Buried History

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2021 Volume 57

Buried History

Buried History is the annual journal of the Australian Institute of Archaeology. It publishes papers and reviews based on the results of research relating to Eastern Mediterranean, Near Eastern and Classical Archaeology, Epigraphy and the Biblical text, and the history of such research and archaeology generally for an informed readership. Papers are refereed in accordance with Australian HERDC specifications.

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Cover: RIC IV 188, the reverse of an Elagabalus ship-at-sea denarius found in the Shapwick Hoard,
18 mm dia. from Zachary Beasley, Beast Coins Research Database

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Editorial

This edition has suffered some minor delays in production, and I hope that this has not caused any inconvenience. Unlike some recent volumes, the contents in this edition do not follow a theme, and there are no tributes, although during the final preparation the Institute's highly respected technical officer, Henry Huggins, passed away. He will be remembered in this year's *Buried History*.

Dr Luis Siddall provides the first paper drawing attention to some of the Institute's holdings from the site of Nimrud. Luis is a graduate of The University of Sydney and was a doctoral student at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, where he was supervised by Professor Andrew George. As a Research Fellow of the Institute, he has regularly contributed studies on the Institute's Assyriological holdings and is engaged with scholars from the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in publishing the cuneiform material in Australasia.

We were pleased to receive Jonathan Smith's paper on the Ship of State tradition, numismatics and the emperor Elagabalus. Elagabalus belonged to the Severan Dynasty. He was born in Emesa, modern Homs in Syria, and as emperor took the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Although he was assassinated at the age of eighteen in March AD 222 after a reign of only four years, he had had four wives, many concubines and lovers, and managed to alienate all of Rome with his excessive sexual behaviour and eccentric religious practices.

Dr Jonathan Smith studied Classics at the Australian National University under Professor Beryl Rawson. His doctoral thesis investigated how Hellenistic Scepticism and Manichaean metaphysics shaped the postmodern thought of Jean Baudrillard. He now works to clarify the historical record by investigating representations of reality in written texts and depicted in ancient imagery on related artefacts. We are indebted to him for his study of the numismatic evidence relating to Elagabalus and the Institute was pleased to receive from him the generous donation of an early issue of RIC IV 188, one of the coins in question.

The Institute was pleased to receive a grant from the Copland Foundation to undertake the conservation of the child mummy that it has held since 1965. During this time the mummy was regularly studied by students visiting the Institute. The restoration was undertaken by Dr Holly Jones-Amin and Marica Mucic of Grimwade Conservation Services, The University of Melbourne.

Holly is the Principal Conservator and Team Leader of objects, textiles, and archaeological conservation consultancy program at Grimwade Conservation Services at The University of Melbourne. She is a graduate of The University of Sydney, has an Applied Science degree in Conservation of Cultural Materials from the University of Canberra, and recently completed a PhD at Monash University. Marica is a graduate of La Trobe University and has an MSc in conservation from The University of Melbourne. Before becoming a Conservator at Grimwade Conservation Services, she was a loyal volunteer at the Institute. They hope that the treatment steps discussed in their paper will interest conservators working on mummies and elucidate non-conservators' thought processes and methods to stabilise friable organic materials and restore missing elements. The Institute also acknowledges the work of Tom Ingpen, Pod Museum and Art Services, Melbourne, who designed and made the storage and display cases for the mummy.

My paper reviews a recently published book about James Mellaart, a significant Anatolian archaeologist. While many scholars would like him to be expunged from the pages of archaeology because of his fabrication of evidence, that is not really possible because of his important contribution to the prehistory of Anatolia and the Ancient Near East more generally. He cannot be ignored. Drawing on my experience as a student of Mellaart in the 1970s, I reflect on some of the dilemmas posed by his legacy.

There are two book reviews. Prof Greg Horsley comments on a useful book written by Dr Michael Theophilos on the potential of coins to contribute to our knowledge of New Testament Greek. Both scholars are members of the Institute's Board. Eric Cline's book on the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, excavation of the site of Megiddo is a fascinating study of one of the major archaeological explorations in Palestine between World War I and II. Increasingly archaeological data from such expeditions is considered in the context of the history of the excavation itself. Cline's book now makes it a much easier process for the interpretation of Megiddo data.

As always, we acknowledge and pay tribute to our anonymous reviewers, whose diligence has contributed significantly to the dependability and consistency of the journal's contents.

Christopher J Davey
Editor

Apotropaic Figurines from Nimrud (Calah) in the Australian Institute of Archaeology Collection

Luis R. Siddall

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62614/02yhtj64

Abstract: There are two clay figurines in the Australian Institute of Archaeology's collection, which were excavated by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq in the 1953 season at Nimrud (ancient Calah/Kalḫu). The figurines were discovered in the foundations of the Burnt Palace and date approximately to the reign of Adad-nīrārī III (810–783 BCE). Their function was a part of an apotropaic ritual to protect places of residence from evil spirits and enemies. This paper aims to bring to light these figurines in the Institute's collection by offering a descriptive catalogue and an explanation of their use in Assyrian magic for the journal's readership.

> *The excavation of the Burnt Palace examples [of apotropaic figurines] provided both excitement and entertainment for the dig staff and there was great competition among us to be allowed to open the boxes and remove the row of neat little figures contained within.*

Such was the memory of Joan and David Oates (2001: 253 and 255) who, at the time in 1953, were members of Sir Max Mallowan's British School of Archaeology excavation team at Nimrud (ancient Calah).[1] During the excavation, significant numbers of sun-dried clay figurines were discovered in clay boxes interred in the foundations of the royal buildings of the Assyrian political capital of the ninth and eighth centuries BCE (Figure 1). Two of these clay figurines, together with several other artefacts and cuneiform tablets, made their way to the Australian Institute of Archaeology by way of division; the Institute contributed financially to the excavations (Mallowan 1954: 60; and AIA Docs 5202, and 5403). The two figurines are made from sun-dried clay and still bear their original excavation numbers ND 3311 and ND 3520, and are now registered with the Institute's numbers IA5.007 and IA5.008, respectively. This article will provide a descriptive catalogue of the figurines and explain the use of these figurines in Assyrian magic.

The apotropaic figurines and Mesopotamian magic

Daniel Schwemer (2015: 29ff) has demonstrated that the use of magic in the Ancient Near East falls into four categories: (a) liminal magic, which is transformative for the recipient of the ritual, enabling entry to the sacred domain; (b) defensive magic, by which an evil being or the threat of it is warded off; (c) aggressive magic, by which the recipient was to become socially and/or politically powerful, or more attractive; and (d) anti-witchcraft rituals. The clay figurines that are the focus of this article are a part of a ritual in the second category whereby the figurines were used to defend people from evil spirits and disease in their homes or, in this case, palaces. At Nimrud, the clay figurines were found interred in clay boxes in the corners of rooms in the royal buildings of the Burnt Palace, the E-zida Temple, and Fort Shalmaneser (Oates and Oates 2001: 253–254). Similar styles of foundation deposits have been excavated in Ashur, Nineveh, Dur-Sharrukin, Tell al-Rimah, Babylon, Borsippa, Kish, and Ur (Rittig 1977).

The figurines studied here are just two of the different types used in Assyria and Babylonia during the first millennium BCE. In addition to the apkallu-sage with bird features and the laḫmu-spirit in the Institute's collection (see below), another common apotropaic figurines of apkallu-sages which were anthropomorphic and adorned in fish-cloaks that covered them from head to toe. These protective entities were also sculpted on plaques with a similar function. Model dogs have also been recovered from Assyrian palatial complexes. These were deposited in sets of five and inscribed with names that reflect their job: 'Expeller of Evil!', 'Catcher of the Enemy!', 'Don't think, bite!', 'Biter of his foe!', and 'Loud is his bark!' (Green 1995: 116–117).

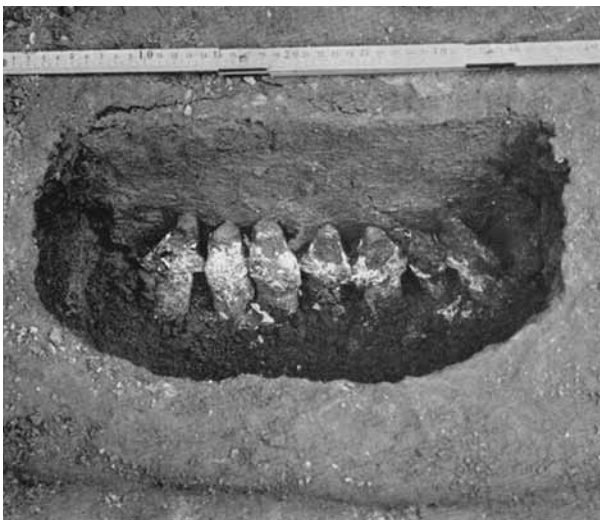

Figure 1: *A photograph of the Nimrud figurines in situ, from Mallowan 1954: pl. 20.*

Figure 2: *Comparative figurines from the British Muesum. Left: A Lahmu from Nineveh, Neo-Assyrian period (900-612 BC), ME 90996. Right: Baked-clay apotropaic figurine of a bird-headed sage, apkallu, carying a bandudda bucket, also from the Neo-Assyrian period. Images: Zunkir, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Creative_Commons.*

While scholarly consensus is not totally agreed, these apotropaic figures are most likely the same well-known mythical creatures displayed on the walls of the palaces and related to the winged bulls that adorn the major entrances. Indeed, an inscription from the same period as the figurines studied here by Šamšī-ilu, an Assyrian official and field marshal, strongly supports this interpretation. The inscription was inscribed on two colossal stone lions placed at the Assyrian palace at Tīl-Barsip, renamed Kār-Shalmaneser, modern Tell Ahmar in Syria (Figure 3), and ends with an elaborate version of the brief labels on the model dogs:

> *At that time I erected two lofty lions at the right and left of the gate of Kār-Shalmaneser, my lordly city and I named them (as follows). The name of the first is: "The lion who […], angry, demon, unrivalled attack, who overwhelms the insubmissive, who brings success." The name of the second, which stands before the gate, is: "Who charges through battle, who flattens the enemy land, who expels criminals and brings in good people."* A.0.104.2010: 19–24, in Grayson 1996: 233.

Figure 3: *One of the colossal lion statues from Til-Barsip found by François Thureau-Dangin (1872–1944) 1930. From Thureau-Dangin (1930: 13).*

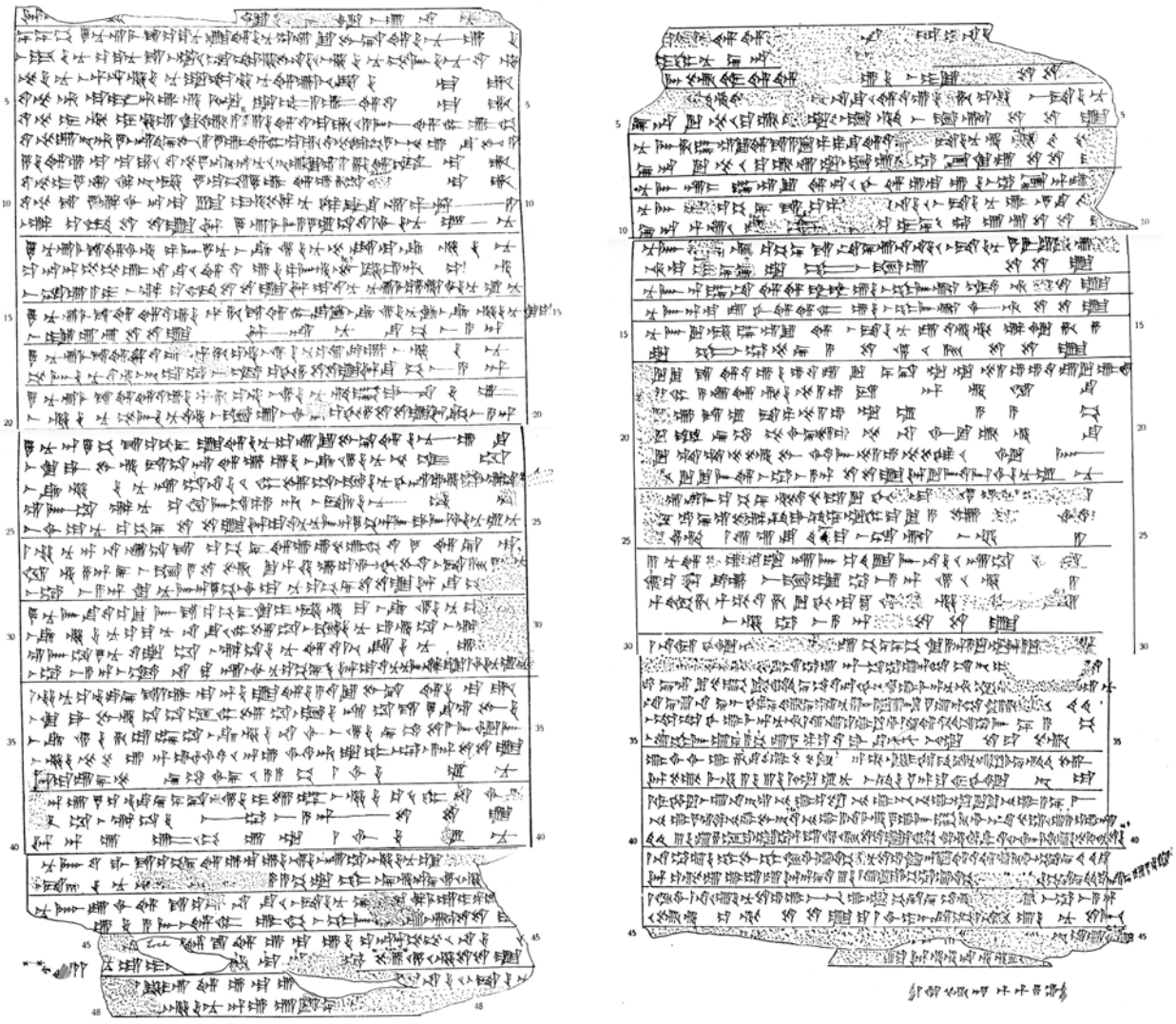

Figure 4: *A drawing of KAR 298.*
From CDLI.:https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/lineart/P369267_l.jpg

Fortunately, our understanding of the procedure and purpose of the figurines is aided by cuneiform texts that describe the interment rituals. The two main sources are the text known as *Šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsu* 'To block the entry of the enemy in someone's house' (hereafter *Šēp lemutti*), and an excerpt from this text written by the renowned exorcist, Kiṣir-Ashur, who worked in the Temple of Ashur in the Assyrian capital (Figure 4). The following comments are based on F. A. M. Wiggermann's (1992) edition and commentary on the cuneiform texts.

The main text outlines the five-day procedure for protecting households from evil by fashioning groups of statues from wood and clay, and performing incantations and purification rituals in the woods, the river, and the city. On the final day, the afflicted house is purified and the figurines are buried to ensure continued protection from maladies. Of interest to this study of the two clay figurines in the Institute's collection are ll. 170–174 and 184–185 of *Šēp lemutti*, which describe the fashioning of figurines like IA5.008 and IA5.007, respectively:

> *You shall make seven statues of sages (apkallē) whose clay is [mixed] with [wax,] furnished with [wings] and the face of a bird, holding in their right hands a cl[eaner,] in their left hands a bucket; they are clad in white paste, and endowed with feathers by hatchings in the wet paste…*
>
> *Šēp lemutti ll. 170 – 174* (after Wiggerman 1992: 15)

A comparison with IA5.008 shows resemblance with the sages described to be bird-like (see Figure 2). Further, Mallowan stated in his report that this figurine was found in a group of seven in a corner of Room 9 of the Burnt Palace (Mallowan 1954: 93).

Figure 5: *A drawing and photographs of IA5:007. Views are front, right-side, back, and left-side. Dimensions 140x47x27*

In the case of IA5.007, scholars have connected these types of figurines with the *laḫmu*s of the same text:

> *You shall make two statues of [‘hairies’ (laḫmē) clad] in white paste and wa[ter drawn on in black paste]…*
>
> *Šēp lemutti ll. 184–185* (after Wiggerman 1992: 15)

A *laḫmu* was a minor god associated with Ea (Sumerian Enki) who dwelt in the Apsû, the sweet subterranean sea (Green 1995: 113). *Šēp lemutti* l. 144 describes the figurines generally as ‘creatures of the Apsû,’ (*bi-nu-ut* ABZU). Typically, a *laḫmu* was to have six spiral tresses at the end of their long hair, hence the translation ‘hairies’. However, at Nimrud many *laḫmu*s such as IA5.007 did not have this last feature. Like our figurine, *lahmē* are often depicted holding a *marru*-spade or hoe (Green 1983: 91–92). While the ritual text indicates that *laḫmu*s were fashioned in pairs, the Nimrud excavations found them deposited singly in the corners of rooms.

The reason for selecting these ‘creatures of the Apsû’ for warding off maladies is not a settled matter. A most plausible suggestion is that their sagacity and connection to the domain of Ea, the god of wisdom, magic and incantations, made them appropriate for exorcists’ practice. Their presence might well have made manifest Ea’s wisdom on the one hand and formed a physical connection between the afflicted space and that of the cosmological Apsû thereby protecting the quarters through a comics association with the Apsû (cf. Green 1983; Nakamura 2004).

Descriptive Catalogue

The two clay figurines in the Institute’s collection are complete, but do have superficial damage that has affected their finer features, particularly the faces of each. In the case of IA5.008 (ND 3520) putty has been used to fill in parts of the figurine that have broken away. This same practice of filling in damaged parts of clay objects is also found on some of the cuneiform tablets in the Institute’s collection. It is uncertain when the putty was applied to the artifacts.

IA5.007 (ND 3311)

IA5.007, Figure 5, is complete with some damage to the front and back of the upper portion of the figurine. The figurine is made from brown clay and measures *140x47x27*. There are traces of the white paste on the upper part of the body, which matches the description of the ritual process in *Šēp lemutti*, but no traces of the black paste that once would have been on the back.

As noted above, this is a figurine of a *lahmu* holding a *marru*-spade or hoe and it is included in Rittig’s catalogue as 3.2.28 (1977: 65). The figurine is uninscribed and does not have the long tresses, which is typical of the *laḫmu*s from the Burnt Palace. This figurine was discovered in a foundation deposit box in a room of the Burnt Palace, which dates it to the reign of Adad-nīrārī III (810–783 BCE).

Figure 6: *Photographs of IA5:008. Views are front, right-side, back, and left-side. Dimensions 140x86x37.*

Figure 7: *A drawing of IA5:008.*

IA5.008 (ND 3520)

IA5.008, Figures 6 & 7, is complete with some damage to the head and outer edge of the right wing. The figurine is made from brown clay and measures *140x86x37*. There are traces of the white paste mentioned in the ritual text on this figurine, but there is no evidence of black or red paint that might have been applied to the wings. A photograph of this figurine was published in Mallowan's excavation report in the journal, *Iraq* (1954: pls 17–18, top-right corner of both plates). It also appears in Rittig's catalogue as 5.2.3 (1977: 71).

The figurine is of the *apkallu*-sage type, anthropomorphic in shape with a bird-head and four out-spread wings. As described in the ritual text *Šēp lemutti,* the figurine carries a bucket in its left hand and a "cleaner" (item for ritual cleansing) in its right. This figurine was a part of one of the septenary sets discovered in a clay deposit box in a corner of Room 9 in the Burnt Palace. The accompanying figurines are registered as ND 3518–3519 and 3521–3524 (Mallowan 1954: 93; and Green 1983: 88, fn. 8). This dates the figurine to the reign of Adad-nīrārī III (810–783 BCE).

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I would like to thank the Australian Institute of Archaeology for permission to examine and publish the clay apotropaic figurines in their collection and to Dr Christopher Davey for providing all the images and drawings. I would also like to thank NGS Super for awarding me the 2014 NGS Scholarship that funded my initial research trip to the collection.

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Endnotes

1 David Oates would become Director of excavations at Nimrud from 1958–1962, and then went on to many other sites. Similarly, Joan Oates was to be involved in many excavations across Iraq and Syria, most notably she co-directed the Tell Brak digs from 1988–2004, and upon David Oates' death in 2004 she became the sole director.

A Silver Roman Coin of Elagabalus and the Ship of State Tradition

Jonathan Smith

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Abstract: The significance of a scarce Roman coin type, RIC IV 188, an example of which was found in the Shapwick Hoard in 1998, has been largely overlooked. This paper analyses its iconography in the light of its Syrian-Roman context, the Graeco-Roman 'Ship of State' tradition, and other Elagabalus coins found at Shapwick. The conclusion is that RIC IV 188 is significant for presaging a theocratic coup by the Emperor Elagabalus and is the only primary source for his sea crossing from Asia to Europe in AD 219.

Introduction

A denarius found in the 1998 Shapwick Hoard from Somerset has been identified as coin type RIC IV 188 and is known as the silver ship coin of Elagabalus, AD 218–19 (Figure 1). It is the only example of this type among the 685 Elagabalus denarii in the hoard of 9,238 coins, 75% of which are Severan. This illustrates the relative scarcity of the coin type (Abdy & Minnitt 2002: 169-233). Earlier, the Reka Devnia Hoard found in Bulgaria in 1929 had just sixteen catalogued examples of RIC IV 188 from 4057 Elagabalus coins in a hoard totalling 101,096 coins (https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/3406 accessed 27/6/2021). The scarcity of RIC IV 188 coins suggests that they were a commemorative issue, comparable to the scarce denarii of Philip I, RIC IV 69 and 72, that documented peace with Persia in AD 244: PAX FVNDATA CVM PERSIS (Rowan 2011: 244). Note: 'RIC' stands for *Roman Imperial Coinage* (Spink & Son).

This paper attempts to clarify the significance of RIC IV 188 by aligning it with the Graeco-Roman 'Ship of State' tradition. The coin type has a rich iconography, but was barely noted by Alfoldi (1937: 56, Plate XI.13) and has been overlooked by Grant (1958: 56), Casson (1971), and Basch (1987). Its evidence has even been neglected in the newer literature on Elagabalus (de Arrizabalaga y Prado 2010; Icks 2011) and on Roman coins as propaganda (Rowan 2012; Manders, 2012).

Scholars have scrutinized the epistemic limits of third century historiography and shown why numismatic and archaeological data must be used to clarify the history of Elagabalus, AD 218–222, the young Roman Emperor from Syria whose religious-political agenda remains enigmatic. The life of Elagabalus has been revised in the light of source criticism, with Elagabal, the aniconic sun-god he worshipped, becoming more significant as a manifestation of *Deus Sol Invictus*, and the lurid details of his private life being read as hyperbole arising from his *damnatio memoriae* by the Roman Senate (Sommer 2008: 581–90). Problems of bias in Dio Cassius (AD 155–235), Herodian (AD 170–250), and particularly the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*c.* AD 380) have even led some scholars to contend that information from those sources is reliable only if it is supported by evidence from material culture, such as coins (de Arrizabalaga y Prado 2010: 12–4; Icks 2011: 148).

Given this criticism, the evidence implied in the components of RIC IV 188 is worth studying for insights into the theocratic plans and the voyage westward of a radical emperor. This investigation will confront the problem of how a *descriptive* text, the coin as a record for an historical event, could also have been a *prescriptive* text delivering propaganda to influence Roman citizens' view of events.

Figure 1: *RIC IV 188, the Elagabalus ship-at-sea denarius also found in the Shapwick Hoard, 18 mm dia. Image: Zachary Beasley,* Beast Coins Research Database*, www.beastcoins.com/RomanImperial/IV-II/Elagabalus/Z5761.jpg.*

To investigate the problem, this paper studies a specific example of RIC IV 188 using *Comparative Textual Analysis* (CTA), drawn from Oster (1982: 195–223), Howgego (1995: 70–77), Elkins (2009: 44–46), and Wenkel (2017:1–12). This method seeks to discern inter-textual linkages by comparing literary texts, such as Herodian (V.3.5 and V.5.6–7) and cognate coin iconographies, such as coin types RIC IV 188 and RIC IV 195, with shared cultural contexts of third century AD Graeco-Asian geography. When seeking inter-textual connections of cognate cultural forms, CTA considers 'text' to be *any words or images open to interpretation via their contexts*. It will be used here to discern the descriptive and prescriptive elements of RIC IV 188, in the light of evidence including: Dio & Herodian on Elagabalus; other coins from this emperor; the Graeco-Roman 'Ship of State' tradition; ships on Roman coins; and the ancient phenomenon of aniconic gods.

The working hypothesis to be tested against the evidence is that:

> *The dating, scarcity, and detail of Elagabalus' silver ship coin (RIC IV 188) suggest it was both descriptive and prescriptive; being minted to promote a theocratic 'Ship of State', among the Roman ruling class, and to document Elagabalus' voyage with Elagabal from Asia to Europe in AD 219.*

RIC IV 188 and the Nicomedia portrait

RIC IV 188 was minted in Nicomedia or Antioch (de Arrizabalaga y Prado 2010: 64–6) and was one of seven ship coin types produced by Elagabalus, but the only one struck in silver (Tameanko 2017: 37–41, citing RIC IV 188; BMC (Phoenicia) 112, 133, 212; SNG (Copenhagen) 445; Rosenberger (Tiberias) 21; and Rosenberger (Gadara) 80).

The obverse of RIC IV 188 shows a young Elagabalus with his throne name, Antoninus, facing right with a laurel crown. The legend, ANTONINVS PIVS FEL AVG, includes AVGVSTVS (emperor) and titles noted by Dio in his *Roman History* (LXXIX 17.4): PIVS (godly) and FELIX (happy). These titles were used by other emperors, but Dio draws attention to Elagabalus' prescriptive appropriation of them. Dio (LXXIX 17.4) quotes him saying: 'I do not want titles derived from war and bloodshed. It is enough for me that you call me Pius and Felix' (translation, E. Cary, Loeb). Elagabalus' drive to prescribe how he ought to be represented is also noted by Herodian who records how the new emperor sought to project his image, for propaganda purposes, well before his arrival in Rome from Syria.

On the reverse of RIC IV 188 Elagabalus is depicted with a sacred stone or *baetyl*, the Stone of Emesa, because this stone was regarded as an aniconic manifestation of the sun-god, Elagabal. Emesa is modern Homs.

After defeating Macrinus near Antioch on 8 June AD 218, Elagabalus spent the winter in Nicomedia and commissioned a portrait of himself performing a ritual before Elagabal, for display in the Roman Senate, as Herodian (V.5.6–7) outlines:

> *Before he went to Rome, Elagabalus had a full-length portrait painted, showing him performing his priestly duties in public. His native god also appeared in the painting; the emperor was depicted sacrificing to him under favourable auspices. Elagabalus sent this picture to Rome to be hung in the centre of the Senate House, high above the statue of Victory…By the time the emperor came to Rome presenting the appearance described above, the Romans saw nothing unusual in it, for the painting had prepared them for what to expect. (translation, C.R. Whittaker, Loeb)*

This effort at making his preferred image precede his Roman reality suggests Elagabalus understood what Jean Baudrillard has recently called 'simulation' (1983: 32) and 'the anticipation of reality by images' (1987: 19). Elagabalus, it seems, followed a practice that has become familiar to us: that images may be used to model facts and to shape realities in accordance with those models.

Was the silver ship of Elagabalus, like the Nicomedia portrait, loaded with a prescriptive model inside a descriptive image and intended to encourage a practical outcome? I will approach this question by examining RIC IV 188 as a text within two contexts: Roman ship coins (Orna-Ornstein 1995: 179–200) and the 'Ship of State' figure as a rhetorical model or *trope* (Dixon 1971: 37).

Before drawing on Figure 1 to describe RIC IV 188 in detail, the epistemic reserve of Orna-Ornstein must be noted: 'ships on Roman coins cannot always be taken as literal copies of Roman vessels' (1995:179). There are, for example, considerations of scale when representing large objects in small spaces and the distortion of depicting ships-at-sea as if in dry dock, a pictorial convention I will call *the dry dock profile*.

Despite these distortions, I will follow Basch (1987: 35–8) and Davey (2015: 33; 2018: 24–5) who maintain that ancient makers of ship images sought to represent ship reality, and so their images can be used as evidence. Otherwise, such images would have been *unrecognisable* to those who knew about ships and were the audience for the images. In short, there is little reason to deem the reverse of RIC IV 188 to be an inaccurate representation of a *liburna,* a type of imperial galley adopted from the Liburni seafarers of Illyricum in *c.* 30 BC. This is supported by Vegetius' *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (*c.* AD 400), which contains a cognate sketch of these nimble vessels (4.33; 37), while Hockmann provides corroborative details from archaeological, literary, and numismatic sources (1997: 192–216).

Figure 2: *A Rome mint denarius RIC II 112 of Emperor Hadrian AD 119-122, 18 mm dia. One of many 'Ship of State' coins by that emperor. Image: courtesy Roma Numismatics, E-Live Auction 1 # 617, www.RomaNumismatics.com.*

The reverse of RIC IV 188 pictures a *liburna* in dry dock profile from its starboard side, showing a bank of *remigia* (oars) pulled by seven *remiges* (oarsmen), steered from the stern by a *gubernator* (coxswain) using a *gubernaculum* (steering oar). Between the *gubernator* and the *remiges* rests an enigmatic oval object, separated from the *remiges* by a thick vertical line. On the stern, *gubernator*, oval object, and vertical line form a coherent group and may be termed the *gubernator trio.*

Within this trio, the *gubernator* is stretching out a right arm, embracing the oval object touching the vertical line. This congested after-deck scene also features an *aplustre* (curved post) and *signum* (army standard), while the prow has a furled *artemon* (bow-sail or spritsail) and a twin-pronged *rostrum* (ram). Below the ship ripple furrows & wake, while above it a *vexillum* (martial ensign) arises amidships, emblazoned with the oval form.

The overall impression is of dynamic movement, even urgent change. This is achieved by having the furled *artemon* pierce through the frame of letters (FELICITAS) and by having the *aplustre* curve forward, but then bend back, as if caught feather-like in the wake of the galley. Ship speed is also signified by ripples and wake. This striking image is framed by a two-word legend, FELICITAS TEMP, with the first word (good fortune or happiness) arching over the ship like a rainbow, while below it there is an abbreviation for *temporum* (of the times).

Under FELICITAS, the ship is marked by martial motifs at stern (*signum*), prow (*rostrum*), and amidships (*vexillum*). Somewhat contrary to Elagabalus' aversion to 'war and bloodshed', these motifs suggest the *realpolitik* that even beauty is beholden to armed power. This may mean the scene was intended for the educated Roman elite as a 'Ship of State' model: a rhetorical trope derived from Plato's *Republic* (VI 488a7–489a6) and still used in the third century AD to emphasize who should steer the state (e.g., Dio LII.16.3–4).

In total the ship image on RIC IV 188's reverse has thirteen separate details, of which two are enigmatic objects. These objects need to be identified as part of this investigation.

Enigmatic objects and aniconic gods

The two puzzling shapes on the reverse of the coin are an oval object between *gubernator* and *remiges* and a vertical line separating oval object from *remiges*. It is tempting to identify the oval object as a cabin like the 'doghouse' cabins on Rome mint denarii, 121–123 AD: RIC II 112 Hadrian 525–529 (Figure 2). But it shows the cabin to be hollow and tubular, not solid and oval, and it is behind the base of the *gubernaculum*, not in front of the *gubernator.* The cabin depicted on RIC II 112 is typical of those that appear on Roman coins, paintings, mosaics, and sculptures (Casson 1971: 179–181, Fig. 154; Basch 1987: 453–4, Figs 1001,1004–1010, 1054, 1098–1100). A bronze ship coin by Hadrian RIC II, 3 (2) 1013–1014, with FELICITATI AVG legend from the Rome mint, AD 129–30, also follows this pattern, but can still be understood as a 'Ship of State' model for RIC IV 188, together with RIC III 443 from Marcus Aurelius, AD 169, and RIC IV 120 from Caracalla, c. AD 201, among others. However, RIC IV 188 does not adopt the ship cabin standard.

There are some Roman ship coins that have cabins between *gubernaculum* and *remiges*, an example being Anthony's legionary denarius, RRC 544/18, from 31 BC (Crawford 1974). However, the cabin is rectangular and has windows.

This suggests that the oval object is something other than a cabin. Given Elagabalus' penchant for including the Stone of Emesa, which is usually shrouded by a coverlet depicting an eagle, on coins, it is suspected that the oval object was meant to represent the aniconic Elagabal. Mettinger notes that aniconism refers to, 'cults where there is no iconic representation of the deity', and includes, 'cults using material objects as aniconic

Figure 3: *Eastern mint denarius Emperor Antoninus (Elagabalus) AD 218 19 mm dia. Image: courtesy the Classical Numismatic Group (CNG), www.cngcoins.com, e-Auction 475, Lot 203.*

symbols' (2004: 90). An example of this, Elagabal was seen by Herodian, a native of Antioch in the same province as Emesa, as he outlines (V.3.5):

> *There was no actual man-made statue of the god, the sort Greeks and Romans put up; but there was an enormous stone, rounded at the base and coming to a point on the top, conical in shape and black. This stone was worshipped as though it were sent from heaven.*

Herodian describes a conical stone without mentioning a coverlet depicting an eagle, just as some coin images of Elagabal (Figure 3) also portray it as a round stone without an eagle coverlet (e.g., the RIC IV 195 in CNG e-Auction 475: Lot 203). Sommer (2008: 588) argues that this unadorned aniconic god was a paradigm shift in Roman religion:

> *A god without any human shape could not be pinpointed within the pecking order – it was a supernatural being sui generis, a dangerous outsider who, unlike other foreign gods, could not be assigned a place within the order by means of simple interpretation.*

Given the practice of this 'dangerous outsider', the silver ship's oval object may indeed signify the stone, drawn contemporaneously with the Nicomedia portrait to help model the reality of a new aniconic god for Rome. But even if this is correct, there is still the identity of the vertical line that separates the oval object from the *remiges* to determine.

A horned priest-emperor and the Ship of State trope

The other Elagabalus coin type, RIC IV 88 (Figure 4), found in the Shapwick Hoard, of which there are twenty-three examples from the 685 Elagabalus denarii, may shed light on the theocratic aspect of the hypothesis. It may also help identify the enigmatic vertical line on RIC IV 188. Was it etched as a flaming *foculus* for the sun god *Sol Invictus Elagabal*?

RIC IV 88 coins were minted in Rome in AD 221–22. The obverse shows a bearded Elagabalus facing right with a horn arching up from under his laurel crown and an abbreviated legend, IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG (the general Antoninus, godly emperor). The martial term here, although a common title for emperors, is still notable as a departure from Elagabalus' policy concerning his titulature (Dio LXXIX.17.4). It is possible that upon reaching Rome, his grip on power needed tightening as his devotion to Elagabal began to alienate the Roman elite (Dio LXXIX.11.1).

Elagabalus's horned bust, a unique innovation on Roman coinage, must have also troubled traditional Rome. Indeed, it remains a mystery (Rowan 2012: 209–10; Icks 2011: 75). Considering the tradition of Near Eastern solar symbols, this enigma may have signified a bull's horn as divine power, 'the power residing in the sun' (Farbridge 1970: 199). A bull in the background on the reverse supports this interpretation, as does its legend, INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG, with *invictus* connoting the sun (Cumont 1903: 98–101).

On the reverse Elagabalus stands facing left, sacrificing over a *foculus* (a portable fire altar) with a *patera* (libation bowl) in his right hand, while his left arm holds 'a bundle of twigs, a common attribute of Syrian priests' (Rowan 2012: 211). Beneath a bright star, he wears trousers like those in Herodian's description (V.3.6) of him as Elagabal's priest in Syria. Given the coin's context, the star is probably the sun, with the priest-emperor shown sacrificing at its altar (Manders 2012: 148). The *foculus* is pictured as a thick vertical line, a shape not unlike the thick line fronting the oval object on RIC IV 188. This same shape is also like the *foculus* on the rare Elagabalus coin (AD 219–20) noted by Hans Baldus, as cited by Icks (2011: 72). This is significant because the reverse of that coin appears to depict the Nicomedia portrait noted by Herodian (V.5.6). This coin, illustrated in Rowan (2006: 114), has an oval-shaped Stone of Emesa with coverlet depicting an eagle, in a four-horse chariot beneath the legend CONSERVATOR AVG (preserver of

Figure 4: *A Rome mint denarius RIC IV 88 of Emperor Antoninus (Elagabalus) AD 221-22, 19 mm dia. Image: courtesy Paul-Francis Jacquier Numismatique, Auction 44 # 237, www.coinsjacquier.com.*

the Augustus). Rowan (2006: 118–9, footnote 15) notes that the eagle, in the Roman East, symbolised the sun god; while Halsberghe (1972: 45–6) places Elagabal in the Syrian tradition of *Deus Sol Invictus* (Invincible Sun God). In front of the stone, Elagabalus is shown sacrificing before a *foculus*, pictured as a thick vertical line.

So, RIC IV 188's thick vertical line appears comparable with a pattern of *foculi* forms that helps mark Elagabalus as *sacerdos* (priest). This is consistent with contemporary concerns that he put Elagabal 'even before Jupiter himself, causing himself to be voted its priest' (Dio LXXIX.11.1), but it is also consistent with him putting Roman gods on his coins. Furthermore, given the arching of FELICITAS over the silver ship, its *gubernator trio* may have signified a ritual 'under favourable auspices', just like the ritual in the Nicomedia portrait (Herodian V.5.6). If so, then the vertical line on the silver ship would represent the flaming *foculus* of Elagabal. This inter-textual interpretation is reasonable, given the contemporaneity of RIC IV 188 and the Nicomedia portrait, both AD 218–19, and the likelihood that the die-maker of RIC IV 88 knew the portrait, as hung in the Senate House in Rome.

However, the thick line in question on RIC IV 188 seems more probably the *clavus* (tiller) for the ship's *gubernaculum* (Casson 1971: 224–8, Fig. 147; Basch 1987, Figs 1081–83), shown in its *raised* position (Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 21.13.10), like the *clavus* on one of Rome's first complete 'Ship of State' coins, the C. Fonteius denarius (RRC 290/1) from 114 BC (Figure 5).

Three centuries separate these two issues, but four factors may clarify matters:

(a) Roman ship design first derived from Phoenicia via a Carthaginian vessel (Polybius, *Histories*, 1.20);

(b) RRC 290/1's vertical line is clearly a *clavus*;

(c) RIC IV 188's fat line has the same position as RRC 290/1's *clavus*, indicating that it too is a *clavus*;

(d) RRC 290/1's *clavus* fronts an object that may well be a sacred shrine under shelter (Brody 1998: 1–4; Orna-Ornstein 1995: 190).

This suggests RIC IV 188's *clavus*-fronted object was etched as sacred cargo too, arguably to connote a new

Figure 5: *A C. Fonteius denarius, RRC 290/1, 114 BC , 21 mm dia. It was one of Rome's first complete 'Ship of State' coins. Coin from the author's private collection, image courtesy the Classical Numismatic Group (CNG), Auction 401 # 376, www.cngcoins.com*

master for Rome's 'Ship of State', that was the god Elagabal. The metaphorical ship was in fact a well-known trope at the time, at least among the Roman elite, according to Dio's *Roman History* (LII.16.3–4) (*c.* AD 215).

By citing this trope Dio was using a model already manifest on Hadrian's ship coins, a good example of which is RIC II 3 (2) 1013–1014, and in texts such as: Plato's *Republic*, VI 488a7–489a6; Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, 1–2; Demetrius' *De Elocutione*, 78; Livy's *History*, 24.8.12–13; Cicero's *De Inventione*, 1–4; Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, 9.6; and Horace's *Carmina*, 1.14.

The 'Ship of State' model foregrounds the *gubernator* and *clavus* motifs, with the whole device being used to emphasise who should, and who should not, steer the state. On RIC IV 188, the *gubernator trio* could well have been drawn to prescribe a new theocracy, with the vertical line denoting the Ship of State's *clavus*, the oval object signifying the Stone of Emesa as *gubernator*, and the figure embracing the stone being the priest-emperor Elagabalus.

All this apparent inter-textual correspondence suggests that Elagabalus ran an integrated propaganda program which included the use of commemorative coins to communicate to the ruling class in Rome the theocratic destiny of Elagabal. If this is so, then RIC IV 188's reverse legend (FELICITAS TEMP) may have represented much more than the conventional sentiments noted by Manders (2012: 195–6). After reading Mettinger (2004: 89–100), Sommer (2008: 581–90) and Manders (2012: 149), I am inclined to think that the silver ship coin of Elagabalus presaged a theo-political coup; being struck to simulate an anticipated new order wherein the iconic gods of Roman pantheism would be incorporated into aniconic Elagabal, that is *henotheism*.

Some may be sceptical of the idea that the oval object on RIC IV 188 is the Stone of Emesa. After all, it is not eagle-shrouded, although neither is Herodian's stone. It also differs somewhat from Herodian's description of the stone, unlike the close match between his description and images of the stone on some Elagabalus coins. We refer here to coins on which the Stone of Emesa is pictured as more *conical* than oval such as RIC IV 195 (CNG e-Auction 475: Lot 194). However, other coin-pictures of the stone represent it as more *oval* or round than conical, like RIC IV 195 in (CNG e-Auction 475: Lot 203). So, although the rounded shape on our RIC IV 188 example (Figure 1) is more oval than conical, this does not necessarily mean the shape cannot signify the Stone of Emesa. In other words, RIC IV 188's die-makers may simply have been working within a known range of representations for the stone, as Figures 3 and 6 show and the examples in Rowan (2006: 114–7) further demonstrate.

The Stone as a chariot driver and galley *gubernator*

This semiotic controversy still suggests a question that goes to the heart of the research hypothesis, how can it be known that the detailed reverse of RIC IV 188 is a descriptive record of Elagabalus and Elagabal at sea in the tradition of a new 'Ship of State'? This may be answered by comparing two scarce coin types issued in the East by Elagabalus.

The Shapwick Hoard data, in Abdy & Minnitt (2002), confirmed RIC IV 188 to be scarce type, just as ancient coin scarcity was becoming widely regarded as indicative of commemorative coin issues (Rowan 2006: 117–8; Rowan 2011:244). This means RIC IV 188 was probably struck to mark an actual, specific event. Here, the likelihood that this type has prescriptive elements does not necessarily preclude it from having descriptive elements too. Given the silver ship's dating and *liburna* details, we suspect it was struck to document Elagabal and the emperor crossing from Asia to Europe (with this description doubling as 'Ship of State' prescription), instead of only being struck as just another third century FELICITAS coin type proclaiming a general sentiment of happiness or dynastic hopes (Manders 2012: 195–6).

The likelihood of RIC IV 188 being a commemorative issue is underlined by the atypical contents of its reverse image: a ship with *bona fides* grounded in real life, rather than the common reverse on FELICITAS coins: the mythological figure of Felicitas with *caduceus* and *cornucopia* (Manders 2012: 196). In fact, Elagabalus minted an issue of this typical sort (RIC IV 150), also found at Shapwick (eight examples): a Rome mint denarius (AD 219–20) bearing the reverse legend TEMPORVM FELICITAS. Our argument from the atypical also stands supported by the fact that although Gallienus also placed FELICITAS (in its dative form) on a ship coin (RIC V 32, AD 260), only Elagabalus linked FELICITAS with TEMP(ORVM) on a ship coin minted contemporaneously with an actual voyage that he undertook.

Further support for RIC IV 188 as documentation (not just proclamation) can be gleaned from another Elagabalus coin found in Britain (*Portable Antiquities Scheme,* PUBLIC-B923E1). This scarce coin type RIC IV 195 shares the same mint, Nicomedia or Antioch, and year AD 218 as RIC IV 188. Like the latter, RIC IV 195 (Figure 6) has the ANTONINVS PIVS FEL AVG legend on its obverse, while its reverse has the Stone of Emesa, usually with eagle coverlet.

The stone is shown in a four-horse chariot flanked by two pairs of *semeia*: 'religious cultic standards common to cults in Syria' (Rowan 2006: 115). The legend is SANCT(O) DEO SOLI ELAGABAL(O): 'to the sun (SOLI), the holy god, 'Elagabal'. Given its date and historical context, RIC IV 195 was probably issued to mark this sun god's journey to Rome (Manders 2012:

Figure 6: *Eastern mint denarius of Emperor Antoninus (Elagabalus), AD 218, with rare ELAGABA variation, 19 mm dia. Coin the author's private collection, image courtesy of Downies Coins, Auction 328 # 2715.*

148). The shared mint, year, and general design of these chariot and ship coins suggests they were struck to commemorate Elagabal's journey from Emesa, with the ship coin minted to mark the maritime leg of an otherwise land-based journey. A corollary of this, for our hypothesis-testing and RIC IV 188 analysis, arises from the correspondence between this stone-in-chariot coin, RIC IV 195, and Herodian's description (V.6.7) of Elagabal in ritual procession:

> *A six-horse chariot bore the sun-god, the horses huge and flawlessly white…no-one held the reins, and no-one rode in the chariot; the vehicle was escorted as if the sun god himself were the charioteer. Elagabalus ran backwards in front of the chariot, facing the god and holding the horses' reins.*

There is a suggestive correspondence between this description and RIC IV 195's chariot-driving stone. This is so despite Herodian's text referring to the stone's mid-summer procession in Rome, not Elagabal's chariot-powered journey from Emesa (Rowan 2006: 116). In short, both Herodian V.6.7 and RIC IV 195 effectively portray Elagabal as a *charioteer* insofar as both texts signify the stone in a driverless chariot. This detail may be quite significant, especially if we assume the chariot and ship coins were produced together to commemorate Elagabal's aniconic power and Elagabalus' long journey to Rome. Indeed, RIC IV 188's juxtaposition of *gubernator*, oval shape, and *gubernaculum* invite us to think that the salient detail in Herodian and on RIC IV 195, 'as if the sun god himself were the charioteer', was an intentional trope that can be extrapolated to this ship coin, 'as if the sun god himself were the *gubernator*'. This extrapolation assumes further cogency if the vertical line held by the stone on RIC IV 188 is a *clavus*, not a *foculus*. Furthermore, if the ship coin, the chariot coin, and Herodian share this same trope, then those texts may reflect a theocratic principle prescribed by Elagabalus. In the specific case of RIC IV 188, the theocratic message is arguably this: Elagabal, as a new god for Rome, should steer the Roman 'Ship of State' with its priest, the Emperor Elagabalus.

This reading gives further reason to think that the silver ship coin of Elagabalus is both a descriptive text and a prescriptive text. After all, it apparently notes a *fact*: the voyage of Elagabalus and Elagabal, but it may also note a *value*: this aniconic god can, and should, pilot reality (e.g. steer ships or drive chariots). Nevertheless, up to now, our inter-textual analysis within the relevant data suggests our hypothesis about empirical description may have less evidence in its favour than our hypothesis about imperial prescription. To test this impression, we will now investigate RIC IV 188's empirical world more closely, with emphasis on the geographical and historiographical contexts for the voyage which it depicts.

The silver ship and maritime geography

The itinerary for Elagabalus' journey from Syria to Italy must be reconstructed from the sketchy details in Dio and Herodian. Although these historians lived in the same period as Elagabalus, they are quite vague about his year-long journey from Emesa, now Homs in Syria, to Rome. Fortunately, details on RIC IV 188 allow us to identify a possible maritime route ignored by Dio and Herodian.

Herodian (V.5.3 & V.5.7) has the Emperor travelling from 'Syria' to 'Nicomedia' (modern Izmit) to 'spend the winter', then to 'Rome'. Herodian fails to provide any details for this east-west journey and mentions no sea routes for Elagabalus, neither towards Nicomedia nor away from it. Dio (LXXIX.3.1–2) is almost as sketchy, writing: 'after spending some months in Antioch' (now Antakya), Elagabalus 'went to Bithynia', in north western Turkey, and 'after passing the winter there, he proceeded into Italy through Thrace' (now shared by Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria) and 'Moesia' (now shared by Serbia and Macedonia) and 'both the Pannonias' (now shared by Hungary, Austria, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovakia), then 'remained there', in Italy, 'until the end of his life'.

Figure 7: A Map of North Western Turkey with ancient names. Image: Muir (1963).

The general itineraries of Herodian and Dio leave open the possibility that Elagabalus travelled to Nicomedia by sea, departing from Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch, in a *liburna* from the *Classis Syriaca*, a branch of the eastern Roman fleet. Indeed, references to *liburnae* on naval tombstones (*c.* AD 200) dug up in Seleucia Pieria provide some archaeological support for this possibility (Pollard 2000: 281–3).

However, a sea route from Antioch to Nicomedia would involve passage along the southern coast of Turkey in the Mediterranean, then the western coast of Turkey in the Aegean, through the Hellespont, now the Dardanelles, and across the Propontis, now the Sea of Marmara to Nicomedia.

Given the difficult logistics of such a long voyage, especially in a small *liburna*, it is more likely that Elagabalus took the land route to Nicomedia, travelling from Syria through the Cilician Gates in the Taurus Ranges north-west of Tarsus into Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia. This use of the Cilician Gates finds support in Dio, but only if his route for the fleeing Macrinus is a guide for the eastern part of Elagabalus' land journey. Dio (LXXIX.39.1–5) has Macrinus fleeing 'from Antioch' to 'Aegae in Cilicia', near Adana in south-central Turkey, 'through Cappadocia, Galatia and Bithynia', 'as far as Eribolon, the harbour that lies over against the city of Nicomedia'. Dio then has Macrinus 'sailing from Eribolon for Chalcedon', now a district of Istanbul, before finally being caught in Chalcedon while presumably seeking a boat to Byzantium, western Istanbul. The itinerary of Macrinus may be a guide for the route taken by Elagabalus. And yet, Dio makes no mention of where the new emperor crossed the waters separating Asia from Europe. Herodian (V.4.11), however, offers us a clue: Macrinus was slain in Chalcedon after 'setting sail for Europe across the narrow straits of Propontis' that is the Bosporus, only to be blown back to Chalcedon by adverse winds. The wind mentioned here is salient because it draws our attention to the furled *artemon* on the silver ship of Elagabalus (see below).

Like Macrinus, Elagabalus could have crossed the Propontis from Eribolon to Chalcedon, before making passage across the Bosporus Strait to Byzantium. Or he could have travelled by road to Chalcedon before crossing the Bosporus Thracius, the southern end of the Strait to Byzantium. Alternatively, the new emperor could very well have crossed the Propontis from Eribolon to Perinthus, now near Tekirdag in north-western Turkey. Elagabalus could also have travelled south-west by road from Nicomedia to Cyzicus, now near Bandırma in western Turkey, before sailing from there, across the Propontis, to either Perinthus or Byzantium. For a map of these places, see Muir (1963: 7).

Faced with this uncertainty, RIC IV 188 becomes crucial as the only record we have for the sea passage of Elagabalus and Elagabal in AD 219. Details on this denarius help us discern the most likely sea route for emperor and stone.

Rome's *Classis Syriaca* fleet and the martial elements on the silver ship's reverse: a *signum* (army standard) on the prow, a twin-pronged *rostrum* (battering ram) at the stern, and a *vexillum* (martial ensign) amidships. These details suggest the reverse of RIC IV 188 either depicts a *liburna* from Seleucia Pieria, which is unlikely or, more likely, a *liburna* from Cyzicus, a Bithynian base for the *Classis Syriaca* at the time of Elagabalus (Dio LXXIX.7.3). In other words, from all the possible routes noted above, it seems the emperor may have travelled by road from Nicomedia to Cyzicus, before taking a *liburna* to either Perinthus or Byzantium.

Figure 8: *Reverse sides of denarii by Elagabalus RIC IV 188, left, and C. Fonteius RRC 290/1, right. Images: As per Figures 1 and 5.*

Nevertheless, further details on RIC IV 188 indicate an even more likely route for the sea voyage of Elagabalus and his holy stone. We noted earlier that the *artemon* (spritsail or bow-sail) was not rigged and the *remiges* (oarsmen) were rowing; the ship has been represented as man-powered, not wind-powered. This suggests the depicted voyage involved a sea passage that could readily be rowed, or had to be rowed because there was too little wind on the day to warrant using an *artemon* (Casson 1971: 242–5; Davey 2015). This is a salient detail because Roman die-makers could readily depict galleys under sail when images of wind-powered ships were appropriate, as the unrigged *artemon* on RIC II, 3 (2) Hadrian 525–529 demonstrates (Figure 2) and as the denarius (*c.* 44 BC) from long-distance naval raider Sextus Pompey (RRC 483/2) proves (Crawford 1974).

The man-powered galley on the reverse of RIC IV 188 therefore suggests the sea passage taken by the Emperor and Elagabal was *the shortest route possible*: across the Bosporus Strait separating Chalcedon from Byzantium. Here, Elagabalus would probably have travelled by road from Nicomedia to Chalcedon. With the safety of his precious Elagabal in mind, the young emperor may have waited for a day without wind, before joining a *liburna*, from the *Classis Syriaca*, which furled its spritsail (*artemon*) and rowed Emperor and Elagabal across the Bosporus Thracius to Byzantium.

A denarius with historical significance

This study has examined the problem of how a descriptive text on coin RIC IV 188 could be the record of an historical event and could also have been propaganda for the citizens of Rome. The exploration of the hypothesis concluded that prescriptive elements co-exist with descriptive elements in this text producing a powerful hybrid image designed to communicate a new theo-political order for the Roman Empire.

The description on RIC IV 188 appears to be an accurate representation of a *liburna* from Cyzicus or Seleucia Pieria. Issues of scale aside, there was nothing to preclude this representation from being the sort of ship available to the Emperor Elagabalus. Moreover, several salient details on RIC IV 188, including the furled *artemon* and the bank of *remigia,* have helped discern the probable route and nautical conditions for the sea passage, in AD 219, of Elagabalus and his sacred stone; across the Bosporus Thracius, from Chalcedon to Byzantium, on a day without wind.

The most problematic part of the hypothesis remains its contention that Elagabal was depicted on RIC IV 188. After scrutinizing a range of relevant data, the weight of evidence appears to support this contention, even though the oval object on the ship is not eagle-shrouded. There is a continuity of aniconic forms in several related texts:

(a) Herodian's description, with no eagle shroud, of the Stone (V.3.5);

(b) the oval object on the reverse of RIC IV 188;

(c) the range of representations of Elagabal, oval, conical, round on RIC IV 195 and other stone-in-chariot coins like RIC IV 144.

The oval object on RIC IV 188 fits in with this group of aniconic forms, suggesting that it was meant to represent the Stone of Emesa. Moreover, if the vertical line fronting the oval object on RIC IV 188 was drawn as a *clavus*, as was the case on other Roman ship coins, RRC 483/2 and RIC IV 120, then Elagabal was depicted as a *gubernator*, just like the helmsman on one of Rome's first complete 'Ship of State' coins, the C. Fonteius denarius, RRC 290/1 from 114 BC; Figure 8 offers a comparison. The 'Ship of State' trope was still being used at the time of Elagabalus, as Dio LII.16.3–4 (*c.*AD 215) indicates. The scarcity of RIC IV 188 coins, together with its temporal (AD 218–19) and geographic (eastern mint) data, suggests the west-bound Elagabalus wanted it minted as a commemorative coin with a prescriptive agenda. Indeed, we know from Herodian (V.5.6–7) that the young Syrian emperor targeted the Roman ruling class with image-based propaganda about Elagabal.

Elagabalus' commissioning of the Nicomedia portrait in AD 218 supports the suggestion that he also commissioned

his silver ship coin intended to influence the Roman elite. If so, its reverse was probably designed as a rhetorical model that involved what Baudrillard (1987: 19) calls 'the anticipation of reality by images'. At the core of this model, the *gubernator trio* is embraced by its legend and guarded by martial signs, *signum*, *vexillum*, and *rostrum*. In a salient detail, the holy stone at the heart of this trio is apparently doubled by being emblazoned on the silver ship's martial ensign (*vexillum*). This complex iconography arguably anticipated a new theocratic experience for Rome, steered by Elagabal and guarded by the army. The murder of Elagabalus by soldiers on 13 March, AD 222 may now cruel this vision with irony, but in AD 219 this image of a young priest-emperor on the water between two worlds was probably a picture of poignant promise, as Alfoldi (1937: 56) has noted.

RIC IV 188's detailed ship-at-sea suggests it was the work of a die-maker eyewitness, commissioned by the emperor to represent Elagabal and himself steering the Roman 'Ship of State'. This coin picture of Elagabal navigating the Bosporus may also have been designed to convey the anticipated primacy of a new god arriving from the east. Given the Roman geo-political framework of West (*in occidente*) and East (*in oriente*), i.e., the framework noted by Tacitus (*Historiae*, 1.2.1), Elagabal-on-the-Bosporus as adventus dei orientis risked being provocative, as third century AD Rome increasingly viewed the East as a source of danger (Manders 2012: 127-28). The dies of this commission could have been made in either Nicomedia or Antioch for the minting of RIC IV 188 as a commemorative denarius, issued to describe the emperor's Bosporus crossing and to prescribe a theocratic *Felicitas Temporum.*

During this moulding process, the die-maker of RIC IV 188 appears to have drawn on earlier coin issues of RIC IV 120, Caracalla, c. AD 201, but in doing so changed two salient details to emphasise Elagabal as *gubernator*. This was achieved by replacing the lowered *clavus* operated from a three-person cabin on RIC IV 120 (early dies) with Elagabal operating a raised *clavus* while being held by Elagabalus on RIC IV 188 (see Figure 9 for a comparison).

Placing an aniconic presence at the helm of a Roman flagship arguably anticipated Elagabal's elevation 'even before Jupiter himself' (Dio LXXIX.11.1) and perhaps even signalled the stone's henotheistic absorption of Rome's iconic gods.

Conclusions for further research

Research focusing on a single coin may be deemed too narrow and thus of limited value for a wider historical or cultural significance. Nevertheless, this study reveals how a data-rich and illustrative single coin can be interpreted in the context of other coins and relevant literary sources to corroborate salient details.

The study of RIC IV 188 has underlined a practice emphasised by Elkins, 'the understanding of an ancient coin is broadened by the number of contexts to which we can relate it' (2009: 46). Indeed, scrutiny of RIC IV 188 appears to have reconstructed its theocratic meaning, Elagabal as Rome's *gubernator,* within the Graeco-Roman 'Ship of State' tradition. This is significant insofar as it confirms Elagabal as a manifestation of *Deus Sol Invictus*, the Syrian sun-god, who preceded and succeeded Elagabalus as a theo-political force in the Roman Empire, most notably under Aurelian (Halsberghe 1972: 45–6; 173–4). The original working hypothesis appears to have been confirmed, or at least not disproved, by corroborative evidence drawn from the contemporary cultural context of RIC IV 188. The silver coin ship of Elagabalus, studied as a text in its time, seems to exemplify the research value of numismatic minutiae, as outlined by Schaps, 'Events much more fleeting than revolutions and world wars were recorded on coins, and the choice of design and legend is often significant' (2011: 203).

We must conclude, however, by noting that further research on the silver ship's iconography may be

Figure 9: *Right, a Rome mint, of Caracalla's RIC IV 120 c. AD 201, lowered* clavus*, operated from a three-person cabin on a liburna's stern, was a notable detail on early issues. Left, the die maker of RIC IV 188 changed that detail into Elagabal operating a liburna's raised* clavus *while being held by Elagabalus. Image: RIC IV 120 courtesy Nomos AG, Obolos Web Auction 4, Lot 663; RIC IV 188 courtesy Auktionen Fruhwald, Auction 141, Lot 485.*

undertaken by studying the dies used to strike issues of RIC IV 188 during AD 218–19. The value of this additional approach is highlighted by Elkins, 'die studies allow one to establish a chronology of dies and examine the evolution or transformation of a specific image over time' (2009: 32). Drawing upon Kleiner (1985), Cox (1991), and Beckmann (2008), Elkins (2009: 32–3) notes three considerations that could prove useful if assumed by a die study of RIC IV 188,

(1) iconography from the early dies of a coin type tends to represent its referent with more detail – compared to the dies used to strike later issues of the same type;

(2) the early die iconography of a coin type (e.g. a *liburna* at sea) presumably resembles its referent more closely than the die iconography of later issues because the latter were probably copied from earlier dies, shedding detail in the process;

(3) during this die evolution process, only certain details of the referent may become less distinct, less explicit, or more standardised.

Given the problem of interpretation associated with the *gubernator trio* on the silver ship of Elagabalus, a die study of RIC IV 188 would usefully supplement the Comparative Textual Analysis used for our investigation here.

With this prospect in mind, the author has given an early issue of RIC IV 188 to The Australian Institute of Archaeology (Figure 9) so that further evidence for the trio's evolving image may be available for any future die study of this suggestive Roman Empire coin type.

After the theo-political sophistication of RIC IV 188, the Empire's 'Ship of State' coins were never again quite so innovative. The trope continued to be used, for example by Gallienus, RIC V 32, AD 260, but as wars leeched more and more bullion and beauty from Roman coins, the silver ship of Elagabalus eventually emerged as both the acme of a form and the beginning of its end.

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Abbreviations

CTA	Comparative Textual Analysis
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage (Spink & Son).
RRC	Roman Republican Coinage

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The Conservation of a Mummified Child from the Australian Institute of Archaeology

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Abstract: The paper discusses a child mummy's past restoration, pre-treatment condition, and the minimally invasive conservation interventions undertaken. The mummy was purchased in 1965 by the Australian Institute of Archaeology and has been displayed and stored since that time. Conservation was made possible by a grant. Images taken soon after the mummy arrived in Australia guided some conservation decisions. Analytical methods used to identify materials associated with previous restorations and the mummy's deteriorating condition included Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy, Energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy fluorescence and Reflectance Transformation Imaging.

Keywords: Mummy; mummification; conservation; cartonnage

Introduction

The conservation of the mummified child from the Australian Institute of Archaeology (AIA) was an important milestone in the life and research history of this ancient Egyptian mummy. The AIA acquired the mummy at Sotheby's auction house in London on the 26 April 1965 (AIA Doc 255; Sotheby & Co. 1965: 26). The Sotheby catalogue had no provenance information but described the mummy as that of a child from the Ptolemaic Period. However, a Graeco-Roman date has been suggested to be more probable because of the style of decoration (Crocker 1990: 70; Davey et al. 2003; Mann 2006).

The mummy was brought to Australia to contribute to the AIA's school education program based at Ancient Times House in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne. The mummy was displayed with temperature control but limited humidity and light regulation. Since the closure of Ancient Times House in 1999, the mummy had been displayed occasionally and was otherwise stored in a dark insulated location. The mummy's condition was very poor, and remedial conservation was required to prevent loss and to restore aesthetic integrity.

In 2016 the AIA was awarded a grant by the Copland Foundation to conserve the cartonnage and wrappings of the mummy. Grimwade Conservation Services, The University of Melbourne, undertook the work between February 2017 and April 2019. The final stage of the conservation was completed in conjunction with Pod Museum and Art Services, Melbourne, which constructed a custom support acrylic cradle, and display and storage cases. As the mummy contains the remains of a once-living person, assessments and interventions were done respectfully, and ethical guidelines were followed[1].

Visual inspection, ultraviolet (UV) light examinations, scientific testing and our literature review indicated that the cartonnage and wrappings had undergone previous interventive restoration. The motive for the earlier work was revealed by photographic images of the mummy (AIA 1971) showing the mask's nose and a portion of the cheek on the proper left side missing (Figure 1).

Four elements of the mummy were the focus of the conservation: the linen wrapping and three separate cartonnage plates on the face and neck, chest, and legs. Cartonnage is made from textile and gesso moulded to the form of the mummy and painted with decoration. Each cartonnage plate had been painted by a different hand, and there was no stylistic continuity, raising the possibility that not all of them date from the time of mummification.

The attribution of the mummified child to the Graeco-Roman period is based on the assessment of the three cartonnage plates. The practice of mummification ceased during this period which began when Alexander the Great invaded Egypt (323 BC) and ended in the early Christian era (3rd – 7th century AD) (Bard 2008; Abdel-Maksoud and El-Amin 2011). Egyptian mummification practices commenced in the third millennium BC, during the Old Kingdom, and peaked in the New Kingdom (16th – 11th Century BC) (Bard 2008; Abdel-Maksoud and El-Amin

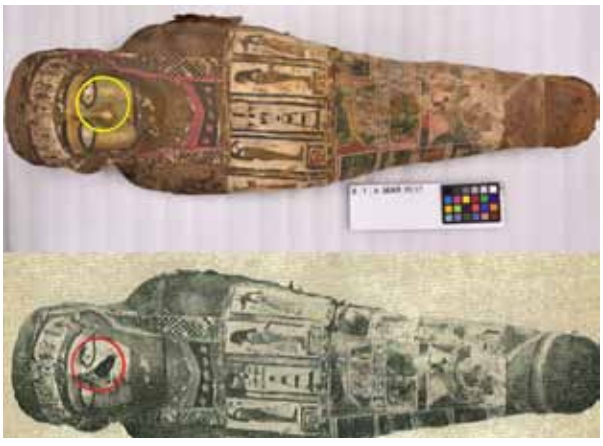

Figure 1: *Images illustrating the previous restoration work. Top image: March 2017, the nose and proper left side of the cheek, circled in yellow, have been restored. Bottom image: 1960s, shows a cavity where the nose and proper left side of the cheek should be, circled in red. Top image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017, Bottom image: from AIA (1971).*

2011: 129–130). An AIA publication (1971:2) suggests that the painted row of rosettes, together with the design of dots down the sides of the leg cartonnage, were first used together in the Graeco-Roman period. However, this argument alone is not enough to date the mummified child because of the stylistic differences between the three cartonnage plates.

Condition of the linen wrappings

The textile wrappings were in very poor condition. They were discoloured, friable and structurally fragile. Losses and lifting sections of wrapping were present on the top of the head, on the sides of the chest, on the proper right shoulder, the lower torso, and across the back. The wrappings in these specific locations readily shed fibres and other material, including frass (insect faeces), human bone and insect casings. Human bone was visible through a tear extending from the front surface across the entire width of the back profile. This area of damage was the most critical point of structural weakness.

Surface debris, accretions and extraneous materials were also present in localised areas on the textile wrappings, including synthetic fibres near the feet. These materials were examined under induced UV light, using bright blue fluorescence, to assist with the identification of materials, detecting insect damage or surface coatings, and detecting previous restoration or repair areas. When certain materials absorb UV light, it is reflected towards the eye as a longer wavelength of visible light. This is known as UV-induced visible fluorescence (AICCM 2017).

Handling the mummified child, particularly on the proper left shoulder region, the top of the head, and along the mid-section where extensive tearing and losses were present, resulted in further shedding and loss of textile fibres (Figure 2). A large area of loss and extensive tears was present on the upper leg region. The textile wrappings in this area were heavily degraded and damaged with tears and evidence of past insect activity. Unsupported sections of textile wrappings were visible inside the exposed interior cavity. Evidence of previous insect damage, frass and insect casings, was present inside the exposed interior cavity and in areas where the textile wrappings were lifting from the surface.

Figure 2: *Areas of loss and lifting wrappings on mummified child. Images: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

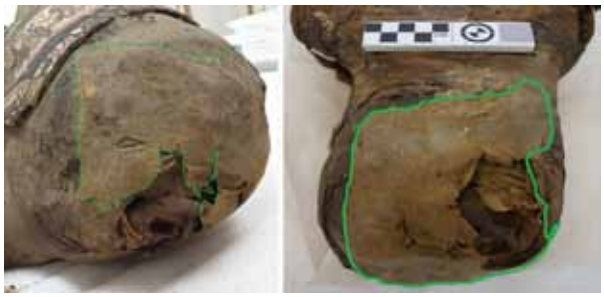

Figure 3: *A large patch on the top of the Child Mummy's head. Left: Front view, and Right: Rear view. The patch represents past restoration work. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

Examination of the top of the mummified child's head using visible light and UV-induced visible fluorescence identified a large fabric patch measuring 130 mm wide and 190 mm long (diagonally) extending from the 'hairline' region of the forehead to the back of the head. The large square patch was lighter in colour than the linen wrapping and was inconsistent with other textile strips wrapping the mummified child (Figure 3). The patch was disguised by what appeared to be a 'slurry' made from sediment containing plant fibre. The slurry extended beyond the borders of the patch and appeared to have been intentionally applied to blend the patch with the surrounding areas of the ancient wrapping. It can be speculated that the patch and slurry were either an attempt to cover and contain the exposed human skeletal remains or were undertaken to make the mummified child appear more complete, thereby increasing its monetary value. Several tears in the patch were probably caused by the movement of protruding disarticulated bones.

Condition of the cartonnage mask

A painted mask with the visage of a human face and head adornments is positioned over the mummified child's head (Figure 4). The mask was in fair-to-poor condition with losses, cracks and surface abrasions present on the

Figure 4: *Presence of overpainting showing Schlag on the nose and surrounding facial features. Images: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017*

Figure 5: *The presence of large cracks and losses on the proper right side of the mask. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

front and sides. The surface of the mask was friable, and the pigments were prone to flaking when light pressure was applied to the surface. There were large cracks on the proper right side of the mask extending from the forehead to the décolletage of the mask. Cracks were also on the front and the proper left side. The ear on the proper right side was lifting from the gesso ground of the cartonnage, suggesting that the mask may have been originally designed for a deceased person with a broader face. Numerous losses were across the surface of the mask ranging in size from less than 10 mm to 30 mm. Loss of pigment was evident on the forehead, chin, eyes, ears, neck, and the décolletage regions of the mask. Pigment fading and loss were also apparent along the borders of the mask. In these areas, the underlying gesso ground was exposed. In localised areas, including the ear on the proper right side, the losses extended past the gesso ground exposing the underlying textile backing (Figure 5).

The previous restoration of the mask distracted from the overall aesthetics (Figures 1 & 6, Image B). The restoration was undertaken by unidentified people before 1969 according to the curator of the AIA collection 1969–1982 (C.J. Davey pers. comm.). The large, restored nose covered the upper lip and did not complement the comparatively small facial features. Numerous cracks were around the restored nose indicating that

Figure 6: *The centre images show the changes made to the* djed *pillar panel on the chest cartonnage. Images: Grimwade Conservation Services (A) and AIA (B).*

the restoration materials were incompatible with the cartonnage. Excessive amounts of adhesive had been used. The restoration and surrounding area was overpainted to cover up the repair. The restored area and the area around the nose on the proper left side were finished with a metallic leaf, which had green-blue discolouring, indicating copper corrosion (Figure 4). The area surrounding the restoration was not discoloured.

Kyi and Kowalski (2017) undertook Energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy fluorescence (EDS-XRF) analysis of the mummified child cartonnage identifying the pigments present on the three sections of cartonnage, which included red ochre and malachite (Appendix 1). They also identified copper in the metallic leaf on the restored nose. The coating was probably an alloy of copper and zinc called Schlag, also known as Dutch metal. Schlag was probably used as an inexpensive alternative to gold leaf (Rivers and Umney 2003: 646), and may tarnish if left uncoated (Figure 4).

Condition of the chest cartonnage plate

The chest cartonnage plate was in fair-to-poor condition. The pigment had faded, and there were losses on the lower proper left side and upper, lower, and proper left borders. The most significant losses were near the lower corners. A sizable crack was directly on the painted figure of *Imsety* immediately to the left of the central figure. The surface of the cartonnage in this area was pushed inwards and portions of the cartonnage were missing. All areas of damage had associated pigment and gesso loss. Moderate pigment fading was noted on the four central figures, representing the sons of *Horus*.

One register of the chest cartonnage plate differed from the image taken soon after 1965 (Figure 6). The central *djed* symbol was altered prior to 1969 (C.J. Davey pers. comm.). The traditional four horizontal lines were replaced by vertical lines. Although the *djed* symbol is no longer accurately represented, it provides evidence of past restorations contributing to our knowledge of the early materials and techniques used by restorers and what was considered acceptable; it is part of the mummy's story.

Condition of the leg cartonnage plate

The upper proper right corner of the leg cartonnage plate was covered in sediment, dust, and debris. The pigments on the leg cartonnage appeared to be muted. Portions of the painted surface were faded or missing, particularly on the upper centrally positioned pictorial scene, the proper right side of the cartonnage, the proper left side of the cartonnage, and along the border where the chest and leg cartonnage align. The most extensive loss was approximately 50 × 10 mm in size. Large tears were present between the chest and leg cartonnage. One tear extended from the proper right side across the back surface to the proper left side of the body. The surface of the leg cartonnage, like the chest cartonnage, was not uniform. Using specular enhanced images captured using

Figure 7: *Detail of the surface of the chest cartonnage. Left, a visible light photograph, and Right, a specular enhanced image captured using Reflectance Transformation Imaging showing surface undulations. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

Reflectance Transformation Imaging (Cultural Heritage Imaging 2013), it was apparent that the surface of the leg cartonnage undulated, particularly along the front and proper left sides of the cartonnage (Figure 7).

Most surface damage, including losses, cracks, scratches, and abrasions, was present along the top border and lower proper left side. Evidence of insect activity, including the presence of frass, was also evident. Small circular holes deemed to be insect exit holes were present on the proper left side and along the upper border of the cartonnage (Figure 8). The holes varied in size between 1 to 4 mm. Alternatively, these holes may have been deliberately formed for tying cartonnage to the mummy.

Documentation

The condition of the mummy was recorded in a Condition and Treatment Report. The Report also documents the processes undertaken during and after the conservation treatment. It is a professional requirement of the conservation discipline (see footnote 1) and contains: the conservator's record of all condition observations, analyses, treatment processes and materials, and the rationale for treatment decisions as agreed with stakeholders. Drawings, photographs, and analytical graphs are included. Future conservators and researchers can use the Report to ascertain the mummy's condition and conservation treatments. The Report is permanent record and part of the mummy's biography.

Figure 8: *The circular holes present on the side registers of the leg cartonnage suggestive of tie points used to secure the cartonnage. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017*

Conservation Treatment

It is intended that the mummified child will be displayed in a museum setting as a basis for inquiry by school students, amongst others. Until that time the mummy is to be kept in an environmentally stable and dark location. One exception will be a planned imaging at the Australian Synchrotron. The conservation therefore aimed to make the cartonnage and mask clear for study and, with the aid of suitable display and storage cases, to stabilise the mummy adequately for handling and travel.

Working with mummified human remains was a privilege and comes with the understanding that we were not caring for an inanimate object. We were conserving the remains of a person who had a family and a life before our own (see Cassman & Odegaard 2004; Fletcher et al. 2014). Signage was used to identify that sensitive material was being conserved within the laboratory, and access was restricted to personnel connected with the conservation intervention (Figure 9).

Ethical guidelines for conservation of ancient things, especially human remains, prescribe 'minimal intervention' with appropriate conservation materials that are identifiable and have good ageing properties, and methods that enable re-treatment that will reduce possible future treatment problems[2]. Past restoration practices, fashions and display standards resulted in things being heavily modified and devalued (Keene 1994: 19). Today, the physical, aesthetic, and historical integrity of the thing being conserved is deemed to be vital in conservation, which aims to retain or reinstate its significance (France-Lanord 1996: 241). Conservation treatment changes can never be fully reversed. The ethical guideline of 'minimal intervention' acknowledges that past conservation treatments have often failed or been too interventive.

Figure 9: *Custom signage used during the conservation treatment of the Child Mummy. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

Figure 10: *Example of the process of repairing failing or detached sections of linen wrapping using Japanese Kozo tissue paper and wheat starch paste. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

Before commencing conservation, the environment where the mummified child was housed was examined to determine appropriate treatment materials. A literature survey identified the most recent techniques used to conserve mummies (Bartindale 2021; Cassman and Odegaard 2004; Gänsicke et al. 2003; Quinton 1995; Rozeik 2011; Singer 1995; Thompson and Kataoka 2011; Watkins and Brown 1988). The first conservation intervention required was securing failing linen wrappings. As the mummy was expected to experience variations of temperature and humidity in the near term, robust materials were selected. Japanese Kozo paper (hereafter, called Japanese paper), made from the bark of the mulberry tree, and wheat starch paste were selected in preference to other adhesives often used on mummy wrappings, such as Methylcellulose paste or BEVA films (Cruckshank and Tinker 1995; Gänsicke et al. 2003; Thompson and Kataoka 2011).

The process began by repairing the wrappings on the back of the mummified child. Sieved wheat starch paste was diluted with deionised water to achieve the appropriate consistency. Strips of untoned and toned Japanese paper were then carefully applied using bullnose tweezers and micro spatulas (Figure 10) (Cruickshank & Tinker 1995; Gänsicke et al. 2003; Thompson & Kataoka 2011). The paper was toned with Golden® Artist acrylic paints. The repairs were gently weighted to ensure good adhesion.

Before re-attaching each layer of wrapping, the surface was gently dry cleaned using a soft art brush and a variable suction Hepa filter vacuum cleaner. The vacuum cleaner nozzle was covered with tuille to prevent unintentional damage to the bandaging, and the vacuum suction

Figure 11: *The process of dry brush vacuuming the mummified child. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

was adjusted to 'Low' (Figure 11). Removed material, frass, linen fibres, sawdust-like material, and tiny bone fragments were collected and placed in labelled sample vials. This process was completed for each failing or detached linen wrapping section on the front and back profiles. These sections varied in size from small single layers of wrapping measuring 10 mm to multi-layer areas measuring 200 mm in length.

The distorted wrapping was gently humidified using dampened blotter paper, Reemay®, a vapour-permeable barrier and weights (Bartindale 2021: 221; Singer and Wylie 1995). The Reemay® acted as a barrier through which the linen wrappings were moistened. The blotter paper was dampened using a pressurised Dahlia® sprayer which controlled the quantity of moisture, droplet size and uniformity. After five hours, the distorted sections of linen relaxed sufficiently to facilitate repair.

The insect exit holes/tunnels on the mummified child front and back textile wrappings were plugged to prevent future insect attacks. A small number of the insect exit holes had only penetrated through surface layers of the mummified

Figure 12: *Use of Japanese tissue paper 'ropes' to support/prop fragile sections of the cartonnage mask on the proper right side and prevent further loss of original material – fragments of textile wrapping. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

child and did not require backfilling. Approximately ten insect holes penetrated to the interior cavity containing the human remains. All holes were filled using Japanese paper 'ropes' made by twisting 50 mm lengths of Japanese paper. The 'ropes' were eased into the holes with a pair of needle-nosed tweezers (Figure 12). The final 'rope' used to plug each hole was toned to complement the colour of the linen wrapping. The process was straightforward, minimally invasive and intended to reduce the risk of future insect attack by blocking these access points.

The largest area of loss of the linen wrappings was present on the mid-section of the back profile. The damage extended from the top proper left corner of the leg cartonnage to the edge of the proper right register of the leg cartonnage (Figure 13). In this area, linen wrappings were failing or missing altogether, human skeletal remains were visible, and material readily fell from the

Figure 13: *The most significant area of loss and damage to the linen wrappings, verso profile. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2017.*

cavity resulting in the loss of ancient material, including friable human skeletal remains. The large loss area on the back profile was first bridged with Japanese paper strips measuring approximately 15 mm in width. The strips acted as a 'web' or support layer on which the 'patch' of Japanese paper was placed to close the large loss. Three strips of toned Japanese paper running vertically were anchored, followed by three strips placed running horizontally. The strips were held in place with viscous wheat starch paste. The process required the adhesion and curing of one side of each strip to ensure that it was anchored before being secured to the other end. Once the 'web' of Japanese paper strips was cured, two patches of toned Japanese paper were placed approximately 4 mm over the edges of the loss and under areas where linen wrappings were present. The patches were secured with viscous wheat starch paste applied with custom-shaped Mylar spatulas, metal spatulas, tweezers, and brushes.

Figure 14: *Gentle weighting using thin metal clips, small weights and balsam wood support blocks were selected during the humidification process. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2018.*

The final stage of stabilising the fragile and lifting areas was carried out on and around the restored patch on the mummified child's head. Before repairing the area of loss, distorted and misaligned wrapping layers surrounding the loss were gently humidified for 24 hours. The humidified sections were then weighted and held in place with metal clips, weights and balsa wood support blocks, using a Reemay® barrier (Figure 14). A patch composed of toned Japanese paper was applied approximately 4 mm over the edges of the loss using viscous wheat starch paste. After treatment, the skeletal remains were no longer visible, and the wrappings were stable and correctly aligned.

The cartonnage mask had textile fibre loss and required stabilisation to prevent further loss. A void of about 40 mm was present between the mask and the mummified child allowing textiles fragments to fall from the cavity on the proper right side of the mask. To prevent further loss, Japanese paper ropes were inserted into the cavity (Rozeik 2011). To achieve aesthetic unity, the final ropes were toned to the colour of the wrappings. The process was repeated on the proper right side, below the right ear on the cartonnage mask where structural cracks were mobile and prone to detaching.

The Nose Replacement

At the request of the AIA the large, restored nose was removed and replaced by a nose that better fitted the shape and size of the mask. A scalpel and needle-nose tweezers were employed to pare back the outer layers of the restored nose carefully (Figure 15). A slow, controlled intervention was required to ensure that no damage was caused to the mask. Fill material was removed gently, and sample jars were used to collect each material layer as they were removed (Figure 16).

Solubility testing was performed before removing the nose to determine which solvents would dissolve the

Figure 15: *Process of removing the outer layers of the nose using mechanical means, specifically the use of a scalpel and tweezers. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2018.*

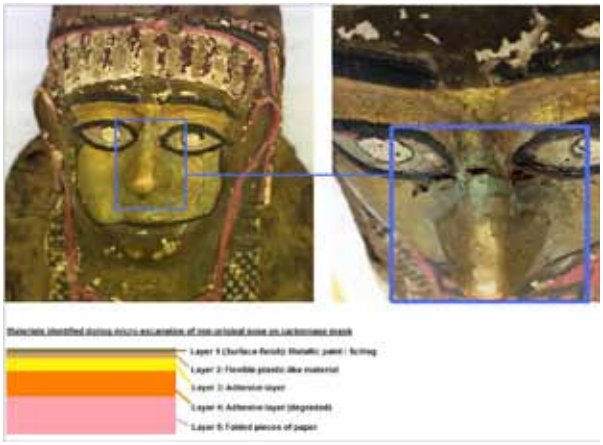

Figure 16: *Documenting the materials identified and collected during the micro-exavation process. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2018.*

restoration materials. Solvents including 100% acetone and 100% ethanol were tested. Acetone effectively removed the Schlag coating, softened the adhesive, and degraded polyurethane/polystyrene material found within the nasal cavity. Poultices made of cotton wool dampened with acetone softened the adhesive layers. The cotton wool was cut to conform to the restoration contours (Figure 17). After twenty minutes, the poultices were lifted to locate and remove small portions of the restoration. The working time following the removal of the poultice was approximately five to eight minutes, which meant that this step was repeated many times.

The removal of the restored nose exposed numerous idiosyncratic restoration materials. Six materials were identified: Schlag, a hard epoxy like layer (layer 1), a flexible plastic material that sat where the boundary of the nose ended, a putty plasticine-like material (layer 2), degraded polystyrene or polyurethane adhesive (layers 3 and 4), and a sizable amount of pink paper pieces wedged into the proper left cheek cavity (layer 6). The solvents proved effective in removing the polyurethane/polystyrene and the Schlag covering the surface of the nose and surrounding areas of the proper right and left cheek. Acetone and other tested solvents, ethanol and White Spirits, were ineffective in dissolving adhesives

Figure 17: *Application and use of cotton wool poultices dampened with 100% acetone to soften the adhesive present on the nose. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2018.*

found in the nose cavity (layers 2 and 3), only softening these materials (Figure 15).

After most of the restored nose had been removed, residual adhesive and pink paper used in the old restoration were left in place to prevent the mask from collapsing inwards. This reduced the amount of intervention and provided a foundation for building an appropriately sized nose. A sample of each restoration material was collected and placed in individually labelled sample jars for future analytical testing. Seven samples, predominately from the upper section of the cartonnage mask were removed as part of the conservation treatment. The seven samples were analysed using Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR). The purpose of the analysis was to determine what types of materials and adhesives had been used in the past restoration. The resulting data identified polyvinyl chloride (PVC), cellulose nitrate and an epoxy resin (Appendix 2). Identifying past restoration materials demonstrated the multitude of materials and methods of what are now considered unsuitable and idiosyncratic materials which were used before the discipline of conservation evolved.

Building and shaping the new nose necessitated several steps using carefully selected sound conservation materials, which are different from the original material and therefore detectable. Two layers of dry Japanese paper ropes, ranging from 50 mm to 80 mm in length and 15 mm to 20 mm in width, were used to fill the proper left cheek cavity (Rozeik 2011). Three additional layers of Japanese paper ropes wet with starch paste were then applied on top to form a sound foundation on which to place the new nose.

The peripheries of the nose and proper left cheek cavity were consolidated with a 10% solution of Paraloid™ B-72 in acetone (weight/weight) and left to dry. Paraloid™ B-72 (hereafter referred to as B-72) is a resin that conservators have used since 1949. It became popular for consolidating friable material in the 1960s and 1970s. B-72 is a stable thermoplastic acrylic copolymer composed of ethyl methacrylate monomers and methyl acrylate at a ratio of 70:30 (Koob 1986). Rohm and Haas manufacture it as solid pellets that are dissolved in a solvent. By altering the solution concentration, adding a bulking agent, or modifying the application technique, B-72 can be used as a consolidant, adhesive, coating, and in-filler (Quinton 1995: 122). The consolidant acted as a barrier layer between exposed linen wrappings, on the upper bridge of the nose and along the peripheries of the nasal and proper left cheek cavity and the fill material. Thin layers of Liquitex® Modelling paste were applied with a flexible metal spatula (Figure 18) to the upper part of the nasal bridge, the Japanese paper filled cheek cavity, and the area around where the nose sits. Liquitex® modelling paste (hereafter referred to as Liquitex) is composed of marble dust and acrylic emulsion. The fill material is commonly used in conservation to build heavy textures on rigid supports and create three-dimensional

Figure 18: *The process of filling losses around the nasal cavity and the proper left cheek cavity with Liquitex modeling paste. The paste was applied in numerous layers to ensure the fill contoured the facial features of the mask and sat flush with the surface. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2018.*

forms. It dries to the hardness of stone and can be sanded or carved when thoroughly dry (Barov & Lambert 1984; Craft & Solz 1998). Liquitex® was chosen because of its adhesive qualities and its well-known properties. Following each application of Liquitex®, any cracks present on the surface were pared back with a combination of acetone, used to soften the paste, and custom-made files made from sheets of alumina oxide abrasive paper files (grades P120, P320, P400), double-sided tape and archival board scraps. The files were used to abrade and pare back divots and undulations (Figure 19). Filling the losses required multiple applications of Liquitex® and shaping to ensure that the cavities were filled and followed the contours of the mask's facial features. A minor gesso loss under the lower edge of the proper left eye was also infilled, and inpainted using Golden® Artist acrylics paint to match the surrounding surface colour and finish.

Figure 19: *The materials and equipment used during the process of filling losses on the cartonnage mask, specifically around the nasal cavity and the cavity on the proper left cheek. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2018.*

The new nose was custom made to better fit the contours, size, and shape of the mask. Numerous images of cartonnage masks were examined to gain an understanding of ancient Egyptian facial features and how they were translated to cartonnage masks (Figure 20). Two test noses were prepared to determine which material would best create a lightweight nose using Liquitex® and Sculptamold, a cellulose compound fill material. Liquitex® was ruled out as the weight of such a nose would too great for the mummified child. Sculptamold is lightweight when dry, does not shrink, has good working properties, and can be shaped and carved. The process of shaping the nose involved sanding and the application of very thin layers of Liquitex® diluted in deionised water fill undulations in the surface of the nose resulting from the use of Sculptamold. The nose was then sanded and polished with Micro-mesh®. Micro-mesh® is a fabric with abrasive particles secured with a latex film. The cloth backing makes it useful for shaping awkward areas for which abrasive papers are too stiff. Grits from size 1500 – 6000 contain silicon carbide, and finer grits (8,000 and 12,000) contain aluminium oxide. When a satisfactory finish had been achieved, the nose was secured to the mask using 40% solution of Paraloid B48-N in acetone (weight/weight) (Horie 2010). Paraloid B48-N is a colourless, thermoplastic acrylic resin copolymer of methacrylate methyl methacrylate and butyl acrylate, supplied as solid pellets. It remains solid up to 50°C and therefore has increased stability at elevated temperatures and is suitable for fluctuations in temperature. At the time of adhesion, any voids or gaps between the nose and the surrounding infilled areas of the nasal and proper left cheek cavity were filled with Liquitex®. Again, the process was time-consuming and involved several applications of Liquitex® in thin layers to ensure that the nose blended seamlessly with the facial features of the mask. Final shaping of the nose was completed using a combination of 100% acetone

Figure 20: *The new nose attached to the cartonnage mask. Liquitex modeling paste was used to fill voids between the nose and filled nasal and proper left cheek cavities. The nose was carved, sanded and polished to achieve a smooth, even finish. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2018.*

Figure 21: *The process of gilding the nose and proper left cheek area of the cartonnage mask. Image: Grimwade Conservation Services, 2018.*

applied with a fine soft art brush, mechanical reduction using a sharp scalpel, and custom sandpaper files and Micro-mesh® of varying grades from coarse to fine. The result was a smooth, even surface finish that was essential for the final stages of the treatment process—gilding and inpainting.

Doing trial runs with gold pigmented paint determined that it would not adequately match the surface of the gilt remaining on the mummy's cheeks. Schlag was not considered because of the corrosion present on the previous restoration. Therefore, gold leaf was selected to match the original materials and prevent corrosion. Gilding the new nose and Liquitex® fills involved using gold leaf, a large flat blade palette knife, fine inpainting brushes, gilder's cushion, gilder's tip, mop and duster brushes, and acrylic gold size. In preparation for gilding, the surface was lightly brushed clean to remove any dust or particulate matter and prepped with Langridge Acrylic Gold Size adhesive applied with a fine brush. The size was left to dry for 10 minutes to achieve the right tack level before the gold leaf was applied. Twenty-three-carat gold leaf was selected to provide the closest colour match to the ancient gold leaf present on the mask. Once applied, any areas where the gold leaf was missing were carefully filled with small squares of gold leaf. Excess gold leaf was gently brushed off the surface using a gilder's mop brush, and the gilded areas were left to settle. Small areas, less than 3 mm in size, of the gilded nose and proper left cheek were left ungilded to match the 'aged' surface condition of the ancient gilded and painted surfaces (Figure 21). The final process of this treatment step involved carefully adding layers of paint over the gilded surface to blend in sympathetically with the ancient surface of the mask. Minimal intervention practice required that the paint and gilding be applied to the conserved area only and not overlap ancient cartonnage materials. The conservation repairs undertaken addressed key condition issues and restored the mummy's visual integrity in an ethically considered and thoughtful manner (Figure 22).

Concluding comments

The conservation treatment of the child mummy marked an important point in the history and preservation of the mummy. Throughout the conservation process, from the initial literature and material assessment phase to determine the most appropriate conservation materials, to the conservation treatment of the mummified child, respect and care were at the forefront for all parties involved. All aspects of the treatment process were researched, tested, and applied in an ethically considered manner, and the subsequent re-housing of the child mummy was a successful collaboration among the AIA, Pod Museum Services and Grimwade Conservation Services. The result is a more structurally stable and aesthetically integrated mummy.

Figure 22: *The mummified child after conservation treatment supported by the acrylic craddle made by POD Museum Art Services. Image: AIA*

Working on this project came with some challenges; the fragility of the mummy before treatment meant that handling and shifting were minimised, and all examinations and treatment steps were meticulously planned and documented to prevent any unnecessary movement. Conservation treatment concentrated on stabilising the wrappings and making a new nose that fits the mask's proportions. The child mummy is now secured to a back-support and a custom-made case and storage box which are designed for transport, storage, and display.

The story of the child mummy continues to be written. New research paths are being explored to learn more about the mummy and the story of the person whose remains are contained therein. The imaging at the Australian Synchrotron was straight-forward because the mummy did not need to be removed from the carrying case made by Pod Museum Services.

A radiocarbon dating program is to be pursued and will begin with suitable material collected during the treatment process. Sampling human remains has become more sensitive because of experience working with First Nation human remains (see Wills et al. 2014). Invasive testing is not envisaged. In future it is hoped that people will know more about the person whose well-presented mummy they can now observe, courtesy of the conservation program just described.

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Endnotes

1 Conservation work is guided by ethical standards established by national and international conservation organisations. Conservators use these codes as principles that moderate and guide their practices. Ethics in conservation can range from discussions about whether a thing should be conserved, to the choice of materials used in conservation processes. Ethical decisions relate both to the thing undergoing treatment and to stakeholders' wishes.

2 During the Enlightenment, museums separated things from their social and cultural context; in doing so, 'things' were singled out as objects for view. The authors acknowledge that words such as 'object' and 'artefact' have colonial origins and are related to power and control that can exclude the original owners and/or descendants and affect how we value and handle things (see Ouzman 2006: 269; Harrison 2013: 15; Sully 2008). This paper avoids the use of the words 'object' and 'artefact'. Instead, when possible the child mummy is referred to as the mummy. The word 'thing' replaces the word object.

Materials and Supplies List:

Pressurised Dahlia® sprayer
Reemay®
Blotter paper
Wheat Starch Paste
Kozo Japanese paper (K38)
Golden® Artist acrylics
Paraloid™ B48N®
Paraloid™ B-72®
Acetone AR Reagent Laboratory Grade
Ethanol AR Reagent Laboratory Grade
Sculptamold
Liquitex® Modelling Paste
Micro-mesh®
23 carat Gold Leaf
Langridge Acrylic Gold Size

Appendix 1: EDS-XRF Analysis of the cartonnage

Cartonnage	Colour	Element detected	Pigment
Cartonnage 1 - Face Mask 	White	Calcium (Ca)	Calcium Sulphate or Calcium Carbonate
	Red	Iron (Fe)	Red Ochre
	Pink	Lead (Pb)	Red lead or organic pigment
	Green and faded green	Copper (Cu)	Malachite, Egyptian Green
	Blue	Copper (Cu)	Azurite or Egyptian Blue
	Yellow	Arsenic (As)	Orpiment
	Black (blue faded black)	Copper (Cu)	Carbon/bone black mixed with Azurite or degraded Azurite
Cartonnage 2 – Chest 	White	Calcium (Ca)	Calcium Sulphate or Calcium Carbonate
	Yellow	Calcium (Ca)	Organic pigment
	Red	Iron (Fe)	Ochre
	Red	Calcium (Ca)	Organic pigment
	Black	Calcium (Ca)	Carbon/bone black
	Blue/black	Copper (Cu)	Carbon/bone black mixed with Azurite
Cartonnage 3 – Leg 	White	Arsenic (As)	?
	Yellow	Arsenic (As)	Orpiment
	Metallic paint	Gold (Au), Zinc (Zn), Copper (Cu) and Iron (Fe)	Metallic colours
	Red	Calcium (Ca)	Organic pigment
	Black (green)	Copper (Cu)	Azurite
	Black	Calcium (Ca)	Carbon/bone black

Appendix 2: Fourier Transform Infrared Spectroscopy, Summary of Results

Sample	Location/description of sample	Result
A	Bronze paint or schlag, removed from the reconstructed nose	Silicate material and possible metallic pigments are predominant in the sample. The dominance of the pigments appears to mask clear identification of the binder.
B	Opaque orange material from reconstructed nose	Polyvinyl chloride (PVC). Some peaks could be further characterised.
C	Clear adhesive from mask	Epoxy resin. Some peaks could be further characterised.
D	Dark orange adhesive from mask	Cellulose nitrate. Some peaks could be further characterised.
E	Slightly opaque, discoloured (brown) adhesive material from reconstructed nose	Possibly alkyd resin (oil and synthetic resin mixture). Some peaks could be further characterised.
F	Adhesive sample presented on exposed bone (verso profile)	Inconclusive result
G	Black paint from beneath proper-left eyelid on mask	Silicate material predominates in the sample – this could relate to the dense black pigment. Possible epoxy binder. Some peaks could be further characterised.

James Mellaart:
A review of a recent book, some personal memories, and archaeological deception

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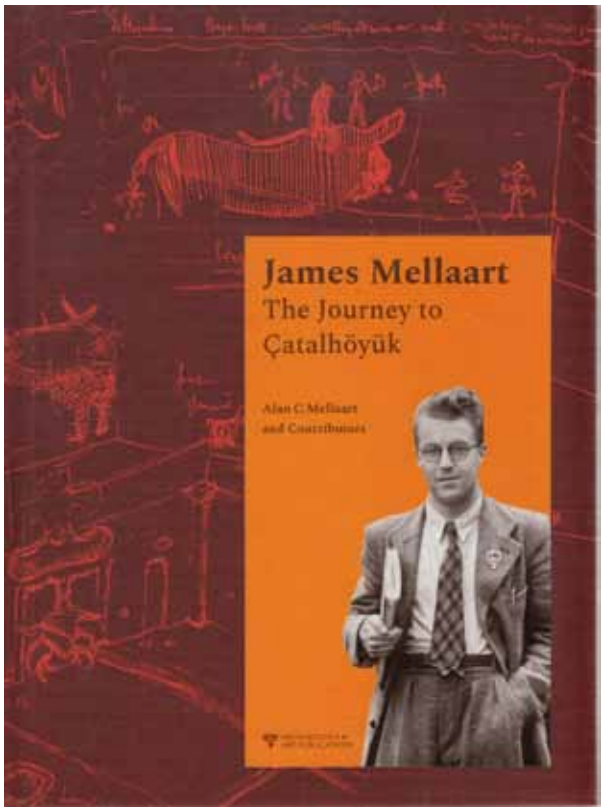
Abstract: Alan C. Mellaart's book about his father *James Mellaart: The Journey to Çatalhöyük* is reviewed. The memories of the author, who attended Mellaart's lectures at the Institute of Archaeology, London, are recounted and discussed in relation to the Dorak affair. The paper also includes the perspective of G.R.H. (Mick) Wright, who excavated with Mellaart in the 1950s. The discussion reflects on the context and consequences of the controversies surrounding Mellaart.



Alan C. Mellaart, *James Mellaart: The Journey to Çatalhöyük* with contributions edited by Emma Baysal, Istanbul: Nezih Basgelen Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, Archaeology and Art Publications, 2020, Hardback, 476pp, 239 illustrations (149 colour, 90 black and white), index, ISBN 978-6-0539-6523-7, USD 90.

Introduction

James Mellaart: The Journey to Çatalhöyük is a collaborative volume. About one quarter of the text is attributed directly to Alan Mellaart and he was clearly responsible for most of the illustrations, many of which were sourced from his father's collection. The remainder of the text comes from many of James Mellaart's archaeological colleagues and Anatolian prehistorians, whose contributions were 'collated, edited and shaped' by Emma Baysal, Associate Professor of Prehistory at Ankara University (p. 12). The book is comparatively expensive and, at the time of writing, is only available by mail order, limiting its potential sales. Many people may, however, unknowingly view some of its content in Janina Ramirez's BBC documentary *Raiders of the Lost Past*, Series 2 Episode 3, which went to air in the UK in March 2021 and four months later in Australia.

The subject of the book is a remarkable archaeologist, James Mellaart (1925–2012), who was loved by many who knew him and loathed by some who did not. His legacy leaves many people confused; how can someone who 'crossed the line' as Janina Ramirez put it, be taken seriously? Yet he cannot be ignored because of the significant contribution he made to the archaeology of the Neolithic period in Anatolia and the Ancient Near East more generally. The dilemma of Mellaart's 'complicated' life is acknowledged in the first paragraph of the book (p. 9) setting up the challenge: is there an explanation for his behaviour and where does it leave archaeology?

From September 1974 to June 1977, I was a student at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, (*the Institute* in this review article). While I was enrolled in Levantine and Mesopotamian Archaeology, I attended lectures on many other subjects, including Mellaart's two-year series Anatolian Archaeology in 1974/5 and 1976/7. My subject notes and personal memories of Mellaart reflect the respect with which he was held. I was not part of his inner circle and, although I was one of less than half a dozen students who regularly attended his class, I suspect he did not know my name. I still find it uncomfortable to refer to him as 'Jimmy,' as everyone else has done since the 1950s. Mellaart was absent from the Institute in 1975/6, during which time his wife's family home near Istanbul was destroyed by fire. The building is deemed significant for Mellaart by Alan Mellaart (p. 11), but it was not something that I was aware of at the time.

The Australian Institute of Archaeology (the *AIA* in this review article) has been often deemed to be interested only in biblically-related archaeology and the acquisition of antiquities. However, between 1961 and 1965 it contributed nearly half of its excavation budget to Mellaart's excavations at Çatalhöyük. It has received little recognition for this commitment, and it obtained no objects from the site or reports about it.

A further connection with the Mellaart legacy was made when the AIA received the papers belonging to G.R.H. (Mick) Wright (1924–2014). Wright excavated with Mellaart in the 1950s. Included in his papers was a handwritten note that gives Wright's explanation for the Dorak affair based on his recollections of Mellaart. This is quoted and discussed below.

James Mellaart: The Journey to Çatalhöyük

The book begins with a description of Mellaart's life by Alan Mellaart (pp. 17–102). This includes a family history tracing Mellaart's activities, domestic matters, and friendships. Alan draws on his own memories, including stories told by his father, and he quotes biographical material written by his father and some family friends. The Dorak affair, for example, is described in a passage written by Mellaart himself (pp. 60-2). Much of this information was unknown to me and, I suspect, to most other students at the Institute in the 1970s.

The volume describes Mellaart's early family life. He was born in 1925 in London to Dutch citizens, Jacob Herman Jan (Jaap) Mellaart, an art dealer, and Appolonia Dingena (Van der Beek), known as Linn. After the 1929 stock-market crash, the family returned to Holland: first to Amsterdam, then to other places, and finally to a castle near Maastricht, where they lived during the War. Linn died in 1933, and thereafter James was brought up by a nanny, whom his father married. His great-aunt on his father's side, Nelly Mctaggart, alerted James to the family's possible Scottish heritage, prompting him to purchase a McDonald kilt. Mellaart was proud of this tenuous ancestry and was later sometimes to be seen ostentatiously bustling around London in the kilt.

Mellaart studied European languages, including ancient Greek and Latin, at the gymnasium in the Hague finishing in 1944. There he developed an interest in geology and contemplated a career as a geologist. To evade his call-up for German labour service he went 'underground' at the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, in a position arranged by his father, where he gained a grounding in Egyptology and Hieroglyphs (pp. 41–52). After Liberation he read Egyptology and Near Eastern History at the University College London (1947–1951). During this time, he frequented the Institute, then in Regent's Park. The text only refers to his contact with Kathleen Kenyon (later Dame) and his participation in her excavations at Sutton Walls and Jericho, where he is said to have learnt his field skills (p. 56). This aspect of the book lacks the detail that historians of archaeology would appreciate. Mellaart also dug at Myrtou Pigadhes, Cyprus, with Joan du Plat Taylor, and at numerous other excavations, and must have been influenced by the various digging, recording techniques and theoretical perspectives he encountered.

A quote from Mellaart's half-brother (p. 55) describes Mellaart explaining dendrochronology to him. This would indicate that he may have also attended Institute lectures by Professors Frederick Zeuner and V. Gordon Childe, the contents of which are known from notes taken by a contemporary of Mellaart, George Dixon (Davey 2016). Childe, who was an Australian and at the time was the Director of the Institute, taught in Prehistory and in 1947 had worked with John Garstang at the Neolithic site of Mersin in southern Turkey (Garstang 1953: 4). The book's silence on the origins of Mellaart's understanding of the Neolithic period may imply that Mellaart did not often talk about these scholars, possibly because they were not known to many of his friends and family. It is a significant omission from the book and leaves one wondering if Mellaart's 'casual' introduction to prehistoric archaeology may have influenced his later behaviour.

Mellaart's archaeological field experience from 1951 until the end of his excavations at Çatalhöyük in 1965, is dealt with in more detail with the inclusion of his own biographical notes (pp. 57–68). Çatalhöyük became significant as a primary source of archaeological data for the Neolithic period, and will always be associated with Mellaart's name. However, the controversy associated with the publication of the Dorak 'treasure' in 1959 and questions about the flow of objects from Hacılar and Çatalhöyük on to the antiquities market, led the Turkish Department of Antiquities to withhold approval for him to excavate Çatalhöyük from 1964. Permission was given for the excavation to proceed in 1965 under the direction of Oliver Gurney, with Mellaart as Assistant Director. That was the last time Mellaart excavated in Turkey and his excavations of Çatalhöyük remained unpublished, except in popular form. In 1964 Mellaart became a lecturer in Anatolian Archaeology at the Institute, a position he held until his retirement in 1991.

The next sixty-five pages (pp. 123–188) are devoted to Arlette, Mellaart's wife, and her background. Mellaart met Arlette Coppelovici (1924–2013) in 1952 when he lectured for Professor Kurt Bittel at the University of Istanbul and participated in Bittel's excavation at Fikirtepe where she was a student and excavator. They married in 1954. Alan Mellaart describes how his mother's organisational skills complemented his father's administrative shortcomings (p. 117). Both were committed field archaeologists. Arlette's Turkish relations meant that Mellaart spent much time in Turkey with her.

Arlette's mother, Marie Ulviye Rosenthal, had Jewish heritage and was an accomplished classical pianist and artist. In 1939, she divorced Arlette's father, Beno, and married Kadri Cenani, a sophisticated Turkish gentleman

Figure 2: *Myrtou Pigadhes 1951, Team photo, front row from the left, James Mellaart, Hector Catling, Lord William Taylour, Joan du Plat Taylor, Veronica Seton Williams, Linda Melton (Benson), Second row, Elizabeth Catling and the host and hostesses, Photographer: Basil Hennessy, Absent: Margaret Munn-Rankin, John Waechter and Mick Wright. Photo: courtesy of Linda Hennessy from the archives of Basil Hennessy.*

whose family had been senior officials in the Ottoman Empire. There are chapters on Safvet Pasha, an ancestor of Kadri Cenani, and Kadri Bey himself, but nothing further about Arlette's biological parents. Alan Mellaart (1955–) has lived much of his life in Turkey, and this may help to explain this focus of the book.

Arlette pens a chapter (pp. 123-42) reflecting on her life in her stepfather's family home where her mother lived, Safvet Paşa Yalısı, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus near Istanbul. It was large enough for Mellaart and Arlette to base themselves there when in Turkey, and to be part of the relaxed social life that it supported. The Yalı (a waterfront house) was destroyed by fire in 1976 together with many of Mellaart's excavation records. Thereafter, Mellaart and Arlette spent much of their summers in London.

The second part of the book focusses on Mellaart's archaeological activity, and begins with a chapter written by Mehmet Özdoğan, Emeritus Professor of Prehistory, University of Istanbul (1994–2010). Drawing on a nine-page bibliography he traces the development of Neolithic archaeology in the Near East and Europe and assesses Mellaart's contribution to it. For archaeologists, this chapter is the core of the book (pp. 189–240).

During the 1950s Mellaart excavated on Cyprus, in Palestine and in Turkey. While he was the Assistant Director of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara (BIAA) he undertook several surveys in Turkey, discovering many potential Neolithic sites. Özdoğan considers Mellaart's early 1950s field surveys to be an innovation in Turkey and expresses some astonishment (p. 212) that the dates Mellaart and his colleague, David French, then assigned to their discoveries compare favourably with those currently accepted. These surveys led to the excavations at Bronze Age Beycesultan, and Hacılar and Çatalhöyük where there was a vibrant Neolithic culture in Anatolia. As a result of this work, Özdoğan argues that Mellaart joined the 'greats' of prehistoric archaeology, even though he did not advance theories and instead relied on interpretations of tangible evidence (pp. 190, 208).

Özdoğan offers assessments of Mellaart's controversies: the *kilim* picture reconstructions of Çatalhöyük, the Painted Pebbles, the Dorak 'treasure', and the Luvian inscription of Afyonkarahisar Beyköy. He notes that the *kilim* pictures were published in support of a non-academic debate with J. Powell about the origins of *kilims*. They were products of his memory, not the records that were lost in the 1976 fire. Özdoğan's explanation for the painted pebbles is less convincing. 'It is more correct to think of this not as fakery but as an indication of the somewhat complex integration of Mellaart's emotional and intellectual world with subjects relating to culture history' (p. 215).

The Dorak affair, according to Özdoğan, was not related to 'the antiquities trade, smuggling or collecting'.

It comprised drawings of artefacts that combine Mesopotamian and Egyptian cultures as antecedents to Troy and artefacts that should never, as Professor Machteld Mellink stated, be mentioned in scholarly publications (p. 218). Suggestions as to why Mellaart prepared such imaginary constructs and published them are left to other authors to discuss later in the volume.

The Luvian inscription is more straightforward. In June 2017 Eberhard Zangger, a business consultant with an interest in Luvian studies, received unpublished documents including a drawing of a Luvian inscription from Alan Mellaart who was sorting out his father's papers. Without checking the possible origins of the drawing and the meaning of the text, Zangger went ahead and published it as the 'lost' 1878 Beyköy inscription. When Luvian experts deemed the inscription a work of imagination, Zangger turned on Mellaart accusing him of fraud, which in Özdoğan's view was 'pitiful' (p. 219). One of my Hebrew teachers at Cambridge used to practise calligraphy by writing humorous texts in classical Hebrew. No-one thought it anything more than a clever amusement. Özdoğan quotes Donald Easton, an Anatolian scholar, a fellow-contributor to the book, and a student and colleague of Mellaart, that he did indeed have similar pastimes.

The next chapter (pp. 241-70) comprises extracts from Seton Lloyd's autobiography, *The Interval: A Life in Near Eastern Archaeology* (1986). Seton Lloyd (1902–1996) was Director of the BIAA during the 1950s and was associated with Mellaart's Anatolian expeditions. He was also Professor of Western Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute when Mellaart secured a teaching position there. He was a senior British archaeologist and his assessment of Mellaart as promising 'to become the most brilliant field archaeologist in our circle' cannot be ignored (p. 267). Even so, it is clear from his comments that there were other British archaeologists who did not like Mellaart. Lloyd makes a significant comment that in his view the Dorak publication became a catalyst for raising funds for the excavation of Hacılar, which was not financed by the BIAA (p. 268).

David Stronach (1931–2020) was Emeritus Professor in Near Eastern Archaeology at the University of California, Berkeley, worked with Mellaart at Beycesultan and Hacılar, and accompanied him on some of his 1950s field surveys. Mellaart never learned to drive, so his extensive surveys were carried out using local transport and walking. Stronach's description of Mellaart's surveying practices is fascinating as it tells of his incredible stamina and significant powers of observation (pp. 271-76).

Maxime N. Brami (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Palaeogenetics Group) provides a scholarly review of the Hacılar excavation (pp. 277-92). He confirms that Gordon Childe was open to the possibility of Neolithic activity on the Anatolian plateau, which the rest of the scholarly world, including Seton Lloyd, thought was a 'backwater' at that time. 'Hacılar provided a bridge between Southwest Asian and European Neolithic traditions' (p. 281). The site was one of the first in Turkey to be dated with radiocarbon technology, but its occupation was not a continuous sequence; and this led Mellaart to seek another site: Çatalhöyük.

Professor Refik Duru, head of the Protohistory and Near Eastern Archaeology Department, Istanbul University (1978–1999), also discusses the archaeology of Hacılar and reflects on his experience excavating with Mellaart at Çatalhöyük (pp. 293–302). The Hacılar villagers became quite knowledgeable and, after Mellaart's work was concluded, they began digging for objects to sell on the antiquities market until they discovered that making replicas-fakes was less work and more lucrative. Although Mellaart had no part in this, it was one of the reasons why he was later denied excavation permits by Turkish authorities. Duru has published a more comprehensive assessment of the significance of Hacılar (2010). There are three contributions discussing Hacılar referencing many scholarly papers but not a paper by E. Rosenstock (2010) who reorders the stratigraphic sequence at Hacılar. Her arguments are complex and there may not have been space available to adequately discuss them.

There is a series of Çatalhöyük excavation recollections by Ian Todd, Grace Huxtable, Emma Baysal, Peder Mortensen and John Ingham, that conclude with an evaluation of Mellaart's work at Çatalhöyük (pp. 303–412). Reminiscences from the excavations often allude to the laborious work of cleaning mudbrick supported wall-paintings.

Huxtable mentions illustrations she prepared for 'Australia'. The AIA was one of the key sources of funds for the Çatalhöyük excavation, and it was corresponding with Mellaart at the time; but there is no reference to illustrations in the letters, and no record of any illustrations being received. Ingham comments that the 1965 season was difficult for Mellaart because he was using a significant number of workers from Hacılar, whom he had trained. When they were accused of antiquities smuggling from Hacılar, their ongoing relationship with Mellaart led the Turkish media to implicate him in their activities (p. 410).

This section of the book displays numerous pages from field books. Initially, Mellaart followed the Kenyon system of using a 'science notebook' (alternate line and graph/blank pages) and he used biro; but unlike Kenyon, rather than writing pages of notes, Mellaart annotated sketches, of which there are many (pp. 231-39). There are almost no dimensions, but his writing is more legible than Kenyon's. Seton Lloyd's notebooks for Beycesultan and Mellaart's for Çatalhöyük follow, and are worth reading. For example, the first season at Çatalhöyük in 1961 is recorded to have begun excavation on 17 May, and on 19 May he wrote, 'found wall paintings 20cm below the surface' (p. 373). These were the world's first

wall paintings from the Neolithic period. Mudbrick-based, multi-layered wall paintings present one of the most challenging excavation situations for archaeologists; they were the most time-consuming aspect of the Çatalhöyük excavations.

The evaluation of Mellaart and Çatalhöyük by Ian Hodder is another crucial contribution for archaeologists (pp. 413-30). Hodder's excavation at Çatalhöyük began in 1993 with Mellaart's blessing and contrasted starkly with the earlier excavations in scale, technology, duration, funding, and publication. Although Hodder states that 'the new findings have by and large corroborated Mellaart's claims of the 1960s' (p. 415), readers may conclude that the last twenty-five years of excavation have left little of Mellaart's interpretations:

- the original thirteen strata have given way to continuous phasing with local gaps in occupation;
- many houses were accessed from the roof, but others opened on to courtyards;
- 'streets' are no longer evident;
- some dwellings were two-storey;
- the distinction between 'house' and 'shrine' is less clear, as are gender differentiations,
- rather than hierarchical, Çatalhöyük seems to be egalitarian;
- burials in houses were sometimes articulated, although vulture pecking of corpses is still under consideration; and
- Mellaart's emphasis on the mother goddess seems to have been misplaced.

New techniques have led to conclusions that Çatalhöyük was dependent on sheep, not cattle; new forms of wheat have been identified; obsidian came from Göllü Dağ and Nenezi Dağ, not Hasan Dağ.

Hodder describes how Mellaart did not dispute the changes in interpretation and 'was always keen to know the latest discoveries' (p. 428). This should not be a surprise. For Mellaart, Çatalhöyük was work in progress, his excavations were unfinished and to keep the interest of potential donors he continued to propose 'enthusiastic' interpretations. This is not an environment that many tenured academics today with institutional excavation funding would understand or appreciate. Hodder concludes, 'given the circumstances, what is remarkable is that he got so much right' (p. 428). Later in the book (pp. 451-54), Hodder records his memories of Mellaart's lectures in the 1960s, and the Çatalhöyük 'handover' when he sought Mellaart's blessing for his own excavations at the site.

There is a section devoted to the Dorak affair (pp. 431-44). The circumstances are described with excerpts from Seton Lloyd's autobiography (1986: 163-4) and Kenneth Pearson and Patricia Connor's investigation (1967: 34-7). Stronach was present at the BIAA in 1958 when Mellaart announced the Dorak 'finds' and has not previously written about his memories (p. 437). David Stronach discusses the various explanations. He doubts the traditional reasons for the affair, and instead suggests that Mellaart 'created' the Dorak 'treasure' in the wake of the Beycesultan excavation's lack of significant Anatolian Early Bronze Age material. He concludes,

> *In my own estimation, then, Jimmy appears to have been aiming to insert a 'corrective' body of evidence into the existing archaeological record for no other purpose than to restore a proper appreciation of the significance of west Anatolian culture in the Early Bronze Age* (p. 442).

Stronach's comments suggest that Mellaart's original intention was to influence scholarly attitudes, not popular opinion. He also warns that 'the 1959 Dorak article represents a precedent for the appearance of certain further contributions of a speculative nature within the bounds of his total output' (p. 443); that is, all of Mellaart's work must be treated with suspicion. This contribution by Stronach is the most convincing and best-informed comment about the Dorak affair to date.

Donald Easton, who was a fellow student with me in the 1970s at the Institute, describes Mellaart's presence there (pp. 445-50). Easton brought to my mind the fact that we never sat in the front row of Mellaart's classes as he tended to lecture directly to anyone who sat there. He recollects how, on one Monday, Mellaart presented the Dorak 'treasure' drawings in class. He recalls a 'fat file' with 'all types of paper,' which I do not remember, but he is right to say we were all 'curious' as to the 'authenticity' of the illustrations (p. 447). As a draughtsman, I was looking for drawings and rubbings that had been made directly from the objects, but instead we were shown the final drawings, many in ink and some with water-colour, on which the *Illustrated London News* (*ILN)* publication was based. My recollections of this lecture are discussed further below.

John Carswell, Professorial Research Associate, School of Oriental and African Studies, who excavated with Mellaart in the 1950s at Jericho and Beycesultan, pens a tribute to Mellaart (pp. 455-60). He has some interesting memories from both excavations. He also refers to a manuscript of the Dorak 'treasure', which has been kept secure at the BIAA. He says of it,

> *The few people who have seen it were astonished by the depth and detail of his record, which went way beyond the imagination of any scholar* (p. 458).

Finally, Trevor Watkins, Emeritus Professor of Near Eastern Prehistory, University of Edinburgh, provides a tribute that was previously published at http://journal.antiquity.ac.uk/tributes/mellaart/ (pp. 461-67).

THE ROYAL TREASURE OF DORAK—A FIRST AND EXCLUSIVE REPORT OF A CLANDESTINE EXCAVATION WHICH LED TO THE MOST IMPORTANT DISCOVERY SINCE THE ROYAL TOMBS OF UR.

By JAMES MELLAART, Assistant Director, The British Institute of Archæology, Ankara.

Owing to the circumstances of this discovery, no photographs whatever are yet available and all our illustrations, both black-and-white and coloured, are from meticulous scale drawings made by Mr. Mellaart and they are now published for the first time anywhere in the world. It is emphasised that the colouring is not representational, but is designed to show the materials of which this unbelievably rich treasure was made. The site of the discovery was on an estate somewhat inland from the southern shore of the Sea of Marmora, that landlocked sea which lies between the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, between, that is, Troy and Byzantium.

A RICH collection of objects derived from an unpublished excavation of two Royal Tombs of the Yortan culture, undertaken at about the time of the Turco-Greek war, was rediscovered some years ago by the writer in private possession in Izmir. We are much obliged to the present owner for her permission to publish coloured reproductions of the objects and for the information from what remains of the original excavation records and from notes and old photographs, which has enabled us to reconstruct the approximate tomb lay-out.

A small cemetery consisting of two Royal cist graves and two *pithos* burials of servants was found high up on a hill slope near the village of Dorak, on the southern shore of Lake Apolyont (Vilayet of Bursa) in North-West Turkey, near the Sea of Marmora. A close investigation at the time showed that no other tombs were present in the immediate neighbourhood, and it appears, then, that this site was only used for the burial of a king in Tomb I, a king and queen in Tomb II and two servants of the Royal couple. The *pithos*-graves of the commoners are similar to those found at Yortan, Babaköy and Baysindir (the best-known cemeteries of the Yortan culture), and the pottery found in the two Royal Tombs is again of Yortan type. No other Royal Tombs are known in Western Anatolia and the present find is therefore of unique importance.

Tomb I, the smaller of the two, measured 6 ft. 1 in. (1.8 m.) x 2 ft. 8½ ins. (0.83 m.) and contained the body of an adult male stretched out on his back with his head to the east and feet to the west. He lay on a badly preserved woollen *kilim* (or woven rug), which did not survive the opening of the tomb (Fig. 13).

Around the king's body were placed his funerary gifts: ceremonial arms, weapons, drinking vessels in precious metals, pottery and stone vessels, which may have contained food, and, most important of all, a piece of furniture, probably dismantled before being deposited in the tomb. The position of these objects, as far as still could be ascertained from the faded photographs, was reconstructed in a plan of the tomb.

On the king's right side lay a splendid sceptre with a pear-shaped fluted head of light-green stone and a diagonally fluted ivory handle with gold-capped ends, two black obsidian beakers, one smooth polished, the other vertically fluted, a vertically fluted *depas* (two-handled drinking cup) of gold (Fig. 14), and a one-handled cup with *repoussé* design.

Near his right hand lay a dagger (11¾ ins. in length) with a carnelian pommel, silver blade and hilt covered with embossed gold sheet. Between the king and the south wall of the tomb lay a group of weapons: a lance with silver head and chased midrib, the long decayed wooden shaft being encased in alternate ribbed gold and plain silver tubular pieces of casing, a bronze (or copper) battle-axe of shaft-hole type, with plain gold-encased wooden handle, a flat axe of the same material and a pile of nine swords and daggers. (*Coloured drawings of five of these splendid weapons are shown in our third colour page as Figs. 15, 18a, 18b, 20 and 21. Of the remainder the most interesting is a bronze dagger with a hilt consisting of two plaques of meerschaum, a material found only near Eskisehir, about 100 miles east of Dorak.*)

FIG. 1. EVIDENCE WHICH SECURELY DATES THE ROYAL TOMBS OF DORAK TO THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

These drawings are careful scale transcripts from fragments of gold sheet which originally adorned a wooden throne in the single tomb. They show the *cartouche* of the Pharaoh Sahure (2487-2473 B.C.) and indicate that the throne must have been a Royal gift, provide the first piece of evidence of contact between the seafaring population of North-West Anatolia and Egypt of Third Millennium and also give, as it were, a written date for the tomb.

Stone bowls, cups and goblets of white marble, pink-veined white marble, or light-green stone, and black or brown burnished pottery vessels of Yortan type were placed in the four corners of the tomb. The largest pottery vessel contained the crushed remains of a silver bird-vase with a gold spout and gold ribbing, indicating the bird's plumage. The two rivets on the cut-away spout have heads of lapis lazuli set in gold granulation. Vessels of this type are extremely common in Yortan pottery, and it is now clear that their prototypes were metal vessels.

The most remarkable object, however, in the tomb was a wooden chair or throne, probably dismantled when put in the tomb and unfortunately not restorable. It was plated with thick sheet gold; one of the surviving casings of the legs shows that it had animal feet. Strips of sheet gold bear in embossed Egyptian hieroglyphs the name and titles of the second king of the Fifth Dynasty, Sahure (2487-2473 B.C.) (Fig. 1). This piece of Egyptian furniture undoubtedly represents a Royal gift, and is the first piece of evidence of contact between the seafaring population of North-West Anatolia and Egypt in the Third Millennium B.C. Even if it were an heirloom at the time when it accompanied its owner into the grave, it remains of supreme importance for dating the tomb to *c.* 2500 B.C. or a little later.

The second and larger tomb, measuring 10ft. 2 ins. x 6 ft. 6½ ins. (3.10 x 2 m.), contained two burials: a king in the southern half of the tomb and his queen in the northern half, each accompanied by funerary gifts. Both burials were flexed, with their heads oriented towards the east. Both lay on their right side facing the lake. At the king's feet lay the skeleton of a dog, lovingly provided with its own stone bowl. Both burials lay on mats which covered the floor of the tomb, and in the case of the queen, remains of textiles were around and below the skeleton when the tomb was opened, but these have not survived.

THE KING'S GRAVE GOODS fall into the same categories as those found in the other tomb, and are on the same lavish scale, but the queen is provided with jewellery and toilet articles, objects naturally not occurring among the paraphernalia which accompanied the king's. The king was provided with a sceptre, the spherical head of which was made of pink-veined white marble. Its wooden handle was cased in gold sheet, ribbed and ornamented with gold granulation (Fig. 12). Near it in front of the king lay a drinking cup of gold with a spirally-fluted body and granulated patterns on the neck (Fig. 9). (*Under, beside and behind the king's body lay some eleven swords and daggers; and nine of these are illustrated on the third colour page as Figs. 16, 17, 18c, 18d, 18e and 19.*)

A silver lance-head, like that in Tomb I, lay along the south wall of the tomb, its shaft decorated with alternate gold and silver tubular casings. Behind the king's head there lay four ceremonial battle-axes like those found at Troy (Fig. 11). Other vessels of precious metal buried with the king included a gold jug with cut-away spout and embossed decoration (Fig. 10) and a small silver, half-corroded, two-handled *depas* (Fig. 9), with horizontal ribbing. Two silver pins with double spiral heads were found near the king's shoulder. A shallow white marble bowl and four burnished pots of Yortan type, one of them a bird vase, lay in the corners of the tomb nearest to the king.

THE QUEEN'S FUNERARY OFFERINGS: In the north-western corner, in the queen's half of the tomb, there stood two wooden tables or trays supporting several pottery vessels, one of which contained a necklace of about twenty gold beads in the form of double-spirals, such as have been found at Ur, Troy, Poliochni and Brak. Near the neck of the skeleton were found other necklaces, consisting of carnelian, rock-crystal and gold beads, or of white marble and gold, or striped onyx, or of gold-capped obsidian, and of rock-crystal beads. Below the queen's hips strips of silver and gold sheet were found, with holes along the edges for sewing on to garments, no longer preserved. Around the skull and partly slipped off, lay a badly corroded silver diadem with pendants, and behind the head were found four elaborate ear-pendants of Trojan type, made of silver. Around the wrist were found two silver bracelets (Fig. 6), one piped with gold decorated with silver, and gold double-spirals and rosettes. Near them was found a bracelet made of silver wire with electrum rosettes and a gold bracelet, made of five wire loops, the outer ones plain, the inner ones twisted. In front of the queen lay a small sceptre with a peculiar knobbed amber head and silver-cased wooden handle (Fig. 12), decorated like the king's sceptre, but in a bad state of preservation.

The metal vessels and toilet articles all lay either in front of the queen against the north wall or in the north-eastern corner of the tomb. The metal vessels are all of small size, and consist of two small silver bowls, a small reddish gold cup, a small high-handled silver cup, an electrum beaker of Trojan type (Fig. 9), a silver-fluted juglet (Fig. 9), and a fluted miniature bird vase with granulation on neck and handle of characteristic Yortan type.

A set of stone vessels included a small ointment vessel of white marble, inlaid with small pieces of obsidian and lapis lazuli. It had a gold lid with a granulated handle and stood on a small pedestal made separately in pink-veined white marble. The type is familiar in Yortan pottery. The same applies to a pedestalled bowl in white marble, inlaid along the rim with black obsidian triangles. This contained a mass of silver pins of about a dozen types. A small white marble jar with lid is likewise inlaid with obsidian and lapis lazuli, and the small carinated saucer in a yellow-veined green stone has a strong Egyptian look.

A small toilet set in silver included three silver tubes with caps, decorated with ribs and hatched designs. They are said to have been found filled with a red, green and black substance, of which nothing now remains. This is reminiscent of the Ancient Egyptian use of rouge and black (kohl) and green eye-paint. With it were found a spatula, a toilet spoon and a pair of tweezers, all in silver, and fragments of a corroded silver mirror. The finest object deposited with the queen was, however, an ivory comb, worn in the hair, with a centre roundel framed by an open-work band, depicting two finely-carved wild goats or ibexes and two dolphins, the whole picked out in red and blue colour, and provided with a gold edge, carved rosettes and a carnelian rivet head surrounded by gold granulation.

With the exception of the piece of furniture from the Egyptian Old Kingdom none of the objects appear to be of foreign make, and the excellence of local craftsmen working for the ruler's court is nowhere more clearly shown than in a group of five statuettes, said to have been found in these tombs. (See colour page opposite.)

FIG. 2. CERTAINLY THE EARLIEST DETAILED REPRESENTATION OF OCEAN-GOING SHIPS YET KNOWN OUTSIDE EGYPT: A CLOSE-UP OF THE ENGRAVING ON THE BLADE OF THE SILVER SWORD OF STATE FROM THE SINGLE TOMB.

The silver-bladed sword from which this detail is taken is illustrated on the third colour page and appears as Fig. 18B. Nothing like as early a picture of ships as this has ever been discovered in Asia or, in fact, anywhere else but in Egypt; and indeed it is in vessels like these that we can imagine the legendary Argonauts sailing through the Sea of Marmora, past Dorak, on their way to Colchis.

Illustrations from colour photographs of the original drawings, by courtesy of Thames and Hudson, from their forthcoming publication "Founders of Civilization."

Figure 3: The Illustated London News *publication of the fake 'Treasure of Dorak', 28 November 1959: 754. Image: from Australian Institute of Archaeology Archive, courtesy Illustrated London News Group.*

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

GOLD, SILVER, LAPIS AND OBSIDIAN IN THE SPLENDID SWORDS OF THE KINGS.

FIGS. 16A-E. A GROUP OF DAGGERS ALL FROM THE DOUBLE TOMB EXCEPT 16E (11 INS. LONG). 16B is bronze, with a blue-stained ivory hilt covered with gold sheet and rock crystal pommel. 16C-D gives two views of a silver dagger with silver spirals on a red-stained hilt and amber pommel. 16A, a bronze dagger with a limestone pommel, has a wooden hilt sheathed in gold between silver bands and a lapis rivet.

FIG. 17. A SPLENDID BRONZE DAGGER (NEARLY 14 INS. LONG). The hilt is ivory, with carnelian studs and four gold double-spirals in the form of a cross.

FIGS. 18A-E. A GROUP OF SWORDS FROM BOTH TOMBS. 18A, bronze with a gold snake on the midrib, hilt gold with carnelian rivets; 18B, silver engraved with ships (see Fig. 2), hilt silver with gold dolphins; 18C, bronze, rock crystal lions with lapis eyes; 18D (a reconstruction) bronze, ivory leopard heads with red inlay, obsidian rivets; 18E, bronze with lapis pommel, and lapis dolphins on a gold hilt.

WE show here a selection of the splendid and, in some cases, obviously ceremonial, swords and daggers from the two Royal tombs of Dorak. No photographs whatever are available of this treasure, which was clandestinely excavated a number of years ago, but these are detailed scale drawings made by Mr. James Mellaart, an archæologist of the highest repute, who has seen the actual objects. It should be emphasised that the colouring is not representational but schematic, i.e., designed to show the material of which each part was made. The blades are of bronze or copper, silver and, in the [*Continued opposite.*

FIG. 19. A FINE SILVER DAGGER WITH A GOLD MIDRIB. THE LION'S-HEAD POMMEL IS OF A PALE BLUE STONE AND NEPHRITE RIVETS PICK OUT A GOLD SHEET AND GRANULATION HILT.

[*Continued.*] case of the obsidian-hilted sword, of iron—which is fantastic when we bear in mind the third millennium B.C. date of the tombs. All of the weapons are of great beauty and richness; but outstanding among them are the silver sword with its frieze of ocean-going ships; the iron sword—its hilt carved from, of all difficult materials, obsidian; and the magnificent bronze sword with the lapis pommel and the pair of lapis dolphins sporting on a gold ground between carnelian studs. Fig. 17 is especially curious, with its arrangement of double spirals giving it a quite obviously fallacious Christian look.

(*Left and right.*) FIGS. 20 AND 21. THIS SPLENDID IRON SWORD (ABOUT 2½ FT. LONG) WAS IN A BAD STATE OF PRESERVATION, BUT ITS GLORY IS THE HILT, CARVED FROM A PIECE OF BLACK OBSIDIAN IN THE FORM OF TWO LEOPARDS AND INLAID WITH GOLD AND AMBER SPOTS.

Figure 4: *Some of the enhanced drawings of the fake Dorak Treasure (*ILN*, 28/11/1959: Supplement Plate III. Image: from Australian Institute of Archaeology Archive, courtesy Illustrated London News Group.*

***Figure 5**: Çatalhöyük excavations under the direction of Professor Ian Hodder. Image: Scott Haddow 2017, used with permission.*

It gives a neat summary of Mellaart's life, personality, and contribution. The volume concludes with a list of Mellaart's publications and an index.

Alan Mellaart and Emily Baysal have compiled a significant tribute to James Mellaart. The standing of the contributors gives the volume authority, and their familiarity with Mellaart provides authenticity. Much of the volume is primary material. Missing is contextual information about archaeology in the 1950s, and a detailed description of the origins of Mellaart's archaeological technique and perspectives. Potentially, this may have offered some explanation for Mellaart's behaviour. Stronach provides some background; but when reading the volume today, few people will be able to read between the lines and appreciate the uncertainties and challenges faced by Mellaart and his colleagues. However, Stronach bluntly states that the motive for the Dorak affair was Mellaart's desire to deceive the scholarly world into thinking that Bronze Age western Anatolia was more significant than the archaeological data at the time would suggest. Further, he says that the Dorak 'treasure' may not be the only such deception. This book does not rehabilitate Mellaart, and it does not appear to set out to do so. Alan Mellaart is to be commended for preparing such an attractive and balanced volume.

Personal memories

I was a contemporary of Donald Easton at the Institute and attended Mellaart's two-year Anatolian Archaeology subject with him (1975-77). Another person in the small group was Turhan Kiamil, a Cypriot Turk from Famagusta. Donald and Turhan went on to undertake research supervised by Mellaart.

My lecture notes indicate that on 2 May 1977 in the last month of the subject, Mellaart came to the lecture in an agitated state. His credibility had been queried in the media, and he was at pains to 'put the record straight' in our eyes, at least. The objects in the Dorak 'treasure' had not been mentioned in the previous two years of lectures, but that was about to change. Mellaart had an armful of rolled up drawings, many on A1 size linen paper, of the objects purporting to be from tombs near Dorak that had previously been published in the *ILN* in 1959. As Easton describes (p. 447), we relocated to a table at the front to the room and passed the drawings around for examination. There were no primary pencil drawings that I, as a draughtsman, could identify to have been made from the objects themselves. My notes record no comment about the matter, but I remember that the lack of any original pencil drawings and rubbings left me feeling that no evidence of authenticity had been presented.

My notes list the object drawings we saw and Mellaart's comments. He described the circumstances of his inspection of the Dorak objects and said that at the time they deserved publication presumably by the BIAA, but it was 'not wanted'. This probably referred to the 60,000-word manuscript mentioned by John Carswell (p. 458) and prepared by Mellaart in 1959 (p. 62-3). Instead, Mellaart said, illustrations were 'cooked-up' for publication in the *ILN*. This may have been reference to Seton Lloyd's wife, Hydie, who prepared coloured illustrations for publication (p. 432), which were no doubt, the water-coloured drawings that we saw. Alternatively, he may have been referring to the published illustrations that were further enhanced by the *ILN*. Mellaart seemed to distance himself from the *ILN* publication, as he does to some extent in this book (p. 63).

A year earlier in 1976, at University College, London, a public lecture about archaeology and politics was given by Glyn Daniel, the recently appointed Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge University. At one point Daniel digressed to express support for his respected colleague James Mellaart, whose integrity had been questioned in the media. The archaeological community appeared to be very supportive of Mellaart, he was a prolific author and a comparatively high-profile personality. The Dorak affair was not discussed by the students I knew in London before I left to return to Australia in mid-1977, although I suspect that those who were present at the 'Dorak' class had serious doubts about its authenticity. It was a situation we students lived with.

G.R.H. (Mick) Wright's comment on the Dorak affair

When Mellaart was the Assistant Director of the BIAA in the late 1950s, Mick Wright was the Architect-in-Residence. They had worked together in Cyprus at Myrtou Pigadhes in 1951, at Jericho in 1952, and later at Sultantepe and Beycesultan, and knew each other well. When researching Wright's life, I interviewed his colleagues, David Stronach and John Carswell (Davey 2013). Wright's archive held by the AIA has the following comment hand-written by him, and not completely legible, on the back of a computer print-out of *The Telegraph's* (UK) obituary of James Mellaart dated 5/08/2012.

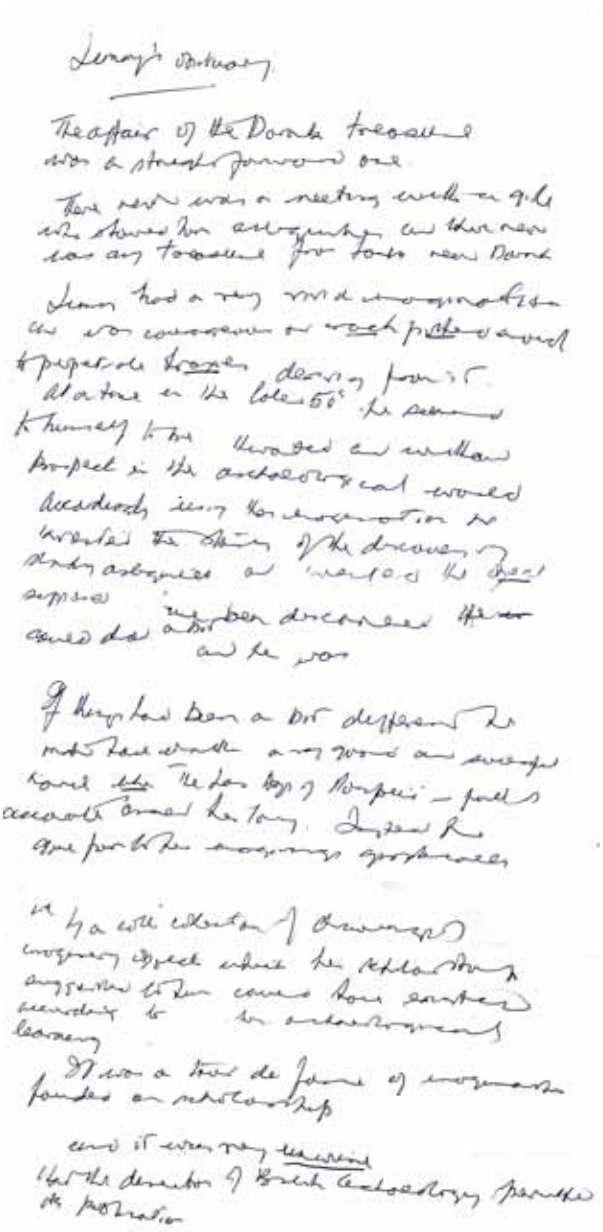


Figure 6: *Wright's hand written note.*

> *The affair of the Dorak treasure was a straight-forward one. There never was a meeting with a girl who showed him antiquities and there never was any treasure from tombs near Dorak.*
>
> *Jimmy had a very vivid imagination and was courageous or crack potted enough to perpetrate hoaxes deriving from it.*
>
> *At a time in the late 50s he seemed to himself to be thwarted and without prospects in the archaeological world. Accordingly using his imagination he invented the story of the discovery of […] antiquities and invented the objects supposed to have been discovered. He could draw a bit and he was ....*
>
> *If things had been a bit different, he might have written a very good and successful novel <u>like</u> The Last Days of Pompeii in part an accurate and new history. Instead, he gave freedom to his imaginings systematically […] a whole collection of drawings of the imaginary objects which his scholarship suggested to him could have existed according to his archaeological learning.*
>
> *It was a tour de force of imagination founded on scholarship. And it was very <u>unwise</u> that the director of British Archaeology [BIAA] permitted its publication.*

Wright's argument, that the invention of the Dorak 'treasure' stemmed from Mellaart's uncertain situation in 1958, has some context. His term as Assistant Director of the BIAA was coming to an end and he was unlikely to become the Director. He had identified sites to excavate but funding was unsure. While Stronach argued that Mellaart's actions were motivated purely by a concern for the importance of western Anatolian Bronze Age, the fact was that its lack of profile meant that scholars studying it also lacked public visibility. Mellaart needed a raised profile to secure funding, something that may also have been in Seton Lloyd's mind when he suggested the *Illustrated London News* publication.

Wright appears unaware of the precise role played by Seton Lloyd. Lloyd appears to have followed a common archaeological practice up to that time: to generate public interest and raise excavation funding, archaeologists sometimes made extravagant claims in popular publications and public lectures, about which their scholarly works were silent. In the US, this practice largely ceased after J.J. Finkelstein's savage review in the journal *Commentary* (1959) of Nelson Glueck's *Rivers in the Desert* (1959). A similar disdain for the practice developed in the United Kingdom after World War II.

Seton Lloyd later commented, 'With hindsight, however, in view of the totally unforeseeable consequences, one could wish that this step had not so rapidly been taken' (p. 432). In other words, if there had been a 'cooling off' period and efforts had been made to obtain more documentation and some photographs of the Dorak objects, the whole matter may have died. When in 1977 I excitedly passed my pot-bellows paper to Professor David Oates, Seton Lloyd's successor at the Institute, I was told 'put it away for six months'. It was disappointing but sound advice. One additional piece of evidence came to light during that time and the paper then proceeded to publication in an irrefutable form (Davey 1979; 2021). The lesson had been learnt.

Wright calls the Dorak 'treasure' a *tour de force of imagination founded on scholarship;* the object forms were convincing, as Carswell noted. Trevor Watkins draws attention to the progress of Early Bronze Age archaeology, pointing out that Mellaart's belief in the antiquity of the Anatolian Bronze Age has been borne out by recent publications of Troy II (p. 464). Mellaart's familiarity with Old Kingdom Egypt, Early Dynastic III Mesopotamia and the geography and chronology of Troy made his drawings credible to scholars. But Wright was correct to question the publication.

Discussion

Hodder did not confirm all of Mellaart's evidence at Çatalhöyük: he questions some of the conservation practices and he describes some of Mellaart's interpretations as 'over-enthusiastic' rather than deceitful (p. 424). The more recent excavations are being published in over a dozen scholarly volumes so far, but public awareness, and much academic knowledge, of Çatalhöyük still derives from Mellaart's earlier, non-academic preliminary publications. There needs to be a balance between cautious scholarly monographs and eye-catching public presentations.

Readers of the *Illustrated London News* were accustomed to seeing images of genuine archaeological treasures and were justified to assume that the Dorak artefacts were real, especially when they read that this had the standing of the Royal Tombs of Ur and it was described with details such as the width of Tomb 1, '2 ft. 8½ in.' (Figure 3). It was not the place to publish the 'cooked up' Dorak drawings (Figure 4). As Wright suggested, Mellaart's manuscript on the Dorak 'treasure' may sit with historical novels such as *The Last Days of Pompeii,* or those by Lady Antonia Fraser and in Australia, Peter Carey's *The True History of the Kelly Gang* (2000), which bookshops correctly allocated to the fiction section. While it may be understood that authors such as these will offer speculative narratives to present historical perspectives, there is no literary genre that anticipates fabricated drawings of artefacts to expound a point of view, except as an April Fool's Day hoax. But this was never intended to be a light-hearted prank. Cinema, however, now commonly presents contrived scenes and fictional objects and characters to raise the interest level and to convey information and context, without arousing any public disquiet. Documentaries are another avenue for the publication of archaeological data, but most producers will not allow archaeological authorities to be present during filming. They do not want factual details and historical accuracy to spoil a good presentation and to prolong the costly schedule on location.

Archaeology has attracted many eccentric and controversial personalities who invariably attract the attention of the media. Reliable and rigorous interpretations of archaeological data are often ignored, while simplistic and tendentious ideas dominate popular opinion. Early in my archaeological training I was informed that 'archaeology is part of the entertainment industry'. While archaeology at that time was not sure of its theoretical foundation, the fact remains that it will always need to have an output that intrigues the public's imagination.

Most Australian academic archaeologists appear to be processualists and would recoil at the idea of entertainment. But for most of its short history, archaeology has had to raise funds for excavation by cultivating public interest. One archaeologist whom I remember always returned from the field with a new theory that overturned the previous season's conclusions. While other scholars were sceptical about his theories, the fact was that public interest was cultivated, he always had funds for the next season, and ultimately it was the well-researched hypotheses and conclusions offered in the final excavation report that have had lasting influence.

The past is generally remembered by way of narrative, but archaeological artefacts themselves rarely articulate a story. With careful excavation context can be established, and scientific analysis can provide information about an object's manufacture and use; however, without interpretation there can be no story. The narratives of Çatalhöyük deriving from Mellaart's imagination have captured public interest, in a way the Dorak never did, and they have in turn often structured the way new evidence from the site is assessed.

Mellaart did not have the opportunity to bring the excavation of Çatalhöyük to a close. As it has turned out, one of his students, Professor Ian Hodder, has proved to be the perfect successor. After twenty-five years of intensive work at the site, his well-resourced and well-qualified excavation team has been able to refine Mellaart's evidence and interpretations to reach more reliable conclusions. Hodder indicates that Mellaart retained a deep interest in the restarted excavations and did not publicly oppose the revised interpretations (p. 428). Mellaart refused to prepare final excavation reports based on his pre-1966 results because he knew more data was required; and for at least twenty years he needed to keep himself in contention to be the person to re-start the fieldwork. His 1970s and 1980s writings need to be viewed in that light: they were preliminary. Hodder achieved what Mellaart would have wanted for Çatalhöyük and has defused Stronach's warning at least where that site is concerned.

Popular reading about Çatalhöyük

There have been several popular books about Çatalhöyük and it is worth commenting on them in relation to Alan Mellaart's book. James Mellaart's *Çatal Hüyük: a neolithic town in Anatolia* (1967) is still a classic as it has photographs of what was originally uncovered by Mellaart's team. The interpretations in it need to be checked with later publications, especially Ian Hodder's *Çatalhöyük: The Leopard's Tale* (2006), which describes the findings from the first decade of his own 1993 – 2017 excavations.

Michael Balter's *The Goddess and the Bull* (2005) is a well-researched book that tells the story of Çatalhöyük from its discovery to the time of Hodder's first publications. Balter is a rare author who can accurately reflect his research while writing in a clear and entertaining manner. He also describes the development of archaeological principles of interpretation from culture-history to processual and post-processual in an engaging and clear fashion. Hodder was at the epicentre of some of these developments. Archaeological people, personalities and places pass through its pages with memorable descriptions. Anyone wanting to understand archaeology more generally will also find Balter's book helpful. Readers will come to appreciate the nature of archaeological fieldwork over the last sixty years, the development of archaeological theory and the dynamics of scientific archaeological research.

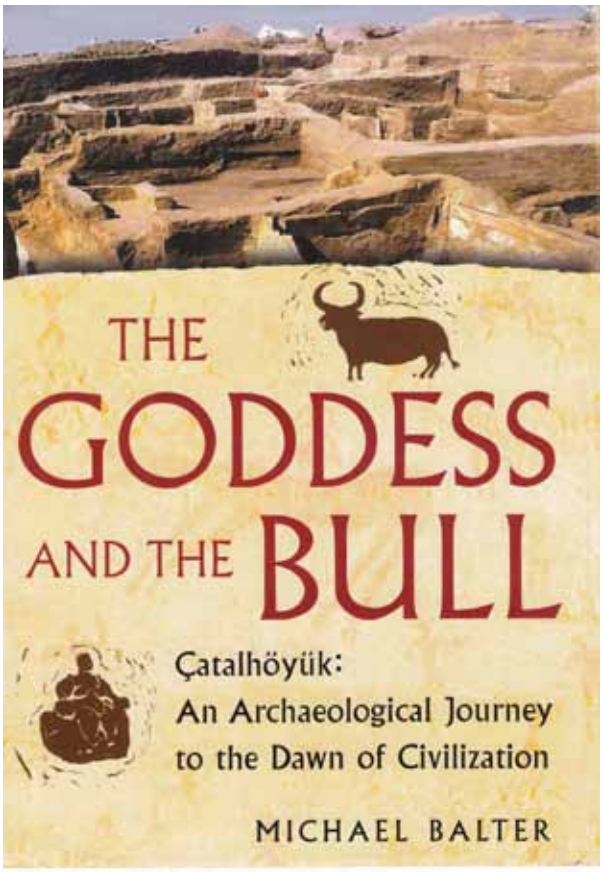


***Figure 7**: Cover of* The Goddess and the Bull.

Concluding comments

Mellaart's 'creation' of evidence may shock some students of archaeology. He was operating in a world where peer review was limited: it was often handled 'in house' and there was only a small circle of scholars in any field of inquiry available to undertake reviews. A broad international system of review is the most effective way to assess the authenticity of evidence and the reliability of scholarship. Even now, archaeology in many countries, including Australia, is not always subject to external review raising the possibility of unreliable results and interpretations being published. A second level of scrutiny is for international archaeological teams to undertake excavation. However, many nations resist such activity often because they fear foreign influence in their political and cultural history. Australia is one country where there is limited external participation in archaeological excavation.

James Mellaart: The Journey to Çatalhöyük is a less than conclusive volume that does not address broad questions such as academic review. It does enable the reader to consider the character of one of archaeology's 'greats' and to ponder the dilemma faced by other archaeologists who suspected some of his practices. James Mellaart's life experiences, archaeological skills and contributions to the history of Anatolia are discussed, but the narrative of

his personal intellectual and archaeological journey and motivation is absent; 'Jimmy' remains an enigma. To what extent did he knowingly 'crossed the line' — whether, indeed, he knew there was a 'line' — we will never know.

Mellaart had a notorious dislike of Classical sites: 'its all there, you just have to put it back together,' he would say; he found no intellectual challenge in them. While Hacılar and Beycesultan were culturally limited, it was the architecture, decoration, and artefacts of Çatalhöyük that provided ample opportunity for his imagination, and many of us have been captivated by the cultural exploration that he embarked upon. It is yet to be seen if more recently discovered, potentially iconic Anatolian archaeological sites, such as Göbekli Tepe, can stimulate the public imagination in the way that Çatalhöyük has done. Therein is Jimmy's legacy.

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Acknowledgements

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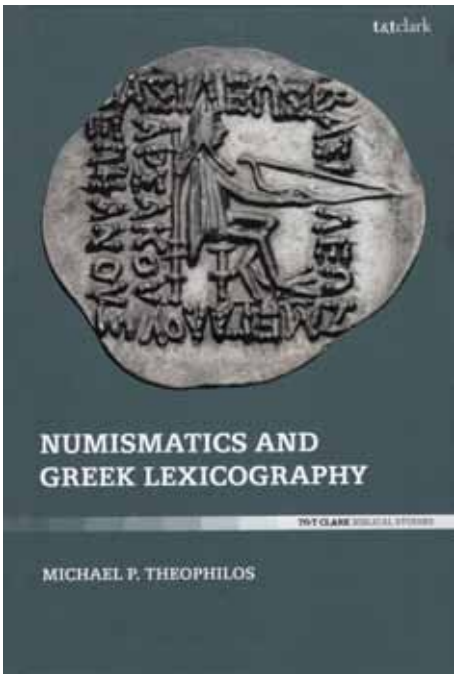
Reviews



M.P. Theophilos, *Numismatics and Greek Lexicography,* London: T&T Clark, 2020, pp xiv + 280; 76 Figures, 23 Tables; ISBN 978-0-5676-7436-4; also available in electronic form; A$170

Reviewed by G.H.R. Horsley

Not many specialists in New Testament studies have made serious use on a more than occasional basis of numismatic evidence for contextualising the former. Above all because of his *Licht vom Osten* (1908), Adolf Deissmann was certainly in the vanguard — if not the actual pathfinder — of the few others a century ago who drew on coin evidence as well as inscriptions and papyri to illuminate the early Christian texts and those who sought to live by them. Among those equally few who come to mind from over a generation ago who recognised anew the potential of numismatic material for NT studies, neither Richard Oster nor L.J. Kreitzer should be forgotten.

The aim, well worth testing, of this book is to draw attention to the potential for NT lexicographical research of the wording found on coins. To achieve this, the author undertakes several interconnected tasks; and the result is a volume which could be a *vade mecum* for users with NT training who are interested particularly in the language employed in those texts, and wish to familiarise themselves with roughly contemporaneous numismatic material and its potential to illuminate certain lexical usages in the earliest Christian documents. Consequently, the focus is almost entirely on coins with Greek text, though occasionally other languages make an appearance. Michael Theophilos has given considerable thought to what can be included, and how to present it effectively to those possessing no real acquaintance with this kind of evidence. To that end it is a notable plus about the book that his publisher has agreed to the inclusion of so many (76) plates of coins, obverse and reverse, every one of which is visually sharp, as much as the condition of each one permits; and the placing of these close to where each is being discussed is much more effective than the still-common practice of quarantining them at the end of the book. Inevitably, however, this is a factor in the book's high cost.

There are ten chapters, bookended by an introduction and a conclusion, plus an extensive bibliography (much larger than needed, since *c*. 15pp. of it repeats the SNG vols from Table 3, now alphabetically by author instead of by region), and two indexes: modern authors — not always to be trusted for its accuracy (e.g. two Horsleys are subsumed under one; Oster at 73, but not at 74 or 75) — and references to Biblical passages and other ancient sources. Part 1 of the book (chs 1–4) explains clearly and reasonably concisely the history of coinage, draws back the curtain on the mysteries of technical terminology employed by specialist numismatists and the abbreviations they consistently use, as well as conveniently listing the main collections worldwide. The 30pp. comprising ch. 4 attempt to anticipate some uncertainties which may well occur to those considering drawing on numismatic evidence without prior training or experience in dealing with that material. Tables 7– 9 are useful, clarifying the dates which certain abbreviations on the coins indicate. There may be more than a single explanation for people hoarding coins in antiquity, but the reason advanced (77) is certainly worth reflecting on for its wider social ramifications. Since the book is intended to be introductory, the author should clarify which view is to be preferred when he cites contrasting views of specialists (eg 88–89 re *RPC* 1.76), as the anticipated readership is in no position to make a judgement. This *c*. 100pp.comprising Part 1 permits the inference that the author intends the volume to be for those with a NT focus who have little or no experience of dealing with ancient coinage in technical volumes presenting that material.

Part 2 of the book (chs 5–11) gets to the heart of the matter. Its *c*. 115pp., consisting of seven chapters (plus brief conclusion, rather repetitive of what has gone before), seek to link the often severely-abbreviated wording on coins with certain words appearing in the NT, and elsewhere, of course, in order to demonstrate the potential of numismatic evidence as a contribution to the better understanding of some NT terminology. All but one (ch. 8) of these chapters consider a single word or word-group:

- *philos* (ch. 5, pp. 105–14; certainly interesting for its discussion of NT Jn 15.14, though not crisply argued): T. argues from consideration of Jn 15.14 that a friendship of equals is not primarily in view. Jesus determines who his friends are; and so the notion of

'friend of Caesar' is apt to adduce. So *philos* may refer to a friend whom one loves altruistically; or it may be a politically-loaded word for a person who has received the favour of a social or political superior, such as a Caesar or a provincial governor, in return for loyalty through 'thick and thin', by looking after that superior's interests and reputation locally. The question for reflection then becomes whether Jesus saw this bifurcated meaning that way, or the Gospel writers used this terminology to clarify the reality as they saw it, by means of the *philokaisar* analogy;

- *karpophoros* (6, pp. 115–26; not everyone may agree that this adjective is to be considered 'rare' [p. 115], though the related verb is certainly quite rarely attested in non-literary texts);

- *neokoros* (7, pp. 127–42; the best chapter in this part of the book);

- a rather odd miscellany of words which are given an appearance of coherence by being associated with one city, Thessalonike (8, pp. 143–63);

- *kharakter* (9, pp. 165–73; another valuable chapter);

- *ktistes* (10, pp. 175–91; a chapter which will hopefully provoke reflection from the book's readers about the meaning of the term at NT 1 Pt 4.19);

- *basileus basilewn* (11, pp. 193–215; the quotation from D.S. 1.47.4 [ref. not given at 194 n.11, simply a p. no. in the Loeb, which has therefore been looked at simply online]). Concerning this chapter, the first word of the coin text on Sellwood 27.2 [fig. 66] quoted at p. 195 has a misprint, as the photo indicates: read –EΩΣ. Accordingly, the translation needs revising: '(coin) of the king of kings ...' This reading is confirmed by Sellwood 41.8, 42.2 and 51.9 (figs 67, 68 and 69, respectively), and whose translations, therefore, all need minor revision as suggested here for 27.2. The last line of text on p. 195 is potentially confusing in quoting the first word as nom. sing. instead of the expected gen. sing. used by the coins on pp. 196–97.

Yet lexicography involves more than simply finding and piling up a list of attestations of a particular word. Definition (not simply glossing) is required. Were this aspect of the book to be given further consideration, then the users whom the author has most in mind would be able to appreciate better the benefit of engaging with numismatic evidence, even if lexicography may not be their main focus. Ch. 5 on the φιλ- lexeme makes the point well, that words in which it features are not always solely dealing with friendliness as an inter-personal characteristic, but also political or social obligation. This is not a range in meaning confined to coins or literature, of course: it is everywhere, including on inscriptions and papyri. The numismatic witness to the lexical range simply confirms what occurs everywhere in Greek of the period; and therefore it should not be felt unexpected that occurrences of φιλ- words in the NT may exhibit a similar variety of meanings.

Does the book presuppose that its readers already have a reasonably good grasp of Greek (or at least of the NT texts in the original language)? The answer appears to be 'no'. For example, the comment at 181 n. 16 implies that the author anticipates little knowledge of Greek among his readers; yet no guidance is offered about how the word κτίστης in *SEG* 36.1092, if a gen. case, is to be understood instead of the nom.: perhaps '(in honour) of the city of the founder'? The translation of (mostly) every instance of Greek wording in the book reinforces this impression of the relatively low level of control of Greek expected of the book's readers. If so, how can those readers be expected to follow the arguments advanced in the book, and make any independent evaluation of them? When no rendering is provided, such users of the book are left high and dry (a case in point occurs at 152, 5 up).

The 23 Tables are well-placed throughout the book at appropriate points, close to where their content is discussed. Several are very useful for those new to *numismatica* but wanting to gain a broader acquaintance with the field as a means to contextualising their primary NT interest (eg 1 for indications of denomination on bronze coins; 2 for alloy proportions on provincial coins). One may wonder whether the amount of detail in some (eg Tables 17 — where the significance of 'twice, thrice, and four times' *neokoros* is not explained — and 23, in particular) is really needed for the envisaged readership. Occasionally, translations of NT extracts have otiose wording when matched against the Greek being quoted (eg Table16, *s.vv*. Col. 1.6 and 1.10).

A disappointing flaw throughout the entire book is the amount of faulty spelling, not just English, but also French, Greek, Latin, etc., unclear English expression, choice of the wrong word, typographical errors, and more. I do not recall having encountered any book from a reputable publisher in recent years so marred by this defect. To take only some (*sic*) instances from one chapter (no. 10): 178 subhead 'Archaea' (ditto next line); last line 'leaded bronze' needs explaining; 179, 6 up: delete 'to' (ditto 183 2nd new para). At 180, 3 down: 'bare' ('bar'?; 'bear'?). Some of these flaws invite the inference of the author's — or the publisher's sub-editor's? — lack of control of French (e.g. 180 n. 13: 2 errors), innocence of geography occasioning a mistranslation of the wording on RPC 1.2451 rev. (thus 180 'Magnesia at Sipylon'; yet the translation of Tacitus on the next page should have tipped him off), uncertainty with Latin (or simply a typo? — 181 last line of the Tacitus quotation in translation: '… suffering a relief …', where and — Lat. *ac* — is needed). At 181 the three words on RPC 1.2991 obv. are rendered without regard for their parts of speech and grammatical cases. 183 para. 2, 1st line delete 'to' (ditto 179 6 up); 183 6 up, 'uninterested' or 'not interested', *not* dis-; 187 n. 23 'Esser' not 'Esser's'.

Some idiosyncratic abbreviations occur. Not everyone will easily work out that 'PBM' equates to the papyrologists' standard abbreviation *PLond,* numerous times in Table 13, pp. 96, 98. 'IT' appears twice at 154, and the footnote provides clarification. Yet the standard epigraphical abbreviation for this volume (*IG* X.2.1) should certainly be used, *a fortiori* given that this one is not included in the list of abbreviations at the beginning of the book. A new list of abbreviations for Greek epigraphical works has been produced in 2020, so, too late for this book, by a team of experienced members of the International Association for Greek and Latin Epigraphy (AIEGL), the international association whose focus is Greek and Latin epigraphy.[1] Just as the author rightly (and usefully) guides readers about standard abbreviations (Tables 1, 3, 4), the accepted terms for coins produced from alloys (Table 2), and includes a welcome list of online resources (Table 6), as well as other informative Tables related to coin denominations and their worth in more than one province (Tables 10–12), it would make sense to draw readers' attention to the AIEGL's new (2020) list of abbreviations for the few inscriptional volumes referred to — and *mutatis mutandis* for the papyri — in a new, revised edition of the present book.

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Is it the case, as the author asserts (191), that NT lexicographers '... continue to marginalize numismatic material ...'? This may be a fair criticism, but behind it there may be an overly-defensive perspective. The reality is, rather, that the texts on coins are perforce, so brief (especially once personal and city names are left aside) that there is not a large and broadly-based number of different words with a clear context — almost never is there space for a full sentence — useful to aid lexicographers in their assessment of the particular meaning of each occurrence, whatever texts may be their target focus. There are gains of other kinds, however. Among them are the sheer numbers of coins, their widespread dissemination both geographically, ethnically and 'in the pocket' of both rich and poor, as well as their survival. Furthermore, unlike other non-literary texts surviving on different media (inscriptions and papyri, in the main), coins alone — almost, at least: consider magical papyri with drawings sometimes on them, and mosaics — offer text with symbol; and the meaning of each, taken together since they have been consciously planned and devised to provide an integrated, unitary message, can enrich our understanding of the whole. Contrast the papyri, where the number of surviving texts is geographically severely limited due to climate (and other factors, of course). Contrast inscriptions, so often separated from the statue bases or buildings they once adorned, or from some other context which would have clarified better for us their significance. Each material and its text has its own contribution to make; and numismatic specialists have plenty to contribute, not least in lexical ways, as the second half of this book seeks to do.

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It is not in doubt that a great deal of effort has been invested into producing this book with the meritorious aim of making numismatic evidence more accessible to non-specialists from other disciplines, especially early Christian studies. Attention to correcting the present flaws would go a long way to improving the book's usefulness and reliability for the intended readership. A second edition would make good sense, since (to my knowledge) the book has no contemporary, easily digestible competitor in its aim to get numismatics taken seriously by those whose focus is the NT.

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January 2021

1. 'List of abbreviations of editions and works of reference for alphabetic Greek epigraphy' ('GrEpiAbbr').

Eric H. Cline, 2020 *Digging Up Armageddon: The Search for the Lost City of Solomon*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, ISBN 978-0691166322, pp 424 US$50.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

Professor Eric Cline was a member of the most recent archaeological team that excavated the site of Megiddo from 1994 to 2014. There were two previous major excavations of the site, the first by the German Oriental Society led by Gottlieb Schumacher 1903–1905 and the second, and subject of this book, by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (OIC) 1925–1939. The title of the book reflects the lure of the site, the biblical references to the last great apocalyptic battle and to the site's connection with King Solomon, which were factors in securing funding for the OIC excavations from John D. Rockefeller Jr.

The publications of the OIC excavation, *Megiddo I* and *Megiddo II*, have been cornerstones of the study of Levantine archaeology since the 1940s and have become the subject of increasing discussion. While alluding to some of these controversies and the current dating of the strata (Ch. X), Cline's interest is elsewhere and focuses the history of the excavations themselves and the people involved. Using records, letters, telegrams, reports, newspaper reports and contemporary writings, many held by the Oriental Institute itself, he meticulously describes the relationships and experiences of the OIC excavation team members.

Cline's narrative is fully documented and includes year-by-year team lists and bibliographies. There is a list of people involved, that would have benefitted from the inclusion of information about their subsequent lives. Laid bare are the 'intrigues, infighting, romance, and dogged perseverance' (p xxiii) of the dig staff, and situations still all too familiar to field archaeologists. He also describes the recurring physical ailments, especially malaria, political uncertainties, and infrastructure shortcomings that are less severe today. Identified are many problems associated with the Megiddo expedition: competing management agendas, difficulties preparing publications, legal action by staff, workers' strikes, illegal antiquities handling, and political developments, most of which are described dispassionately. This was the period of the British Mandate when there was increasing Jewish immigration and rising Palestinian opposition.

However, Cline does present a perspective on one situation involving antiquities smuggling. When leaving Megiddo in June 1934 to take up a position in Old Testament at Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Dr Herbert May signed a customs declaration when boarding a ship at Haifa stating that he did not possess antiquities (pp 174–186). When his luggage was opened this was found to be untrue. The claim that the many sherds, flints, and small number of pots he had were 'worthless' and should therefore not be deemed 'antiquites', is treated sympathetically by Cline. People later associated with the Australian Institute Archaeology were also leaving Middle Eastern countries, including Palestine, at that time with similar object collections and the Institute Archive still holds the export licences then issued for them. The movement of antiquities was governed by permits issued by national authorities, in this case the British Mandate, and it was not left to frontline customs officials to rule on such matters. Cline seems to have expected the English-trained Megiddo Director and ex-Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Palestine, P.L.O. Guy, to be a party to May's illegal behaviour.

Such matters aside, I wish that I had read this book prior to studying Levantine archaeology. Excavation reports are often sterile documents that present plans, describe objects, and sometimes offer interpretations. Researchers today regularly consult archived field notes and any other material from which the excavation reports were derived. It is not that the reports are false, but rather they often lack context. The reasons for excavating and the circumstances of the work are important factors when assessing archaeological data. Reading personal correspondence and hand-written field notes is a laborious task, but in this case for Megiddo, Cline has done us the service of reading the personal documents and shaping them into a coherent story. This context will help students and researchers to form a more reasoned appreciation of the archaeological evidence from Megiddo.

There are references to other excavations in Palestine at the time: Garrod at the Carmel Caves, Crowfoot at Samaria, Rowe at Beth Shan. At least one visiting archaeologist described the OIC excavation at Megiddo to have been 'conducted when money is no object' (p 154). During its fourteen years, the expedition had four to twelve full-time salaried staff present, a substantial dig house with servants, accommodation, workrooms, and storerooms, and over 200 workers when excavating. Yet they did not produce publications noticeably superior to other excavations that were operating on a shoestring. The reasons for this may perhaps be ascertained by reading between the lines of Cline's fascinating narrative.

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