

## Editorial

### Sharing our Enthusiasm for Art

Dear readers

This year's edition of the Biennale Paris was a truly inspiring experience for me. Only rarely have I participated in a fair at which the dedication and commitment to art evidenced both by official circles and by the public in general were similarly overwhelming. At the *Soirée de gala* with important guests from the political and economic arena as well as from the art world, the *Garde républicaine*, which performs at events of national importance, played in front of the Grand Palais throughout the evening. That an art fair is accorded such a grand welcome by the state is indeed remarkable. Nonetheless, the visitor rush during the *Journées du patrimoine* was perhaps even more impressive. The queue which formed outside the Grand Palais on September 15, when the Biennale opened its doors free of charge, was over 600 metres long and the visitors patiently accepted a waiting time of

one and a half hours before they could enter. On this day some 15,000 persons visited the fair. Seen as a whole, too, the Biennale Paris 2018 was a great success with the public: The total number of visitors this year was 53,244, an increase of more than 60 per cent compared to 2017. It was a pleasure to witness the visitors' spontaneous enthusiasm for art. I especially remember two young women who, on admiring the ancient jewellery, were struck with amazement when they suddenly realised what a vertiginous chasm of time lay between them and the rings and necklaces that they could try on in the here and now.

There were many other pleasant and surprising encounters at the Biennale Paris, but there is one that I would particularly like to share with you. I was told it was important for me to be at my booth in half an hour. And then, suddenly the *Première Dame de France*, Brigitte Macron, stood before me in her icon-



ic blue dress, surrounded by her entourage. Now I had to improvise: How can one convey an idea of the essence of ancient art to an extremely well-educated, intelligent person in just a few minutes? What is it that makes Antiquity so alive and vibrant that it continues to touch us deeply today?

I regard it as one of the most important tasks of an art dealer to promote an understanding of the art works in which he or she deals. It is crucial to make a lasting impression in the brief moment in which a visitor shares his or her precious time and attention with us, not least because it is important to generate an awareness for the fact that all of us as individuals are responsible for the preservation of the past. This is not a task that can simply be delegated to the state authorities.

Without thinking, I placed an eye-cup by the painter Oltos in the hands of my visitor.

I will never cease to be amazed how the direct, physical contact with an object creates an immediate sense of understanding for the mastery of the artist. Unlike museum curators, art dealers have the privilege of being able to permit exhibition visitors to actually touch the art works they display, the direct, physical contact with the object making it possible to grasp intuitively something that is otherwise complex and difficult to explain.

The enthusiasm and emotions that are triggered by such an experience pave the way to an intellectual understanding of why the art and culture of Antiquity are still of importance – indeed vital – in today's world.

*Jean-David Cahn*

Discovered for you

# From Polis to Kingdom

## Coins – Symbols of Power or Identity? (Part 1)

By Gerburg Ludwig



Figs. 1-2: A TETRADRACHM, SYRACUSE. W. 20 g. Dm. max. 2.5 cm. Silver. Sicily, Syracuse, ca. 445 B.C. CHF 9,600

Would you be able to tell without looking what is depicted on the front and back of the coins that you use every day? Coins are so commonplace that we hardly notice them, but nonetheless their significance is greater than their monetary value. They illustrate selected aspects of the politics, history, culture or architecture of a community and, as such, are symbols of identity. Modern Greek and Cypriot coins do this by referring to ancient history: the Athenian owl with olive branch (5th century B.C.) is featured on the Greek 1 euro coin and the Chalcolithic Idol of Pomos (ca. 3000 B.C.) is represented on the Cypriot 1 euro and 2 euro coins. Another example: the Greek 100 drachma banknote issued in 1927 to commemorate the adoption of the new constitution depicted a stater of the Delphic Amphictyony, a city league that was responsible for the sanctuary of Delphi. The obverse represents Apollo sitting on the Delphic omphalos and the reverse shows the head of Demeter wearing a grain-ear wreath.

The earliest coins from the Greek world date from the late 7th-1st half of the 6th century B.C. and were found in the Artemision in Ephesus. From then on, the minting of coins spread with remarkable rapidity from the Eastern Greek cities over the islands to the Black Sea region and the Greek motherland. Greek colonists who in reaction to a variety of pressures, including overpopulation and Persian expansion, moved to Cyrenaica, South Italy and Sicily brought the concept of

coinage with them. By around 500 B.C. the minting of coins had become a firmly established practice.

This development occurred against the backdrop of far-reaching political, social and economic transformations. One of the most significant changes was the reorganisation of the polis, which in Homeric times was an urban settlement ruled by the aristocracy and whose economy was characterised by barter. Now, the united citizenry of the towns (*astē*) and rural surroundings (*chōra*) took charge of political and economic issues. From ca. 700 B.C. onwards, written sources as well as finds of iron points and bars of gold, silver and electrum of consistent weight document the existence of a standardised means of payment. Solon of Athens, for instance, could still profit from this system when, in ca. 575–570 B.C., he introduced legislation to regulate the trade in silver. But now, as coins with standardised weights were issued by mints in the poleis – in Athens, for example, the mint was located close to the Agora – control over the local currency lay in the hands of the community. Even the periods of tyrant rule – intermezzis on the road to democracy – did not impede this development. The tyrant Peisistratos (r. 546–527 B.C.), for instance, set a milestone in the history of numismatics by introducing the first uniform coin emission in Athens (s. CQ 2/2017, p. 2). If a polis did not have its own mint, it used coins issued by rich neighbouring communities.

Local and long-distance trade and monetary transactions experienced an upswing, thereby strengthening relationships between trade partners and promoting competition. The common denominator for these activities was provided by silver and standardised coins based on the norms set by major mints such as those in Athens, Corinth and Chalcis on Euboea. From ca. 520–510 B.C. onwards, Syracuse, for instance, based its coins on the model provided by Athens. The emission of coins thus served as a catalyst for social and economic development as a whole.

The motifs depicted on coins were taken mostly from myth and religion with an emphasis on foundation narratives and geographical location. The imagery on the coins of Western Greek colonies, for example, generally referred to their Greek mother city. This is how communities visualised their identity, both for themselves and for outside parties. At the time, the themes illustrated on coins were only rarely politically motivated. Even the tyrants refrained from having their name or portrait used on coins, although they might perpetuate the memory, say, of a victory at a Panhellenic competition. When in ca. 480 B.C. the Sicilian poleis Gela and Leontinoi were ruled by the tyrant brothers Gelon (in Syracuse) and Hieron (in Gela), both poleis began minting coins with the Syracusan quadriga, which for centuries graced the coins issued by Syracuse. An example is provided by the tetradrachm (480–475 B.C.) illustrated on p. 6.

Another tetradrachm on offer at the Cahn Gallery was issued some 30 years later and belongs stylistically to the Severe Style (figs. 1-2). Here the die-cutter rendered the same motifs more finely and in greater detail. The quadriga to right is urged on by a bearded, archaic-looking charioteer holding a kentron in his left hand whilst a Nike flourishing a victor's wreath hovers above the team. The attitude and posture of the horses' heads and bodies seems freer, the staggering finer. The ketos (sea monster) with serpentine body in the space below the ground line (*exergue*), permits this coin to be assigned to the so-called Ketos Group (474–450 B.C.). The nymph Arethusa on the reverse wears her hair in a classical coiffure, with a thin fillet



Figs. 3-4: A DIDRACHM, METAPONTUM. W. 10 g. Dm. 2 cm. Silver. Magna Graecia, Metapontum, ca. 350-330 B.C. CHF 5,400

wound round her head and her hair gathered up in a bun at the nape of her neck. The classical stylistic idiom is also evident in the shape of the eyes with pronounced pupils and the heavy, rounded chin. Four dolphins swimming clockwise frame the head.

On this coin, Syracuse presents itself with great self-confidence: The quadriga alludes to its foundation myth, according to which the Corinthian settlers were accompanied by a priest of Zeus from Olympia, and the

Nike is reminiscent of an aristocratic victory in chariot racing. The ketos is interpreted by scholars as a symbol of Syracusan naval supremacy after the victory of the tyrant Hieron over the Etruscans at Cyme (474 B.C.). The personification of the Fountain of Arethusa on the off-shore island of Ortygia provides a local reference. The dolphins, Apollo's companions at sea, symbolise the safe harbours of Syracuse and the inscription "ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙ-ΟΝ" proudly refers to its citizens. This was to change in the Hellenis-

tic period, as will be discussed in the next issue.

The second coin presented here is a didrachm issued in 350–330 B.C. by the city of Metapontum on the Gulf of Taranto (figs. 3-4). The obverse refers to the city's foundation myth: The inscription "ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠ(ΡΟΣ)" identifies the bearded man with tilted-back Corinthian helmet as Leucippus, the leader of the Achaeans, who, when the colony was founded in ca. 680 B.C., tricked their Tarentine neighbours into giving them the land required (Strabo, *Geography* 6, 264). On the reverse the grains and fine awns of an ear of barley are naturalistically rendered. A dove ascends from the barley leaf on the right. The inscription "AM(I)" below it names the city magistrate responsible for the coin issue and the inscription "META" on the left is an abbreviated reference to the citizens. The barley ear was a regular feature on the coins of Metapontum during the 6th-3rd centuries B.C. and symbolised the cultivation of cereals in the fertile chōra that was of vital importance to the polis. As the goodwill of the fertility goddess Demeter and her daughter Persephone was essential, coins depicting these deities, such as the stater (430–400 B.C.) illustrated on p. 6, formed a second important group amongst the coins minted in Metapontum.

## The Debate

# "... but more beautiful in a photograph."

## Photographs of Ancient Sculptures since the 19th Century

By Detlev Kreikenbom

"But much more beautiful in a photograph," the cultural historian Jacob Burckhardt of Basel (1818–1897) remarked, almost as an afterthought, of the sculpture in the Vatican Museums that he had just described. In his opinion the statue depicting a nymph with a shell was beautiful in its own right, but was nonetheless surpassed in beauty by its image.

Burckhardt was a passionate collector of visual representations of architecture, sculptures and paintings, both ancient and modern. The core of his collection was composed of engravings and etchings, which, in the course of time, he supplemented with photographs. Burckhardt held this new pictorial medium in high esteem. He appreciated that photography had a potential for visual fidelity that far surpassed the possibilities of traditional graphic media, although he was also keenly

aware of the fact – more so than many of his contemporaries – that a photograph could never be purely objective.

A wide range of prints from glass plate negatives could be purchased even in those days. Professional photographers such as Anderson, Brogi, Sommer and especially the Alinari brothers made the documentation of archaeological objects a part of their photographic projects. They all sought to "objectivise" the art works by placing them before a neutral, mostly black background, thereby eliminating any references to the objects' context (fig. 3). Sculptures were photographed using a uniform mode of lighting which sought to render all the details clearly. This, in combination with long exposure times, enabled the photographers to create images whose precision often remains unsurpassed to this day.

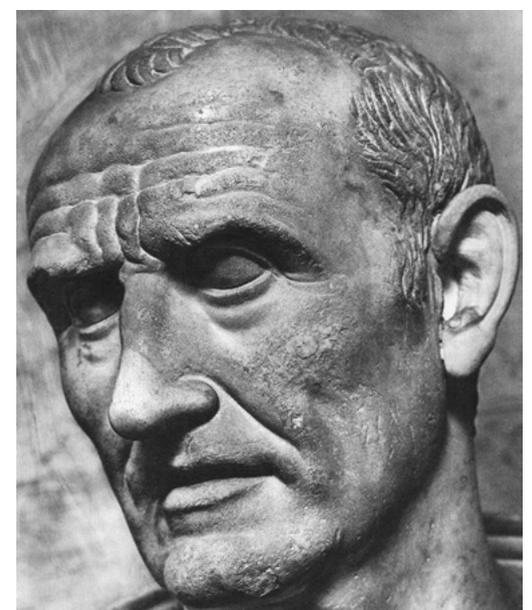


Fig. 1: A portrait, so-called Marius. Munich, Glyptothek. Photo: Ilse Schneider-Lengyel

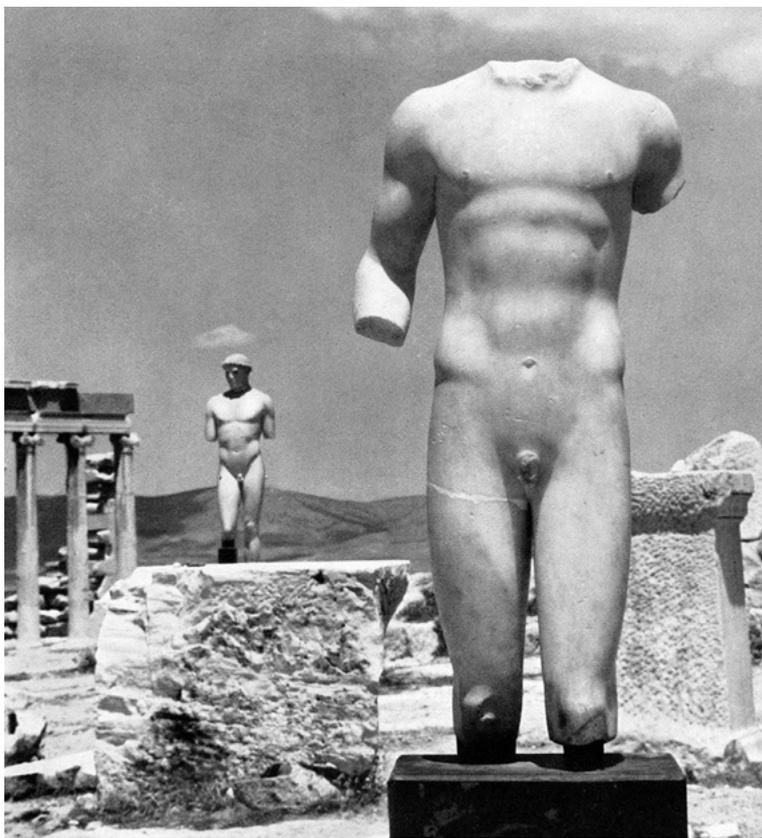


Fig. 2: Statues of kouroi from the Athenian Acropolis. Photo: Hermann Wagner

The appearance, in the late 19th century, of photographic compendia of ancient sculptures with a claim to archaeological and scholarly precision did nothing to change the maxims governing the presentation of the objects. The background remained neutral and the painstakingly made photographs continued to be accurate in every detail. It was not until around 1930 that a reaction against these images set in as they came to be regarded as too prosaic or cold. Writing in 1929, the archaeologist Ernst Langlotz criticised a sculpture that was depicted with reinforced contour in front of a uniform black background as an “incorporeal silhouette”. The demand was voiced that photographs should reflect the original positioning and lighting conditions of an art work. Thus, in 1936, the photographer Hermann Wagner made open-air photographs of sculptures of the 6th and early 5th century B.C. which had been brought out from the Athenian Acropolis Museum specifically for this purpose (fig. 2). These frequently reproduced photographs strive to imbue the sculptures with life in a two-fold manner: Not only do the kouroi and kore seem to inhabit their historical context, even though the ambience of the Acropolis has changed fundamentally in the meantime, but the intense light that falls vertically onto the white marble bodies accentuates the figures’ plasticity, creating tense surfaces and contrasting shadows.

The interpretation of bodies and faces by means of precise lighting was an artistic concern shared by several photographers at the time. Their most prominent representative,

Walter Hege, to whom we owe exceptional images not only of the sculptures in Olympia but also of the statues of the founders of Naumburg Cathedral, praised the “fine, beautiful plasticity” revealed by the light of the sun. In contrast, the poet and photographer Ilse Schneider-Lengyel employed hard, artificial light in her artistic investigation of Roman portraiture. Her photographs, which were published in 1940, aim at an expressionistic characterisation of the person portrayed by means of abrupt, additive form elements. Some faces are thus “petrified” in both senses of the word (fig. 1).

Hermann Wagner and Walter Hege worked together with archaeologists and art historians, whereas Ilse Schneider-Lengyel expressed herself freely and interpreted the sculptures according to her artistic sensibility. However, what all three photographers, and many others from the 1930s onwards, have in common is their wish to pay homage to the sculpture as a work of art. This was not self-evident from an archaeological and scholarly perspective. Rather, as soon as a sculpture is regarded not as an individual achievement but as an example of an iconographical group or even as serially produced, the photographic requirements inevitably change. If images are to serve as the basis for documentary work, they have to be made according to specific criteria that enable precise comparisons. Such an approach is particularly relevant with regard of the study of the numerous ancient copies of Greek statues and the typologically bound series of Roman portraits. Archaeologists had pointed out the need for such photographs as early as the 19th century, but it was only in 1974 that the archaeologist Klaus Fittschen emphatically set down the rules according to which these images should be made, stating that portraits should always be photographed at eye level and in a strictly frontal view, strict profile, and from the back. Some years later, Ernst Berger, director of the Basel Antikenmuseum, added the criterion that statues should always be reproduced in full size. Furthermore, he sought to improve methodical accuracy by specifying that the sculptures should always be photographed using the same lighting conditions, from the same distance and using

telephoto lenses with identical focal lengths. He himself met these objectives in the documentation accompanying the exhibition “Der Entwurf des Künstlers” (“The Artist’s Design”) held in Basel in 1992.

Photographs are an indispensable tool for supporting the memory and facilitating communication in all artistic genres including that of sculpture. However, three-dimensional art works invite a much wider range of visual interpretations than does two-dimensional art. These interpretations are influenced by aesthetic principles, the function assigned to the images and the questions asked of the object. Not even the most recent recording and reproduction techniques, including those that make use of all three dimensions, can generate an undecceptive image. An image can never be a valid substitute for the original – but sometimes it is indeed more beautiful.

#### References:

Quote Jacob Burckhardt: *Nachträge zur antiken Sculptur*. Rome 1875, folio 13 (unpublished; Staatsarchiv Basel, PA 207, 148. – Quote Ernst Langlotz: Review of: Johannes Sieveking, Carl Weickert, *Fünfzig Meisterwerke der Glyptothek König Ludwig I*, *Gnomon* 5, 1929, 484. – Quote Walter Hege: *Wie ich die Akropolis fotografierte*, *Atlantis* 2, 1930, 249.

Fig. 1: Ludwig Goldschneider, *Ilse Schneider-Lengyel, Roman Portraits* (London 1940) pl. 40. – Fig. 2: Ernst Langlotz, Walter Herwig Schuchhardt, *Archaische Plastik auf der Akropolis* (Frankfurt am Main 1941) pl. 41. – Fig. 3: Munich, LMU, Institute for Classical Archaeology.



Fig. 3: A statue of a fisher. Rome, Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri

For further reading:

Wolfgang Züchner, Über die Abbildung. Winkelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, vol. 115 (Berlin 1959). – Klaus Fittschen, Über das Photographieren römischer Porträts, Archäologischer Anzeiger 1974, 484-494. – Ernst Langlotz, Über das Photographieren griechischer Skulpturen, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 94, 1979, 1-17. – Barbara Kopf, Skulptur im Bild. Visuelle Dokumentation und deren Beitrag zur Entwicklung der archäologischen Wissenschaft, in: Verwandte Bilder. Die Fragen der Bildwissenschaft, eds. Ingeborg Reichle, Steffen Siegel, Achim Spelten (Berlin 2007) 149-167. – Ortwin Dally, Zur Archäologie der Fotografie. Ein Beitrag zu Abbildungspraktiken der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts. Winkelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, vol. 143 (Berlin 2017).



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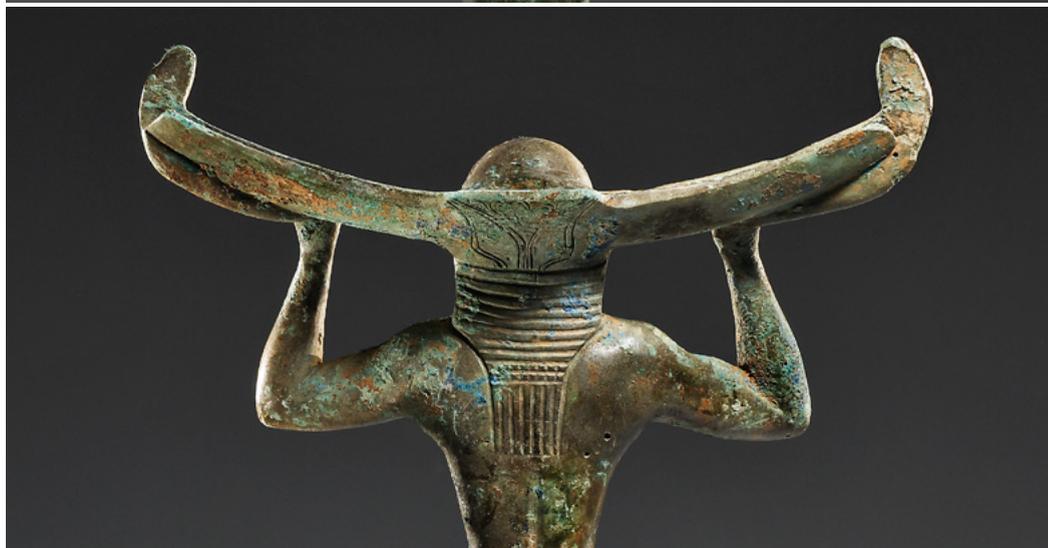
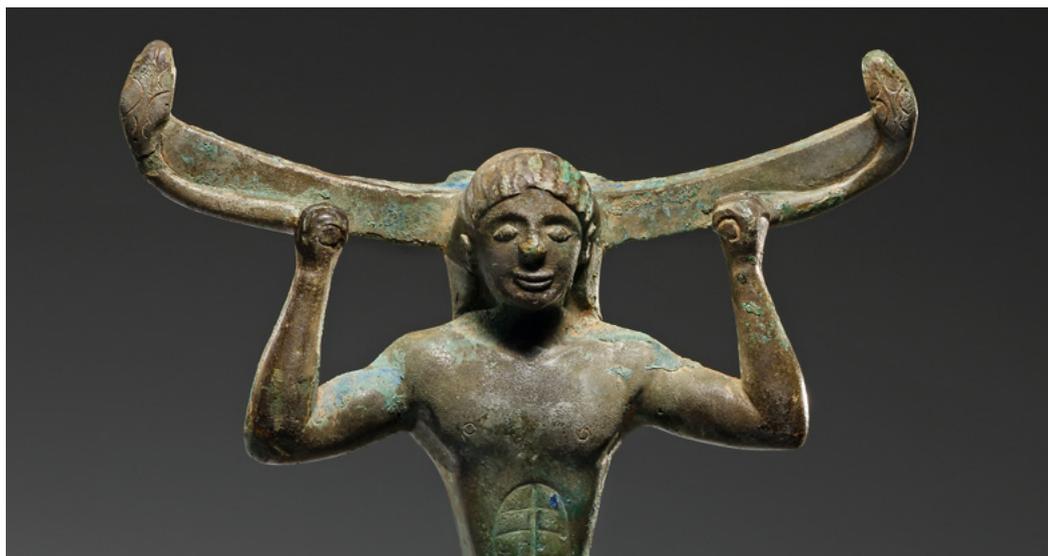
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## My Choice

# A Laconian Kouros

By Jean-David Cahn



A HANDLE IN THE SHAPE OF A KOUROS. H. 21 cm. Bronze. Greek, Laconian, ca. 570 B.C.

Price on request

A short while ago I made an exciting discovery: an unusually large handle in the shape of a youth that probably belonged to a patera, or maybe to a mirror. This superb sculpture was erroneously described as Western Greek and assigned far too late a date. It is, in fact, a very rare piece of Laconian bronze metalwork.

The body of the youth is remarkably slender but powerfully built with broad shoulders, strong thighs and taut buttocks. The abdominal muscles are precisely incised and each one is slightly domed. The shins are accentuated by a fine ridge which transitions into bud-shaped knee caps similar to those found in the Early Archaic sculptural group of Kleobis and Biton dating from ca. 580 B.C. The reverse was crafted with equal care and precision. The thick, stepped hair cascades down the youth's back, ending in finely knotted

strands. A further decorative accent is provided by the delicately engraved lotus bud on the back of the crescent-shaped element into which the rim of the patera was inserted.

The face is characterised by a bulbous nose, broad lips, almond-shaped eyes and sharp-edged eye brows. The facial features are arranged paratactically, but form a compact whole. The two snakes held up like whips are a remarkable and intriguing feature, all the more so as only the heads and necks are actually represented. Lillian Stoner will explore their meaning in greater detail in CQ 1/2019.

This wonderful bronze with a beautiful grey-green, shiny patina was acquired before 1976 by the late Elsa Bloch-Diener (1922–2012), a collector and art dealer from Berne whom I knew very well.

From Hephaestus's Forge – Ancient Metalwork

New Artworks Monthly  
on [www.cahn.ch](http://www.cahn.ch)



A STATUETTE OF AN ACTOR. H. 13.7 cm. Bronze. Wearing a long-sleeved, belted garment, furry trousers, low boots and a mask with characteristic mouth opening, this slightly pot-bellied actor with unkempt hair represents the type of the slave in Attic New Comedy. He stands in front of a pillar (perhaps an altar) on which a theatre mask is placed. Intact. Formerly French priv. coll., before 2000. With Piasa, Paris, Sale 28–29.6.2004, lot 414. With Royal Athena Galleries, New York, Cat. Art of the Ancient World XXI, 2010, no. 62, illus. Roman, 2nd–3rd cent. A.D. CHF 22,000



A TETRADRACHM. 20 g. Dm. 2.3 cm. Silver. Obverse: Bearded charioteer wearing a long chiton and holding a goad in his right hand and reins in his left, driving a walking quadriga to right; above, Nike flying right to crown the horses. Reverse: Head of Arethusa to right, wearing necklace and pearl diadem, and with her hair tied in a krobylos which is bound up and droops down over the diadem. The personification of the Fountain of Arethusa located on the island of Ortygia provides a local reference. The head is surrounded by four dolphins swimming clockwise. The dolphins, Apollo's companions at sea, stand for the safe harbours of Syracuse. The inscription "ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ" is a reference to the citizens. Boehringer 166; SNG ANS 51. Formerly Coll. A. Maly, acquired 1966 from Bank Leu. Western Greek, Sicily, Syracuse, ca. 480–475 B.C. CHF 8,600



A STATER, METAPONTUM. 10 g. Dm. max. 2.3 cm. Silver. Obverse: Head of Demeter to right. She wears a pendant earring. Her hair is held in place by a fillet that is wound crosswise around her head. Unruly ringlets of hair enliven the contour of her head and the ends of the fillet flutter at the nape of her neck. Reverse: Naturalistic ear of barley with plastically rendered grains and 15 fine awns. The inscription on the right, "META", is an abbreviated reference to the citizens. Formerly Hess-Leu 9, 2.4.1958, no. 13. Thereafter Coll. R. Maly. Metapontum, ca. 430–400 B.C. CHF 4,300



A NECKLACE WITH THREE PENDANTS IN THE FORM OF A WOMAN'S BUST. H. ca. 2.8 cm. Gold. The three appliques are all the same size and were probably also integrated in a piece of jewellery in Antiquity. They are each set in a gold frame which follows the contours of the appliques. They are arranged as pendants connected by means of several gold chain links (added in modern times). The female busts with long, wavy hair are represented frontally and probably depict a goddess (who cannot be identified with certainty). The S-shaped gold fastener is modern. Height of the ancient appliques: 2.8 cm. Length of necklace: 43.2 cm. Probably Northern Greece (Thrace). Formerly priv. coll R. S., LA County, before 1997. Greek, Hellenistic, 3rd–1st cent. B.C. CHF 11,400



A PAIR OF EARRINGS. L. 3.3 cm. Gold, light blue glass. Rectangular setting with light blue glass inlay framed by a finely woven gold wire. Two loops soldered onto the reverse each serve to suspend a chain ending in a small glass bead set off by a delicate cuff. One bead lost, otherwise intact. Formerly private coll., USA, 1970s or earlier. Roman, 1st–3rd cent. A.D. CHF 4,500



A PAIR OF EARRINGS. H. 4.1 cm. Gold, sardonyx (or garnet). A pair of openwork earrings each composed of a disc with central sardonyx through which a gold wire is threaded to fasten it. Four conical, sheet gold pendants are suspended from the horizontal openwork bar that is attached to the base of each disc. Some pendants slightly dented. Formerly priv. coll. London, by inheritance from the father, who acquired the earrings in the 1970s. Roman, 3rd cent. A.D. CHF 4,200



A PAIR OF EARRINGS. L. 4 cm. Gold, garnet. Earrings with hangers and a star-shaped ring of leaves arranged around a concave centre into which a garnet bead is set. Below, three pendants set with garnets are suspended from loops attached to a horizontal openwork bar that is shaped like a tendril. Bar slightly bent. Formerly priv. coll. V. L., Rhineland, Germany, acquired ca. 1975. Roman, 3rd cent. A.D. CHF 3,200

THREE GOLD FIBULAE. L. max. 7.3 cm. Gold. a) Dragon fibula. Bow with knobs, crosswise tubes and projections on either side. The long pin rest is lavishly granulated with staggered triangle pattern. Intact. b)–c) Long-footed navicella fibulae. Attached to the bow, which bulges in the middle, is a three-fold spiral leading to a long pin. The smaller of the two closes at the bottom. Undamaged. Formerly Coll. W. Rosenbaum, Ascona, Switzerland, before 1984. Etruscan, 7th cent. B.C. CHF 8,500





A KNIFE WITH BUTT IN THE SHAPE OF A RAPTOR. L. 17.2 cm. Bronze with high percentage of tin, iron. The iron blade is inserted into the polygonal socket of the handle and affixed by an adhesive. A triple band forms the transition to the figural butt representing a raptor with long claws sitting on a stylised tree. Large ring punches for the eyes; low nubs structure the wings and the interior of the tree. Restorations to the base and middle of the cutting edge. Lacuna in the rounded part of the handle. The very well preserved surface shows the unusual silver colour – due to the high tin content – to advantage. The low relief allows the handle to sit comfortably in the hand. The characteristic, stylised ornamentation allows the knife to be assigned to the "Perm Animal Style" of the steppe people who lived in a region that extended from the Ural Mountains to the Yenisei and Ob. The handle was cast in two halves and polished. Formerly priv. coll. W. L., USA, early 1990s. Northeastern Ural and Western Siberia, 5th–10th cent. A.D. CHF 6,800



A KNIFE WITH WOLF'S HEAD HANDLE. L. 19.9 cm. Bronze, iron. The iron blade which tapers to a point is attached to an artfully crafted handle made of solid bronze. The central section is shaped as a column with spiral fluting bordered above and below by foliate capitals. A wolf's head protome adorns the end of the handle. It is carefully crafted and the structure of the fur is rendered by fine incisions. The blade is corroded and some minor lacunae on the cutting edge have been restored. Formerly priv. coll. UK, acquired before 1980. Roman, 1st–2nd cent. A.D. CHF 3,800



A FINIAL IN THE FORM OF A STYLISED HEAD OF A MAN. H. 6.4 cm. Bronze. Stylised face of a man with globular eyes, a nose projecting horizontally, a wide furrow of a mouth and moulded ears. Surmounting the head is a vertical rod that ends in a convex element whose smooth upper face is marked with a cross. Beginnings of the neck preserved. Upper lip slightly chipped. Probably a finial for a fibula. Formerly priv. coll. Martini, acquired in the 1990s. Greek, Geometric, 8th cent. B.C. CHF 6,800



A CROSS-AXE. L. 11 cm. Bronze. Axe blade. Short, cylindrical socket adorned by a herring-bone pattern and with dots inside rectangular fields. The main blade is parallel to the shaft. The blade at the neck is horizontal. The lower edge of the main blade curves downwards. Its cutting edge is rounded and has traces of use. The cutting edge of the blade at the neck is also rounded. Intact. Formerly Hotel Drouot, Paris, 14.4.1991, lot 1. Thereafter priv. coll. D., Paris. Luristan, Iran, Iron Age Phase III, 8th–7th cent. B.C. CHF 800



A MALE IDOL. H. 4.7 cm. Bronze. The schematic figure stands with his overdimensioned hands raised next to his head in a gesture of adoration. The fingers are indicated by grooves. The face is characterised by large, almost circular eyes, a prominent nose and a horizontal groove for the mouth. The back of the head has a dowel hole, indicating that the piece served as an applique. Slight damage to left hand and top of the head. Formerly Coll. Levkovic. Thereafter Coll. Dr. Wassiljew. Western Asia, 8th–7th cent. B.C. CHF 3,400



A PLAQUE WITH A HUNTING SCENE. H. 6 cm. Tin-plated bronze. The tin-plated surface of the plaque showing a tigress rearing up in front of a tree as Eros drives his spear into her belly is offset from the roughly 4-mm-wide frame and has four rivets in its corners for attachment. The engraved image is remarkable for its good style and rich detail. This very rare composition possibly once adorned a casket. Minor lacunae at the rim. Partially with green patina. Formerly priv. coll., Austria, acquired on the Vienna art market in the 1980s. Roman, 2nd–4th cent. A.D. CHF 2,200

A STATUETTE OF A YOUTH HOLDING PAN PIPES. H. 10.1 cm. Bronze. The youth stands upright distributing his weight evenly on both feet. These are placed close together with the left foot slightly advanced. He presses his panpipes to his chest with his left hand, while his right arm hangs down loosely next to his body. The facial features engraved after casting. Fine drill holes through the feet and the head. Right hand and front part of left foot missing. Etruscan, 490–470 B.C. CHF 9,800



AN APPLIQUE IN THE FORM OF VICTORY. H. 16.5 cm. Bronze. The goddess of victory with large wings is represented hastening to right. The impression of dynamic movement is heightened by the angle of her head and the fluttering drapery. She wears a belted peplos which is fastened at her shoulders with round fibulae and whose large overfold reaches down to her knees. A cloak is wound loosely around her left arm. The powerful wings are finely incised. The iconography of this magnificent applique suggests that it comes from a military context. Formerly Coll. J., Brittany, 1940s. Roman, 2nd half of 1st–2nd cent. A.D. CHF 22,000



A FOOT OF A CISTA WITH SWANS. W. 9.2 cm. Bronze. Corner of a square cista with a lion's paw as foot. Above it, two swans on an acanthus leaf. Reverse with a ledge on which the corner of the cista was placed. Three wing-tips either worn or missing. Formerly Coll. Louis-Gabriel Bellon (1819–1899). Old collection label on the inside: "323". Etruscan, 1st half of 3rd cent. B.C. CHF 3,800



A LARGE AMULET WITH PHALLUS. W. 7.2 cm. Bronze. Phallus with glans penis and fist over hanging scrotum. Bells were originally attached to the three loops below the amulet, whereas the loop above was used to suspend it. The reverse is slightly recessed. Intact. Formerly priv. coll. London, 1950s. Thereafter art market, England, 2012. Roman, 2nd cent. A.D. CHF 900

## Recipe from Antiquity

# “A Civilised Life is Impossible without Salt!”

## Salt in Ancient Rome

By Yvonne Yiu



Anchovies and sea salt for the preparation of *garum* and *allec*. From left to right: A BOWL WITH STAMPED DECORATION. Dm. 17 cm. Clay, black glaze. Campanian, 4th cent. B.C. CHF 800. A SALT CELLAR. H. 3.1 cm. Bronze. Roman, 1st-3rd cent. A.D. CHF 480. A JUG. H. 18.3 cm. Silver. Roman, 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. CHF 7,800. A SMALL BOWL. Dm. 12.2 cm. Clay, black glaze. Campanian, ca. 330 B.C. CHF 240.

“By Hercules,” Pliny the Elder exclaims in his *Naturalis historia*, “a civilised life is impossible without salt! Indeed, so highly necessary is this substance to mankind, that the pleasures of the mind, even, can be expressed by no better term than the word ‘salt,’ such being the name given to all effusions of wit. All the amenities, in fact, of life, supreme hilarity, and relaxation from toil, can find no word in our language to characterise them better than this.” (31.41). Symmachus, one of the dinner companions in Plutarch’s *Quaestiones conviviales*, likewise stresses the importance of salt, arguing that “there would be nothing eatable without salt [...] salt is the most desirable of all relishes. For as colours need light, so the tastes need salt.” (4.4).

Salt was, however, much more than a taste-bud tickler. Not only was it essential for the preservation of foodstuffs and a component of many medicinal formulations, but it also played a significant role in animal husbandry as well as in numerous artisanal processes. Accordingly, it was of great importance to ensure a constant supply of salt. Titus Livius re-

lates that when Ancus Marcius, the legendary fourth king of Rome (r. 640–616 B.C.), founded the town of Ostia he also built salt works there. (*Ab urbe condita* 1.33). The aim was to avoid dependence on the Etruscans, who produced salt in Veii on the opposite bank of the Tiber.

The salines at the mouth of the Tiber could produce up to an estimated 10,000 tonnes of salt a year by means of the solar evaporation of sea water that had been channelled into large basins. (S.A.M. Adshead, *Salt and Civilization*, 1992, 29). This method is also described by Pliny: “The usual [salt], and the most plentiful, is made in salt pools by running into them sea water not without streams of fresh water, but rain helps very much, and above all much sunshine, without which it does not dry out.” (NH 31.39). Why fresh water and rain were necessary remains puzzling, but possibly they were used to wash out the bitter magnesium salts also contained in sea water. (Adshead 31). Sea salt was produced in countless other salt works along the Mediterranean coast, and its predominance, also in the minds of men, is reflected by the asser-

tation made by Symmachus, that “among all those things the earth yields, we find no such things as salt, which we can have only from the sea.” (QC 4.4).

Salt was, however, produced using many other methods in Antiquity, some of which were already employed in prehistoric times. Salt could be harvested from salt lakes that dried up seasonally – Pliny mentions the Lake of Tarentum which “is dried up by the heat of the summer sun, and the whole of its waters, which are at no time very deep, not higher than the knee in fact, are changed into one mass of salt.” Furthermore, it could be made by evaporating natural brine from springs. “In Chaonia,” for instance, “there is a spring, from which they boil water, and on cooling obtain a salt that is insipid and not white.” Rock salt was also exploited, both in open cast and underground mines. “There are also mountains of natural salt, such as Oromenus in India, where it is cut out like blocks of stone from a quarry, and ever replaces itself, bringing greater revenues to the sovereigns than those from gold and pearls. It is also dug out of the earth in Cappadocia, being evidently formed by condensation of moisture.” (NH 31.39).

Salt was used in a wide variety of ways in Roman cuisine and became so intimately associated with the very idea of food that Cicero, in his dialogue on friendship, *Laelius de amicitia*, could observe: “And the proverb is a true one, ‘You must eat many a *modius* of salt with a man to be thorough friends with him.’” (67). This metaphor for a long span of time becomes surprisingly concrete on reading Cato the Elder’s recommendation that farm hands should be issued “a *modius* [ca. 8.7 litres] of salt a year per person.” The salt ration is mentioned in the section on “relish for the hands” and thus numbers amongst those foods that added some variety to labourers’ otherwise fairly bland diet: pickled windfall olives, ripe olives that were unsuitable for oil production, the residues from the manufacture of *garum* (*allec*), vinegar, a *sextar* (ca. 550 ml) olive oil per month and the above-mentioned *modius* of salt. (*De agri cultura* 58).

Some of this salt was surely used to season food such as the cabbage salad so highly recommended by Cato in his chapter on the medicinal value of cabbage:

## Cato's Cabbage Salad (AC 157)



"If you eat cabbage chopped, washed, dried, and seasoned with salt and vinegar, nothing will be more wholesome."

However, the salt ration was so large that it was, in all likelihood, also used to preserve foodstuffs. In addition to the salting and curing of meat and fish, salt was used to pickle vegetables, and in his agricultural treatise *De re rustica* Columella provides numerous recipes including one for pickled onions:

## Columella's Pickled Onions (RR 12.10)



"Choose Ascalonian or Pompeian onions [...] put them in a jar together with thyme or savory and pour a liquid consisting of three parts vinegar and one part strong brine over them. Place a small bundle of savory on top of the onions to keep them submerged."

To make strong brine hang a small basket of salt in a vessel filled with rain-water. Keep refilling the basket until the salt no longer dissolves. The brine is ready for use if a piece of sweet cheese floats on it. (RR 12.6).

Salt was also an indispensable ingredient for the manufacture of the ancient Romans' favourite condiment: the fermented fish sauce *garum*, also called *liquamen*, whose sediment,

*allec*, was given to Cato's farm hands as a relish. Viewed today with a mixture of fascination and revulsion, this "liquid of a very exquisite nature" was, according to Pliny, "prepared from the intestines of fish and various parts which would otherwise be thrown away, macerated in salt; so that it is, in fact, the result of their putrefaction." The highly sought after *garum sociorum* that was made from mackerel could fetch exorbitant prices similar to those commanded by precious unguents. But many other fish – mostly small ones – were also used to produce *garum*. "Finally," Pliny observes, "everything became a luxury, and the various kinds that are now made are infinite in number." There was even a kosher *garum* "prepared from fish without scales [for] the sacred rites of the Jews." (NH 31.43-44). Nonetheless, ordinary *garum* seems to have been generally affordable. In Pompeii, for instance, *garum* containers were found throughout the city in the houses of both wealthy and poor or average citizens, as well as in the many taverns. The Price Edict of Diocletian (301 A.D.) paints a similar picture, the price for fish sauce being approximately that of oil. (R. Curtis, *In Defense of Garum*, in: *The Classical Journal* 78 (1983) 232-240).

*Garum* was manufactured mainly in large production centres (*cetariae*) located especially in southern Spain, North Africa and the Black Sea. These factories were remarkably uniform in design with a central patio, storage facilities, rooms for cleaning fish and fermentation vats made of cement set into the floor and sealed with *opus signinum* or carved into the rock. (A. Trakadas, *Evidence for Fish Processing in the Western Mediterranean*, in: *Ancient Fishing and Fish Processing*, ed. T. Bekker-Nielsen, 2005, 47-82). Many families, however, produced their own fish sauce in small quantities for home use. The Roman Egyptians Syra and Psias, for instance, wrote to their son Ision that they would prepare it for his homecoming. (*P. Oxy.* 1299). The most detailed instructions on how to make *garum* are recorded in the *Geoponika*, a Byzantine text of the 10th century A.D. that stands in the tradition of the Roman agricultural treatises and has close links to numerous ancient texts. That in one of the four *garum* recipes the ratio of fish to salt is given is of particular interest: "But the Bithynians prepare it in this manner: they indeed take small, or large mendole, which are more eligible; but if they cannot get them, anchovy or scad or mackerel [...]; and they throw them into a baking-trough [...], and having applied two Italian *sextarii* salt to a *modius* of fish, they mix them well [this is a ratio of 1:8 or 15 per cent salt]. Having suffered them to lie during one night, they put them into an earthen vessel, and they set this in the sun during two or three months, stirring them with a stick at stated periods;

then they take and stop them and lay them by. Some indeed pour two *sextarii* of old wine on a *sextarius* of fish." (20.46).

Both in the *Geoponika* as well as in other ancient sources, the fish from which the *garum* is made are not gutted. Occasionally the intestines of other fish are even added. This is crucial for the successful fermentation of the fish as the innards contain large quantities of proteolytic enzymes that break down the proteins into water-soluble amino acids and peptides in a process called autolysis: the fish is literally liquified. Besides helping to draw out the liquid from the fish, the salt suppresses the growth of undesirable bacteria. As a result, the clear, amber-coloured sauce has an almost unlimited shelf-life. (O. Mouritsen et al., *Garum revisited*, in: *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science* 9 (2017) 16-28; S. Grainger, *Roman Fish Sauce*, in: *Oxford Symposium on Food & Cookery*, 2010, 121-131).

## Garum and allec (based on Geoponika 20.46)



Lacking the heat of the Mediterranean sun, *garum* and *allec* can still be made with the aid of an incubator. Take 1 kg fresh anchovies and 150 g sea salt, place a layer of fish in a container, sprinkle liberally with salt, continue until all the ingredients are used up, ending with a layer of salt (photo on left). Incubate for 7-10 days at 40 °C, stirring occasionally. Once the fish have more or less dissolved (photo on right) strain through a sieve to remove the bones. Then filter through a cloth to separate the *garum* from the residues (*allec*).



## Highlight

# The Two Sides of Ganymede

By Martin Flashar



A LIFE-SIZE TORSO OF A YOUTH. H. 60 cm. Marble. Roman, 1st–2nd cent. A.D. after a Greek model probably of the 3rd cent. B.C. Price on request

A nude, apparently male torso that is spontaneously appealing and seems to make sense immediately – but it is nowhere near as simple as that! The head and neck are missing, as are both arms from the shoulders down, the legs from a line just below the genitals and the genitals themselves. All the now lost body-parts were once carefully joined to the torso by means of dowels and pins and the holes and recesses into which they were once inserted are still clearly visible. The evidence is sufficient to reconstruct the motif of the statue: the figure of a youth (without pubic hair) was designed to be viewed frontally; his body formed a distinctive s-shaped curve; the right arm was lowered, as was the left arm, although the latter appears to have rested on a very high support (this is the only explanation for the steeply sloping shoulder axis and the compressed flesh and muscles next to the armpit); the right leg was engaged and the hip raised whereas the thigh of the free left leg was slightly advanced and the lower leg somewhat set back. As yet, no conclusions can be drawn regarding the attributes.

What immediately springs to mind is the Apollo Sauroktonos, the lizard slayer, of

which numerous Roman copies are known. This is a youthful, playful version of the otherwise often brutally punitive god with bow and arrow created by the late Classical sculptor Praxiteles, presumably as early as the 360s B.C. The bronze original, which is generally assigned too late a date, may have been made at the peak (*akmé*) of Praxiteles' artistic career during the 104th Olympiad (364–361 B.C.), as reported by Pliny – on the basis of sources available to him – in the book on metals in his *Natural History* (34.50). The similarities are evident: a beautiful (very) young man with that distinctive, pronouncedly curved posture and a very similar sculptural organisation. But it soon becomes clear that this cannot be the type of the torso belonging to the Cahn Gallery. There are two (significant) differences: Although the left shoulder is pushed up, the arm clearly pointed downwards,

whereas that of the Sauroktonos reaches up the tree trunk he is leaning against and which the lizard he is about to impale is climbing. Secondly, the youthful Apollo is generally not as sweet and feminine.

Another solution must therefore be found. The femininity, the hermaphroditic appearance of the torso is striking. And the gently curved buttocks are reminiscent of those of an adolescent girl. As the sculpture must represent a mythological figure, Narcissus, Eros or Hermaphroditus are all possible candidates. The famous statue of Hermaphroditus from Pergamon dating from the 2nd century B.C. has an unequivocally female breast but wears a cloak slung around the hips, which cannot have been the case with the Cahn torso.

The work of the Munich-based archaeologist, collector and art dealer Paul Arndt (1865–1937) offers a promising line of inquiry here. Arndt had close ties to some of the most eminent authorities on ancient sculpture of the age, especially Heinrich Brunn and Adolf Furtwängler, and is known to have procured sculptures for numerous collections, too. Of particular interest to us is a photograph from



The torso in its reconstructed state. Historical photograph, before 1937, from the estate of Paul Arndt (Erlangen University)

Arndt's estate of unknown provenance (he himself wrote "wo" ["where?"] on its edge); Arndt probably bought the image without knowing (any more) where the object was located. It shows a sculpture of Ganymede. Closer inspection reveals that it is the very same torso as that now in the Cahn Gallery in its reconstructed state. The breaks and additions on the photograph match all those places where the limbs of the torso end after the removal of later additions. Several dowel holes above the left waist, at the left upper arm, below the right armpit and at the right hip are located exactly where the eagle to the figure's left and the lowered arm on the right were attached.

There are indeed parallels to be found in ancient sculptures of Ganymede, such as the Roman marble group in Naples (Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 6355) from the Farnese Collection. Thus, the historical reconstruction may indeed be correct (interestingly the lower section of the figure was not executed; instead the torso was placed on a moulded base at the level of the beginnings of the thighs). The sculpture would then represent the innocent shepherd boy who was abducted by Zeus in the guise of an eagle and carried off to Mount Olympus where he was assigned the office of cupbearer to the gods. Ancient sources testify to the androgyny of Ganymede, even explicitly calling him a "hermaphrodite". Stylistically the torso is close to post-Praxitelian sculptures such as the so-called Eros/Genius Borghese.