

Editorial

A Pandora's Box

Dear readers,

Doubtless over the past few months you will have been following the various press reports – some of them emotionally charged – of the planned restitution of African cultural artefacts held by French museums. The debate was sparked by a speech made by French President Emmanuel Macron in Ouagadougou, capital of Burkina Faso, on 28 November 2017. He expressed, among other things, the wish that within the next five years the preconditions necessary for the temporary or definitive restitution of African cultural artefacts might be met, since Africa's cultural heritage should not be held captive in Europe's museums indefinitely.

The notion of restitution is at best rooted in a deep unease over the role played by our own culture in the age of imperialism. Being born of the understandable need to make amends for past wrongs, it is certainly legitimate and a sign of civilized engagement. But we must also guard against any unilateral apportionment of blame and against falling victim to the superficiality of our all too hasty media.

I regard Macron's promise of restitution as a token gesture that may win him sympathy in the short term but will have problematic consequences in the long term. He has effectively opened a Pandora's Box. Acting alone without first consulting the French museums or his European partners, he commissioned the French art historian Bénédicte Savoy and the Senegalese economist and essayist Felwine Sarr to produce a report on the situation as it is in France (restitutionreport2018.com/sarr_savoy_fr.pdf, site visited on 1.4.2019).

The conclusions reached by these two experts are unrealistic. A summary published by the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* provides a good overview of the main points: "To be given back immediately without any further inquiries into their provenance are all objects looted in the course of military campaigns, all objects that once belonged to servants of the French colonial administration or their family members, all objects from scientific expeditions prior to 1960 when France withdrew from Africa for good, and all objects that were



In 1934, at the completion of the Via dell'Impero (now Via dei Fori Imperiali), Benito Mussolini installed five marble and bronze maps on the exterior of the Basilica of Maxentius. The first four maps depicted the historical development of the Roman Empire, whilst the fifth map presented Mussolini's vision of a new Roman Empire which extended from Corsica to Greece and from Tunisia to Somalia. Photo: NJ College for Women 1936.

lent to French museums by African museums but never given back. A second group is defined as objects that were added to the museums' collections after 1960 but that must have left Africa before then, which unless their lawful acquisition can be proven are likewise to be returned. The burden of proof has thus been reversed. The third group, the only one that is to remain in France, comprises objects whose lawful acquisition is fully documented or which were gifted by African state visitors, insofar as [...] the said visitors were not later convicted of embezzlement of public funds." (sueddeutsche.de/kultur/restitution-von-raubkunst-gebt-sie-zu-ruueck-1.4220674, site visited on 1.4.2019).

The only positive aspect of this report is that it has sparked a discussion of the limits and the purpose of demands like these, which raise potentially explosive political expectations. I would like to point out that the objects under discussion belong to cultures whose religious roots were severely damaged as a result of Western imperialism. Their ties to these objects are thus no longer rooted in religion, but often bear the stamp of new notions of statehood and hence are being used for something new. But when ancient tribal art is reclaimed by African nation-states that came into being only in the twentieth century, there is a risk that it will be systematically used to establish a modern myth of state. This danger becomes

all the more acute the greater the gulf is between the culture and religion that gave rise to the objects and the current situation as it is on the ground.

This kind of manipulative behaviour defined the treatment of antiquities in Italy and Germany during the 1930s. Similar approaches today should be nipped in the bud as a matter of principle. The treatment of ethnic and religious minorities in many African states was, and in some cases still is, marred by extreme violence. African cultural artefacts must not be used to promote this.

The situation is thus a very different one from that in the USA, where under the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* of 1990, religiously significant objects have been returned to the descendants of a living cultural and religious community – in extreme cases for the purpose of their ritual destruction. It is crucial that we take care to differentiate between the manipulative behaviour of authoritarian states and the legitimate claims of democracies. The only solution must therefore be a careful analysis of each individual case.

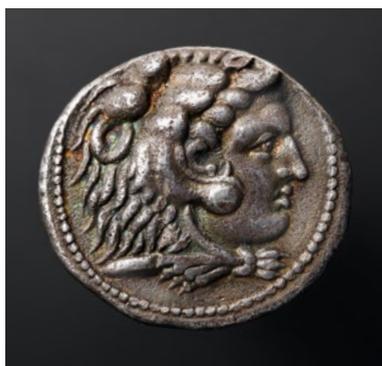
Jean-Jacques Cahn

Discovered for you

From Polis to Kingdom

Coins – Symbols of Power or Identity? (Part 3)

By Gerburg Ludwig



Figs. 1-2: A TETRADRACHM. Dm. max. 2.6 cm. Silver. Greek, Macedonia, last quarter 4th cent. B.C. CHF 2,600



Figs. 3-4: A TETRADRACHM, THRACE UNDER LYSIMACHOS (323-281 B.C.). Dm. max. 2.8 cm. Silver. Greek, Thrace, early 3rd cent. B.C. CHF 3,800

The expansionist policies and sophisticated tactics that Philip II of Macedonia (r. 359-336 B.C.) adopted in his pursuit of hegemony over rival Greek poleis such as Athens and Thebes surpassed even those of Dionysios I of Syracuse (see CQ 1/2019, p. 3). His victory over the said city states at Chaeronea (338 B.C.) ultimately spelled the end of the polis as an independent institution. Coins bearing the Panhellenic gods Apollo or Zeus, the biga and Philip's own name, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, lent legitimacy to his leadership of the Greeks. One early tetradrachm showing a bearded rider and Philip's name is now interpreted as the very first representation of a ruler on a Greek coin.

In Persia, golden darics and silver sigloi bearing images of the king of kings in warlike pose were minted from the late 6th century B.C. onwards. Those same rulers also tolerated coins minted by satraps (regional governors) bearing their own likenesses. After putting an end to the Achaemenid Empire in his Persian campaign (334-323 B.C.), Alexander advanced eastward, even crossing the Indus. Following his death (323 B.C.) and that of his heirs, the Diadochs, rival generals, families and friends of Alexander, carved up his empire between them. Their struggle for power led to various conflicts and alliances and eventually to the emergence of three economically and culturally prosperous realms: the Ptolemies in the south, the Antigonids on Greek territory and the Seleucids in Asia.

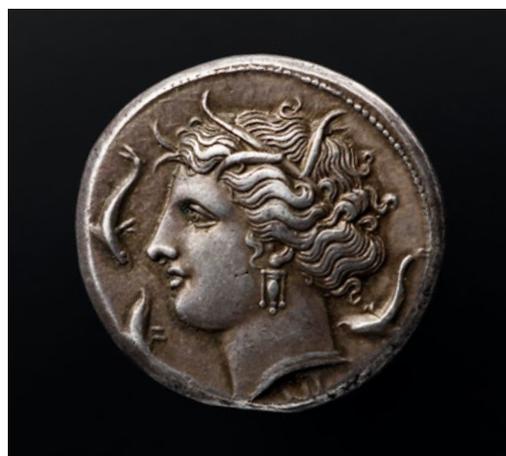
Two major coin emissions financed Alexander's campaign: one after his ransacking of the treasuries of the Persian king (331/330 B.C.) and the other before his dismissal of the veterans (324 B.C.). The coins were issued by

new mints, including those in Susa, Babylon and along the route leading back to Macedonia. Struck in large numbers according to Attic standard weights and widely distributed, the new coins constituted a "Hellenic currency" that supplanted the hitherto predominant Attic tetradrachm. According to Howgego this was "the most important aspect [...] of the circulation of money" at the dawn of the Hellenistic period (Howgego, pp. 59, 113). This "Hellenic currency" would continue to be minted and imitated all over the Hellenistic world for another 250 years.

The youthful head of Hercules with a lion skin and Zeus enthroned with eagle and sceptre on the Macedonian tetradrachm at the Cahn Gallery (figs. 1-2) symbolize Alexander's mythical line of descent. Furthermore, Alexander's name is inscribed on the coin: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Inspired by his pothos (longing), "a powerful striving for great feats, for things great and distant," Alexander regarded the mythical hero Hercules, who tested his own limits and

went to the ends of the earth, as both guide and guardian (Huttner p. 105). The coin motifs were thus an assertion as much of a mission as of his legitimacy. Yet he dispensed with a portrait and the royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ was used only there where it was already common, as in Lydia or in the Persian territories.

The emissions of the Diadochs were the first to show portraits of Alexander as a source of legitimacy. Key attributes such as the diadem, Ammon's horn and elephant scalp referenced his kingship and deification. The tetradrachm of Lysimachos, formerly a member of Alexander's bodyguard, then King of Thrace, from 306/5, and Macedonia, from 285/84 B.C. (figs. 3-4), reflects his especially close relationship to Alexander, who here appears deified with diadem and Ammon's horn symbolizing his sonship of Zeus-Ammon. But there are also individual features such as the upward-looking gaze, the furrowed brow and anastole (hair brushed up from the forehead). Athena with Nike holding the wreath of victory symbol-



Figs. 5-6: A TETRADRACHM OF AGATHOCLES. Dm. max. 2.5 cm. Silver. Syracuse, 310-305 B.C. CHF 10,500

ize Lysimachos' victory over his long-standing adversary, Antigonos Monophthalmos (Fourth War of the Diadochs, 301 B.C.). The inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ and the Macedonian star emphasize the office and the expansion of his power base.

Some Diadochs, among them Ptolemy I, had their own likenesses struck on coins even during their lifetime, while the motif of the founders of their dynasty was added only later on. An ever greater degree of individualization reinforced this kind of self-representation. Certain elements of the Alexander portrait were retained, especially among the sculpted portraits of the Diadochs, many of which feature the wide-open, upturned eyes and the royal diadem. The portrait of Antiochos VII Euergetes, King of the Seleucid Empire (r. 138–129 B.C.) on a tetradrachm (see cahn.ch/works/coins), for example, is modelled in part on the facial features and hairstyle of both his father, Demetrios I and his immediate predecessor and rival heir to the throne, Diodotos Tryphon. The fleshy face, double chin and thick neck are clearly individual traits. The standing figure of Athena Nikephoros bears the royal title and name ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ as well as the epithet ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (benefactor). This, taken together with the portrait itself, has been interpreted as symbolizing the end of a long-standing family feud among the Seleucids.

The tetradrachm (figs. 5–6) of the tyrant and later King Agathocles of Syracuse (316–289 B.C.) copies known motifs of two master die cutters, namely Euainetos' Arethusa and Kimon's quadriga with the inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩ(N) under the baseline, whereas the triskelion (the three leg emblem of Sicily) is new. Agathocles at first had to struggle to maintain stability both on the domestic front and against the Carthaginians; hence his choice of an established iconography. The triskelion, his personal insignia, symbolized the unification of Sicily achieved under his leadership. Later, the name of the city was dropped, and, following the Hellenistic model, Agathocles' name – later with his kingly title appended to it – was added, though not his portrait.

The coin emissions of Alexander the Great and the Diadochs brought about a change in the message conveyed by coin motifs and inscriptions. The coin's role as a bearer of the identity of the polis was superseded by the mission and claims to legitimacy of a single ruler, which in the course of time were individualized and supplemented by self-representation in the form of a portrait.

Bibliography:

U. Huttner, *Die politische Rolle der Heraklesgestalt im griechischen Herrschertum* (Stuttgart 1997) – C. Howgego, *Geld in der antiken Welt. Was Münzen über Geschichte verraten* (Darmstadt 2000) – P. Thonemann, *The Hellenistic World. Using Coins as Sources* (Cambridge 2015)

My choice

A Minoan Bull

By Jean-David Cahn



STATUETTE OF A BULL. L. 10.5 cm. Steatite. Late Minoan (LM I), ca. 1600–1450 B.C.

Price on request

Recently I noticed a small sculpture of a bull that seemed almost to burst with power. It was immediately clear to me that it could not be anything other than a masterpiece of the Late Minoan culture. Its appearance as a whole is defined by the striking contrast between the vigorously arched and distinctly constricted sections of the body. The elongated rump, the pronounced bulge at the back of the neck, the compact chest and shoulder musculature, the heavy dewlap, the enormous eyes with glowering gaze as well as the expression of ease and inner harmony that pervades this representation of a potentially dangerous beast are all features highly characteristic of Cretan art from around 1500 B.C. Close parallels can be found in the glyptic arts as well as in goldsmithing. Two examples to point to are the Minoan intaglios that were discovered recently in a warrior's tomb near Pylos and the

famous cup from the tholos tomb of Vapheio in Laconia (figs. 1–2).

It is an exceptional stroke of good luck to encounter such an object, all the more so as it has an illustrious provenance. The bull belonged to the important collector couple Charles Gillet (1879–1972) and Marion Schuster (1902–1984) and was listed as no. 131 in their art inventory. Gillet was a major player in the chemical industry in France and was also endowed with great artistic insight. His coin collection was one of the most outstanding in the world, and my father, Herbert A. Cahn, had the honour of auctioning a part of it in 1974. It is no coincidence that Gillet was attracted to this bull, for in the fineness and precision of its design it is absolutely in tune with the aesthetics of a numismatist. Furthermore, as a sculpture in the round it is monumental from all sides.



Fig. 1: Minoan seal stone from the warrior's tomb near Pylos, ca. 1500 B.C. Photo: magazine.uc.edu/editors_picks/recent_features/warrior_tomb. Site visited on 15.4.2019.



Fig. 2: Minoan gold cup I from Vapheio, ca. 1500 B.C. Photo: S. Marinatos, *Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas*, 2nd ed., Munich 1973, fig. 200.

The Debate

Fake News and the Antiquities Trade

By Ivan Macquisten

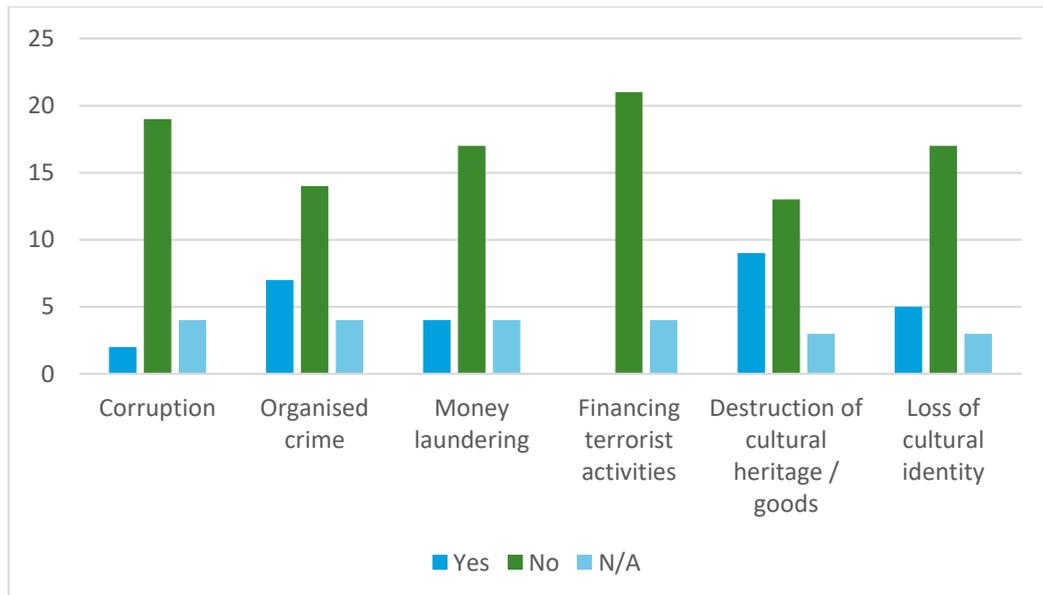


Fig. 1: The Deloitte report for the European Commission (see fn. 6) includes this table on page 120, showing no evidence of the financing of terrorist activities from cultural property trafficking within the EU.

The newly minted European Union import licensing regulations,¹ prompted by the desire to prevent trafficked items that could have funded terrorism from entering the EU, used commonly quoted false figures to justify the proposals, as the Impact Assessment (IA)² and Fact Sheet³ published by the European Commission to explain their purpose demonstrate. This matters because, as IADAA (International Association of Dealers in Ancient Art) and others have argued in their submissions to the EU, Article 4 and other aspects of the proposals are likely to have a severely restrictive and unreasonable impact on the antiquities trade. The levels of proof required to qualify for an import licence, as set out in the draft proposal, are simply not available in the case of most relevant objects.

This article will look at how these false figures have come to blight the market over the years as a result of what the wider world now recognizes as the phenomenon of fake news. This became the subject of much debate from the beginning of the Trump administration, but it was a phenomenon in the art market some time before that. In 2013, for example, headlines appeared across the media that 40 per cent of antiques on the UK market were fakes.⁴ The source was given as *The UK Fakes and Forgeries Report*. However, it transpired that journalists had only seen a press release, and this merely stated that 43 per cent of people who buy antiques do not get them authenticated, while 68 per cent of people who buy antiques were 'worried' that they might be fake. The true purpose of the release and report, though, was to promote a new television se-

ries, *Treasure Detectives*. On being pressed for a copy of the original survey, a spokesman for the television company replied: "I'm afraid we don't release the survey data," before going on to disclose that the survey had been completed by 2000 adults, using a reputable survey company (never named), and adding, "The rest of the report was comment and expertise of Curtis Dowling," the programme's presenter, who gained substantial publicity from the story.

It is now commonplace for the media to quote misinformation from such 'surveys' or 'reports' whose real objective is to promote a commercial or political interest. In July 2015, a Google search of the word 'Survey' at *Antiques Trade Gazette* yielded 79.9 million results; in June 2017 that figure had risen to 515 million; today it is 1.84 billion. As 24-hour rolling reporting, combined with declining resources within the media, robs journalists of the opportunity to investigate in any depth or check facts, they become increasingly vulnerable to unscrupulous interests that want to present propaganda or marketing as news. According to Robert McChesney and John Nichols in their book *The Death and Life of American Journalism*, by 2010 there were five PR specialists for every journalist, compared to 1:3 in 2004. By September 2018, industry source Muck Rack put it at 6:1.⁵ The pressure on journalists can also lead to simple errors, while the internet has made us all publishers, but not with the accompanying rigour required for proper fact checking, so that even accurate media reports end up being misquoted. Fake news is endemic where campaigners pursue policy change in highly sensitive areas. The antiquities trade is a natural target, and much evidence exists of how potentially damaging new laws emerge as a result.



Fig. 2: The Work of Art Crime home page on the Interpol website, where it makes a clear claim about the black market in works of art. Screenshot taken on February 11, 2019. The statement was removed in March 2019. The World Customs Organisation's *Illicit Trade Report 2017* (see fn. 8) demonstrates clearly that this claim is wrong (cf. fn. 8).

Fig. 3: The conflicting claim under the Frequently Asked Questions on the same page of the Interpol website. Screenshot taken on February 11, 2019. The statement was removed in March 2019.

As part of the research process in drawing up its import licensing proposals, the European Commission ordered a study from Deloitte to investigate, amongst other things, how antiquities trafficking within the EU might be financing terrorism. On page 120, the report concluded that hard evidence for the existence of various criminal effects that “are believed to occur as the result of trafficking in cultural goods” was “currently often lacking.”⁶ The table on the same page shows that, to a limited extent, evidence linking the trafficking of cultural goods to corruption, organised crime, money laundering and the destruction of cultural goods was available. However, the section titled Financing Terrorist Activities registered zero on the scale (fig. 1).

Nonetheless, the European Commission ignored this and pressed ahead with its import licensing proposals anyway, providing the Impact Assessment² (IA) and Fact Sheet³ quoting sources to illustrate the problem. As noted above, though, when checked, these sources proved inaccurate or untraceable – and decades old. For example, on page 12, the IA states: “According to studies, the total financial value of the illegal antiquities and art trade is larger than any other area of international crime except arms trafficking and narcotics and has been estimated at \$3 to \$6 billion yearly.” The same page directly quotes Interpol thus: “according to Interpol, the black market in works of art is becoming as lucrative as those for drugs, weapons and counterfeit goods”.

Interpol updated its website in early March 2019, but for years before that carried misleading information that directly informed such policies as the EU import licensing proposals. The Interpol statement quoted on page 12 of the IA, above, appeared on the Works of Art Crime home page under Crime Areas on the Interpol website (fig. 2). However, on the same page, the Frequently Asked Questions link led to the following (fig. 3): “Is it true that trafficking in cultural property is the third most common form of trafficking, after drug trafficking and arms trafficking?” The

answer: “We do not possess any figures which would enable us to claim that trafficking in cultural property is the third or fourth most common form of trafficking, although this is frequently mentioned at international conferences and in the media.” These two entirely conflicting responses sourced from the same page have now thankfully been removed.

In making the claim that the illicit art and antiquities trade is third only to arms and narcotics trafficking, the IA gives as its source a 1995 article by Lisa J. Borodkin in the *Columbia Law Review*. That article, in turn, gives as its source the June 13, 1992 (page 13) *Guardian* article *The Greed That Is Tearing History Out By Its Roots: The Illicit International Traffic in Antiquities Rivals the Drugs and Arms Trades in the Catalogue of World Crime* by Deborah Pugh et al.⁷ However, Pugh’s article simply quotes it as the ‘belief’ of Patrick Boylan, then Professor of Creative Practice and Enterprise at City University in London. It provides no hard evidence for the claim, and that article is now 27 years old.

What we do know now, thanks to the World Customs Organisation’s latest illicit trade report,⁸ is that cultural heritage trafficking – including ALL art and antiques from around the world, not just antiquities – is so tiny compared with drugs, weapons, environmental products, medical products, counterfeit goods, alcohol and tobacco, that it barely registers in the figures. The summary of statistics and pie charts provided by IADAA, which can be checked against the original report, gives a clear view of this (fig 4).⁹

The IA gives as its source for the second, “\$3 to \$6 billion yearly” claim the same page of the *Columbia Law Review* article by Lisa J. Borodkin. As Borodkin’s footnote 5 indicates, her source for this figure was an August 19–20, 1993 article by Lachlan Carmichael and Mohamed El-Dakhkhny of Agence France Presse entitled *Thieves Plunder Egypt’s Tombs, Dealers Sell Treasures Worldwide*, which quotes the figure as the opinion of

Caroline Wakeford, then operations manager for the Art Loss Register, who appears to be quoting another unnamed source.¹⁰ So this is another unattributed primary source from another media article that is now more than 25 years old.

Also cited in the same set of footnotes in the IA is Neil Brodie, Jenny Doole and Peter Watson’s 2000 report, *Stealing History: The Illicit Trade in Cultural Material*,¹¹ which does quote a similar figure. On page 23, it states: “Geraldine Norman has estimated that the illicit trade in antiquities, world-wide, may be as much as \$2 billion a year.” On page 60, under the relevant footnote, it gives the source as follows: Norman G., *Great Sale of the Century*. *Independent*, November 24, 1990. However, the Norman article mentions no figure whatsoever. UNESCO quotes the Brodie, Doole and Watson report in its 2011 report, *The fight against the illicit trafficking of cultural objects*, which in turn is quoted by the European Commission Fact Sheet in its attempt to justify the proposals. But UNESCO makes exactly the same mistake as Brodie, Doole and Watson did in quoting the Norman article, referring to it as *Great Sale of the Century* rather than *Great Sale of the Centuries*,¹² indicating that it lifted the source without checking it.¹³ Had it done so, as explained above, it would have found that the article quoted no figure at all. These are just some of the figures commonly referred to in the media that contribute to the fake news phenomenon relating to the antiquities market that influence policymakers in the EU, the UK and the US.

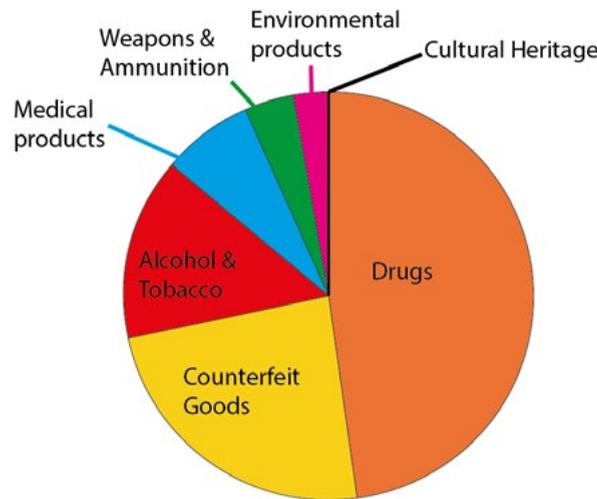
On February 20, 2019, the BBC World Service Business Daily radio programme *Zombie Statistics*¹⁴ challenged UNESCO over the inaccuracy of its data. Far from defending UNESCO’s figures, Lazare Eloundou Assomo, Director of *Culture In Emergencies*, argued that they do not matter as they are out of date (although they were never accurate and UNESCO continues to publish them). Dr Tim Harford, presenter of the Radio Four statistics and fake news programme *More or Less*, was

Further risk category comparisons

Number of cases

Total:	84,255
Drugs:	40,236 (47.7%)
Counterfeit goods:	20,058 (23.8%)
Alcohol & Tobacco:	12,228 (14.5%)
Medical products:	6,051 (7.2%)
Weapons & Ammunition:	3,232 (3.8%)
Environmental products:	2,310 (2.7%)
Cultural Heritage:	140 (0.2%)

Share of cases by risk category



Number of seizures

Total:	101,024
Drugs:	43,144 (42.7%)
Counterfeit goods:	27,267 (27.0%)
Alcohol & Tobacco:	14,786 (14.6%)
Medical products:	7,629 (7.5%)
Weapons & Ammunition:	5,612 (5.5%)
Environmental products:	2,419 (2.4%)
Cultural Heritage:	167 (0.2%)

Share of seizures by risk category

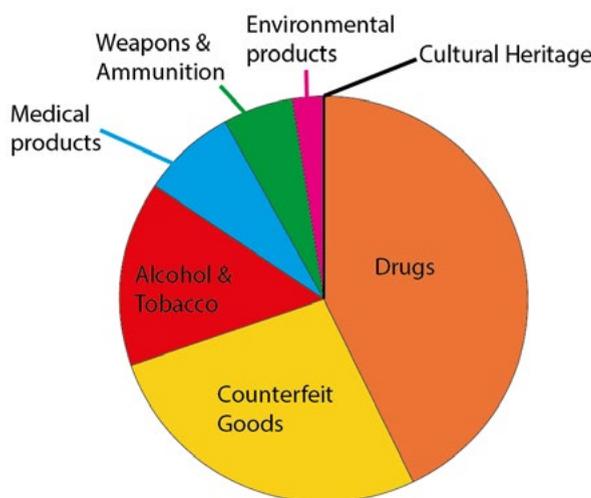


Fig. 4: IADAA's summary analysis (see fn. 9) of the World Customs Organisation's *Illicit Trade Report 2017* includes this pie chart, which illustrates the true relative importance of the various crime sectors being investigated.

also interviewed by Business Daily and does not agree with Assomo. He explained that policy-based evidence, where a body decides what it wants to do and then looks for the evidence to back it up without necessarily testing its robustness, is commonplace. "If you think right is on your side, then you're not going to be too careful in scrutinising claims that fit in with your preconceptions," he says. "This is confirmation bias." Harford's conclusion: "If people start treating them [statistics] in a very cavalier way, that spoils it for everybody, because then people start not trusting statistics." Tackling this issue is a little like attacking the hydra; you cut off one head and two more grow in its place. There may be a long way to go, but as the BBC programme shows, attention is at last being turned to this phenomenon and how it can unfairly afflict the international art market.

As this article goes to press, it has emerged that some of the same false claims that informed the European Commission over the import licensing regulations have now been used to justify new proposals for an EU-wide harmonisation of restitution regulations for looted art.¹⁵ Whether or not there is a need for new laws, these proposals should not be based on falsehoods.

¹ Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on the introduction and the import of cultural goods (December 16, 2018): <https://bit.ly/2G-NfXaD>

² European Commission Impact Assessment accompanying the document Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on the Import of Cultural Goods: see page 12, 3.1.4 The magnitude of the illicit market and trafficking: <https://bit.ly/2tAleJX>

³ European Commission – Fact Sheet: Questions and Answers on the illegal import of cultural goods used to finance terrorism. See: *What is the value of the cultural goods that are imported illegally to the EU?* <https://bit.ly/2thNoH4>

⁴ Curtis Dowling: *About 40 per cent of art on the market are fakes.* In: *Metro*, August 28, 2013 <https://bit.ly/2U-Wlw9G>

⁵ Mike Schneider: *There are now more than 6 PR pros for every journalist.* In: *Muck Rack* blog, September 6, 2018: <https://bit.ly/207aNGm>

⁶ *Fighting illicit trafficking in cultural goods: analysis of customs issues in the EU*, see Figure 30 on page 120: <https://bit.ly/2GHRQiU>

⁷ Lisa J. Borodkin, *The Economics of Antiquities looting and a Proposed Legal Alternative.* In: *Columbia Law Review*, no. 2, 1995, p. 377-418 (esp. p. 377) <https://bit.ly/2IvWKvY>. Footnote 3 credits Deborah Pugh et al, *The Greed That Is Tearing History Out By Its Roots: Illicit International Traffic in Antiquities*, *The Guardian*, June 13, 1992, at 13: <https://bit.ly/2IWT5HG>

⁸ World Customs Organisation, *Illicit Trade Report 2017* (published November 2018): <https://bit.ly/2QqaIC0>

⁹ WCO *Illicit Trade Report 2017*, IADAA Summary Comparison: <https://bit.ly/2sFKwGa>

Sources for the data shown can be found on the following pages of the WCO *Illicit Trade Report 2017* as follows: Cultural Heritage: 7, 9, 16; Drugs: 33, 34, 36, 88, 89; Environmental Products: 92, 93; Counterfeit Goods: 117; Medical Products: 117; Alcohol and Tobacco: 147; Weapons and Ammunition: 181.

¹⁰ "The worldwide market for all stolen art is estimated at \$3 billion annually and growing – which is second only to drug trafficking – and Egyptian antiquities are a steady part of it," Ms Wakeford said. *Thieves Plunder Egypt's Tombs, Dealers Sell Treasures Worldwide*, *Jordan Times*, August 19-20, 1993, page 2: <https://bit.ly/2U1KZhT>

¹¹ Neil Brodie, Jenny Doole and Peter Watson, *Stealing History: The Illicit Trade in Cultural Material*, 2000: <https://bit.ly/2twwYNE>

¹² Geraldine Norman, *Great Sale of the Centuries.* In: *The Independent*, November 24, 1990: <https://bit.ly/2Xihsmk>

¹³ UNESCO report: *The fight against the illicit trafficking of cultural objects. The 1970 Convention: Past and Future*, March 15-16, 2011: <http://goo.gl/YZnJKX>

¹⁴ *Zombie Statistics*, Business Daily, BBC World Service, February 20, 2019: <https://bbc.in/2Tx943g>

¹⁵ *Motion for a European Parliament Resolution on cross-border restitution claims of works of art and cultural goods looted in armed conflicts and wars.* See paragraphs A and B: <https://bit.ly/2VI5ila>

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TOTE BEWEGEN

Francisco Tropa invited to the Cahn Gallery during Art Basel 2019
A joint project by Jocelyn Wolff and Jean-David Cahn

Opening: Tuesday, June 11, 6–10 p.m.

Exhibition: Wednesday–Sunday, June 12–16, 10 a.m.–8 p.m.

Cahn Gallery · Malzgasse 23 · Basel

Jean-David Cahn on the project

The German title of this project defies translation as it plays on the double meaning of the words “Tote bewegen”: physically moving the dead and being emotionally moved by them. The archaeologist who excavates a site containing human remains carefully moves the dead – according to the modern rites of science and scholarship – to their new resting place in the excavation depot or a museum. The dead themselves have the power to move those they have left behind. With ritual objects and actions humans attempt to overcome the enormity and incomprehensibility of death. In his artistic oeuvre, Francisco Tropa thematises this profound human need. His investigation into the finite nature of human existence is characterised by the interaction with objects, thus introducing the dimension of temporality. Tropa’s artistic work will be juxtaposed with funerary objects from Antiquity.

Jocelyn Wolff on the project

When Jean-David Cahn asked me to add another chapter to our series of collaborative exhibitions, it appeared to be natural to invite Francisco Tropa. In his latest show at Foundation Gulbenkian, *The Pyrgus from Chaves*, Francisco Tropa used a recently discovered Roman dice box as the starting point for his artistic reflections. His work is in a constant dialogue with archaeology, literature and the history of art. For the exhibition at the Cahn Gallery, a selection of allegorical works by Francisco Tropa will be displayed alongside archaeological objects selected by both the artist and Jean-David Cahn, to establish new connections between the old and the new, objects from daily life and works of art. Our aim is to offer the viewer a dynamic reading of archaeological objects, thanks to the subtle and sensitive analysis of a major contemporary sculptor.

About Francisco Tropa

Sculpture has been a constant interest in the artistic practice of Francisco Tropa (b. 1968 in Lisbon). He has attracted considerable attention on the part of institutions and art critics since he first presented his works in the 1990s and in 2011 he represented Portugal at the Venice Biennale. Tropa uses different media – sculpture itself, drawing, performance, photography and film – to convene a series of reflections introduced by the different traditions of sculpture. Subjects such as the body, death, nature, landscape, memory, origin or time are always present in his works with their endless process of projection of references from the history of art, from other art works, from previous works of the artist, and from specific authors. Notions of device and spectator are also fundamental to Tropa’s artistic practice, which defies all the traditional categories of art, its representation and perception.

CAFE



Early Europe

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AN AXE BLADE. L. 8 cm. Stone (fibrolith). Triangular shape, rounded cutting edge and pointed neck. Polished surface. Formerly priv. coll. Hervé Bouraly, Saint Ouen, France, built 1965-1990. Inscription on object: "Hache en fibrolithe St. Jean sur Couësnon (Ille & Vilaine)". Brittany, France, Neolithic, ca. 5500-2200 B.C. CHF 2,200



AN AXE BLADE. L. 7.5 cm. Stone. An axe blade with triangular contour, rounded cutting edge and pointed neck. Rectangular cross-section. Polished surface. Beige stone, brown marbling. Intact. Formerly priv. coll. Hervé Bouraly, Saint Ouen, France, built 1965-1990. France, Neolithic, ca. 5500-2200 B.C. CHF 1,600



AN AXE BLADE. L. 32.5 cm. Stone (flint). Tool worked on all surfaces and edges. Slightly trapezoid shape. Rectangular cross-section. Rounded cutting edge. Unpolished so-called "flat" or "rectangular axe," widespread in the 4th mill. B.C. in South Scandinavia and North Germany. Formerly Danish priv. coll. T. H. Denmark, Early to Middle Neolithic, ca. 3800-3100 B.C. CHF 11,000



A RAW FORM OF AN AXE BLADE. L. 18.8 cm. Silix. Core tool, roughly hewn on all sides. Cortex remains. Fairly symmetrical, elongated oval shape. Irregular to lanceolate cross-section. Straight longitudinal profile. Intact. Formerly priv. coll. Hervé Bouraly, Saint Ouen, between 1965-1974. Inscription on object: "Ecox. 1., .17. Ecoyeux.I" and "Ecx 1". Charente-Maritime (Western France), Neolithic, 5500-2200 B.C. CHF 4,600



A DAGGER BLADE. L. 21.5 cm. Silix. Symmetrical shape. Flat cross-section. Straight longitudinal profile. Both surfaces of the blade entirely retouched. Base of tang with preserved impact surface. Sharp edges with additional retouching at the rim. Tip very slightly worn, otherwise intact. Formerly Austrian priv. coll., acquired in the 1990s on the art market. Europe, Late Neolithic, ca. 3000-2200 B.C. CHF 8,600



A SMALL STIRRUP JAR. H. 5.4 cm. Clay. Biconical vessel on low foot. A cylindrical pseudo-filling hole in the centre, from which two broad handles run to the shoulder. On one side a tubular spout. Rich geometric decoration in dark red and black paint. Lines and dots on the shoulder, encircling bands of varying breadth around the body. The simple geometric decoration indicates that the vessel was created during the Late Phase of the Mycenaean Culture. Paint slightly abraded, otherwise intact. From the estate of the Swiss art dealer and collector Elsa Bloch-Diener (1922-2012), Bern, Switzerland, acquired between 1968 and 1983. Mycenaean, Late Helladic IIIC, 12th cent. B.C. CHF 3,800



A PSI IDOL. H. 12.4 cm. Terracotta. Hand-modelled, stylised female figure. Cylindrical lower body with flaring hem as base, upper body with flat breasts and raised arms that form a crescent. Narrow, elongated head with pronounced, pinched nose and flaring headdress (polos). Brown glaze for the eyes, mouth, hair and details of the garment. The raised arms of this psi idol form an epiphanic gesture used for images of deities from at least the early 2nd mill. B.C. onwards. Minor chipping at polos. Glaze slightly abraded in places. With Christie's London, 6.6.1989, lot 464. Formerly priv. coll. William Froelich, New York, 1990. With Antiquarium, Ltd., New York, 2013. Published Antiquarium, Ltd., Ancient Treasures XI, 2013, 16. Greek, Mycenaean, Late Helladic IIIB, 13th cent. B.C. CHF 12,000



AN IDOL. H. 21 cm. Marble. This remarkable idol has highly unusual proportions. The upper arms and chest are very short in contrast to the elongated abdomen. The long, slender lower arms taper towards the wrists and are crossed over the chest. Two hardly perceptible protrusions immediately below the arms might represent the breasts and thus denote the idol as female. The sturdy legs are separated by a groove that continues through the buttocks and up the back, in a slight curve, to the neck. The knees are sculpted in relief. Head and feet missing. Reassembled in the middle. Repair to the left shoulder. Slightly worn. Formerly French priv. coll., acquired ca. 1970. Early Cycladic, ca. 2800-2500 B.C. CHF 58,000



A STATUETTE OF A BULL. L. 11.3 cm. Clay. The stylised bull stands on slightly splayed legs. Powerful horns rise up from its head and the dewlap is indicated. Probably a votive gift. Intact. From the estate of the Swiss art dealer and collector Elsa Bloch-Diener (1922-2012), Bern, acquired between 1968 and 1983. Cypriot, late 2nd mill. B.C. CHF 2,800



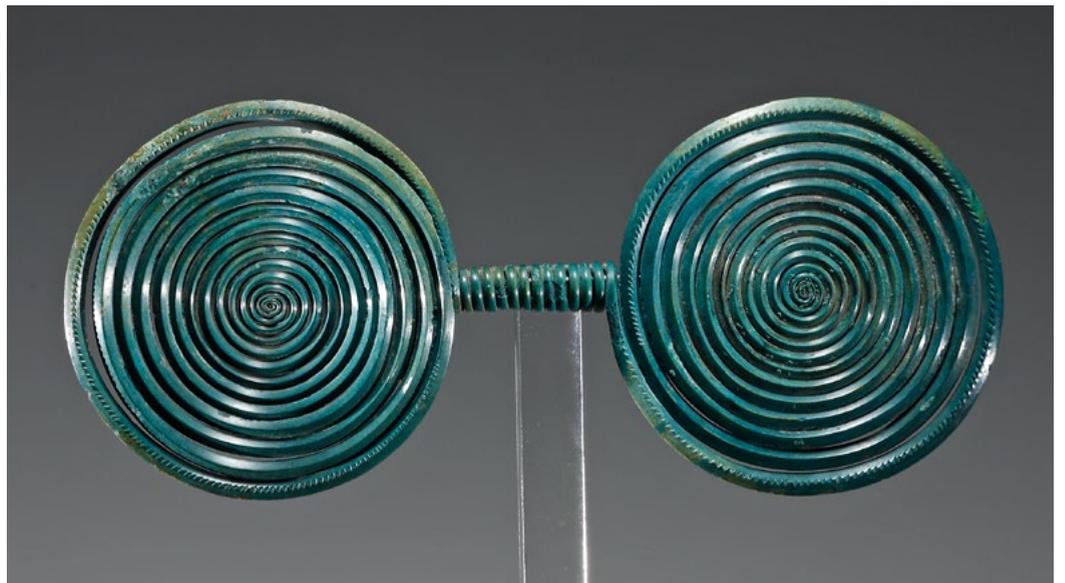
A KNIFE WITH A PERFORATED HILT. L. 19.5 cm. Bronze. Knife with distinctive, curved blade and perforated hilt which was originally hafted. Surface slightly corroded in places, end of hilt broken off, otherwise undamaged. Formerly Austrian priv. coll., acquired in the 1990s on the art market. Europe, Late Bronze Age, ca. 1300-800 B.C. CHF 2,400

A DOUBLE SPIRAL ORNAMENT. B. 15.1 cm. Bronze. Double spiral made from a thin bronze rod with a rhomboid cross-section. The outermost coil is decorated with incisions. Joined together in the centre by a round wire spiral. Originally a dress ornament. It could, for instance, have been attached to a textile by means of a needle inserted through the wire spiral. Green patina. Intact. Formerly Swiss priv. coll. Dr. R. H. (1922-2007). Danubian region, 1st half of Late Bronze Age, ca. 14th-12th cent. B.C. CHF 6,800

THREE NEEDLES L. 17.5 cm, 53.5 cm, 70 cm. Bronze. Three needles with slightly tapering spherical heads – two are decorated – and thickened neck with grooves. Shaft with circular cross-section. Due to its length, the smaller needle was probably used as a hair needle. The longer ones were garment needles. These are a typical component of Bronze Age woman's attire and were usually worn in pairs. Strong green patina. Surface flaked off in places; minimal, hardly visible traces of sinter, otherwise undamaged. Formerly priv. coll. Austria, acquired in the 1990s on the art market. Europe, Late Bronze Age phase Bz D, ca. 1300-1200 B.C. CHF 6,600



A STATUETTE OF A BULL. L. max. 10 cm. Terracotta. Hand-modelled, stylised bull with curving horns, long muzzle, powerful neck, elongated, rounded body, splayed, tapering legs and broad tail. Decorated with wavy lines on the rump and short lines on the rest of the body in reddish-brown glaze. Such clay statuettes of animals were found in sanctuaries as well as in graves (often of children). The influence of their distinctive, stylised shapes can still be recognised in the choroplastic art of the Geometric Period (ca. 900-700 B.C.). Formerly priv. coll. William Froelich, New York, 1990. Published: R. Wace Ancient Art, London, Cat. 2009, no. 32, illus. Greek, Mycenaean, Late Helladic III, 14th-13th cent. B.C. CHF 12,000



Recipe from Antiquity

Vegetarianism in Ancient Greece

By Yvonne Yiu



A PYTHAGOREAN DINNER: "After the walk they took a bath, then went to their mess: not more than ten people ate together. When the fellow-diners met, there were libations and offerings of incense and frankincense. Then they began dinner, so as to finish before sunset. They had wine, barley cakes and wheat bread, relishes and cooked and raw vegetables." (Iamblichos, *De vita Pythagorica* 98). THREE PLATES AND BOWLS. Clay. Dm. max 32 cm. Roman 3rd-5th cent. B.C. Together with two other Roman plates: CHF 3,200. A BLACK-GLAZED PLATE. Clay. Dm. 12.5 cm. Attic, 400-375 B.C. CHF 600. A BLACK-GLAZED BOWL. Clay. Dm. 10.2 cm. Western Greek, 4th cent. B.C. CHF 600.

"Can you really ask what reason Pythagoras had for abstaining from flesh? For my part I rather wonder both by what accident and in what state of soul or mind the first man who did so, touched his mouth to gore and brought his lips to the flesh of a dead creature, he who set forth tables of dead bodies and ventured to call food and nourishment the parts that had a little before bellowed and cried, moved and lived." (Plutarch, *Moralia* 12.993a-b). Opening his discourse *De esu carniū* with these emphatic words, Plutarch (ca. 45-125 A.D.) could clearly take it for granted that his readers knew that Pythagoras (ca. 570-496 B.C.), whom we more readily associate with the geometrical theorem bearing his name, was one of the founders of the vegetarian way of life in ancient Greece. In the half-millennium that separated Pythagoras from Plutarch, and also in the ensuing centuries until Late Antiquity, vegetarianism remained a controversial topic that left its mark in numerous textual sources.

The usual fare of the ancient Greeks consisted of the *sitos*, i.e. staple foods made from cereals or legumes, and the *opson*, literally "what one eats with bread". These relishes included vegetables, cheese, eggs, fish and occasionally also meat. With regard to vegetarianism it was significant that the meat of domestic

animals could only be eaten if the animal had been sacrificed with the appropriate religious ritual. Generally a *mageiros* who united the roles of priest, butcher and cook was hired for this task. (A. Dalby, *Siren Feasts*, 1996, 8-9, 22-23). Through the practice of animal sacrifice the eating of meat was elevated to the status of a sacred meal. This sacramental aspect was further underscored by the belief that by partaking of an animal which had been dedicated to a god, the devotee entered into a union with the deity. (J. Haussleiter, *Der Vegetarismus in der Antike*, 1935, 13, 17). Thus, to refrain from eating meat was far more than a purely dietary decision. Rather, it amounted to the rejection of a religious practice that was of fundamental importance to Greek society. (J.N. Bremmer, *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*, 2014, 70, 79).

In ancient Greece the first people to practice vegetarianism appear to have been the Orphics, the devotees of a religious movement named after the mythical Thracian singer Orpheus which can be traced back to the 6th century B.C. Orpheus was thought to have invented ritual purifications from unholy deeds (*katharmoi*) and was regarded as the supreme founder of *teletai*, rituals which might perfect relations with the gods and were more effec-

tive than conventional forms of sacrifice and prayer. (R.G. Edmonds, *Redefining Ancient Orphism*, 2013, 77-79). In their quest for purity, the Orphics avoided killing beings that were endowed with a soul, and this evidently affected both their choice of diet and the nature of their sacrifices. Plato (ca. 428-348 B.C.) described this aspect of the Orphic way of life (*orphikos bios*) in his *Laws*: "Indeed, we may see that the practice of men sacrificing one another survives even now among many peoples; and we hear of the opposite practice among others, when they dared not even taste an ox, and the offerings to the gods were not living creatures, but rather cakes of meal and grain steeped in honey, and other such pure sacrifices, and they abstained from meat as though it were unholy to eat it or to stain the altars of the gods with blood. Rather, those of us men who then existed lived what is called an Orphic life, keeping wholly to inanimate (*apsychon*) food and, contrariwise, abstaining wholly from things animate (*empsychon*)." (782c-d).

Orphic teachings and cult practices appear to have exercised a considerable influence on Pythagoras and his followers. Points of contact are particularly evident in their dietary regulations, for like the *orphikos bios* the Pythagorean way of life demanded abstinence from animate food and sacrifices. Furthermore, both sects also prohibited the consumption of eggs and beans. "Verses such as these are quoted from Orpheus," a source as late as the Byzantine *Geoponika* points out: "Fools! Withhold your hands from beans! and: To eat beans is as much as to eat your parent's heads." (2.35). Whilst there is a logical connection between abstinence from eggs and vegetarianism – according to Plutarch the egg, in "Orpheus's and Pythagoras's opinions" was imagined "to be the principle of generation" (*Quaestiones convivales* 2.3.1) – the prohibition of eating beans fuelled wild speculation amongst authors both ancient and modern. According to Porphyry (ca. 233-305 A.D.), for instance, "in the beginning, the creation of the universe and the making of living things was in a state of disorder, and many seeds were sown in the ground. They rotted together, and little by little birth resulted." As "men were born from the same stock whence beans flourished," it was, Porphyry suggests, thought equally necessary to abstain from the eating of beans as of human flesh. (*Vita Pythagorae* 44).

The Orphics and Pythagoreans also shared the belief in the transmigration of souls (*metempsychosis*). This doctrine was, however, only rarely adduced by early ancient authors to account for a vegetarian choice of diet. Diodorus (1st century B.C.), for instance, states dispassionately: "Pythagoras believed in the transmigration of souls and considered the eating of flesh as an abominable thing, saying that the souls of all living creatures pass after death into other living creatures." (*Bibliotheca historica* 10.6.1). In contrast, later authors took the dramatic potential of this notion to extremes. Plutarch, in his strident condemnation of meat-eating, declares: "You ridicule a man who abstains from eating mutton. But are we to refrain from laughter when we see you slicing off portions from a dead father or mother and sending them to absent friends and inviting those who are at hand, heaping their plates with flesh?" (*EC* 12.997e-f). The opponents of the vegetarian way of life were not at loss for an answer, however. Porphyry's meat-lovers, for example, argue: "If indeed souls are inserted in bodies, they will be much gratified by being destroyed. For thus their return to the human form will be more rapid. The bodies which are eaten will not produce any pain in the souls. Hence, they will rejoice when they can leave the animal bodies." (*De abstinentia ab esu animalium* 1.19).

For Pythagoras and his followers, other reasons seem to have counted for more in their choice of a vegetarian diet. The Pythagoreans strove to attain a clear and tranquil mind that best enabled them to pursue their studies by observing a regular daily routine in which physical well-being was promoted by walks, sports and baths. Much attention was paid to nutrition, for as Iamblichos (ca. 240-320 A.D.) observed, "a well-ordered diet makes a great contribution to the best education." For this reason, "Pythagoras banned all foods which are windy and cause disturbance, and recommended the use of those which settle and sustain the state of the body. [...] For those philosophers who had reached the most sublime heights of knowledge, he ruled out once and for all those foods which are unnecessary and unjust, telling them never to eat any living creature, drink wine, sacrifice living things to the gods or hurt them in any way: they were to be treated with scrupulous justice." (*De vita Pythagorica* 106-7).

This last idea shows clearly that Pythagorean vegetarianism went beyond a purely utilitarian care for the self and was interwoven with the overarching themes of justice and right living. Cicero (106-43 B.C.) pointed out that according to Pythagoras "all kinds of living creatures have a right to the same justice. [...] It is, therefore, a crime to injure an animal, and the perpetrator of such crime must bear his punishment." (*De republica* 3.19). Sex-

tus Empiricus (ca. 106-201 A.D.) added that the Pythagoreans "say that there is a certain community (*koinonia*) uniting us not only with each other and with the gods, but even with the irrational animals. For, there is one spirit pervading the whole *kosmos*, like soul, and which makes us one with them." (*Adversus mathematicos* 9.127). Also related to the theme of justice was the conviction that whosoever acted fairly towards animals would, as a matter of course, be even kinder to his fellow human beings. "Do you not find here a wonderful means of training in social responsibility? Who could wrong a human being when he found himself so gently and humanely disposed toward other non-human creatures?" Plutarch asks his readers (*EC* 995f-6a), and Iamblichos relates that Pythagoras "instructed the legislators among the civil servants to abstain from living creatures, because, if they wished to act with perfect justice, they must do no wrong to fellow-creatures." (*VP* 108).

These views by no means met with unanimous approval. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), for example, taught that there was an essential and not just a gradual difference between the souls of humans and animals. Whereas plants have life and animals have life and perception, only humans have both characteristics along with rationality (*logos*). For this reason, Aristotle regarded humans as the most perfect living beings and concluded that "plants exist for the sake of animals and animals for the good of man, the domestic species both for his service and for his food, and most of the wild ones for the sake of his food and in order that they may furnish him both with clothing and with other appliances. If therefore nature makes nothing without purpose, it follows that nature has made all the animals for the sake of men." (*Politeia* 1.3.7).

Whilst Aristotle's views were certainly more in line with general attitudes towards animals, and not many were willing or able to conform to the dietary ascetism of the Orphics and the inner circle of the Pythagoreans, the wish to lead an at least partially vegetarian lifestyle evidently existed. Iamblichos noted that Pythagoras allowed "other students, whose life was not entirely pure and holy and philosophic [...] to eat some animal food, though even they had fixed periods of abstinence." (*VP* 109). Furthermore, Plato, who did not categorically proscribe the eating of meat in his texts, seems to have placed great importance on moderation in eating and drinking, and various anecdotes suggest that the philosopher and his students may have observed an almost vegetarian diet. The poet Theopompus of the 5th century B.C. mocked Plato's students in his comedy *Hedychares*: "And stand ye there in order, my fasting band of mullets, entertained, like geese, only on boiled greens." (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*

7.308a) and various authors poked fun at Plato for his alleged love of dried figs and olives. In their cheerful irreverence, these anecdotes give us an exaggerated impression of how some may have reacted to the deviation from the dietary norm that vegetarianism in ancient Greece clearly was.

Plato's Favourite Food



Dried figs and olives. TWO PLATES. Clay. Western Greek, ca. 330 B.C. Dm 13.4 cm, CHF 1,800. Dm. 14.2 cm, CHF 2,000.

"Observing Plato one day at a costly banquet taking olives, 'How is it,' he [Diogenes the Cynic] said, 'that you the philosopher who sailed to Sicily for the sake of these dishes, now when they are before you do not enjoy them?' 'Nay, by the gods, Diogenes,' replied Plato, 'there also for the most part I lived upon olives and such like.' 'Why then,' said Diogenes, 'did you need to go to Syracuse? Was it that Attica at that time did not grow olives?' Again, another time he was eating dried figs when he encountered Plato and offered him a share of them. When Plato took them and ate them, he said, 'I said you might share them, not that you might eat them all up.'" (Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 6.25).

Pythagorean Barley Cakes (after Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 18.14)



Roasted barley, linseed and coriander seed. THREE BASE RING WARE CUPS. Dm. max 16.7 cm. Clay. Eastern Mediterranean, Late Bronze Age, 1475-1225 B.C. Each cup CHF 1,600.

Moisten 400 g barley with water, leave it to dry for a night and roast the next day. Mill together with 60 g linseed, 10 g coriander seed and some salt. Knead with ca. 250 ml water, form flat cakes and bake over hot ashes.

Highlight

Athena or Perseus?

Reopening an Archaeological Puzzle

By Martin Flashar

Majestic, “classical” – these are the words that first spring to mind when contemplating this slightly over life-size marble head. But then come the questions – how else could it be in the field of archaeology? The bust complete with plinth are a nineteenth-century addition whereas the head down to the visible break in the neck is ancient (the previous restoration work having not yet been reversed). However, the figure’s identity is urged upon us by the bust, since what strikes us here – aside from the articulation of the breastplate – is the centrally positioned, winged head of the Medusa, encircled by writhing snakes. This is an allusion to the aegis worn not only by Zeus, but also by Athena, as we know from several Classical Greek statues of the goddess. So the addition of the bust to this head also supplied an aid to interpretation. Yet the head itself seems austere, almost masculine.

So how did this addition and the identification ensuing from it come about? There is one crucial clue to be named here and that one clue is actually quite a sensation. The reference is to a replica of the head which, as far as we can tell (not having studied it in detail), is not only very accurate but also on the same scale: namely the head of the famous Albani Athena. But here we run into an analogous dilemma, this time raised not by a bust but by the statue to which that head was appended. The first to claim that the Albani Athena, head and all, came from the Villa Hadriana was apparently Comte Frédéric de Clarac (1777–1847), then chief antiquarian at the Louvre, who made the said assertion in the third volume of his *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne* (published posthumously in 1850). That both pieces were found in Tivoli – albeit separately – has remained axiomatic to this day. Certainly the head of the Albani Athena was made for insertion into a statue, but that is where the problems begin; for in the absence of any visible breaks as evidence, we can only look to see how well the size and shape of the two pieces match. In his contribution to the Villa Albani catalogue of 1989, the perspicacious Andreas Linfert (1942–1996) remarked that while there were indeed “grounds for doubting that head and statue are of a piece,” it was “nevertheless probable.”

So the obvious question is: Was whoever restored the head now at the Cahn Gallery familiar

with the Albani Athena? Were that the case, as seems plausible to me, we would also have an explanation for the bust with the Gorgoneion, since the Albani Athena also wears the aegis on her breast. And this Athena was well known right from the start as she was included in the collection of antiquities selected for Cardinal Alessandro Albani’s Roman villa by no less an antiquarian than Johann Joachim Winckelmann.

The animal scalp that the Albani Athena wears on her head also attracted notice right from the start. It was this dog- or wolf-skin cap that persuaded Adolf Furtwängler, in his book *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* of 1893, to attribute the statue to the Classical sculptor Agorakritos, whose cultic statue of Athena in Koroneia in Boeotia – where it formed part of a Zeus-Hades group – he knew from literary sources. The connection between such a head covering and a cult of the underworld is mentioned even by Homer, who refers to the cap as a “cap of Hades” (*Iliad* 5, 844f.).

The archaeologist Ernst Langlotz (1895–1978) doubted the Albani head and statue combination, but his scepticism went largely unheard. And I must admit that when I first began studying this head, I, too, had no doubts whatsoever concerning the consensus view of it. In the meantime, however, I have come to regard the critical remarks of Langlotz – who besides being a sensitive observer was also Herbert A. Cahn’s first academic tutor and later a loyal friend – as increasingly plausible. Langlotz sought to prove the point by proposing a combination of the same head type with a male torso representing the hero Perseus, several replicas of which have survived. And since the austere style of the head is not merely a question of sex, that really is a “liberation.” It was the attribution to



HEAD (ALBANI TYPE). H. 31 cm. Marble. Roman, 3rd cent. A.D. after a Greek original dating from ca. 450 B.C. First publication: F. Haverfield, “A Later Inscription from Nicopolis,” *Journal of Philology* 12 (1883) 296. Price on request

Agorakritos, a pupil of Phidias, that led to the late dating of the piece to 430/420 B.C. Identifying it with Perseus, however, also calls to mind Myron’s statue of Perseus on the Acropolis, which is dated ca. 450 B.C. (Pausanias 1,23,7). The future owner of this outstanding head thus has a chance to rekindle a scholarly discussion that has been smouldering for nearly one and a half centuries!



The “Langlotz Perseus,” reconstructed with the Albani head and a torso from the Capitol. Ernst Langlotz, *Der triumphierende Perseus* (1960), pls. 10 ff.