the Maize God, found in a dedication cache in Structure 3, Early Classic, AD 250-600.

Fig 6 (below right). The Late Classic phase of Structure 9 pyramid, which overlies its Early Classic predecessor, AD 600-850.

the Maya origin myth was ritually re-enacted in ballcourts. The central precinct also contained the private residences of the ruling elite. At Palenque and Tikal, these palaces were huge, multi-storied buildings constructed by successive generations of ahaus. Two Classic period masks on a pyramid tomb (Figs 4, 6), known as Structure 9-IV, each depict the Ahaus. One of the more interesting finds in pyramid tomb Structure 3 (excavated in 1997) was a splendid ceramic vessel depicting the Maize God (Fig 5).

At Blue Creek the ‘palace’ was a relatively modest residential courtyard initially constructed in the Early Classic period (AD 250-600), but occupied by generations of rulers through the Late Classic period (AD 600-850). Several generations of these people were discovered buried in a single grave within this building. The central precinct also contained the houses of lesser nobles and probably the homes of those who served the ruling elites.

To fully understand the nature of power and authority in Maya cities, the opportunity presented itself to investigate beyond the central precinct and into the surrounding settlement zone. At other Maya sites the settlement zone appears to consist of a mix of humble and presti-
gious houses, all tied economically and politically to the ruling elite. At Blue Creek, survey in this area revealed an important pattern in the settlement landscape, comprising broad expanses of agricultural lands separate from outlying residential districts or barrios.

A kilometre west of the central precinct a residential district known as Kin Tan comprises a group of large masonry houses which were occupied by important political families for nearly a millennium. In 2000, excavations of Tomb 7 in one complex revealed the burial of an important person (Fig 8), probably the founder of a family lineage, under a shrine of c. AD 150-250. He was interred with ceramic vessels and a jade acrobat pendant (Fig 9), which indicates that he may have been a shaman or religious leader. Subsequently, another important male, perhaps the son or grandson of the founder, was buried in front of the shrine, and this was expanded to incorporate an additional tomb for the deceased. Judging from the evidence of continued expansion, construction, and wealth attested here, the house and tomb belonged to a family of ever-increasing political and economic influence spanning 600 years.

Other barrios did not attain the same power and authority as Kin Tan. Sayap Ha, for example, located east of the central precinct, and surrounded by ditched agricultural fields, had houses of a modest character. Most of these were thatched-roofed, wooden pole homes (Fig 7) and excavations yielded little in the way of prestige goods apart from one exception in another founder burial contemporary with Kin Tan.

This consisted of a male deposited in a grave under the floor of a house with grave goods includ-

Fig 7 (below left). The remains of a platform for a pole and thatch house in the residential barrio of Chum Cahal, which resembles examples found in adjacent Sayap Ha, Early Classic, AD 250-600.

Fig 8 (top right). Opening Tomb 7 shortly after its discovery in the floor of the elite residence at Kin Tan, Early Classic, AD 250-600.

Fig 9 (middle right). Ceramic vessels and jade acrobat pendant found in Tomb 7 at Kin Tan. The acrobat pendant marks the individual as a shaman or religious leader, Early Classic, AD 250-600.

Fig 10 (bottom right). Artefacts from the burial at Sayap Ha, including a bib-type hat of a ruler carved of bone and two shell pendants with Teotihuacan imagery, Early Classic, AD 250-600.

Dr Thomas H. Guderjan is the president of the Maya Research Program and author of The Nature of an Ancient Maya City: Resources, Interaction and Power at Blue Creek, Belize (The University of Alabama Press, 2007). Colleen Hanratty is a doctoral candidate at the Southern Methodist University. For information on how to join the excavations at Blue Creek, see www.mayaresearchprogram.org.

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Head vase. Attic, 5th Cent. BC.
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Ass. Egypt. Bronze Cat
1st Ptolemaic Era Dynasty XXVI-XXX (664-343 B.C.)
20.5 cm 1994
The Monteleone Chariot

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE MONTELEONE BRONZE CHARIOT IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

The reinstallion of the Monteleone chariot at the Metropolitan has prompted Jerome M. Eisenberg, Ph.D., to finally publish this abbreviated version of his original study, but with important new insights.

Introduction
It has been the contention of the author for many years that the three principal bronze repoussé panels of the famous 'Monteleone chariot' in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figs 1-4, 7) are not of ancient Etruscan origin, but were fabricated between about 1890 and 1902 to complete the remains of a genuine chariot that was supposedly found with other objects in a tomb near Monteleone di Spoleto in Umbria, Italy, on 8 February 1902. The chariot was purchased by the museum in 1903 on the Paris art market along with two genuine small Etruscan bronze relief panels and many other objects, mostly bronze, in the following year for $48,382. Gisela M.A. Richter, former Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, wrote 'it is the only complete ancient bronze chariot known, and constitutes one of the most notable examples of antique metalwork'.

The chariot has traditionally been considered by all experts on Etruscan art to date from the second quarter of the 6th century BC, c. 575-550 BC. Most Etruscologists attribute the unusual style of the three principal panels to the Greek influence on archaic Etruscan art, especially that of Ionia, or to immigrant artists from Ionia but made in an Umbrian workshop. More recently, it has been considered to be the work of indigenous people of Etruria, working under the influence of imported Greek art... a local response to a variety of impulses, through direct and indirect contact with foreign peoples... However... the style and iconography of the figured areas may not easily be associated with the production of any of the presently-known Etruscan cities' (from Antichità dall'Umbria a New York, Perugia, 1991).

In the just published Art of the Ancient World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Yale University Press, 2007), Rhodes is included as one of the possible influences, as well as Ionia. The museum's text states that 'The scenes on the car represent a carefully thought-out program... Beyond discussion is the superlative skill of the artist'.
In attempting to explain the chariot’s strange style, in *Etruscan Art* (2nd edition, 1995) Otto J. Brendel suggested that the artists ‘grew up within the orbit of Corinthian art. However, Ionian contacts are not altogether missing’. He adds that it shows ‘a new interest in mythical narratives treated as independent themes of art and that it is the earliest example in Etruscan art of ‘continuous narration’ with the linking of the themes on the three panels. He notes, however, that ‘The large reliefs are exceedingly interesting; but they also present certain problems’.

The author, in this paper based on his observations of the chariot and an intensive study of its style and errors in interpretation, will briefly comment on over 70 errors that the forger committed during his manufacture of the three principal panels and in one of the two accompanying bronze *kouroi* (nude youths) figures. These insights are based on the author’s compilation of the many types of errors that can be committed during the execution of a forgery (presented as a paper at the December 1969 meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America: ‘The Stylistic Criteria in the Forgery of Ancient Art’, abstracted in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 75 (1971), p. 200, and published in a condensed version with addenda in *Minerva* as ‘The Aesthetics of the Forger: Stylistic Criteria in Ancient Art Forgery’, *Minerva*, May/June 1992, pp. 10–15).

The chief premise is that it is possible to find one or even a few anomalies in ancient representations, especially on many vases, where a rapid execution is often the culprit, but not on more labour-intensive objects such as large depictions in stone or bronze, where considerable time and planning is necessary for the execution of the work. An unskilled ancient artist would not produce a work of this magnitude, as his inexperience would be obvious in its overall quality. The forger, however, would be subject to a misunderstanding of the harmony in ancient design; he would reflect his personal style and that of his times, even including other forgeries; he would be unable to successfully imitate the consistent technique in execution of the ancient artist; and so would copy, often in mirror image or reduced or enlarged form, other objects, especially in different materials.

The initial studies on the chariot were made by the author in February-March 1968 and presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in an 85-page monograph in March 1968. Further studies made from December 1969 to February 1970 resulted in a revised paper. In June 1971, Dr Dietrich von Bothmer, then the Curator of Greek and Roman Art (and now the Distinguished Research Curator), graciously allowed the author to make an intensive examination of the chariot while it was in storage for a period of three days. An additional 15 pages of technical observations were then given to the museum. A much shorter version of the monograph, similar to this one, was finally read at the December 1989 meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (On the Authenticity of the ”Etruscan” Bronze Chariot from Monte Leone”, abstracted in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 94 (1990), p. 342). Coincidentally, the chariot was taken off display that same year. Much later, it underwent a reconstruction of some of its elements and was finally put back on display with great acclaim for the opening of the museum’s new Greek and Roman Galleries in April 2007. It was this much-publicised reappearance of the chariot that compelled the author to finally publish this paper that includes several additional significant observations, and even some corrections to his original work, that he made in April and May 2007 on viewing it again after many years.

As stated, the three large panels and one *kouroi* figure are considered by the author to be forgeries executed between about 1890 and 1902. The most important observations are detailed below in this first publication of his paper on the subject, a much abbreviated but updated version of the monograph presented to the museum in 1968.
The Principal Left Panel (Fig 4)

**The Theme.** The theme of the left panel is of two warriors fighting over a vanquished combatant. It has been suggested that it represents Achilles and Memnon, with the fallen warrior being Antilochos, the friend of Achilles, killed by Memnon. It was certainly inspired by one or more of the following objects that will be continually referred to for comparison:

1. The ‘Euphorbus plate’ from Kamiros, Rhodes, c. 625-600 BC, acquired in 1860 by the British Museum, with a theme of Menelaus and Hector fighting over the fallen Euphorbus (Fig 5). All of the names of the characters are inscribed on the plate, so there can be no doubt about the theme. This subject is thought to be an imitation of an Argive bronze relief lost in antiquity.

2. A panel of the ‘Loeb tripod’ (Fig 6), an Etruscan bronze in the Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich, dating from the third quarter of the 6th century BC, showing a similar combat scene. This bronze, found near Perugia, was later purchased from a dealer in Rome in 1905 by James Loeb.

3. An Attic black-figure amphora by the Painter of Munich 1410, c. 540 BC, in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (Fig 8), or one or more similar vases. Again, two warriors are in combat with a third warrior, who, wounded, falls down between them. It was first published by G. Micali in a popular book, *Storia degli antichi popoli italiani* (Florence, 1832). Many other vases share the same basic subject.

Fig 5 (below left). The 'Euphorbus plate', c. 625-600 BC, from Kamiros, Rhodes. Menelaus and Hector fight over the fallen Euphorbus. Diameter 39cm. The British Museum, GR 1860, 4-4-1, acquired in 1860. Photo courtesy of the British Museum.

Fig 6 (below). Detail of a panel from the 'Loeb tripod'. Staatliche Antikensammlung and Glyptothek, Munich. Two warriors in combat; a fallen warrior between them. Photo: Jerome M. Eisenberg.

Fig 4 (right). Monteleone chariot. Principal left panel (with the ancient lower left panel attached below it as a rectangular strip). H. 47 cm, W. 37.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903. 03.23.1. Photo: Jerome M. Eisenberg, 1971. (Note: the bosses above the korai figures have been removed.)
The Proportions of the Figures. The warrior on the right has a curiously shrunken right arm, most probably because the artist neglected to properly plan out the work in advance. He apparently executed the left part of the panel first and then found insufficient room to make a normal arm for the opposing figure. In fact, this warrior is actually leaning backwards due to the lack of space in the upper section. The vanquished warrior, partly hidden behind the other two, has an impossibly short or entirely lacking torso.

The Armour of the Warriors. The warrior on the left wears a bell-shaped bronze or leather corselet of the Greek type with a clinging garment underneath, rather than the short, loose chiton (chitoniskos) typical of the Etruscan warrior of this period. This same corselet occurs on the warriors on the Euphorbus plate. The high-relief hem could also be a misinterpretation of the weapon hanging horizontally at the waist of the warrior on the Loeb panel, who, in fact, wears the usual Etruscan garment.

On the Euphorbus plate the spiral decoration on the corselet of Menelaus on the left is nearly rubbed off on his right breast, but is strongly in evidence on his left breast. The same is true, by coincidence, on the corselet of Hector. The artist of the Monteleone panels has depicted a spiral in very high relief on the left breast of the warrior to the left, with no relationship whatsoever to the finely engraved designs surrounding it, but no spiral at all on the right breast even though the corselet is depicted almost frontally, as on Greek vase paintings, such as the Euphorbus plate. On the Loeb panel a single large spiral is engraved on the visible breast of the warrior on the left who, however, faces to the right.

The Helmets of the Warriors. The warrior on the left on both the Euphorbus plate and the Loeb panel wears a helmet of the Corinthian type with a crest high above the helmet, in contrast to the warrior on the right who wears a Corinthian helmet with a crest lying directly along the crown. However, on the Monteleone panel both warriors wear identical helmets. The forger, who may not have allowed enough room for the high crest, had differentiated between the combatants by placing a dark seal-brown patina on the helmet and corselet of the warrior on the left, while the one on the right wears a helmet and armour with a light, almost brassy surface. It seems possible that the forger used this solution to create the effect of the corresponding black and white helmets of the Euphorbus plate. It is especially significant that these contrasting patinas have remained in pristine condition, even after the extensive conservation that has taken place on the chariot.

The Shields of the Warriors. The round hoplite shield of ancient times, the hoplon, contained a band or strip running through the centre, the porpa, through which the left forearm passed, and a small leather thong near the rim, the antilabe, which the left hand grasped. This type is depicted on numerous Greek and Etruscan vases and there is apparently no variation from it, except for a slight shift in position and change in length of the two strips. The Monteleone warrior grasps the shield with his hand hanging downward, whereas it is always depicted with the hand in a nearly horizontal, defensive position. The hoplite shield of the warrior on the left has a second antilabe on the opposite side, even though there can be only one antilabe on this style of shield. In the 1847 drawing of the Swing Painter vase in Canina’s 1847 publication, the porpa on one of the warrior’s shields is misinterpreted by the artist and is also depicted as an antilabe. It is probable that the author of the Monteleone panels derived his second antilabe from this error, creating another oddity to his repertoire.

The shield of the warrior on the right is of the so-called Dipylon type, commonly known as a Boeotian shield. It is used in depictions of heroes from the 7th century BC onwards and occurs as a symbol on ancient Boeotian coins, but no actual shields have been found in excavations. The forger has apparently copied the position of this shield either from the similar one on the Loeb panel (Fig 6) or from another type of scene, such as the presentation of arms to the departing warrior on a bronze plaque also from Perugia (Fig 9). Here, the shield is depicted in a near vertical position, rather than the usual angle at which it is held in action, as shown on Greek vases from the 7th to 5th centuries BC. Among the only other examples of vertically held shields in use are on Geometric vases of a much earlier period.
The forger has completely misinterpreted the Boeotian shield of the Loeb panel by uniquely superimposing the *dipylon* shape on an oval base. The *dipylon* design is rarely depicted on Attic black-figure vases on the inside of an oval shield (such as on a *lost* vase published by F. Inghirami in *Monumenti etruschi*, 1825, depicting the battle between Ajax and Odysseus, with the fallen Achilles below), but not on the outside of the shield. In addition, he has elaborated on the design by placing a second *dipylon* shape in relief upon the first, perhaps due to his fear of the void (horror vacui), so evident throughout the three panels. The Loeb Boeotian shield has two lion-scapl balszos engraved on it, representing the painted designs actually used on ancient shields. The Monteleone artist has presented the two 'balszos' in such high relief that they lose their original purpose of identifying the owner of his city and become important bas-reliefs in their own right. While single emblems on shields are often visible in relief on actual shields or on vases, the author has not found any examples with two balszos in relief on the same shield.

The artist has taken one of the lion-scapl balszos from the Loeb shield and then used his creative ability to place a Gorgon mask on the bottom half of the shield. These two-emblem shields, especially in Etruscan depictions, should contain the same emblem on both top and bottom. On a few atypical shields, a mythological head may appear in the centre, with two subordinate balszos above and below of different types. On an Attic black-figure vase by the Munich Painter (Munich 1410), a lion is above and a serpent below the central Gorgon head on a shield held by one of two fighting warriors; a bird flies between them; the vanquished fallen warrior is also here, but in the same odd position as on the chariot panel (Fig 8; see also below).

The Gorgon mask on the shield is so large that it overlaps the bottom border of the shield, another artistic liberty of the forger that appears to be unparalleled in ancient art. This was apparently the first time that he had attempted to make the fangs of a Gorgon mask because, instead of the usual fangs in their normal positions, separate from one another and growing out at right angles to the line of the lip (Fig 10), he crafted two broad vertical bands with parallel sides running completely...
through the inside of the mouth and not projecting beyond the lips, as is essential for its apotropaic effect. On the bands he has engraved a diagonal line, dividing each band into two adjoining triangles, thus creating two ‘fans’ in each band. The same error of bisected rectangles occurs on the bronze Gorgon plaque in Munich (Fig 11; a source?), one of a series of forgeries supposedly from Perugia, created in the 19th century following a genuine find in 1810 and published by G.H. Chase in Monuments etcript in 1825 (See the author’s The Etruscan Bronze Reliefs from Perugia: Their 19th Century Companions and 20th Century Relatives, Minerva, March/April 2001, pp. 14-19; published with an accendum in The Etruscan Bronze Repoussé Reliefs at Perugia and their 19th- and 20th-c. Companions, in From the Parts to the Whole, Vol. 2, 2002, pp. 44-52, Acta of the 13th International Bronze Congress, Harvard University, Cambridge, 28 May - 1 June, 1996. A brief discussion of the Monteleone chariot as a forgery was included in this paper.)

The Spears of the Warriors. The depiction of the spears also appears to have been influenced by both the Euphorbus plate and the Loo panel. The warrior on the left grasps the spear in a very unusual manner. The atypical short spear ends in his fist and is held at such an odd angle that it appears to be a throwing-stick: the spear does not project beyond his hand. This was probably the result of misinterpreting the left hand of Menelaus on the Euphorbus plate, where it practically fades into the inside border and is very difficult to observe. In making the figures on the panel so large, the forger not only had to shorten the spear but also made the Shank of the spear too long to include a proper spear point. Thus, in making the spear appear to glance off his opponent’s helmet, he has improbably curved the spear point to resemble a pointed paintbrush.

The warrior on the right spears his opponent with his right arm holding the spear, but the artist has carefully depicted a left hand. This, again, may be due to the indistinct appearance of the right hand of Hector on the Euphorbus plate, where the fingers are not visible, thus creating the impression of a left hand, which the forger assiduously copied. On the plate a small section of the spear appears beyond the hand of Hector. The same feature is present on the chariot panel but, as G.H. Chase had noted in 1907, the spear of the warrior on the right passes before his helmet crest but behind his helmet, an impossible position. Chase did not question this oddity because he believed the chariot to be an imitation of a Greek work by an Etruscan artist and, in his rationalisation, this explained any errors. The point of the spear protruding from the back of the warrior on the left was apparently added as an afterthought, for it is depicted in very low relief in contrast to the very high relief of the rest of the spear.

The Eagle on the Spear. On the Loo panel a bird of prey is depicted sitting on a branch in the right field, perhaps waiting to feast on the fallen warrior. The bird on the branch has now morphed into a bird on a spear. The Euphorbus plate shows an eagle in flight as a blazon on the shield of Hector. The eagle on the chariot panel, however, is shown pouncing on the spear of the warrior on the left, for no logical reason at all, except perhaps as a space filler. Or the forger must have taken notice of the bird on the Loo panel and considered it an important part of this mythological scene, therefore an object not to be left out. It is an afterthought, a minor combat scene on Attic and Etruscan black-figure vases. In other scenes on vases, a bird can be observed directly attacking a person. However, due to the lack of space in his design, the forger was forced to put the eagle into this odd position in the cramped upper field.

The bird is completely misinterpreted as a work of ancient art. Only the hindmost section of wing feathers is depicted on examples of the 6th century BC, the other sections being indicated by dividing bands. The forger has indicated the two sections of feathers, very crudely represented, and then ‘bound’ them like a stalk of asparagus with two bands in very high relief. The body of the bird is covered with fish-like scales - but is left bare in ancient representations. Finally, in ancient depictions the tail feathers usually number from eight to twelve. On the Euphorbus plate, however, the eagle blazon has only four principal tail feathers and the same number was adopted for the chariot panel.

The Vanquished Warrior. The fallen warrior on both the Euphorbus plate and Loo panel is depicted on his back with his knees bent upward at a sharp angle and his helmeted head also facing upward, the usual depiction of the vanquished opponent. On the chariot panel, however, we witness a physically impossible representation - a fallen man with his knees bent upward, the shortened or lacking torso hidden by the feet of the two other warriors, and the top of his body facing downwards, practically touching the ground as if in obeisance, reminiscent of Assyrian or Egyptian reliefs or wall paintings. This is in sharp contrast to the usually graceful distortion of the body of a fallen warrior as painted on Greek vases. The scene was produced either through artistic license or, more probably, by copying the scene from the Attic black-figure amphora by the Painter of Munich 1410 in Munich (Fig 8), first published by G. Micali in a popular book in 1832. (Another vase by the same painter, in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe 61.89, exhibits the wounded warrior in the same odd position.) Both wear armour and have shields, but the chariot’s fallen warrior wears greaves without any other armour over his corslet and lacks the shield.

The Principal Eight Panel (Fig 7) The Theme. Some scholars have interpreted this panel composition as an apotheosis scene, perhaps representing Achilles departing for the island of Leuke (and Polyxena dying below) or Aeneas being immortalised by Zeus. How ever, these depictions of heroes ascending to the heavens did not appear until the Roman period. The figure driving a chariot drawn by two winged horses was probably derived.
The Monteleone Chariot

from the depictions of a related genre on Etruscan terracotta revetment plaques of the later 6th century BC from Velletri and Tuscania, such as those in the Naples and Munich museums. In these reliefs, though, the horses are shown in slow gait, sometimes with one foot bent. The winged horse ascending into the air with his hind legs on the ground does not occur in Etruscan art until the end of the 5th century BC on stone funerary stele. When the 6th century sculptor wanted to show a horse in rapid motion, such as one ridden by a cavalier, he depicted it with both of the forelegs off the ground but not sharply bent, or with the entire animal above ground level with the forelegs raised slightly higher than the hind legs, but horses pulling chariots were never represented in this fashion.

The Winged Horses. There are a number of errors in the style of the winged horses. The legs of the nearest animal, flying with a galloping gait, are shown sharply bent, high in the air - another space filler and another singular occurrence. The scene is based on an Etruscan bronze relief fragment from Perugia found in 1810, showing a battle scene of four warriors riding over a fallen Amazon still holding her helmet (Fig 12). The forger has shown the unusually long tails touching the ground as in two other pieces, the Etruscan relief from Perugia and a silver plaque with gold appliqués in the British Museum, also said to have been found in Perugia in 1812 (Fig 13) and acquired through bequest by the British Museum in 1824, but considered by the author a forgery (see below and the author's paper on the false Perugia bronzes cited above).

The wings appear to be attached to the forelegs and cover the axles. The feathers of the main part of the wing of Etruscan winged horses (not on the cutled tip) are shown in a near-horizontal angle, but the feathers on the chariot panel horse are nearly at a 45 degree angle. The front and back legs on the nearest horse are upraised and bent to such an extreme that they are, impossibly, parallel to one another. The artist has engraved the upper part of the legs of the horse on to its flank. This was probably mistakenly based on the incised decorative lines on the flanks of the lions on the genuine lower right panel. The tail of only one horse is shown.

The Charioteer and Chariot. The bearded, heroic charioteer is also heroic in proportion to the winged horses. If a hero, he lacks his armour. He holds two reins in his left hand and only one in his right. The whip is shown behind his right hand and not passing through it as it ought to. The chariot is of the type seen on Etruscan terracotta reliefs. However, the forger made a serious mistake in its composition by depicting the wheel on the far side but not the one on the near side. Apparently, after realising his error, he literally bored a hole through the 'axle' in order to indicate that the other wheel was to be attached as a separate piece of metal, like the missing scales of the Boston Throne, another forgery of the time (see the author's 'The Ludovisi and Boston Thrones and their 19th Century Sources', Minerva, July/August 1996, pp. 29-41). The upper right spoke of the wheel does not radiate out from the axle and seems to have been added as an afterthought. Finally, the shaft of the chariot is not even depicted. Certainly an ancient artist creating such a major work as this would have planned his work with more forethought.

The Fallen Female. She was no doubt derived from both the Amazon on the Perugia bronze fragment (Fig 12) and the British Museum silver plaque with gold appliqués (Fig 13) that depict a fallen female beneath a pair of Ama-

The Central Panel (Fig 3)
The Theme. The subject of the central panel is of a warrior about to go into combat, who receives his weapons from the hands of a woman, perhaps a representation of Achilles and Thetis, his mother (who replaces the armour that he gave to Patroklos), or Hector and Andromache. The scene is remarkably close in rendition to a small, crude Etruscan bronze repoussé plaque in the Museo Archeologico, Florence (Fig 9). The scene and its participants are virtually identical, with the figures again reversed but lacking the eagles and the doe. This plaque was first published in an auction catalogue of the Ferroni collection in 1909, but was probably previously with a dealer or in another sale some years before it was even sold to Ferroni, predating the construction of the chariot panels.

A Chalcidian black-figure krater from Vulci, dating c. 540-530 BC, from the Agostino Feoli collection, acquired with many others by Feoli

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from 1828 onwards, and now in the Würzburg University Museum (no. 160), depicts Hector taking leave from a veiled Andromache (Fig 14). On this vase the figure of Hector wears a crested helmet and carries a hoplite shield, upon which is painted a swooping eagle. An eagle also flies in the background. In her *Etruscan Bronzes* (London, 1985), Sybille Haynes in fac suggests that the figures on the front and left sides of the chariot... may have been inspired by “Chalcidian” black-figure vases, a ware imported into Etruria in considerable quantities. She further notes that the compactly proportioned and somewhat stiffly posed figures appear to reflect a wide variety of influences. Oddly, however, these observations did not compel her to question the authenticity of the chariot.

In this author’s opinion, this panel was probably the final one to be forged, and certainly betrays a hand different to the artist of the two side panels because the style is quite different. The figures have much larger heads with fuller, more realistic features. This artist has taken even greater artistic liberties, and his improvisations are much more brazen. In addition to the two figures each grasping a helmet and shield, he has added not one but two eagles swooping down in the field above and suspended a large doe in mid-air below, further examples of *h voat vacat*, his fear of the void.

![Image of the Monteleone Chariot](Image)

**The Female.** The forger has seriously misinterpreted the fall and draping of the mantle over the right arm of the woman. Instead of the mantle falling down on the outside of the arm then draped over the arm, and falling down on the outside of the arm, the woman appears to extend her arm through a slit in the garment - and even this does not make sense if one follows the vertical lines of the mantle. Where the folds of the mantle terminate at the bottom, the artist has engraved designs on the borders that do not follow the normal folds of a garment, but treat it as a rigid material. The design of the garment is quite similar to the garment design of a bronze fragment published by E. Peterson in *Bronzen von Perugia* in 1894 (Fig 15). On the drawing of this fragment, the vertical border apparently joins a near-horizontal border at an angle, without a fold in the garment or a change in design of either border. This is a misinterpretation of the connection of the vertical and horizontal garment bands.

It is possible that the forger also took as a model the figure of Andromache wearing a mantle on the Chalcidian krater in Würzburg (Fig 14) because the stance and proportions are quite similar. They both hold out their right hand horizontally and their left hand is raised upwards.

**The Helmet.** An excessively elaborate helmet, with its unique ram’s head surmounted by a crest, has no counterpart in ancient art. The serpent-necked ram’s head is no doubt derived directly from the similar zoomorphic tail fin of the Scythian Vettersfelde electrum (gold and silver alloy) fish in the Antikensammlung, Berlin (Fig 17) - a forgery - which itself was adapted from the serpent-necked ram’s head rear antler of the famous ‘Scythian’ gold stag (Fig 18) from Kul Oba (see the author’s *The Aesthetics of the Forger: Stylistic Criteria in Ancient Art Forgery*, Minerva, May/June 1992, pp. 10-15). Another possible source of inspiration is a paxiliche of an Etruscan bronze warrior in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, published in 1695, in which an inven- tive person has added a crest to an animal head (a swan) and perched them on top of the bronze (Fig 19). One of the most important principles of the author’s stylistic criteria in identifying ancient art forgery is that the forger will often unconsciously borrow elements of other forgeries, especially if they were created during or near his lifetime. He would be influenced by the aesthetic and styles of the time, unlike the genuine elements created many centuries or millennia before. Note also the disproportionately large size of both the helmet and shield; the helmet is far larger than the head of the warrior.

**The Warrior.** In the usual depiction of leave-taking, the warrior is already fully dressed, but holds his helmet and shield. The feet and legs of the chariot warrior, and that of the other two warriors, are unusually long and disproportionate to the rest of their bodies. Elongated legs similarly occur on the forged monumental Etruscan terracotta ‘old warrior’ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art that was acquired in 1915 (Fig 16). This error, however, was corrected in the second forged warrior that they purchased in 1921. Elongated legs are a normal feature of the small, slender Etruscan bronze warrior figurines (Fig 18). C. Chase also noted that the right arm of the Monteleone warrior is considerably larger than the left, and that the size and thickness of the thumb of the female is greatly exaggerated, as are some of the thumbs on the figures of the Perugia bronze plaque forgeries.

**The Shield.** The shield appears to have been produced after the one on the left panel because some of the errors have been corrected, but with others produced instead. The forger
realised that the dipylon anatomy was the true shape of the shield and that it was not overlaid on an oval base. The positions of the lion or panther scalp and Gorgon mask have been reversed to create a ‘new’ set of blazons, probably due to the lack of fresh inspiration by the forger. The shape and construction of the lion scalp have now been altered to fit the shield.

The panther or panther scalp is no longer an Etruscan type or entity by itself because parts of the scalp, such as the mane and ears, are independent of the rest of the scalp and do not form a solid outline. The face is now more elaborate, with the flesh folds increasing in number, and two knobs on the forehead have been added, copying the two appearing on the lion’s forehead on the genuine lower left panel (Figs 2, 21).

The problem of the Gorgon’s teeth and fangs has been eliminated: they are literally removed. The viewer is probably meant to assume that the eyes and mouth were intended to have once received inlays. The forger might have been inspired by some of the Etruscan architectural terracotta Gorgon heads (Fig 10).

In executing the smaller dipylon design inside the main one, the forger was unsuccessful, for the flattened tips of the bottom section were executed first, and he was unable to complete the upper section in a manner in which the tips would extend naturally from the Gorgon mask. Thus, they are bent, different in size from those beneath, and appear to be unsuccessful attempts to finish the project.

The Doe. The doe, its tail oddly set on top its huge rump, is represented in an obviously impossible position, suspended in midair without any visible supports or rationale for its existence. The author would suggest that it again represents a fear of the void and was inspired by the hare suspended on a spear by the centaur on the genuine lower left band (Fig 20). A floating animal, belly-up, makes no sense in Greek or Etruscan art. It is also quite unusual by being covered with large curved spots - more like a panther - possibly yet another example of fear of the void?

The deer is usually associated with Artemis. On an Attic black-figure amphora from the Campansani collection, published by Friedrich W.E. Gerhard in 1840 in ‘Auserlesene Griechische Vasen’, in a scene with Apollo and Leto, Artemis, in the identical position of the female on the panel, holds a bow. Before her stands a deer with its head raised high. Artemis’ garments, except for the lack of a mantle over her head, are quite similar to those of the Monteleone female. An eagle flies towards Leto, who does wear a mantle over her head. On the reverse of the vase, a warrior is dressing; one female attendant holds his helmet, the other his shield. Was this also one of the principal sources for the central panel?
The Eagles. Were the two eagles meant to convey a sense of swooping down on the doe below? They have no place in this scene of leave-taking and are conceived in very unusual poses; as space fillers they are very clumsy. The odd angle of one of the bird’s wings on the right may have been created to flow with the curve of the helmet. It has a fish-like body, even more evident by its ‘scales’. The feet of both birds are tucked in due to the lack of space; in fact the crest of the helmet nearly touches each bird. The unusually disparate size of the two birds was another error brought about by an attempt to fill space. Scholars have suggested that they represent a male and female.

The wing feathers are now separated into three overlapping groups, all depicted feather by feather, an advanced technique not used until considerably later in time. The artist has now avoided the ‘asparagus-bundle’ of the bird on the earlier left main panel. Note the similarity of the bird on the right to the bird on the Vettersfelde electrum fish forgery (Fig 17).

The Lower Two Ancient Panels (Figs 2, 4, 7, 20, 21)
On the lower left panel a bearded centaur carries a branch over his shoulder. To his right is a winged male figure and a beardless figure with his arm around a panther (Fig 21). This panel is incomplete but probably portrays the centaur Chiron, Thetis, Peleus, and Pontomedusa as on at least one Attic black-figure amphora. Representations of the centaur carrying a forked branch or staff, with one or more suspended hares, can be found on numerous Attic vases.
The lower right panel contains two groups of animals - a lion frontally attacking and downing a bull, and a lion attacking a stag from behind. Both panels are incontestably ancient, dating to c. 550-540 BC, of superb quality, and compatible with other Etruscan bronzes of the mid-6th century BC. One cannot find a single error in their style or execution.

Those scholars who attribute the three principal panels to scenes from the life of Achilles try to link their content to the lower panels. They suggest that the left panel represents the young Achilles in the care of the centaur Chiron. As for the right panel, they hypothesise that the lions attacking the bull and stag represent two scenes of Achilles defeating his foes - quite a far stretch of the imagination.

The Two Kouros (Figs 22, 23)
The kouros (nude youth) to the right of the central panel is an authentic Etruscan bronze (Fig 23), with a type of face closely resembling that of a female figure on one of the Perugia bronzes. The facial features of the forged kouros to the left of the central panel (Fig 22) are much sharper, significantly with the philtrum (vertical groove above the upper lip) exaggerated (Fig 24), and the end curls of the hair more rounded. Both of the arms of the genuine kouros and the Perugia figure are held rigidly to the side, with each hand pressed against the body, thumb and fingers together. The thumbs of the forgery are spread out sharply toward the knees. Further, the position of the arched line indicating the lower boundary of the thorax is much lower on the forgery, a difference that would not occur on two identical figures made for the same purpose.

Since part of the feet were lacking on this kouros, the forger, not knowing whether they were covered in part with footwear (or perhaps because he made an error in the execution of the lower part of the legs), included separately attached high boots with pointed toes (calcei repandi) to the left-sided figure. No doubt he derived them directly from the similarly attached high boots of the fallen Amazon on the British Museum silver plaque forgery (Fig 13). A nude kouros wearing boots is indeed a rare - if not unique - occurrence in ancient art. Recently one leading Etruscologist even ascribed the added boots to an ancient repair.

Other Parts of the Chariot

The two rams and lions on the bottom strip, 0.2 to 0.3 mm thick, are ancient. The boar procone, eagle head finial, and the panther head terminals were not examined in detail by the author. The ivory boar's tusks, long in storage, are modern additions to the reconstruction. A multitude of ivory fragments, some coloured, including part of an ivory eye, which may have belonged to the boar procone or eagle head finial, were found with the chariot but do not appear to belong to the panels. A significant part of the wheels are of ancient origin.

Technical Examination

The technical examination of the chariot was made by the author over a period of three days. The 15-page report presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art is here greatly condensed, but is available, as is the original 85-page monograph, to interested scholars at the author's offices in New York.

The Bronze. The metal of the three principal panels has a consistent thickness of about 0.5 mm. The cutting of the metal is fresh and shows no visible oxidation. The surface is finely scratched, perhaps with a metal brush, and also randomly pinpricked in many areas to simulate an ancient surface. The engraved lines on the hair of the fallen female, in the depressions between the curls, still show burrs of fresh metal (Fig 25). The metal of the two genuine lower panels is not more than 0.2 mm thick, except on the oxidised edges, which have expanded up to about 0.5 mm in thickness. The jagged edges are the result of a natural breaking of the copper oxide-rich thin metal and exhibit layers of copper oxide and copper carbonate. The surfaces are scattered with botryoidal (grape-like) copper oxide spots, often with a powdery green core visible. Both of the genuine bottom panels have been cut, trimmed, and elaborated to match each other and the upper panels.

The Tracing. The ancient tracing in the lower panels and on the right kouros is done with chisel strokes not less than about 0.3 to 0.45 mm wide and 0.4 to 0.5 mm long (Fig 26). The ancient chisel tip was blunted and both panels exhibit signs of long burial. The tracing on the forged upper panels is only about 0.15 mm in width, with chisel strokes varying from 0.2 to 0.5 mm or more (Fig 27). The modern chisel tip was very sharp, often producing a fresh V-edge that reflects brightly in a glancing light. The cleanly pierced or prickled decorative dots, as on the garment of the standing female and on the panther mask (Fig 28), are only about 0.2 to 0.25 mm in diameter. Neither the tracing nor the dots on any of the three main panels exhibit any signs of wear or corrosion.

The Patina. The patina on the two genuine lower panels, a mixture of golden bronze and dark brown, is motiled, and the two shades blend gradually into one another. The natural surface was a light golden brown colour. On the three principal panels, the 'patina' is also a brassy bronze and dark brown, but the brassy colour is
basically the original surface of the metal and the brown is a pigment with what appears to be a thick varnish-like base. The green coating, supposedly copper carbonate, is a colloidal suspension of a green powder, sometimes with rounded grains suspended in it, giving it often a botryoidal appearance. A red semi-opaque spattering over the green coating creates the appearance of copper oxide. However, a natural layer of copper oxide must be in direct contact with the metal surface rather than the secondary carbonates.

The Missing Sections. The breaks on the two genuine lower panels are irregular, with large areas of the entire surface absent, including important parts of the composition, as one might expect from a buried bronze. There is no serious damage or missing areas on any part of the two principal side panels. The few missing areas on the central panel are 'neatly irregular', and appear to be deliberately broken. The only large missing area is on the unimportant bottom of the panel. The forgers have added pieces of the ancient chariot to the new, large panels on the outside rims at the top of the left panel and at both the bottom left and bottom right ends of the right panel.

The Drilled Holes. There are five tiny ancient holes on the bottom right section of the outside frame of the principal right panel, drilled in an irregular grouping. The forger apparently intended to match them with a group of four similar, but freshly drilled, holes on the bottom left section of the outside frame of the principal left panel.

The Frames of the Side Panels. Upon examination, it appears that the entire left side of the outside frame of the left panel and the majority of the right side of the outside frame of the right panel are ancient fragments and that the portions of the forged panels were based on these.

The Kouros. The right kouros has an obviously ancient surface with a dark olive-brown patina, though a golden yellow-brown coating has been brushed over some areas of the ancient surface to match the surface of the forged kouros. The bronze is not more than 0.2mm thick, with a good layering of red copper oxide and green copper carbonate on the fragmented toe edges. There are large pits filled with copper carbonate over deep cores of copper oxide on the forehead, nose, and upper left and right legs. The hair was traced with a blunted wedge-shaped chisel, with a beaded pattern on the top of the hair.

The forged left kouros was made of fresh metal about 0.3mm thick, lightly scratched, then coated with a brown varnish-like substance. The hair was engraved in very fine, often disconnected lines. Tiny pieces of copper oxide were glued to the right leg to simulate a natural surface. A hole was drilled on the right shoulder to match a natural hole on the shoulder of the right kouros, but the edge shows fresh metal as do the other drilled, cut, and broken edges of this figure. The applied boots are also of new metal, cut roughly on the bottom and rounded on the top. The incised lines of the boots were engraved in sharp strokes and then coated with a reddish paste.

Conclusion
The author has presented the principal sources for the forgers' creation of the three panels. The forgers have misunderstood the harmony of an overall ancient design and of its individual elements. Their personal style and mistakes in the execution of the three panels and the kouros figure have been demonstrated in over 70 examples. In all, 28 of the 32 criteria in the author's 'Stylistic Criteria in Ancient Art Forgery' apply to the work of these forgers. Details of the recent engraving and chasing, the drilling of modern holes, the joining of ancient to modern sections, and the ancient and modern patinas have been identified. The Monteleone chariot is obviously a pastiche of ancient and modern elements. According to Dr Brendel, 'The master of the New York chariot was a very competent craftsman, and an expert designer'. The author, who had the pleasure of studying with Dr Brendel at Columbia University in the early 1960s, agrees with the first observation but not the latter. Our readers' comments are welcomed.
In January the Minster for Culture, David Lammy, launched the Treasure Annual Report 2004 to Parliament and the Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2005/6 (the seventh and eighth issues respectively) simultaneously at the British Museum. The latest statistics reveal an incredible increase in the number of both Treasure and archaeological finds reported in the period covered by the two reports. Metal-detectorists had been the principal source of reporting finds, especially under the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). During 2005/6 this witnessed an increase of almost 45%. The previous Report for 2004/5 had recorded 39,333 finds, while the present one noted 57,566 finds. Similarly, the number of Treasure finds reported has risen from 426 in 2003 to 506 cases in 2004, an increase of nearly 20%.

The Minister commented that ‘Metal-detectorists are the unsung heroes of the UK’s heritage. Thanks to the responsible approach they display in reporting finds and the system we have set up to record them, most archaeological material is available for all to see at museums or to study on line’. The PAS website (www.finds. org.uk), which records Treasure and PAS finds saw an increase of 2680% in hits from April 2003 to March 2006, with 1.4 million hits a month. These statistics reflect the UK public’s widespread interest in its past and heritage, much of it driven by popular archaeological programmes on TV, such as Time Team and Meet the Ancestors.

Neil MacGregor, Director of the British Museum, noted at the publication launch that ‘This huge increase in finds is testimony to the success of the Treasure Act [1996] and the Portable Antiquities Scheme and makes a crucial contribution to our understanding of our past. Working together with DCMS, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) and the British Museum have made great strides in securing our communal heritage and must continue to do so to ensure future generations will benefit from this wealth of knowledge’. Whilst one appreciates the amount of information that is being gathered from this incredible response, surely such finds can only be a finite source? As the number of finds rises steadily year by year there must come a time when a peak will be reached and decline set in. What then?

The Treasure Report is a substantial document, much larger than in recent years, running to 227 pages followed by 96 pages of colour plates, often featuring six or more illustrations of a single find. Amongst the interesting statistics recorded are the fact that 92.7% of the Treasure finds in the Report were found by metal detecting (469), 2.4% were chance finds (12), and 25 (4.9%) were archaeological finds. Under the terms of the Treasure Act (1996) an archaeologist who makes a treasure find is not eligible to receive a reward. Others, such as finders and landowners, who have complied with the Act (reporting the find as potential treasure within 14 days) are entitled to receive a reward of the full market value as commissioned from the Expert Advisors to the Treasure Valuation Committee of the DCMS and agreed by the Treasure Valuation Committee and relevant parties. A Voluntary Code of Practice for Responsible Metal-Detecting in England and Wales listing 13 essential elements was endorsed in 2006 by 12 major bodies including the British Museum, the National Council for Metal Detecting, and English Heritage, and has certainly been a great benefit to all concerned, especially landowners.

A distribution map in the Treasure Report once again highlights that the most productive area for finds was East Anglia, comprising the three counties of Essex (45, an increase of 20 over the previous report); Norfolk 86 (an increase from 78), and Suffolk 27 (a decrease from 37). Kent is also strongly represented with 50 finds, an increase of ten over 2004. In a summary of all Treasure cases since the 1996 Treasure Act came into force on 24 September 1997, the increase is remarkable, from 76 cases to 2605. The percentage increases by county are in some instances astounding: 1,185.70% in the Isle of Wight; 953.30% in East and West Sussex, and several other counties show 200-300% increases. This all underlines the strong public response to the Treasure Act and the Portable Antiquities Scheme initiatives.

Of particular interest are two Bronze Age hoards, one from Lambourn, Berkshire (Fig 1), the other from Burton,
Viking hoard of silver found at Cuerdale, Lancashire (now in the British Museum), where associated coin evidence indicates a date of burial c. AD 905. There may possibly be a historical connection between the two hoards, either as contemporary booty or as separate parts of a war chest belonging to Vikings, who were driven from Dublin and settled in the Lancashire and Cumbria area. Fragments of decayed lead sheet associated with the bracelets may be the remains of a lead container or wrapping in which the hoard was buried.

A notable increase amongst one class of treasure finds has been the number of post-medieval silver and silver-gilt dress hooks, recently the subject of detailed study. An attractive 16th-century silver-gilt example from Rodmell, East Sussex, declared to be Treasure, was donated by the finder and landowner to the Barbican House Museum in Lewes, Sussex. Many of these smaller Treasure finds are often declared as Treasure by the Secretary of State and returned to the finder if there has been no museum interest shown.

David Lammy, in his Foreword to the Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2005/6, remarked that ‘The extent of the Portable Antiquities Scheme’s learning and outreach work is a testament to its success. … [I]t offers the only proactive mechanism for recording archaeological finds found by the public, without which information about these finds would be lost, to the detriment of archaeological knowledge… The Government recognises that the Portable Antiquities Scheme plays an important role in supporting the Treasure Act through its network of Finds Liaison Officers… 5,855 people have offered finds for recording this year. Of these, 59 per cent were brought forward by metal-detector users’. The number of people who have waived their right to a reward under the Treasure Act, or donated their finds to an interested museum, has risen substantially and the Minister warmly applauded this public gesture. There are now around 165 metal detecting clubs with a membership of nearing 6000 people in regular contact with their local Finds Liaison Officer (FLO). Coins comprise the majority of reported finds in all areas, whilst metal items are a main focus of PAS in 2005/6, and flints and pottery of various dates are also often reported at meetings with the FLOs.

Outreach projects arranged through the FLOs and the PAS Scheme often result in small exhibitions in local museums (such as the ‘Treasures of the Past’ exhibition at the Verulamium Museum that attracted excellent local press coverage and strong public response). ‘Hands on’ open days have also had an enormous effect in schools, as well as the FLOs regular: visits to metal detecting societies to examine and record finds. This means of raising awareness of local history and heritage is seen as a major step forward and has also attracted numerous interested local volunteers, who take part to gain experience of working as an archaeologist or in a museum. At least 83 volunteers worked for the PAS in 2005/6, an increase over the previous year’s 34. Archaeology and finds always capture public imagination and media interest, yet it is a sad fact that despite this high profile there are fewer jobs available in archaeology (which are hotly contested) and many archaeological posts have been abolished.

At the launch of the report a number of declared Treasure finds were displayed as well as objects registered under the PAS Scheme. Particularly appealing is a Roman 4th-century AD copper-alloy figurine of a seated long-nosed hound similar to an Irish wolfhound (Fig 4). This was found by a metal detectorist on a site in the Isle of Wight that has previously yielded Iron Age and Roman coins. Simlar small hound figurines are known as votive finds from four other sites in Britain and two on the continent. Most of this detectorist’s finds have been acquired by the Isle of Wight County Museum service. Other small finds recorded in the report range from prehistoric flint hand axes (12,761 worked stone artefacts were recorded) down to a 20th-century German POW’s metal identity tag from Lincolnshire.
NUMISMATIC CALENDAR

AUCTIONS & FAIRS

ANCIENT COINS


8-12 August. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC ASSOCIATION (ANA) World’s Fair of Money. Midwest Airlines Center, Milwaukee, WI. Tel. (1) 719-482-9826; e-mail: ana@money.org; www.money.org.

15 August. CLASSICAL NUMISMATIC GROUP (CNG). Auction Sale of ancient coins (closes 12 September). Tel: (44) (0)207 495 1888; e-mail: cng@cngcoins.com; www.cngcoins.com.

30 August. BALDWIN’S. Hong Kong Auction 42, Holiday Inn, Golden Mile, Kowloon, Hong Kong. Tel. (44) 20 7930 6879; e-mail: coins@baldwin.sh; www.baldwin.sh.

16 September. WESTPHALIAN COIN AND COLLECTORS’ FAIR. General fair including ancient coins and medallions. Dortmund. Tel. (49) 2311 204 521; e-mail: messe@westfalenhallen.de; www.westfalenhallen.de.

19-21 September. MEISTER & SONNTAG (AMS). General auction including ancient coins. Stuttgart. Tel. (49) 711 2484 7369; e-mail: info@ams-stuttgart.de; www.ams-stuttgart.de.

25-26 September. BALDWIN’S. General sale including ancient coins. London. Tel. (44) 20 7930 6879; e-mail: coins@baldwin.sh; www.baldwin.sh.

26-27 September. OFFICIAL CONNXE AUCTION. Important ancient, British, and World coins. The Washington Hotel, Cunney Street, London. Tel. (44) 20 7016 1700; e-mail: coins@dow.co.uk.

EXHIBITIONS

UNITED STATES

Colorado Springs, Colorado

THE DIES IS CAST: MONEY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. This exhibition offers the chance to travel back in time to the great civilisations of Greece and Rome while learning about the first 1000 years of monetary history. ANA MONEY MUSEUM Tel: (1) 719-482-9828; e-mail: museum@money.org; www.money.org. Through August.

South Hadley, Massachusetts

HEADS AND TALES: PORTRAITS AND PROPAGANDA ON CLASSICAL COINS. The exhibition focuses on the recent acquisition of more than 900 Greek and Roman coins donated by Mark Salton and Professor Nathan Whitman. MOUNT HOLYOKE ART-MUSEUM (1) 413 538 2245 (www.mtholyoke.edu). Ongoing.

AUSTRIA

Vienna

MONEY IN LATVIA, HISTORY AND PRESENCE. The exhibition focuses on the long history of currency in Latvia, from amber in the Iron Age; Roman currency comprising coins, silver objects and silver bars; the Viking coinage of the medieval period, comprising Arab dirhams. KUNSTHISTORISCHE MUSEUM (43) 1 525 24 4025; (www.khm.at); e-mail: info.pmt@khm.at. Until 30 September.

ISRAEL

Tel Aviv

KADMAN NUMISMATIC PAVILION. Founded in 1962 by Leo Kadman on his coin collection and that of Dr Walter Moses. One of the largest and most important in Israel, emphasising the history of Israel as reflected by its coinage. ERETZ ISRAEL MUSEUM (www.erezmuseum.org.il). Permanent.

ROME

CAPITOLINE COIN AND MEDAL COLLECTION. Established in 1872 through Ludovico Stanzani’s bequest 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 Bignami’s collection of Roman Republican coins; and the ‘Treasure of Vila Alessandria’. CAPITOLINE MUSEUM (+39) 06 3996 7800; www.musicapitolini.org.

SWITZERLAND

Geneva


TURKEY

Bodrum

Exhibit of the monetary and weight systems used in Anatolia, especially Caria. Genuine coins, as well as ancient and modern counterfeits, are also displayed. BODRUM MUSEUM OF UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY (90) 252 316 25 16 (www.bodrum-museum.com). Permanent.

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HERODOTUS, the Greek historian who visited Egypt in the mid-5th century BC, wrote at length on many aspects of ancient Egypt in Book Two of his Histories. Renaissance scholars were especially intrigued with the unfathomable picture writing - hieroglyphs - but this was not to be deciphered until 1822, 24 years after the short-lived French conquest of Egypt. That conquest was to open the floodgates of publications on ancient Egypt, notably with the incredible volumes of the Description de l'Egypte. The flow has not abated since. One could be forgiven for thinking that there was nothing left to write about, assess or reinterpret, apart from reporting new finds and excavations, but this is not the case.

It was with the discovery by the French of the Rosetta Stone in 1799 (subsequently acquired by the British as spoils of war in 1801, and now the most famous exhibit in the British Museum), that the key to Egypt was suddenly turned. The story is well told by Professor John Ray in The Rosetta Stone and the rebirth of Ancient Egypt (Profile Books). He paints a broad picture of the background of the time and the people involved in retelling the story of the race between the English physicist Thomas Young and the brilliant French scholar Jean-François Champollion to 'crack the code'. He also explains the cryptological methods used to decipher ancient languages, which bring in Michael Ventris (who deciphered Minoan Linear B) and Yuri Knorosov (Maya hieroglyphs) - and, not least, by John Ray himself, who deciphered ancient Carian. Professor Ray sets the Stone in its context and examines its content, presenting a full translated text. His culminating chapter, 'Whose Loot is it Anyway', is a balanced view of the situation presently bedevilling many governments and scholars alike. As John Ray rightly says, 'Cooperation is the price that comes with stewardship, and it is a price we should be prepared to pay, since it is also the way to deepen our knowledge' - a powerful mantra indeed.

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Of the three major periods of ancient Egyptian history: Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdom, the Egyptians considered the Middle Kingdom (c. 2000-1700 BC) to be the high water mark of their civilisation. Curiously, however, although noted as the classical period of Egypt's art, history, and literature, it is the least well known of the three. Even the site of the new capital city, If-fawy, is not precisely identified, although it is thought to be in the region of modern Lisht. The sculpture and literature of the period is of the finest, but the other evidence is fragmentary. In his new book, The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: History, Archaeology and Society (Duckworth), Wolfram Grajetzki has drawn together an incredible amount of information from widely scattered sources to present a coherent picture of the period that will not be found elsewhere. Dividing his approach into three parts: History, Archaeology and Geography, and Society, he has produced a masterly survey that has not been bettered since Herbert Winlock's The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes (1947). Not to be overlooked are his three invaluable Appendices listing in full the Kings, Viziers, and Treasurers of the Middle Kingdom - much of this information is very difficult to come by. Grajetzki has performed a remarkable service to Egyptology with this in-depth study that will be widely consulted for many years to come.

Taking a wider chronological approach, Joyce Tyldesley's Chronicle of the Queens of Egypt (Thames & Hudson) covers from Early Dynastic times to the death of Cleopatra, a span of some 3000 years of royal ladies. Some of the queens, Hatshepsut, Nefertiti, Neferari, and Cleopatra are household names. But here, in splendid detail, and extremely well illustrated, are the other royal ladies. The presentation follows the style of the reviewer's own earlier book on the pharaohs and is a very welcome pair to it - too often the royal ladies of ancient Egypt are sidelined to the greater glory of their husbands, the pharaohs, but here Dr Tyldesley brings them into the light, where their standing and often remarkable achievements are emphasised. Although Joyce Tyldesley has previously written acclaimed biographies of Hatshepsut and Nefertiti, this is the first book to present all the ladies. Also highlighted are a num-

Peter Clayton is an Egyptologist and author of Chronicles of the Pharaohs (Thames & Hudson).
cally examined remains, and writings of classical authors who looked to Egypt as the paramount source of wisdom in such matters. The practical use of both herbs and flowers, as well as their decorative application and importance in rituals such as funeral and festive occasions, are all examined in detail. A section devoted to perfume has a modern tang to it, as scientists attempt to create the ancient perfumes for a receptive market.

Man’s ‘best friend’, the dog, was probably domesticated some 12,000 years ago, but think animals in ancient Egypt, and cats immediately spring to mind. They have always been associated with Egypt as sacred animals, and have had a very good press and numerous books published about them. The dog in ancient Egypt, and there were a number of different varieties, have suffered by comparison, but now they, and particularly the Pharaoh Hound, have found their champion in Michael Rice in *Swifter Than The Arrow* (J.B. Taurus). He is an obvious dog enthusiast (but one should also note his several other books on ancient Egypt), and here he explores two integrated themes: the first being the place of the elegant golden hunting hounds of ancient Egypt and their owners’ attachment to them, and the second considers whether the so-called ‘Pharaoh Hound’ can be (as some insist) the lineal descents of their ancient counterparts. One of the finest representations of them is on the inlaid steatite disc, possibly a gaming piece, from the First Dynasty tomb, c. 3000 BC, of Hemaka at Saqqara, here most effectively on the book’s jacket.

The Pharaoh Hounds were elegant, easily recognised dogs with prick-ears, slender in build and with a golden colour. They were called *hema* and are often distinctively seen in predynastic rock art and later tomb and sculpture where they are often identified by their individual names; some even had the honour, as royal companions, of suitable royal burials. Many of the most notable representations of the hounds occur in the tomb reliefs in Old Kingdom mastaba tombs where they can be seen in action bringing down their prey, or at rest being led on leads, often, curiously, by dwarfs.

Whilst Rice is obviously focussed in the book on the Pharaoh Hound and its history in Egypt, he also includes very interesting discussion and accounts of the various hounds of the Mediterranean islands, notably Malta, and their ancestry as well as excellent photos of the modern breeds. This is a most interesting and readable book not only for Egyptologists in filling a gap in the literature, but also for any dog lover with an interest in their history.

Collecting must be as old as humanity, when perhaps a shiny pebble was first picked up out of curiosity. Essentially, whatever we collect appeals to us and enters our psyche. Ancient Egyptian objects have been collected since Roman times - on a large scale the obelisks taken to be re-erected in the circuses of Rome, or on a smaller scale, such as the fragment of a *shabti* of the 18th Dynasty pharaoh Amenophis III found in Roman Republican levels at the site of Alba Fucens outside Rome. Many private collections have been made with great discernment, many of them ending up in museums, or being the focal point of loan exhibitions to museums. It is the latter that so often helps fuel the world of scholarship, and *Objects of Egyptian Antiquities from the W. Arnold Meijer Collection* (Philipp von Zabern) shown at the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam is a case in point. Comprising over 200 objects, the catalogue is exemplary of what the combination of a dedicated curator and a collection of well-catalogued Egyptologists can produce. It is edited by Carol Andrews (formerly of the British Museum) and Jacobus van Dijk, who have brought together a team of ten leading Egyptologists to produce a detailed and imaginative text on the objects, which are splendidly illustrated. Individual short essays precede a number of the thematically grouped objects, which are clear and explicit. There are some remarkable pieces included in this incomparable collection, such as the limestone head of the Princess Nebetah, daughter of Amenophis III and Queen Tye, and a unique survival inscribed with her name (cat. 2.38); the granodiorite head of Amun, probably an early representation of Seti I but in late 18th Dynasty style (cat. 2.39, and the cover illustration); a miniature copper alloy sarcophagus with a seated lion-headed goddess Sekhmet, unique in the genre
over the course of 2000 years. Pharaohs came and went, most tried to leave their mark on it, and that historical story is told here for the first time in English. The continuity and right down to its final closure in AD 380 by an edict of the emperor Theodosius, followed by the final fall of various Christian churches and sanctuaries in the Islamic invasion of AD 642. This rich story is told in exemplary fashion, ably backed by maps, plans, and appropriate illustrations of a most tangled site - like a gigantic jigsaw puzzle with many pieces missing, destroyed over the centuries, but still with new finds being made in excavations leading to new interpretations. It can well be said that the whole history of Egypt is written largely on the walls of Karnak.

An overall view of ancient Egyptian art is provided in Nigel Strudwick's Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt (British Museum Press), a lavish and beautifully illustrated selection of over 200 objects from the collection, which also includes items from the Sudan, and must rate amongst the world's finest outside of Cairo. All are arranged chronologically from predynastic times through the 3000 or so years to the Coptic Christian period. Obviously major items such as the Rosetta Stone are included, but also a wealth of lesser-known but equally significant or beautiful pieces, each illustrated in full-page colour. One of the many features, so often overlooked, is the citation of provenance and history of the pieces from an exceptional collection.

Other masterpieces from the British Museum are featured in Temples and Tombs: Treasures of Egyptian art from the British Museum (University of Washington Press) by Edna R. Russmann, the guest curator of the exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum, New York, along with essays by the Consulting Curator, Dr Nigel Strudwick and T.G.H. James, formerly Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum. The catalogue accompanies a major travelling exhibition organised by the American Federation of Arts and the British Museum, and is scheduled for display in five further major American cities until June 2008. It would have been preferable if the succinct captions were in a larger type size and also if more information were provided about the pieces, since most are keyed into the textual body, but only in passing references. The production is extremely lavish, but suffers from the design penchant of presenting everything as cut outs - destroying the modelling and further appreciation of the objects, and simply presenting a series of bland, blank page backgrounds. The exhibition will obviously be a splendid success and is further evidence of the dedicated outreach programme in lending objects that the Department of Egypt and Sudan is following at the British Museum.

The Books


UNITED KINGDOM
CAMBRIDGE, Cambridgeshire
NEW LIGHT ON ANCIENT EGYPT. After 18 months of refurbishment, the Fitzwilliam Museum's Egyptian galleries have re-opened with stunning new displays of over 1100 objects, and for the first time, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM (44 (0)223 332 900 (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk). (See Minerva, September/ October 2006, pp. 10-13.)

GLASGOW, Scotland
ANCIENT EGYPT GALLERY. With the reopening of the museum in July, after extensive conservation and display, the museum's collection of Egyptian antiquities, many acquired by subscribing to excavations in the 1890s, is joined by selected objects on loan from the British Museum. KELVINGROVE MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY (44 (0)41 276 9599 (www.glasgowmuseums.com). Until 1 September.

LEEDS
TOWARDS A NEW LAOCOON. The exhibition is dedicated to the famous Roman sculpture of the Trojan priest Laocoon, featuring several works by the British sculptors Eduardo Paolozzi, Tony Cragg, and Richard Deacon to illustrate how the sinuous antique marble continues to tell itself, serpent-like, around artists' imaginations. HENRY MOORE INSTITUTE (44 (0)113 246 7467 (www.henry-moore-fdn.co.uk). Until 12 August. Catalogue. (See Minerva, this issue, pp. 17-18.)

LONDON
THE FIRST EMPEROR: CHINA'S TERRACOTTA ARMY. The exhibition will feature 120 objects from the tomb complex of Qin Shi Huangdi, the First Emperor, including around a dozen complete terracotta warrior figures of different ranks. Also displayed are many significant examples of more recent finds rarely seen outside China, including terracotta figures of acrobats, bureaucrats, musicians, and bronze birds, objects designed to be administered by the emperor or entertain him in his afterlife. THE BRITISH MUSEUM (44 (0)20 7323 8522 (www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk). Until 6 April 2008.

THE MISSING LINK? The history of London is being rewritten by archaeological treasures going on public display at Museum of London. The extraordinary finds from an archaeological dig at the church of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, are forcing archaeologists to re-examine the maps of Roman and Saxon London. They include a stone sarcophagus containing the skeleton of a Roman man and exquisite Saxon grave goods. The display offers visitors a glimpse of a previously hidden period in London's story. MUSEUM OF LONDON (44 (0)207 814 3607 (www.museumoflondon.org.uk). Until 8 August.

UNITED STATES
ATLANTA, Georgia
CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY: JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN TREASURES FROM THE HOLY LAND. An exhibition of antiquities from the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, including a fragment of the Temple Scroll from the Dead Sea Scrolls, the burial ossuary of Cama of the Tannaitic Period, and the restoration of the bema (prebysterium) of a church. MICHAEL C. CARLOS MUSEUM (1 (404) 727-4282 (www.carlos.emory.edu). Until 14 October.

Baltimore, Maryland
ART OF THE AMERICAS. An exhibition featuring objects loaned to the museum by the directors of the Austen-Stokes Ancients America Foundation. More than 120 objects from the museum's collection are on display. MARYLAND ART MUSEUM (410 547-9000 (www.thelottery.org). Until 30 September 2012.

DAILY MAGIC IN ANCIENT EGYPT. A small exhibition of 168 garments, ritual objects, and amulets associated with the healing art of magic. WALTERS ART MUSEUM (1 (410) 547-9000 (www.thewalters.org). Until 30 September 2012.

BOSTON, Massachusetts
ANTIOCH MOSAIC CONSERVATION. Visitors can view the cleaning and recon- struction of the important large mosaic recently acquired, featuring an Eros on a dolphin surrounded by marine creatures, that once paved the courtyard of a 3rd century Roman villa in Antioch, Syria. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS (1 (617) 267-9300 (www.mfa.org). Ongoing exhibition. (See Minerva, Nov/Dec 2005, pp. 35-36.)

BROOKLYN, New York

CHICAGO, Illinois
PERPETUAL GLORY: MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC CERAMICS FROM THE HARVEY B. PLOTZ COLLECTION. About 150 pieces of glazed pottery made between the 9th and 15th centuries in Iran, Iraq, and western Central Asia, from a major private American collection. ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO (1 (312) 575-8000 (www.artic.edu). Until 12 August.

MUSEOPOLIS GALLERY OPENS. The largest collection of Mesopotamian art in the United States has been reinstalled within a new climatized wing. The 2500 pieces (not all of which are on display) include a monumental human-headed bull from Khorsabad, the mate of that in the Baghdad Museum, and a superb fine sculptures of the 3rd millennium BC. ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM (1 (773) 702-9520 (www.oci-chicago.edu).

COOPERSTOWN, New York

CORNING, New York
CURIOUSITIES OF GLASSMAKING. Unusual vessels, odd amulets, and other interesting glass objects from ancient to recent times. CORNING MUSEUM OF GLASS (1 (607) 973-5377 (www.cmog.org). Until 21 October.

DALLAS, Texas
IN STABIANO: EXPLORING THE ANCIENT SEASIDE VILLAGES OF THE ROMAN ELITE. 74 works of art and artifacts from five Roman villas at Stabiae, Italy, including 23 frescoes, stuccoes, marble sculptures, and a complete installation of a three-dough fireplace. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS (1 (214) 922-1200 (www.dm-art.org). Until 7 October.

GREENWICH, Connecticut

HOUSTON, Texas
IMPERIAL ROME. A little-publicised exhibition with over 400 antiquities, including statues of the emperors, marble altars, terracottas, jewellery, and coins revealing the brilliance of Roman art and culture. HOUSTON MUSEUM OF NATURAL SCIENCE. (1 (713) 639-4629 (www.hmns.org). Until 29 July.

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana

LANCASTER, California
NEW DISPLAY OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES. A Middle Kingdom sarcophagus, masks, and bronze and wooden statuettes are among the antiquities. CITY OF LANCASTER ART GALLERY (1 (661) 723-6350.

LOS ANGELES, California
CLASSICAL CONNECTIONS: THE ENDURING INFLUENCE OF GREEK AND ROMAN ART. The relationship of ancient art with later work, showing some of the themes, motifs, and techniques borrowed by later artists and the approach to the human figure and to the ideal of the classical ideal. GETTY CENTER, North Pavilion (1 (310) 440-7300 (www.getty.edu). A new permanent exhibition.

MALIBU, California
GREEKS ON THE BLACK SEA: ANCIENT ART FROM THE HERITAGE. About 175 antiques from the ancient Greek city-states in the northern Black Sea region, demonstrating the opulence and high aesthetic quality of these unique works, which link Greek artistic traditions with those of the cultures of the Eurasian steppes. THE GETTY VILLA (1 (310) 440-7300 (www.getty.edu/museum). Until 3 September.
NEW YORK, New York
GIMPLES OF THE SILK ROAD: CENTRAL ASIA IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM AD. A new installation featuring 37 sculptures, paintings, ivory rhinoceros, metalwork, jewelry, ivories, and other objects from the regions of Bactria and Gandhara, areas in central Asia are examined in an exhibition with an array of different influences. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org). Catalogue.

NEW GALLERIES FOR ISLAMIC ART. The renovation of the Islamic Art galleries in new larger gallery will accommodate its collection of over 12,000 objects from the Islamic world to China. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org).

NEW PERMANENT GALLERIES FOR HELLENISTIC, ETRUSCAN, AND ROMAN ART. A completely refurbished Roman Court is now the focal point of the reinstallation. The curatorial from the Villa at Boscoreale and the Black Bedroom from Boscoreale have been newly reconstructed. A large display of state material will be a permanent feature on the mezzanine floor. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org). See Minerva, this issue, 10-14.

REINSTALLATION OF THE EARLY EGYPTIAN, EGYPTIAN AND ROMAN ART GALLERIES. A larger space is now devoted to the museum's extensive collections of PreDynastic and Early Dynastic art and the art of Roman Egypt. The architecture of the Old Kingdom tombs of Perneb and Reisne have been reconfigured. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org).

REOPENING OF THE CHARLOTTE C. WEBER GALLERIES FOR THE ARTS OF ANCIENT CHINA. An expanded presenta- tion in the extensivel renovated galleries, including new publications, focuses on the most notable collection of ceramic art from Eugene V. Thaw. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org).

GOLD: A striking exhibition of gold objects from ancient civilizations up to recent times, from museums and private collections worldwide. AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY (1) 212 769-5100 (www.amnh.org). Until 19 August.

COLLECTOR'S CHOICE. About 60 important Asian sculptures, ceramics, textiles, and paintings selected from the Asian Society's Rockefeller collection grouped with objects from New York area collections presenting their collecting perspective. ASIAN SOCIETY AND MUSEUM (1) 212 288-6400 (www.asiasociety.org). Until 26 August.

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania
AMARNA: SUNK ENIGMA'S PLACE IN THE SUN. More than 100 ancient artefacts, some never before on display, including statues of gods, goddesses, and other objects that were engaged in jewelry as well as personal items from the royal family, and artists' materials from the royal workshops of Amarna. Museum of the Amarna artefacts date to the time of Tutankhamun and the Amarna Period. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (1) 215 898-4000 (www.museum.upenn.edu). Until October.

WORLDS INTERTWINED: ETRUSCANS, GREEKS & ROMANS. A major reinstallation and renovation of the university's Classical galleries. Over 1000 works are now displayed. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (1) 215 898-4001 (www.museum.upenn.edu).

TUTANKHAMUN AND THE GOLDEN FABULOUS TREASURES FROM THE TOMBS OF ANKHENMEN AND 20 OTHER TOMB WORLDS. The most dazzling piece of Tutankhamun's treasuries is a solid gold coffin, which is on display for the first time. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org).

WASHINGTON DC
WASHINGTON DC AND BLACK AND WHITE CHINESE CERAMICS FROM THE 10TH-14TH CENTURIES. This well-visited museum features porcelain works from the Song Dynasty and Yuan Dynasty, including 1200 objects by 1200 artists from the Sino-American Ceramic Society, an annual exhibition at the BYELD (1) 202 357-4880 (www.si.edu/asia). Untilled Exhibit.

SCULPTURE IN SOUTH AND SOUTH EAST ASIA. An outstanding selection of 30th century Cambodian stone sculptures is the first of a series of exhibitions. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (1) 212 879-5500 (www.metmuseum.org).

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL METALWORK FROM DUMBARTON OAKS. 36 major works of art, including secular and liturgical vessels and the South American bronze rearing horse from the Byzantine collection at Dumbarton Oaks. (While that collection is closed for renovation). AMERICAN SACKLER GALLERY (1) 202 357-2700 (www.asia.si.edu). Untilled Exhibit.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Massachusetts
ANCIENT GREECE FROM THE PALACE OF ASHURNASRIPA II. The two magnificent Assyrian relics in the museum collection can now be compared with computer-generated depositions as they appear in their original 9th century BC context. WILLIAM'S COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART (1) 413 597-2429 (www.williams.edu/wcmca). Untilled Exhibit.

AUSTRALIA
MELBOURNE
DISCOVERING EGYPY. Egyptian antiquities from the collections of the University and Queen's Museums. JANET POTTER MUSEUM OF ART, UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE (1) 3 8344 6502 (www.art.museum.unimelb.edu.au). Until 26 August.

SALZBURG
NEW PERMANENT EXHIBITION OF THE PREHISTORIC DEPARTMENT. SALZBURG ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM CARO INO AUGUSTIUM (1) 662 620 808-100 (www.tmca.at). Until 30 November.

VIENNA
BETWEEN MAGIC AND SCIENCE. PHISICANS AND MEDICINE IN PAPYRI FROM EGYPT. An exhibition into the knowledge of physicians about healing and the function of organs and other body parts from Greek and Arabic texts from the 4th century BC to the 7th century AD. PAPYRUS SAMMLUNG UND PAPYRUS- MUSEUM, OESTERREICHISCHE NATIONAL-BIBLIOTHEK (1) 3 534 10 425 (www.onb.ac.at). Until 30 November.


MEDITERRANEAN MUSEUMS FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW. An extensive exhibition of masterworks being held in the Orangerie of one of the most beautiful museums in the world. OESTERREICHISCHE GALERIE BELVEDERE (1) 7953 7134 (www.belvedere.at). 5 July - 23 September.

TRANSLUCENT WORLD: CHINESE JADE FROM THE FORBIDDEN CITY. Over 180 works from the Neolithic Period to the Qing Dynasty, a rich collection of Chinese art, is the central theme of the exhibition. CHINESE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, NATIONAL PALACE (1) 7953 7134 (www.belvedere.at). 5 July - 23 September.


LEOBEN, Steiermark
JADE AND GOLD: SENSATIONAL FINDS FROM CHINESE PRINCELY GUTS. KUNSTHALLE LEOBEN (1) 3842 406 2048 (www.leoben.at). Until 1 November.

SALZBURG
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Calendar

REOPENING OF THE COLLECTION OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. One of the greatest treasure houses of ancient art, originating with the 15th and 16th century collections of the Habsburg rulers, reopened in September 2005.

BAHRAIN
MANMAH
TRAVELING EXHIBITION OF ANCIENT EGYPT: 122 antiquities from the traveling exhibition 'King Tut and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs', including objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun. BAHRAIN NATIONAL MUSEUM (973) 172 98777 (www.bnmuseum.com). Until 31 July.

BELGIUM
MORLANWELZ-MARIEMONT, Hainaut
BLACK PHAROAHS: ON THE 40-DAYS ROAD. An exploration of the ancient Nubian kingdom, the caravans through the Nile Valley, and the archaeological discoveries of the last 150 years since the 19th century. MUSEÉ ROYAL DE MARIEMONT (32) 64 21 21 93 (www.musee-mariemont.be). Until 31 August.

CANADA
TORONTO, Ontario
ANCIENT PERU UNBURIED: GOLDEN TREASURES FROM A LOST CIVILISATION. 120 gold headresses, crowns, jewellery, and ceramic pottery, from the pre-Incan Sicán burial off the northern coast of Peru. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (1) 416 586-5549 (www.rom.on.ca). Until 6 August. (See Minerva, March/April, pp. 23-25.

TWO NEW GALLERIES OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. The new Gallery of the Bronze Age explores the art and cultures of Cycladic, Minoan, Mycenaean, and Geometric periods of Greece with some 200 objects dating from c. 3000 to 700 BC. The A.G. Leventis Foundation Gallery of Ancient Cyprus showcases about 300 selected antiquities, focusing on the art created from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM (1) 416 586-8000 (www.rom.on.ca).

YARMOUTH, Nova Scotia
TREASURES OF ANCIENT EGYPT. Another loan exhibition from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, of over 200 Egyptian antiquities, including statues, reliefs, coffins, furniture, jewellery, tools and weapons. ART GALLERY OF NOVA SCOTIA, WESTERN BRANCH IN YARMOUTH (1) 902 749-2248 (www.agrs.gov.ns.ca). Until 19 August.

CHINA
BEIJING

CROATIA
ZAGREB
NEW EGYPTIAN COLLECTION EXHIBITION OPENED. Some 600 antiquities from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman period, including the renowned 'Zagreb mummy' with its wrappings: the Etruscan 'linen book', one of the world's longest known Etruscan texts. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (385) 1487 3101 (www.amz.hr).

DENMARK
COPENHAGEN

THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN. An exhibition of ancient treasures from the museum's collection, celebrating completion of the three-year renovation and the 100th anniversary of the museum. NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK (45) 33 41 81 41 (www.glyptoteket.dk). Until 31 December.

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

FRANCE
AOSTE, Isère
AT THE FOOT OF MOUNT ARAVAT. SPLENDOURS OF ANCIENT ARMENIA. Over 150 objects from the Erevan Museum in Armenia, including many national treasures, from the 2nd millennium BC to the Early Christian period, with statues, weapons, and decorative objects from Urartu dating from the 10th to 6th century BC. MUSEE DE L'ARLES ET DE LA PROVENCE ANTIQUES (33) 490 18 88 (www.arles-antique.org). Until 29 July.

ARLES, Bouches-du-Rhône
ARCHAEOPEOPLE. An up-dated version of the exhibition held in 1994 of ancient and archaeological themes used in publishing, advertising, and promotion from the 1930s to the present. MUSEE ARCHEOLOGIQUE (33) 388 52 50 00 (www.musee-archeologique.fr). Catalogue.

VIENNE, Rhône

GERMANY
AUGSBURG, Bayern
THE BARBARIAN TREASURE: STOLEN AND Return to the Rhine. Over 1000 objects were recovered from a ship which sank at Neuputz in the 3rd century AD including weapons, boat and wagon parts, religious items, and coins, from the ROMAN MUSEUM AUGSBURG (49) 821 324 4134 (www.barbarenschutz). Until 8 August (then to Bonn in February 2008). Catalogue. (See Minerva, September/ October 2006, pp. 16-21.)

BAD HOMBURG, Hessen
DOLLS AND TOYS IN GRECIA AND ROME. KOENGENMUSEUM (6175) 93740 (www.saalburgmuseum.de). Until 19 August.

BERLIN


JAZIRA: A RADIANT CULTURAL LANDSCAPE BETWEEN THE EUPHRATES AND THE TIGRIS. From the museum and from the David Collection, Copenhagen and elsewhere, illustrating the fine culture of the minor princes of the area during the 2nd millennium BC, including Zangis, Artajids, and Ayyubids. MUSEUM FUER ISLAMISCHE KUNST, PERGAMONMUSEUM (30) 20 20 5201 (www.smb.sp-berlin.de) (then to Berlin/Amalienberge). Until 2 September.

BONN, Nordrhein-Westfalen
CLEOPATRA'S EGYPT: GREEKS AND ROMANS ON THE NILE. An exhibition spanning the time of the Ptolemeian Dynasty and then the reign of the Roman Emperors, with gilded mummy masks, deities in bronze, terracotta, and faience, animal mummies and mosaic glass. AEGYPTISCHES MUSEUM DER UNIVERSITAT BONN (49) 228 73 790 (www.aegyptisches-museum.uni-bonn.de). Until 3 February 2008.

EGYPT'S SUNKEN TREASURES. The astonishing world of ancient Egypt and its sea trade, and its team of underwater divers and archaeologists. These comprise more than 400 objects from East Canopus, Hieraklion, and Alexandria, including three colossal (5m-high) pink granite statues. KUNST- UND AUSSTELLUNGSHALLE DER BUNDESGEMEINSCHAFT, DEUTSCHLAND (49) 228 917 10 (www.bundeskan- shalle.de). Until 27 January 2008. (See Minerva, July/August, pp. 9-12.)

WAR AND PEACE: CELTS - ROMANS - GERMANIC TRIBES. Julius Caesar conquered all of Gaul - a vast area from the Rhine to the Pyrenees in the south - in just seven years; this exhibition about the Celtic and Germanic tribes of that period is staged in cooperation with the Musee de l'Armee. Exhibition being held in Bonn: RHEINISCHES LANDESMUSEUM BONN (49) 228 20700 (www.rlb.de). Until 6 January 2008.

DRESDEN, Sachsen
STONE TIME - LIFE AS IT WAS 5000 YEARS AGO. A group of volunteers lived for a time under ancient, primitive conditions and were monitored by scientists and researchers, producing interesting results. LANDESMUSEUM FUER VOR- UND FUER EURISCHES KULTURPARK DRESDEN, JAPANISCHE PALAIS (49) 351 89 26 03 (www.arhsachsen.de/lmv). Until 8 January 2008.

FRANKFURT
THE PYRAMIDS: HOUSES FOR ETERNITY. An exhibition in these beautiful botanical gardens about the building of the 16 important Egyptian pyramids and an investigation of the myths surrounding the pyramids prepared by the University of Potsdam. PALMENGARTEN (49) 69 2123 3888 (www.palmenpark-frank-furt.de). Until 30 September.

GERMERSHEIM-REINHEIM, Saarland
FROM POMPEII TO BLIESBRUCK: LIFE IN ROMAN EUROPE. An interactive tour with over 600 exhibits showing the magnificent finds of Pompeii with the local Gallo- Roman finds. EUROPISCHER KULTURPARK BLIESBRUCK-REINHEIM (49) 6843

Minerva, July/August 2007 69
Calendar

90 02 11 (www.kulturpark-online.de).
Until 30 September.

HAMBURG
A TOUCH OF ETERNITY: THE CULTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT.
A new ongoing presentation of the 800 Egyptian antiquities from the Museum VÖLKERKUNDEMUSEUM (49) 18 0530 8888
(www.voelkerkundemuseum.com).

HECHINGER-STEIN,
Baden-Württemberg
CHILDHOOD IN ROMAN TIMES.
Schooling, clothing, and games of children. ROEMISCH-GERMANISCHES MUSEUM (49) 7071 64 00, Until 9 November.

HILDESHEIM, Niedersachsen IMPERIAL MASTERWORKS OF EGYPTIAN ART AS GUESTS IN HILDESHEIM.

ICHENHAUSEN, Bayern ANCIENT EGYPT TO TAKE HOLD OF: 40 CONTACT POINTS FOR THE BLIND.
A special exhibition for the visually impaired, and people in wheelchairs, including 49 original Egyptian antiquities, copes, and models. UNTERES SCHLOSS (49) 8223 6189 (www.ichenhause.de/kultur/kultur_museum). Until 9 September.

KARLSRUHE, Baden-Württemberg BEAUTY IN ANCIENT EGYPT: WAYS TO PERFECTION.

ROMANS IN THE UPPER RHINE.
A newly opened section devoted to the conquest of the Rhine by the Romans and the founding of the province Germania Superior c. AD 83. BADISCHES LANDESMUSEUM KARLSRUHE SCHLOSS (49) 721 926 6514 (www.landesmuseum.de). Ongoing exhibition.

KÖLN (Cologne)
EYE TO EYE: IMPERIAL PORTRAITS FROM A NORTH GERMAN PRIVATE COLLECTION.
14 ancient marble heads and busts including Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Antonius Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. ROEMISCH-GERMANISCHES MUSEUM (49) 221 221 24438 (www.museenkoeln.de). Until 15 July.

COSMOS OF THE SIGNS: TYPETAXES AND PICTORIAL SYMBOLS IN ANCIENT GREECE.
TRIER.

TRAIJN'S MARKET IN ROME: FROM ANCIENT MONUMENT TO MUSEUM OF THE IMPERIAL FORUM. ROEMISCH-GERMANISCHES MUSEUM (49) 221 221 24438 (www.museenkoeln.de).
Until 30 September.

GREECE
ATHENS
CYPRUS - 1000 FRAGMENTS OF HISTOLOGY.
THANOS N. ZINTRIS COLLECTION OF CYPRIAN ANTIQUITIES.
On long-term loan (25 years) to the Museum of Cycladic Art, this major private collection will be the largest displayed in any Greek museum. It contains more than 1500 Cypriot antiquities ranging from the Chalcolithic to Byzantine periods. MUSEUM OF CYCLADIC ART (30) 210 72 28 3213 (www.cycladic-m.gr). Catalogue.

NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM REOPENS GROUND FLOOR.
The rooms of prehistoric art and ancient sculpture on the ground floor have been reopened following repairs made due to the 1999 earthquake, but the upper floor (vases, bronzes, and so on) remains closed. NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (30) 210 821 7724 (www.culture.gr).

HONG KONG
METAL, WOOD, WATER, FIRE AND EARTH: GEMS OF ANTIQUITIES COLLECTIONS IN HONG KONG.

HUNGARY
BUDAPEST

IRELAND
DUBLIN
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND: ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS. The collections are now displayed in individual galleries, featuring the Treasury, containing Celtic and medieval art, Prehistoric Ireland, and Viking Age Ireland. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND (353) 1 677-7444 (www.museum.ie).

ISRAEL
OMALO II: A 23,000 YEAR OLD FISH-HUNTER-GATHERERS' CAMP ON THE SHORE OF THE SEA OF GALILEE.
The exhibition is devoted to finds recovered from a prehistoric site on the shore of the Sea of Galilee between 1989 and 1991 by Dr. Didi Nadel, the University of Haifa. JACOB MUSEUM (972) 4825 7773 (www.research.haifa.ac.il/renit). Until December 2007.

JERUSALEM
BIBLICAL TREASURES.
Permanent display of artefacts related to the cultures of peoples mentioned in the Bible, including Egypt, the Fertile Crescent to Afghanistan, and from Nubia north to the Caucasian mountains. BIBLE LANDS MUSEUM (972) 2561-1066 (www.blmj.org).

THREE FACES OF MONOTHEISM.
The similarities and contrasts of the shared symbols of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam represented in antiquities, as an EXHIBITION FOCUS
THE FIRST EMPEROR: CHINA'S TERRACOTTA ARMY
The British Museum
13 September - 6 April 2008

A general. Terracotta, Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC). H 195cm. © Museum of the Terracotta Army, Xi'an, China.

The exhibition will feature the largest group of important objects relating to Qin Shi Huangdi, the First Emperor, ever to be loaned abroad by the Museum of the Terracotta Army and the Cultural Relics Bureau of Shaanxi Province in Xi’an, China.

The majority of the 120 objects come from the tomb complex - a site which is unparalleled in terms of its extent and magnificence. Arguably the most famous archaeological site in the world, it was a chance discovery by villagers in 1974, and has been investigated in an ongoing programme of excavations ever since.

The exhibition will feature around a dozen complete terracotta warrior figures of different ranks. These are an extraordinary feat of mass-production, especially since each figure was given an individual personality, although they were not intended to be portraits.

Displayed alongside these iconic figures are many significant examples of more recent finds rarely seen outside China, including terracotta figures of acrobats, bureaucrats, musicians, and bronze birds, objects designed to be administered by the emperor or entertain him in his afterlife. As such, they are of crucial importance to our understanding of his attempts to control the world even in death.

For Further Information: Tel: (44) (0)20 7323 8522 www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk

Minerva, July/August 2007
MILAN

WOMEN IN ANTIQUITY: DAUGHTERS AND MOTHERS, WIVES AND CONCUBINES. An interesting exhibition and a good occasion to visit a museum with a rich and diverse collection of antiquities. Especially notable is the section devoted to the art of Gandhara. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO

(39) 02 8645 1456 (www.comune.milano.it). Until 28 November.

MONTALTO

UPO

THE MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO is now open. It shows a wide range of excavated objects and incorporates the former collections of the Museo delle Ceramica (39) 0971 541 547 (www.museomontaltoeu.it).

NAPLES

AMBER IN ANTIQUITY. More than 1000 objects ranging from the Bronze Age to the Medieval period illustrate the importance of this rare material over the centuries. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE (39) 081 544 1494 (www.archeoaart.beniculturali.it). Until 30 September.

PERUGIA

MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. New exhibition spaces have been added to the museum. Now on view is the Giuseppe Bellucci collection of amulets, musical instruments, and the Etruscan tomb of the Cai Cutil family and its funerary goods (39) 075 575 9682 (www.archeopo.it).

PIA

ROMAN SHIPS. The archaeological site where Roman ships discovered almost intact in 1989 and the Canlire delle Navi Antiche di Piha, where these are being restored, can now be visited by appointment on Fridays, Saturday mornings, and Mondays. CENTRO DEL RESTAURO DEL LEGNO BAGNATO (39) 055 321 5446 (www.navipia.it).

PONTECAGNO

NEW ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM opened, documenting the etruscan expansion in Southern Italy (39) 089 848 161 (www.bresciantal.it). Ongoing.

RIETI

THE MUSEI SABINI has recently reopened with an excellent selection of archaeological finds pertaining to the culture of the pre-Roman Sabine tribes in the region. MUSEO CIVICO DI Rieti (39) 0746 488 530 (www.musei.rieti.it). Ongoing.

ROME

THE PERFUMES OF APIRODITE AND THE SECRET OF OIL: ARCHEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES ON CYPRUS. Excavations since 1998 in Fypsos have uncovered a large industrial site dating back to the 2nd millennium BC which specialised in olive oil production; 14 different scents were identified using modern perfume factory in the Mediterranean. CAPITOLINE MUSEUM (39) 06 82 05 91 27 (www.museicapitolino.it). Until 16 September.

MAGICAL TRANSPARENCY: GLASS FROM ANCIENT ALBINGAUM. One hundred Roman glass objects found at Albengaum, modern-day Aleria, in Liguria. MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO IN PALAZZO ALTEMP (39) 06 3996 7700 (www.archeomart.beniculturali.it). Until 9 September.

SANT'ANTIOCA, Sardinia

A NEW ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. Includes an adjoining archaeological park with Phoenician-Punic excavations. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO PROVINCIALE SANTA BARRECA (39) 781 800 596 (www.comune.santantioca.ca.it/museo/museo). Opened January 2006.

SIENA

THE BONCI CASUCCIONI COLLECTION OF ETRUSCAN ANTIQUITIES. One of the most important: 19th century collections of Etruscan antiquities is now on view at Chiusi and in Siena. SANTA MARIA DELLA SCALA (39) 0577 224 811 (www.santamariadellasca.com). Until 4 November.

TRENTO


TURIN

AFGHANISTAN: TREASURES SAVED. On display are several pieces from Afghanistan believed to have been lost, MUSEO DI ANTICHTA (39) 011 800 329 329 (www.museoantichita.it). Until 23 September.

THE TURIN CITY MUSEUM OF ANCIENT ART REOPENED. Situated in the magnificent 18th century Palazzo Madama, one of architect Filippo Juvara's masterpieces (1718-1721), the collections on view range from the medieval to the Baroque. The display spaces with the medieval lage-

idary, which presents objects from the 8th to the 13th century AD, including sculptures, jewellery, a large black-and-white mosaic of the cathedral of Acqu, and the treasure of Desana, Longobard and Ostrogoth metalwork, PALAZZO MADAMA (39) 011 443 3501 (www.palazzomadamatorino.it).

REFLECTIONS IN STONE. A new presentation of the magnificent collection of ancient Egyptian statuary in the museum under the direction of the architect Dante Ferretti. MUSEO DELLA ANTICHTA EGIZIE (39) 011 561 7776 (www.museoegizio.it). Until 31 December.

VERONA

ANCIENT BRONZE VASES FROM THE 5TH TO 1ST CENTURY BC. MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO PROVINCIALE SANTA BARRECA (39) 045 820 8360 (www.comune.venezia.provincia.it/castecvecchio). Until 30 September.

JAPAN

SHIGARAKI

THE ARCHAC艾滋病: 120 sculptures from Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Asia, illustrating the artistic trail of the so-called "lost gold" on both sides of the ancient world. MIHO MUSEUM (81) 748 82 3411 (www.miho.or.jp). 14 July - 19 August.

KOREA

OPENING OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF KOREA. The new state-of-the-art complex has now opened, celebrating the 60th anniversary of the museum's founding. 2 2077 9000 (www.museum.gov.kr).

NEW ZEALAND

AUCKLAND


PORTUGAL

LISBON


RUSSIA

ST PETERSBURG

MEROVINGIANS: EUROPE WITHOUT BORDERS. The rich legacy of the Frankish kings who ruled much of Europe from the 5th to 8th centuries, including magnifi- cent gold scabbards, gold goblets, cloisonné buckles, and brooches. An impor- tant exhibition, including some of the 700+ objects and works of art taken by the Russians from Germany at the end of the Second World War, last seen in Berlin in 1939. Russia's State Duma passed a law in 1999 to impound these objects seized by the Germans, but Russia still hopes for their return. HERITAGE MUSEUM (7) 812 710 9079 (www.heritagemuseum. org). Until 16 September. (See Minerva, this issue, pp. 19-21.)


TREASURES OF THE SARMATIANS, Gold objects from the Khazar and Golden Hoards lent by the Azov Art Historical Museum in southern Russia. STATE HERI-


SPAIN

BARCELONA

INDIAN TEMPLES: THE ART OF DEVIATION. A major exhibition surveying Indian religious sculpture from the 2nd century BC to the 17th century
RIDGISBERG, Bern
DRAGONS OF SILK, FLOWERS OF GOLD: TEXTILE TREASURES OF THE CHINESE LIAO DYNASTY (907-1125). Clothing, embroi
dered flower bouquets, headdress,
es, and other medieval textiles that
even in their graves. AEGESEIGUNG (41) 31 808
1201 (www.aegge-stiftung.ch). Until 11
November.

ZURICH
ANGKOR: CAMBODIA'S DIVINE HERITAGE. A major exhibition of about 200
donors, bronze, and wood sculptures, and
sculpture, recently excavated, demonstrate
their collection of important works of
art. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco
CATALOGUE. Until 13 April (final view).
(See Minerva, March/April, pp. 20-22.)

TAIWAN
TAIPEI
NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM REOPENS
Following four years of renovations, the
museum, housing one of the world's
greatest collection of Chinese art, has
reopened with many treasures on show
for the first time, including Northern and
Southern Song dynasty ceramics. English
captions have been added to the wall
labels, and entries are 'Charitable in the
Shang Dynasty: Arfets from the Horse-and-Chariot Plots at
Hsi-luo-Cun' and 'Compassion and
Wisdom: Religious Sculptural Arts.'
NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM (886) 2

THAILAND
BANGKOK
NEW CERAMIC MUSEUM. Opened in
March 2005, the museum holds over
10,000 objects, including Khmer ceramics
from Thai kins and a major collection of
ceramics from the 14th to 16th century
Tak:

THE NETHERLANDS
AMSTERDAM
PERSIA. An exhibition of Iranian art from
the collections of the Hermitage including
a Pahlevi relief, Sasanian gold, and
Islamic pottery. HERMITAGE AMSTERDAM
(31) 20 530 8755 (www.hermi
tagie.nl). Until 13 September. (See
Minerva, March/April, p. 61.)

LEIDEN
AUSTER AND THE ROMANS. An exhibi
tion of interactive games, exciting
reconstructions and authentic objects.
The Asterix and Obelix comic strips are
the common theme running throughout
the exhibition. DBA presents its story about
day

7-12 July. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN ARCHAEOLOGY AND CONSERVA:
TION. 5th International Conference. Baeva and Grenada, Spain. Contact Talat
Akarsel, e-mail: takasreh@index.js; website: www.leg-adoanualis/en/conferen
ces/en.

7-9 July. AEGEAN 2007: THE BEGINNINGS OF HELLAS. AEGEAE CoEPHINELIA
ACADEMY OF ARCHAEOLOGY. Athens. Contact: AEGEAN 2007 CoEPHINELIA

9-13 July. HIEROGLYPHS FOR COM:
PLETENESS, OR HIEROGLYPHS: THE NEXT STEP.

16-20 July. QUEENS OF EGYPT: FROM
NEAR EAST TO CLEOPATRA VII, OR TOMBS WITH A VIEW.

23-27 July. THE PYRAMID AGE: DYNAST:
IES OF OLD KINGDOM EGYPT, OR SUMERIANS: THE NEXT STEP.

30 July-3 August. AMARNA: HISTORY,
ARCHAEOLOGY AND MYTH, OR ANA:
TOLOGY: ANCIENT BRIDGE BETWEEN CONTINENTS.

17-19 July. RUINS AND RECONSTRUC:
TIONS: POMPEII IN THE POPULAR IMAGINATION. Clifton Hill House,
University of Bristol. Contact: Shelley
Hales: shelley.hales@bris.ac.uk. Website:
www.bris.ac.uk/arts/birtha/conferences/pompeii.

5-9 September. WORLD ARCHAE:
LOGICAL CONGRESS, INTER-
CONGRESS IN LODZ: ARCHAEOLOGI:
CAL INVISIBILITY AND FORGOTTEN
KNOWLEDGE. Ethnoarchaeology, hunter-gatherers, ephemeral cultural
sites. Archaeological Institute of the
University of Lodz, Poland. Website:
www/archaeologicalcongress.org/
site/invisibility.

12-14 September. 100 YEARS OF SOLI:
TUE: ROMAN COLONIES IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THEIR FOUND:
a. The School of Classics, University
of St Andrews, Scotland. Contact:
Rebecca Sweetman. Fax: (44) 1334 462
460. E-mail: rs4h@abdn.ac.uk. Website:
www.st-andrews.ac.uk/classics/confe
rences.

18-23 September. EUROPEAN ASSOCI:
ATION OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS, 13TH
ANNUAL MEETING. University of Zadar

UNITED KINGDOM
31 July. THE ROYAL HAREM IN ANCIENT
EGYPT. Ian Shaw. Egyptian Exploration Society/Department of Ancient
Egypt and Sudan, British Museum. 8th Lecture Theatre, British Museum. 5.30pm.

Please send US, Canadian, French, and
German listings to:
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Exhibition dates are subject
to change. Before we recommend
a visit, we recommend confirming
dates and opening times.
Late Hellenistic or Roman
Bronze Head of an African,
his hair in rows of short echeloned,
curls and the brow furrowed.
1st Century BC/AD. H. 8.3 cm. (3 1/4 in.)

Ex John Kluge collection,
Charlottesville, Virginia.

For related examples, see F. Snowden,
'Iconographic Evidence on the Black
Populations in Greco-Roman Antiquity,'
in J. Vercoutter, et al., The Image of the
Black in Western Art (vol. 1, ch. 3, 1983).

Art of The Ancient World XVIII (2007), featuring 256
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A Large & Important Bronze Mithras

The eastern sun god stands with his right arm raised holding a spear, his extended left hand holding the Orphic cosmic egg, and his foot upon a bucranium (bull’s head) with an eagle separately cast at his feet; all resting upon the original bronze pedestal base. He wears a Phrygian cap, an ankle-length, long-sleeved garment tied at the waist, and a long cloak; eyes inlaid with silver.

Ca. 2nd Century AD.
H. of figure 26cm. (10 1/4 in.); with base 41cm. (16 1/8 in.).
Ex J.-P. A. collection, Brussels.