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The Lie Became Great
The Forgery of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures

Oscar White Muscarella

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history starts today

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Tel. # 31 (0)50–5717502
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E-mail: styxnl@compuserve.com

I dedicate this work to – among others – Andrew Carnegie, for his libraries; Miss Jones, my first and best librarian; and the best and most genuine of friends, Clio, Nellie Dog, Lacy, and Charlie Cat.

I also wish to thank those individuals who in a variety of ways helped me to accomplish the goals I gave myself. Several curators and others connected to various museums and collections have been cooperative in supplying me with information and with photographs. Among them are: Anne Adams, Margaret Beers, P. Bol, Elie Borowsky, Adriana Calinescu, Annie Caubet, Bernard Davezac, René Dreyfus, Robert Cohon, Sidney M. Goldstein, Mary Gruel, Ann C. Gunter, Adrienne Jeske, E. Klengel, Arielle Kozloff, Kristen Lenaburg, Glenn Markoe, A. Miller, P. R. S. Moorey, Otto Nelson, James Romano, William Jay Rathbun, J. Riederer, Irene Roughton, Kevin Smith, Ann Ternbach, Nancy Thomas, Sarah Wentworth, Patricia J. Whitesides, Karen L. Wilson, Richard Zettler, Stephen Zwirn.

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* Drawings by Mikko Kriek, Amsterdam

I. Introduction and Polemic

The Forgery Culture

To understand the forgery problem, one must understand the forgery culture. The catalogue of forgeries below provides the essential data concerning the existence of obvious and possible forgeries, information about their initial introduction and circulation from the bazaars, and their acceptance by the archaeological and art historical communities. But an inspection of these data is equivalent to examining incomplete surface finds on a mound, the broken sherds that reflect tantalizing but isolated pieces of knowledge. Excavation, so to speak, below this cultural surface is difficult. There are no financial grants for such activity. And few students know how or where to commence, and in fact are not encouraged to do so. The report that follows is the product of one researcher's (excavator's) investigation based on personal knowledge and experiences. Surveys and sondages took place at many sites but others could not be approached, and sometimes it was possible only to accomplish a probe. Hence the information shared here does not claim to be a definitive description of the culture, only a little more than the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Other investigators who do their own digging will find the same information and cultural evidence discussed below, but they will surely encounter new or modified details and more information documenting the presence of this world economy.

The reality and external structure of the forgery culture as well as the identity of some of its inhabitants can be recognized in part from the evidence presented in the Catalogue below. But not readily discernable from the evidence is the existence of a clandestine order that includes individuals with the will, determination, and financial and political power to control information, people, and institutions. From the very beginning we will be aware that while the forgery culture and the collection culture may in theory be considered to be discrete, they share the same environments and personnel.

The forgery culture is stratified and multi-facetted. It has a kinship system, a hierarchical structure, systems of gift exchange, laws, a coded language, judges and juries (usually the same), a police force. Its inhabitants include professors, curators, scientists, museum officials and trustees, dealers, smugglers, auction house employees, collectors, and forgers. An imperial culture, it colonizes other, more legitimate, cultures, drawing into its realm scholars, students, and the general public. It controls an extensive physical geography but possesses no moral geography. An appreciation of the spirit of its deeds suggests that many who participate in the culture's activities function as a fifth column in the archaeological domain. Individuals function in this capacity willingly or as fellow travelers (because of the prestige, power, and financial support granted), some out of a fear (i.e. of losing one's job or someone's affection and support); others are more innocent or ignorant, not realizing they perform important tasks that help the culture to thrive.

Although the secret, hidden character of the culture's behind-the-scenes, need-to-

know tactics and actions in the Great Game prevents any single individual from obtaining comprehensive knowledge (that task would require research by a full time anthropologist), information about its dimensions and customs are obtainable once the defining actions are recognized. Different strands and impulses inform the culture, but it also has systematic rules. These may be summarized in one sentence: use all appropriate strategies to impede discussion and exposure of both the policies to acquire plundered art and the existence of forgeries.

When curators and collectors discover they have purchased a forgery they become angry, because they were duped – but more precisely because the wrong crime was committed. (Of course, if they are sophisticated, they accept the fraud as a normal risk in their business of "rescuing" art). The actual crime they commissioned (by virtue of the contract inherent in the purchase) was the plundering of artifacts (art) from a site thereby eliminated, theft from the country of origin, smuggling and bribery. Buyers protest that they purchased the object in "good faith": a phrase often occurring in newspaper reports of bad sales, but which every dealer, museum, auction house, and collector knows signifies the guarantee that the plunder, theft, bribery, and smuggling has been successfully accomplished – and equally important, that all trace of such action has been covered up. When the buyer failed to effect the destruction of a site and was told a lie by a dealer who sold an unplundered forgery, the implicit contract has been broken. Such is not the "good faith" behavior of a gentleman fence. But once deceived, the buyer is bound to keep the secret, and in this endeavor he gets the culture's cooperation.

The forgery culture maintains a self-imposed society, where information exists only in the underground except for occasional samizdat whispers. If we carry out multi-regional surveys of the forgery culture, here is what we find, some of it heartbreaking. Consider:

– A museum administration tried to prevent a staff member from publishing as a forgery an object previously published as genuine. The object was not even in the museum's possession, it was the property of a dealer who contributes money and donates objects to the institution. The staff member was ordered not to publish it, and was asked "Why do you care; is it so important?" (The object was published).

– Some (I specifically know several) Museums accept as gifts from trustees or rich citizens objects they know to be forgeries. Sometimes the administration knows about the evaluation, sometimes the curator keeps the information private. These gifts may be exhibited or buried in storerooms, and the museum officials do not notify the tax authorities that a tax deduction was taken for the full value of an authentic ancient work of art. They indignantly justify this action by asserting that it is "common" and "legal." Nor do they inform scholars or the public that they possess the forgeries. This silence protects "important" people the museum hopes may continue to support the museum; equally, it avoids frightening away potential donors.

– In rare instances a museum curator will inform the Director that an object on exhibit is a forgery and should be removed. The indignant Director orders the object to be left in place, establishing that he is the boss, he will determine what is exhibited in *his* museum. He also reinforces his reputation as an astute Director, whose knowledge and control of what is or is not to be exhibited will not be called into question.

– Museum curators will refuse to remove from exhibition an object they know is a forgery because of loyalty to a predecessor who hired them, to their institution, to the wealth of the forgery's owner, or for their own benefit in receiving institutional support.

– Some curators have also refused to remove forgeries from exhibitions because if they do so, they have very little on view to justify administration support for their department–or their jobs, or both.

– Museum files registering information on a recognized forgery that was either purchased or deeded will contain private notations expressing one or all of the following: no one is to be allowed to examine it; no one is to be given photographs of it with correct information about its age; no reference is to be made that it is a forgery: information about its modern age "is not to be made available to the public"; or "this object should *not* become a research project for anyone."

– Curators at several museums have refused requests for non-destructive laboratory testing on suspicious material in their collections (for example alleged Hacilar figurines, terracotta figures, or alleged Minoan ivory statuettes). These curators may also wish to avoid disclosure for reasons already mentioned above, protection of their own reputation or that of a predecessor, or fear of offending the donor or the one who authorized the funds to purchase it. The official refusal presented usually asserts that of course the object is genuine, and that as protectors of art they do not want to cause physical damage to the precious object, although they are aware that in fact damage would not occur. They refuse because they have the power to refuse.

– Dealers, collectors and curators respond to queries about a terracotta human or animal figurine that it "has been tested by thermoluminescence." The bald statement given here in its entirety, i.e. without revealing the result of the test, is meant to imply a positive result, although in fact, the tests demonstrated recent manufacture. I have been told this nonsense several times. In at least one case, a written test report was promised to me several times but was never delivered.

– A cuneiform scholar at a major university (with tenure, security, and a good salary) refused to answer questions about an inscription on a suspicious object called to his attention because, he said, he did not want to "offend" the owner (a dealer/collector) or the scholar who published it – two powerful reasons. The cuneiformist had no qualms about offending the non-powerful scholar who requested the information, or scholarship. He also seemed unaware that his negative, collusive, attitude in fact had confirmed suspicions that the inscription had been added to a newly manufactured antiquity. (Students of the forgery and collecting cultures and the power they generate will be interested to know that the scholar's university has many objects on loan from the same dealer/collector).

– Scholars refrain from attesting in print or in other appropriate contexts that an object exhibited in a museum or private collection, or published, is considered by them to be a forgery. They fear that its owner, exhibitor, publisher, or fellow-travelling scholars

will seek revenge – deny jobs, internships, grants, recommendations, or affection, to themselves or their students. They are, of course, realists, for they are right to fear reprisals (see below).

– A staff member of a major institution actively involved in studying a large private collection of ancient (and not ancient) material threatened a student doing research on that material. If the student would not remove from a discussion of forgeries in a projected dissertation objects from that collection, he would prevent the student from receiving a Ph.D. (then in preparation at another institution – and fortunately completed there).

– An attempt was made to deny a graduate student's fellowship application at a university precisely because, as the charge was stated, of the student's strong concern with forgeries. The student was also advised that the topic should be abandoned. (Other wills did not allow the assassination to succeed).

– Professor X ordered students never to raise the issue of forgeries with a professor who had been invited to give a series of lectures by Professor X's institution. The invited professor had published many forgeries as ancient artifacts, a fact well known to the host professor. The students obeyed – fearing expulsion, a poor recommendation, or scorn.

– Students in a graduate seminar were instructed to investigate a single alleged ancient Near Eastern object from different perspectives. All reported problems, and eventually reached the conclusion that the object was modern. The professor agreed, but strongly admonished the students that the investigation was merely an exercise in art history, and that if any of them ever published this declared secret information the professor would make it difficult for them to secure an academic or museum position.

– A scholar informed me that he would not write a study of an apparent forgery in his special area of interest (of which there are not many specialists) until X retired. X is a powerful specialist in the same field but has never published anything about forgeries. The reason for the scholar's reluctance to publish was that he has no significant academic position, no power, and does not want to compromise future help from X or X's friends.

– A scholar was invited by a curator to write entries for an exhibition catalogue of alleged ancient art planned to be displayed at the latter's museum. But the scholar, one of the very few experts on the material to be exhibited, was told not to mention any suspicions about authenticity – only the word "unparalleled" would be tolerated. The curator thus betrayed awareness that some of the objects were "problems" or worse, and also that the invited scholar would have doubts. Given such conditions, the scholar refused the invitation. Someone less fastidious – and manifestly less knowledgeable about the material – was then approached and readily consented to write the entries. This person detected no problems, and none were reported. The curator's action is considered in the museum to be correct, mature museum staff behavior. Future financial support from the exhibition sponsors could not be compromised for any reason.

– A museum staff member disclosed to a department administrator that a staff member in the latter's department was working on a study of forgeries (a no-no topic of some sensitivity in that institution). The staff member was summoned to the administrator's office, queried about the alleged work (without being informed how the information was acquired), and told it must be submitted for review before it could be published. The administrator claimed that this "review" was normal behavior in the museum. The order was ignored.

– Scholars verbally or in writing authenticate objects, some of which are forgeries, for dealers. In one egregious case, dealers solicit letters of authenticity for their forgeries from a particular scholar known to be available for such services, and who (I am told, but cannot of course verify) accepts payment in the form of a certain group of antiquities. Although having no knowledge of ancient artifacts, he reports on university stationary about a variety of alleged ancient cultural materials. The objects are never determined to be anything but good, old, and valuable (otherwise why employ him), even though some are modern. These letters are counterfeits passed on by the forgery culture. Note that in art sales of any form, dealers sometimes seek out self-proclaimed experts – often individuals familiar with material in another area – to authenticate their goods. The latter's reports are then quoted with the sales promotion (for examples see *The New Yorker* June 29, 1987: 44 ff. and November 3, 1997: 62 ff.).

This conscious collusion of scholars with dealers and collectors is not to be confused with verbal claims by dealers that Scholar X has seen the piece being offered for sale and authenticated it. These verbal claims are sometimes untrue. Several times I have been told that my name (or that of a colleague) had been quoted in this manner, but in such instances I had either not seen the object or if I had seen it, I did not authenticate it. Peter Hopkirk has also reported in the *London Times*, April 19, 1973, that dealers forged British Museum stationary and signatures of keepers purporting to authenticate forgeries of Greek vases. The dealers could take this risk because, Hopkirk also reports, British Museum staff are authorized to authenticate material brought to them by dealers. I myself witnessed a British Museum curator authenticate antiquities for a representative of a London auction house. In many United States museums any wealthy person, and certainly all wealthy patrons, get special attention and advice regarding their intended purchases from curators and conservation departments.

– Scientists offer apparent scientific conclusions on laboratory (sometimes that of a museum) stationary and report positive results – but without conducting the expected crucial tests. Sometimes a subjective art historical analysis is proffered instead, which is meant to appear scientific in an alleged scientific report. I have seen "laboratory" reports authenticating a forgery with the dissimulating (I think intentional) conclusion "The gold is ancient." These reports are themselves a kind of forgery.

– Scholars defend the purchase of forgeries by museums and private collectors because it is an acceptable, worth-taking, risk necessary to "save" these orphaned objects. One comes across this sophisticated and seductive claim in most discussions of forgeries.

– And then there are the scholars who publish forgeries (or genuine material) as wonderful, recently excavated (or using the exciting public relations word "discovered") artifacts – sometimes even supplying a specific provenience. They know that dealers own the material and they know, or ignore, the fact that the report is thereby supporting and encouraging a purchase. But they neglect to reveal these trivial matters.

– I was told the following story: a curator at a museum tried to purchase an ancient object at a discounted price. When the dealer sold it to another museum for a larger amount of money the disappointed curator was bitter and sought revenge. He told several people, including staff members of the purchasing institution, that the object its curator acquired was a forgery. But then another individual informed me that in fact the story told me was a lie. The object was indeed a forgery, and the storyteller wanted both to protect its purchaser, a colleague, and malign the alleged disappointed curator. Whichever story is true is not really relevant, what is relevant is the intrigue behind museum purchases.

– A museum director tells the tale that he allowed a colleague at his institution to proclaim at a symposium that an important object in their collection (not ancient Near Eastern) was a forgery, even though he claimed to know that it was in fact genuine. The director, with a sophisticated wink, informs us that he allowed the colleague to make the false charge because he wanted him to be discredited when the object's true quality was demonstrated, an event that was orchestrated at the proper time.

– A student in a university seminar on ancient art innocently presented a forgery as an ancient object in her report, which solecism was noted by a member of the seminar. The seminar's professor stated that its authenticity did not matter since the object was representative of the class of artifact the student was considering. The professor (a good scholar) inadvertently assumed the role of an "equal-opportunity" pedagogue, who eschewed privileging the excavated and genuine over the provenience-impaired.

– Two scholars attending a northeast, private and elite archaeological club shared with fellow members (all university professors) strong objections about a recent publication on forgeries. One argued that "we do not exhibit our dirty laundry in public," it is not good form, not proper behavior. Another claimed that "it is better to buy forgeries than plundered objects, and one should not let museums and collectors know they buy forgeries." Not one scholar in the group objected (not even the one who reported the incident), and not one expressed concern about informing students and colleagues, not to mention the public, about the existence of forgeries. (At the time, one of the two indignant members was, and the other was to become, very active in supporting the purchase of antiquities by a museum).

These anecdotes hardly exhaust the range of activities of the forgery culture, specifically of the individuals who circulate freely within or fellow-travel at its edges. But they provide some definition of its parameters. They document that museum staff and scholars constitute a large component of the forgery culture. There are other examples, certain overt activities that when correctly understood will be recognized to exist in many places. One such activity is the evoking of the Museum Ritual, examples of which appear above

and in the Catalogue below. The Ritual is one of the first curatorial functions learned by a clever curator. It can be invoked merely by remaining aloof, by not mentioning that something is/may be wrong with one of the ARTifacts in the institution's collection. A sometimes aggrieved, sometimes upset, often arrogant, but always defiant, curator, who rationalizes the inconvenient realities of a cherished purchase, may evoke it in the form of a recitation. This curator-speak allows the curator to defend by fiat an antiquity that can never be proven to be ancient, to defend the unparalleled, the anomalies, and the ancient "misunderstandings" as new iconographies he has uncovered. He also defends the importance and wisdom of the purchase or gift – especially and all the more willfully if the curator himself, or a close friend or associate, or a rich benefactor was involved in the acquisition process. However, at all times the Ritual commands that no one be informed of these circumstances. The Ritual is evoked for the sake of: the reputations of the curator, director, trustees, donor, colleagues, and for the sake of keeping from the public that it is paying the bills through tax deductible money – the latter being one of the best kept museum secrets.[1]

In this context it is relevant to understand the reality of museum staffing policies. The evidence seems to indicate that probably all museum staffs function independently of normative scholarly standards. Many curators of alleged ancient art are less educated than scholars and know and care little about scholarship, let alone archaeology. A curator's importance is determined by a willingness to purchase antiquities (see also note 5). Although highly significant, it remains largely unperceived that many antiquities housed in museums, even if they are ancient, have little or no historical value. They may, of course, have limited archaeological value – but to what degree is another purchased unexcavated decapitated and bald alleged Early Dynastic head, or another alleged Levantine figurine, or another alleged Hacilar figurine, and so on – again, even if possibly ancient – *per se* important and meaningful to the attainment of historical knowledge? (When still innocent about the consequences of my role as a curator, I wrote for the Metropolitan Museum of Art's November 1969 calendar of events a review of the Alistar Bradley Martin collection. It appears to me now as obsequious, but that is what I was expected to write; *mea culpa*).

Another standard tactic of the culture, one not limited to museums, is to minimize the importance of the "few" forgeries in existence, arguing that they are a minor problem, and concomitantly to dismiss and ridicule, or ignore, those who claim otherwise (infra). Following upon this posture is the affirmation that possessing a forgery is a necessary, even an enviable situation. P. Amiet's writings (1978: 3 f.; *IranAntiq* XV, 1980: 155) exemplifies this attitude. He censures critics – dismissively called "moralistes" – for insinuating that all objects bought on the antiquities market — "antiquités orphelines" – are forgeries. In fact, I do not know a single person, and Amiet does not name one, who argues this, unfortunately untrue, claim: indeed, quite a few problems would be solved if all bazaar material were modern – and this book need not have been written. Amiet then defends buying forgeries as a necessary risk for those who assume the solemn obligation to preserve the past by acquiring plundered art. To do otherwise is to be "anti-archéologie."

This bite-the-bullet, heroic role had previously been advocated by A. U. Pope (1939: 182, note 1). He mandated that collectors and museums must accept the risks of buying forgeries because purchasing antiquities is, yes, a responsibility (a responsibility that

included purchasing antiquities from Pope; see below and note 2); see also Pope 1968: A/1 ff., and an associate of Pope, Ghirshman 1976: 27. Whether T. Hoving ever read Amiet or Pope, I do not know, but he adds his wisdom to the discussion in his advice to curators (1993). One must ignore the "jungle of 'caveat emptorism,' " snigger at one's colleagues who purchased a fake, swallow hard when we purchase one, and realize that "no collector of true significance ... had not acquired a fake... ." Only the willful or innocent will be surprised to discover that almost invariably those who proclaim and accept these benign attitudes toward forgeries are the very individuals who learned, and wished to deny, that they themselves had bought or sold forgeries.

The culture's so-called preservers of the past want the moralistes exposed and to experience guilt for (always stated in a sophisticated, street-wise manner) their arrogance in taking the high, moral ground. The preservers proclaim that it is more serious, even a crime, to condemn genuine artifacts, but only a temporary or "malheureux" deed if a preserver offers (a very rare event) a forgery as an ancient work of art (see Muscarella 1977b: notes 42a and 68). Pope's two articles written allegedly to set the record straight about forgeries, 1939 (especially "The False Canons," 182–24) and 1968, are nothing other than pecksniffian defenses of the integrity of objects that Pope himself was selling or already had sold, and encouragement for further purchase from his cache of antiquities. They also were meant to serve as short cut, how-not-to-be-fooled, guides to combat those poorly educated (not being dealers) scholars who see forgeries everywhere. In this capacity the articles function as bazaar archaeology handbooks: written by one of the most successful dealer-preservers ever to operate in the bazaar (Muscarella 1979: 5 f.; infra, Catalogue, note 38).[2] Ghirshman's 1976 publication is both an overt sales catalogue defending objects offered for sale (their owners are not revealed, but they are forgeries, infra), and an attempt to deny the existence of forgeries.

Equally serving as a sales catalogue for forgeries – albeit after the fact, for the objects discussed had recently been sold to the Freer Gallery – was the Christmas issue of the *Illustrated London News* 1967: 54 f. The *ILN* was a rightly respected publisher of archaeological site reports, but it also published (too often) plundered material being presented to customers (sometimes, I tend to think, unknowingly, see Iranian Culture notes 36, 38 below). The *ILN* article is anonymous (but must have been presented by a "scholar" known to the magazine). Its relevance here is how it unwittingly pimped for the trade. First, the writer instructs us about the two ways to discover "treasures," archaeology, or the "devious and obfuscated ... dealer's world... ." Having drawn the reader into the intrigue of this world, and giving the mandatory pious nod that the writer "deplores" what dealers do, we are given a paean to its wonderful accomplishments: "... it is indeed through that means [dealer's world] that so many treasures have come to enrich the collections of the Western world and to delight the amateurs [here in its British sense of lovers!] of Iranian art." Two "lovely heads" sold by the "dealer's world" to a United States national museum are the Christmas offering, a silver Parthian female bust and a silver Sasanian king's head; as noted, both are forgeries – blatant forgeries (see the Catalogue below).

The intent of Strommenger 1976/77 is transparently a curator's attempt to subvert any confrontation over the number of forgeries purchased and published as genuine.[3] E. V. Thaw, a sometime dealer in old and new world antiquities, in his review of a book on forgeries (*The New Criterion* October 1983: 76) repeats this position: "it is a non-issue,"

and "it is simply not true that fakes and forgeries are the kind of problem that this book makes them out to be. Forgery certainly exists ... but it is decidedly marginal to the vast body of art itself ... very few fakes penetrate the defenses [of experts]." This false indignation, a reversal of reality, echoes that of Pope, Ghirshman and Strommenger (all adepts at milking bulls) and equally (for the same reasons) ignores the evidence of earlier writers. Hilprecht (1894), Ménant (1887), and Banks (1904–05; Banks was apparently an antiquities dealer, among other things, something I did not know in 1977) reported that hundreds of forgeries were available in every Eastern bazaar. That such a condition continues down the decades is evident, for example in Hall (1990: 19), who reported that of some 1500 objects sampled "every year" by TL at Oxford University, 40% are forgeries. Further, Löw (1993: 38) estimates that 50% of all the Marlik-like vessels on the market are forgeries (there may be more; infra). Sotheby officials report that half of the material brought to them are forgeries (Theodorou 1992: 115; Brown 1989: 294) — but in fact they are being modest. Other areas of the world suffer the same fate, as seen from Norick's (1993: 51) claim that 25,000 (sic) forgeries of pre-Columbian art enter the bazaars each year. I of course argue that the present study will expose the forgery culture's lie that few forgeries exist or if they do, penetrate the experts' skills.

In the final analysis the question that legitimately concerns all scholars is this: is it possible to obtain a fully correct solution to the dilemma how many forgeries could be allowed to pass as ancient artifacts against reluctance to make an incorrect indictment? I suggest that very few genuine objects will be incorrectly indicted, and that these will be vindicated as more knowledge appears (on this see my own retractions in the Catalogue). Moreover, this is a minor problem, and is a consequence of bazaar archeology, not of scientific archaeology. The record demonstrates that the defenders of the bazaar have stated the matter backwards.

Specific confrontation, even general discussion, of forgeries remains a minor issue for ancient Near Eastern art historians and archaeologists. To some degree this problem exists because of ignorance. But we have already observed other causes, the conscious actions of individuals who oppose discussion and publishing, whose attitudes are informed by more conscious considerations: greed, lust for power, need to be supported or stroked by a wealthy individual (often a donor), solipsism, and defense of oneself, or a friend or a politically important colleague (viz. de Pradenne 1932: 578, 581, 601, 612 ff.; the literature is not extensive on these matters).

Occasional nods to reality exist, but little engagement with it. Since I wrote about the early accounts of forgeries (viz. Banks, Hilprecht, Ménant, de Pradenne – still one of the best discussions of forgeries and the forgery culture) and the subsequent decline of interest in the matter (1977b: 154 f., 269, note 68; 1979: 5 ff.), little has changed; exceptions include Moorey and Fleming 1984, Löw 1993, and Cohon 1996. To be sure, judging from references in recently published works and from discussions with students (who are beginning to understand), art historical and relevant archaeological education in Europe and the United States has made some advances. But progress is appallingly slow. In many institutions the reality and magnitude of forgeries is poorly known among the majority of scholars-students of the ancient Near East. Few students learn what to look for (they look but do not see), or how to study artifacts. Many are not taught to perceive the conceptual difference between the components of a scene, whether its

included purchasing antiquities from Pope; see below and note 2); see also Pope 1968: A/1 ff., and an associate of Pope, Ghirshman 1976: 27. Whether T. Hoving ever read Amiet or Pope, I do not know, but he adds his wisdom to the discussion in his advice to curators (1993). One must ignore the "jungle of 'caveat emptorism,' " snigger at one's colleagues who purchased a fake, swallow hard when we purchase one, and realize that "no collector of true significance ... had not acquired a fake...." Only the willful or innocent will be surprised to discover that almost invariably those who proclaim and accept these benign attitudes toward forgeries are the very individuals who learned, and wished to deny, that they themselves had bought or sold forgeries.

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Equally serving as a sales catalogue for forgeries – albeit after the fact, for the objects discussed had recently been sold to the Freer Gallery – was the Christmas issue of the *Illustrated London News* 1967: 54 f. The *ILN* was a rightly respected publisher of archaeological site reports, but it also published (too often) plundered material being presented to customers (sometimes, I tend to think, unknowingly, see Iranian Culture notes 36, 38 below). The *ILN* article is anonymous (but must have been presented by a "scholar" known to the magazine). Its relevance here is how it unwittingly pimped for the trade. First, the writer instructs us about the two ways to discover "treasures," archaeology, or the "devious and obfuscated ... dealer's world...." Having drawn the reader into the intrigue of this world, and giving the mandatory pious nod that the writer "deplores" what dealers do, we are given a paean to its wonderful accomplishments: "... it is indeed through that means [dealer's world] that so many treasures have come to enrich the collections of the Western world and to delight the amateurs [here in its British sense of lovers!] of Iranian art." Two "lovely heads" sold by the "dealer's world" to a United States national museum are the Christmas offering, a silver Parthian female bust and a silver Sasanian king's head; as noted, both are forgeries – blatant forgeries (see the Catalogue below).

The intent of Strommenger 1976/77 is transparently a curator's attempt to subvert any confrontation over the number of forgeries purchased and published as genuine.[3] E. V. Thaw, a sometime dealer in old and new world antiquities, in his review of a book on forgeries (*The New Criterion* October 1983: 76) repeats this position: "it is a non-issue,"

and "it is simply not true that fakes and forgeries are the kind of problem that this book makes them out to be. Forgery certainly exists ... but it is decidedly marginal to the vast body of art itself ... very few fakes penetrate the defenses [of experts]." This false indignation, a reversal of reality, echoes that of Pope, Ghirshman and Strommenger (all adepts at milking bulls) and equally (for the same reasons) ignores the evidence of earlier writers. Hilprecht (1894), Ménant (1887), and Banks (1904–05; Banks was apparently an antiquities dealer, among other things, something I did not know in 1977) reported that hundreds of forgeries were available in every Eastern bazaar. That such a condition continues down the decades is evident, for example in Hall (1990: 19), who reported that of some 1500 objects sampled "every year" by TL at Oxford University, 40% are forgeries. Further, Löw (1993: 38) estimates that 50% of all the Marlik-like vessels on the market are forgeries (there may be more; infra). Sotheby officials report that half of the material brought to them are forgeries (Theodorou 1992: 115; Brown 1989: 294) — but in fact they are being modest. Other areas of the world suffer the same fate, as seen from Norick's (1993: 51) claim that 25,000 (sic) forgeries of pre-Columbian art enter the bazaars each year. I of course argue that the present study will expose the forgery culture's lie that few forgeries exist or if they do, penetrate the experts' skills.

In the final analysis the question that legitimately concerns all scholars is this: is it possible to obtain a fully correct solution to the dilemma how many forgeries could be allowed to pass as ancient artifacts against reluctance to make an incorrect indictment? I suggest that very few genuine objects will be incorrectly indicted, and that these will be vindicated as more knowledge appears (on this see my own retractions in the Catalogue). Moreover, this is a minor problem, and is a consequence of bazaar archeology, not of scientific archaeology. The record demonstrates that the defenders of the bazaar have stated the matter backwards.

Specific confrontation, even general discussion, of forgeries remains a minor issue for ancient Near Eastern art historians and archaeologists. To some degree this problem exists because of ignorance. But we have already observed other causes, the conscious actions of individuals who oppose discussion and publishing, whose attitudes are informed by more conscious considerations: greed, lust for power, need to be supported or stroked by a wealthy individual (often a donor), solipsism, and defense of oneself, or a friend or a politically important colleague (viz. de Pradenne 1932: 578, 581, 601, 612 ff.; the literature is not extensive on these matters).

Occasional nods to reality exist, but little engagement with it. Since I wrote about the early accounts of forgeries (viz. Banks, Hilprecht, Ménant, de Pradenne – still one of the best discussions of forgeries and the forgery culture) and the subsequent decline of interest in the matter (1977b: 154 f., 269, note 68; 1979: 5 ff.), little has changed; exceptions include Moorey and Fleming 1984, Löw 1993, and Cohon 1996. To be sure, judging from references in recently published works and from discussions with students (who are beginning to understand), art historical and relevant archaeological education in Europe and the United States has made some advances. But progress is appallingly slow. In many institutions the reality and magnitude of forgeries is poorly known among the majority of scholars-students of the ancient Near East. Few students learn what to look for (they look but do not see), or how to study artifacts. Many are not taught to perceive the conceptual difference between the components of a scene, whether its

iconography or subject matter, and its style. In fact, few learn about style in the first place. Style (a word we – even non-art historians – claim to understand but stutter when asked to define) can be understood here in simple and material terms to mean at the least how particular polities/peoples uniquely depicted, executed and ordered all the elements and features chosen for representation – body parts, posture, clothing. motifs, material realia, etc. – and exactly how they represented and juxtaposed these in specific contexts and ambiance. Methods of execution and manufacture must be comprehended, and how this changed over time. Sensitivity to style also means recognizing what may or may not be uncanonical, borderland attributes, such as so-called provincial or peripheral styles or workmanship (but, as will be amply documented in the Catalogue below, the latter characteristic when invoked is usually a convenient fiction masking bazaar archaeology methodology). One need not be an art historian – most scholars of ancient cultures, including archaeologists such as the present writer, are not – to study these features; but it does require old fashioned, politically incorrect, time and effort, not to mention knowledge. If one cannot understand these problems, one has no right to publish anything about "antiquities."

Collectors, of course, have a fool-proof methodology, one that transcends all the bother noted in the previous paragraph. There are many examples published articulating this methodology, but one succinctly presented to scholarship by the collector Christos Bastis will suffice: "An object speaks to me: 'Hey, I'm real.' " (Theodorou 1992: 117).

Another and closely related flaw in the profession of art history and archaeology is that most students do not learn the epistemological difference between the excavated and the unexcavated artifact – see, for example, my review, 1995b, of a published Ph.D dissertation on alleged Achaemenian art. Ignorance here too is a cause, for many scholars do not know their dissimilarity. There is also the hard fact already reported that museum curators (as participants in the Museum Ritual) purposefully obfuscate the mechanisms of their acquisitions, and that their publications and labels are incorporated into the literature. D. von Bothmer, a self-proclaimed archaeologist, a curator of antiquities, who also professes his views to students at a major university, gives us the last word on the subject. He asserted that the "history" [provenience] of an of an object he purchased "is not important to archaeology" (Hess 1974: 155).[4] One imagines his students writing this classic example of museum-speak in their copybooks for future guidance. A dealer associate of his advises us that "what really matters is the preservation and study of ancient art, and not its country [read culture] of origin" (G. Norman, *Art and Antiques* October 1994: 101). In this museum-dominant atmosphere it is not surprising that most students never hear of, let alone learn about, plunder and forgeries. But many of these students earn a Ph.D. and get museum and university positions.

Students trained in "anthropological" archaeology are often instructed that the problem of art and forgeries is not relevant to their pure and real "archaeological" concerns. Many operate as if what is called "art" is the "A" word, a bourgeois concept to be ignored, rather than acknowledged as a process manifesting human behavior, a descriptive term for human manipulation of artifacts. Too many of my anthropological colleagues are uncomfortable – due to reinforcing peer pressures – with artifacts they recover in their excavations unless they are pig's jaws, carbonized grain, sherds, or spindle whorls (at one excavation I was, only half-jokingly, teased as being "object oriented" because of my interest in all types of artifacts). If archaeology is anthropology, which in part

it most certainly is, archaeology is also in part most certainly art history, and thus the archaeology student had better understand both disciplines.

Museums continue with impunity to play their self-serving, self-protecting roles in denying or avoiding the problems, and they successfully convince all authority that their behavior is strictly a private matter. In a recent British Museum exhibition of forgeries (Jones 1990) only four ancient Near Eastern examples were exhibited from the host Museum (no. 169 b, a tablet, and three Hacilar figures, see infra: all of which had been previously published as forgeries). No other ancient Near Eastern forgeries from the British Museum were to be seen (for these see infra): who made the decision not to publish and discuss them, to deny revealing pertinent information? (I am not isolating the British Museum for criticism, merely hoisting it on its own voluntarily proffered petard; see below. One is tempted to wonder whether other Departments withheld forgeries for political/social reasons). Against this repressive position we can appreciate the modest but honest and informative exhibition and publication of some Sasanian forgeries housed in United States museums that was organized by R. Cohon (1996). It was modest not because of the absence of hard work, but because museums refused Cohon's requests to lend forgeries to the exhibition – in many cases knowing that they had long ago been so identified. Original lists of objects to be exhibited consequently had to be considerably reduced. F. A. Norick (1993: 9) reports the same problem when he asked museums for forgeries to be loaned to his forgery exhibition.

A few articles on non-Near Eastern works deserve to be singled out and recommended for general study by all students interested in forgeries because they document the extent of successful forgery activity at large. Ridgway (1977) gives a good overview of the gold "Manios" fibula, long considered by some scholars to bear the earliest known Latin inscription, but now known to be a forgery (see also Andrén 1986: 88 ff.). Ridgway summarizes the tracing of the history of the "find" and the unravelling of the evidence, which led scholars to realize they were confronting a forged object and provenience, and to recognize a colleague's involvement in the deceit. Further of value to Near Eastern scholarship are the articles by Ross and Reynolds (1978), and J. F. Epstein (1980) that also detail the prevalence of forgeries and forgeries of proveniences. They analyze objects allegedly originating in – "said to be from" – the Old World and that allegedly found their way to the New many centuries before Columbus.

Where publications have increased is in the loose, sometimes superficially sophisticated, but always parti pris articles written by and for dealers and collectors, or their supporters. These are best described as self-help manuals for the perplexed "serious" collector (note that in the trade a serious collector is anyone who walks twice into a dealer's shop and makes more than one purchase): viz. Brown 1989; Ortiz 1990; Eisenberg 1992; Theodorou 1992; Hall – a scientist and proud collector – (1990) mixes technical information with a collector's rhetoric; Ortiz 1990: 257, 265, writes of objects that did not "speak to me," or letting himself become "like a child in front of something [the antiquity], I let it speak to me...." H. Shanks, "How Forgers Reduce Site Looting," *BAR* March/April 1997: 39, pretends to be a warning about forgeries – albeit written without any knowledge of the subject and its problems – but which is actually a self-serving defense of antiquity dealers and (more obliquely) collectors.

The first sentence in Unger 1957: 5 goes immediately to the core, it says it all: "Solange es Menschen gibt, die Antiken sammeln, wird es auch Menschen geben, die Antiken fälschen, um so mehr, als die Nachfrage nach Antiken oft so gross ist, dass die Vorräte nicht genügen."

If collecting stopped, plunder would stop – certainly it would be mitigated – and forgery manufacturing would decrease. But these arguments are derided as naive by the self-serving and partisan collecting culture, which is essentially a component of the forgery culture. Their attempts to deny the link take other forms as well. They transform collecting into a glorious, exciting and important activity. Collectors are glamorized, their activity defended as "fun" (Hall 1990: 19; Theodorou 1992: 119); G. Norman in *Art and Antiques* October 1994: 102 informs us that dealers can communicate "the sheer fun of collecting". A good example of the fun of collecting is provided in *The New York Times* first page of the Home section, September 18, 1997, where a plundered Roman bust is recommended to be used as a hat rack – put the hat on the head, see? And years ago the Texas department store Neiman-Marcus offered as its annual His and Hers gift suggestion in its Christmas Catalogue a pair of plundered Greek vases (S. Marcus vigorously defended his clever suggestion in an exchange of letters with me).

Collectors are also said to have "courage" (Brown 1989: 294). But on a higher plane they have affection and joy ("Lust") for possessions (*Paradeisos*, Basel 1992: 7 f.); or an "all absorbing passion that overshadows everything else... . He wanted it [an antiquity] madly" (told to us by Souren Melikian in *Art & Auction* May 1993: 98 as if he were describing a sensitive and sensuous love-passion, not a rape); or he has a "Magnificent Obsession" (H. Shanks in *Biblical Archaeological Review* May/June 1996 22 ff.); or the title of a collector's catalogue is created by compliant curators as *In Pursuit of the Absolute* or *A Passion for Antiquities* (1994).[5] Collectors are designated to be "true collectors" (Melikian ibid.), "a serious scholarly collector," "positive and creative," (see my comments in a review in *AJA* 95: 1991: 343; also *Fundort*: *unbekannt*: 84 f.).

A scholar and museum curator advises antiquities collectors how to go about their business of "intelligent collecting." He correctly counsels them to join museums "whose curators and members share ones' passion" – that word again! (Robert Bianchi in *Art News* April 1997: 12: and no one will misunderstand the reasons for the inclusion of three antiquity dealer advertisements interspersed within the article). He is not alone, for the compliant curators mentioned in the previous paragraph fulsomely praise two curators for their performance in guiding collectors in their purchasing.

And to demonstrate a total indifference on the part of archaeologists for the needs and care of archaeology, and explicit documentation of their support of plunderers, one need only look at the large number who write articles for the dealer/plunder journal *Minerva*. In a recent issue there was an article written by one whom I have heard lecture pompously about how he is utterly opposed to plundering and against the purchasing by institutions (except his?) of antiquities. His paper is sandwiched between advertisements of antiquity dealers and reports on their successful sales. Iris Love, "the archaeologist" – as she likes to be called by her socialite columnist friends – an excavator of a site in Turkey, wrote for her rich friends, whose names she drops like a ton of bricks, a precious guide on collecting antiquities (presumably those not plundered from Knidos, of course), and shares with them the joys and excitements of her own collecting experiences (*Parade*

Magazine, February 8, 1987: 12 f.). How much plundering did the article by "the archaeologist" generate?

Aside from the soft porn (really hard core) lust/passion, what collectors share as the source for their power to destroy world history is wealth; one must have a collection of money in order to collect antiquities. This wealth infiltrates all museums (Hess 1974: 31 f.) and it thereby controls them: in the United States "all" includes University museums. In the United States there exists a prestige and tax gimmick that allows the creation of small private "museums" that claim to be the repositories of said-to-be ancient art. These institutions have a Director and a Board of Directors (which includes local scholars and rich individuals who sometimes double as donors), a tax-free charter, and good accountants. These let's-build-a-museum museums form their collections by purchase, but often by donations. Many of the latter are simple bric-a-brac, e.g. a plain vessel or terracotta lamp purchased during a tourist trip to Israel, or forgeries, either purchased locally or on tourist trips. In both cases, the donation is evaluated at many times the purchase price. I know of two of these write-off institutions – which know that the IRS will not touch them.

Richard J. Elia has stated it accurately and pithily: "collectors are the real looters" (in *The Art Newspaper*, 41, October 1994: 19). We may go even further and suggest that lust to appropriate "antiquities" is lust for power to annihilate the immortality of a culture. Collecting ancient artifacts – antiquities – is inherently immoral and unethical. Collecting antiquities is to archaeology as rape is to love.

Not only curators, but scholars, university professors and archaeologists patronize (to different degrees, of course) museums and collectors. They serve on art museum committees, along with dealers and collectors, and in that capacity participate and advise on what to purchase; they authenticate objects, and withhold knowledge of probable original derivations. They deny what is manifest, that two fragments, one in its excavated homeland, the other "saved" for exhibition in the living room of a United States collector, join as a complete sculpture (Hoving 1993: 91, 122; *Fundort: unbekannt*: 92). At least one scholar often invited a collector and dealer to the classroom and to university seminars, there encouraged to participate in studying art history and "archaeology" (to improve knowledge in order to save more art), alongside innocent or (in a few cases) indignant graduate students. They praise them for their astute, wonderful, unique, purchases, and they joke with them about the corrupt and stupid Turks, Italians, Greeks, etc., who foolishly think they will recover material taken from their homeland. Some of these individuals also dissimulate about provenances in old collections, or proveniences in specific countries (for example see, Cooney 1963: 22; Hoving 1993: 90; Brown 1989: 296; Hess 1974: 148); that is how they earn praise and power.[6] Some scholars perform similar services for dealers, such as authentication, finding customers, supplying their prestige to help a sale, or defending the dealers' role as suppliers of archaeological material to the world.[7] This is the milieu of the collecting culture, a culture of importance in a study of the forgery culture because it shares many mores and inhabitants.[8]

The forgery of proveniences is another major component of bazaar archaeological methodology and a major activity of the forgery culture. In fact, it pervades archaeological and art historical literature and it still remains unrecognized and not understood in

the discipline (see my 1977a article for an articulation of this issue). I am addressing the canonical acceptance that exists in scholarly writing that enables, indeed encourages, scholars to reject the natural archaeological locus – the excavated site – as the sole source of excavated artifacts. The excavated site is not to be privileged over the information derived from dealers' shops, museum exhibition cases, collectors' homes, and dealer and auction catalogues. All are archaeological sites deserving equal status. That the artifacts discovered at bazaar sites are geographically distant and divorced from the alleged loci assigned them, is utterly irrelevant and inconsequential. Objections that both archaeological verification and information concerning the trade dynamics that move the object to Paris, Tokyo, or Switzerland, is absent are considered merely noise uttered by pedants and zealots. The weight of the bazaar's reportage is sufficient to compel acceptance; the artifacts they sell are "said to come from," "angeblich aus" (or their equivalents) from a named site, and are accorded the same historical merit and value as the artifact painstakingly excavated and recorded in a site report as from this room in this house in this ancient settlement. Never mind that there is no reality behind the writer's words, the discipline assimilates data from the bazaar and from the excavated site into one great database of archaeological knowledge. Students learn this system from their professors who in turn pass it on to their students – none of whom are asked to look carefully at the data lest they learn that what their mentors teach is not true. I do not mean to argue that (always) a conscious plot is committed, but nevertheless conjuring is involved. Can anyone really disagree that the use of "said to come from" betrays a lack of basic archaeological knowledge?

I received a note from a professor of archaeology and ancient art who reacted to an article of mine about dealers' proveniences. He argued that to dismiss all dealers' "information" is extreme – he, of course, knows which dealers to believe, and which not (see also Strommenger 1976–77: 321 f., for a defense of proveniences given by dealers; on false pedigrees see also Cooney 1963: 22). Up to the present moment we still encounter articles and books whose authors' cite objects as "said to come from," or "plausibly" from site X, and then using this misinformation to document and chart distributions, sometimes placing the objects on provenience maps provided. At a conference on ancient bronzes, a colleague (a Ph.D. from a major eastern United States university) became very upset when I rejected accepting as historical evidence a Luristan provenience for any example of the many unexcavated, bazaar-derived material bearing Mesopotamian inscriptions. She asked, puzzled and upset, "what then can we say about them? What can we say about Mesopotamian contacts with Luristan?" When I answered that we know essentially what is excavated, what the earth gives us, not what the bazaar tells us, I might as well have been speaking in tongues.

As for the "extreme" position of not accepting some dealer proveniences, I give but two examples as evidence. Years ago a colleague discovered that a seal in a private collection (subsequently donated to a public institution) was listed in an Ur publication as having been excavated there and then deposited in the Baghdad Museum. The ex-owner refused to accept the charge: he had purchased it from an honest sheikh, who he insisted had never lied, who told him it derived from site X, the site listed in his catalogue. In fact, the seal had been stolen from the Baghdad Museum – and it is possible that it was then sold to the sheikh with a story. The puzzled ex-owner agreed to return it to Baghdad. The second example is quite typical. I was shown a file of a plundered

object purchased by a United States museum. The object was purchased in the United States and the dealer claimed that its provenience was a named site in Iraq. When he was informed by the museum that a neighboring country's Antiquity Service requested information about the object's provenience, he advised the museum to report that it was from an American estate, which owned the object for a long time. This says it all, both for provenience and honest dealers (Muscarella 1977b: 159 f.).[9]

The crux of the issue is that scholars who are conditioned by inadequate and superficial education concerning forgeries are also conditioned not to develop an historical and archaeological sense about provenience. Consequently, they are reluctant – some find it impossible – to give up the conveniently supplied loci they were taught to accept, and rarely wonder who gave the evidence, who "found" the object being presented. How many scholars and students recall discussions about the documentation of provenience cited in publications? And it will be a cheap optimism to assume that forgeries of provenience will soon cease – just read the scholarly journals, as well as museum and collector catalogues as they continue to appear.

Real world archaeological activity discloses that the artifacts unearthed, so to speak, at these bazaar sites include both forgeries and plundered material. The ancient provenience of the former are fabricated, and those of the latter may never become known. But to speak truth, the dealers cannot be blamed for dysfunctioning the discipline. For although false proveniences and assertions about authenticity of unexcavated objects originally may derive from dealers, it is the scholar or curator who creates the fiction by publishing or exhibiting them as genuine and from site or area X . Here is where the full and ultimate responsibility for passing the false coinage lies. Every one of us has been victimized by the lack of scholarly reflection and inadequate education. And this is why archaeology has a soft underbelly. The problem still with us is that many scholars choose to remain ignorant even after given the facts. For "To see what is in front of one's nose needs a constant struggle" (George Orwell).

Below are summary examples that highlight the problems of unexcavated artifacts, both ancient and modern, published with forged proveniences and accompanied by false historical, archaeological, or art historical conclusions. Thus we are not concerned here with common forgeries of provenience such as a Luristan forgery attributed to Luristan, or a Sumerian forgery to Mesopotamia.

– Mesopotamian artifacts recovered in Luristan, such as vessels, rein rings, weapons, etc., many of which have inscriptions dating from the Akkadian period to the Ist Millennium B.C., including the Achaemenian period.
– Phoenician bowls in Iran
– Indus valley material in Luristan
– Sumerian tablets in Luristan
– Luristan material in Phoenicia
– Luristan material in Cappadocia
– Zoroastrian artifacts in Luristan
– Akkadians travelling to the Kerman area of Iran
– Early Dynastic material in Azerbaijan
– Urartian material in the Caspian region
– Urartian material in Luristan

– Urartian material in the Khabur region
– Luristan material in Urartu
– Assyrian material in Urartu
– Elamite and Kassite artifacts in the Caspian region
– Achaemenian material in Greece and Anatolia
– The creation of archaeological sites such as Ziwiye, Amlash, Hamadan, Oxus, etc., each furnishing quantities of identified artifacts. Compare these discoveries to the publication of Greek, Roman, Hebrew, Arab, Celtic, Libyan etc., coins, inscriptions and sites in the Americas (see Epstein 1980, and Ross and Reynolds 1978).

Bazaar archaeology has also given the modern world classes of artifacts and iconographies not revealed by conventional, painstaking archaeology; this category includes many forgeries:

Achaemenian Art:
- Mirrors with figural representations
- Bracteates
- Sculptures
- Plates with figural motifs
- An enlarged variety of amphorae handle vessles
- An enlarged variety of animal-headed vessels
- New Persepolis relief figures and scenes
- Gold weapons
- Vessels made of precious metal and stone
- An enlarged variety of jewelry

Median Art: iconography
- Vessels
- Portraiture

Iranian religion
- Zoroastrian iconography and chronology
- Anahita worship

Luristan:
- Expansion of iconography
- Expansion of artifact manufacture

Marlik:
- Iconography
- Figurines

Anatolia:

Iconography
Figurines

Levant:

Iconography
Sculpture

Mesopotamia:

Iconography
Sculpture

This study has essentially three concomitant goals: to chronicle the quantity of forgeries of ancient Near Eastern art manufactured over the last fifty or more years; to record those sold to collections and museums, as well as still available for sale; and to articulate the close relationship between scholarship and commerce that facilitates the success of the forgers.

When an object's authenticity is challenged in the Catalogue below, it is first of all unexcavated. The criteria for the charge are quite simple: its style, iconography, motif pattern, or manufacturing technique cannot be situated in ambiance and spirit to the known corpus of the culture to which it is attributed. In some instances the object is inconsistent with what is expected from ancient culture. Every unexcavated object under review in the Catalogue is subject to the question "why is it genuine?" This appropriate procedure is necessitated by the activities of the bazaar and its suppliers. If a positive answer is not forthcoming, a suspicion or challenge is mandatory. The more usual question "why is it a forgery?" is actually secondary. Although a legitimate question, it is often asked aggressively by individuals whose object or attribution has been challenged. But whether the question is honestly or tendentiously raised is irrelevant, for the response returns to the original question, "why is it ancient?" The response is the test of the undertaking. To speak accurately, it is not so much that every unexcavated object should be considered guilty (i.e. a forgery) until proven innocent, but rather that every unexcavated object should not automatically be considered innocent (i.e. ancient).

The appropriate and specific questions posed by the inclusion of an object in the Catalogue generate from comparative studies of excavated evidence, which is the basis of archaeological and art historical analysis. While not exactly a complex and profound claim, it has been (as we have seen) and will continue to be derided by those with a stake in the economics and power of the market place, and by those who purchase and publish "antiquities." The very word "antiquity" poses a problem, for the language we employ should reflect the historical reality that dealers and auction houses sell antiquities, museums and collectors purchase antiquities, but archaeologists excavate artifacts. Yet a genuine plundered artifact is still an artifact made by ancient man. No one working with the mass of plundered or allegedly plundered material continuously surfacing will deny the need for some unexcavated objects to be evaluated on the basis of other unexcavated objects. This situation denies a full positivistic approach, but such an attainment is impossible in any event, and the problem cannot be avoided. The observer is nevertheless not excused from grounding any determination of authenticity

within substantial knowledge of ancient art in general. As will be seen, however, it is not uncommon for forgeries to be cited as the supporting parallels for other forgeries, creating a mutual reference system that secures both sets of objects as ancient antiquities. Forgeries are also cited as parallels to excavated artifacts, a method that further enlarges the illicit repertory.

Scholars easily assume the right to publish anomalous or odd pieces, freaks, or what is excitedly called an Unikum, and advance in place of analysis and knowledge of excavated ancient art little more than bald assertions. Comparanda are submitted for formal correspondences, but specific details are very often ignored. We are presented with a logically and archaeologically false syllogism: here is an amphora with animal handles, Achaemenians made similar amphorae, therefore the former is Achaemenian, manufactured in that period. Style is usually confused with form, and deviations in the former are rarely acknowledged, let alone understood. If the deviations are recognized, they are made to misspeak the clear message accessible for all to read. Instead of reading I was manufactured 1, 5, 10 or 50 years ago to be sold, or seeing that something is amiss – the grammar is wrong, the sentence doesn't parse, so to speak, instead of a negative reaction or questioning reaction, we are given gross mistranslations concealed in academic verbiage: I am an assyrianizing artifact made somewhere in ancient Iran by a provincial unskilled craftsman, unable to copy a model correctly; I was made by an ancient Mede, or an ancient Lur, anticipating Achaemenian forms, an ancient Cezanne anticipating a Picasso; I reveal for the first time new historical, cultural, iconographical, theological, or technical knowledge otherwise unknown from a poorly preserved text corpus and from artifacts unearthed by painfully slow archaeological work. I am an Unikum, an antiquity all the more exciting–and valuable.[10]

And not to be missed here is the obvious, that countless scholarly journals, that is editors and editorial boards, allow this anti-archaeological nonsense to be published. Thus, pier review, scholarly monitoring, is in many cases the ignorant reviewing the ignorant, or at least permitting archaeology to be an anything-goes, anti-epistemological discipline. And it precisely indicates a major problem of archaeological scholarship.

Whatever reasons we give to explain and justify such conclusions being presented are ultimately irrelevant: what is relevant is the success of the rhetoric – it continues to be published. Ignoring the fact that this attitude breaks the archaeological neck, the discipline generally accepts the alliance between the bazaar and scholarship as normal kinship activity. Skepticism does not exclude the possibility that provincial artisans did indeed work at foreign courts (viz. Canby 1971: 41 f.), but it demands that such documentation originates from the archaeological record, not from the fiats or guesses of an art museum employee or uneducated scholar.

Coinciding with these misperceptions of reality is a basic omission from practically all publications of forgeries. It is as rare as hen's teeth for the publisher of an unexcavated object to inform readers of the fact that it is unexcavated, that its source is a merchant, that it has no provenience or history. Such is the present methodological chaos (read anarchy) that many scholars are enslaved to the bazaar culture. Their writings seek to compel the acceptance of its stalls as archaeological sites, according both equal privileges and qualities. Ignoring the magnitude of the plundering of sites, ignoring the bazaar's role and manipulation of organized activity during and after the plundering, they are held

in thrall to the statutory belief that an antiquity is always ancient. We are expected by conditioning to experience and welcome the gift of a newly discovered antiquity, when what we get is a newly born antiquity.

Far too many Near Eastern archaeologists and art historians subvert the fact that archaeology has no center of gravity without the excavated artifact – the bread of archaeology. They function as an equal opportunity, affirmative action society, granting evenhanded value to all artifacts, the excavated, the purchased, the genuine and the "genuine-challenged," notwithstanding the consequences. They forge ancient Near Eastern culture. We all seek an elusive certainty. But if even near certainty can exist to some degree in archaeological discourse, it has to be empirical before it can be understood, and experienced primarily in the artifacts revealed at a site. The law of parsimony that things not known to exist cannot be brought forth to document existence ought to be one of the rules in every archaeologist's copybook. Another rule should be that certainty is rarely experienced in the bazaar.

If this study is assessed to be contentious, the work of a hanging judge, I refer readers to the record; listen to the story, not the story teller. But with regard to the Catalogue I candidly do not expect many reprieves. If considered to be satirical or angry, I only can state that even stronger language has been deleted from previous drafts of this manuscript. And I did not find it necessary to engage in too much satire, for it was already embedded in generous supply, albeit without self-knowledge, in many of the descriptions and conclusions expressed in a number of the cited publications. The remainder of the text is the reaction of one who has observed (for more than three decades) the forgery culture, witnessing its power to deconstruct, to corrupt and control, and it is presented without apology. If the attitudes expressed seem overly didactic, I answer in part with J. Cooney (1963: 22) that "... any study of a forgery must be didactic." All art historical analysis has subjective qualities (meaning not always capable of being proven), but it is an unreflective and capricious subjectivity that ignores or manipulates ancient – excavated – evidence when encountering an aberrant, unexcavated object. Archaeologists and art historians are not free to credit the bazaar as a source of historical knowledge. Nor should they be excused from pondering why it is that excavations fail to produce the aberrations and Unikums they publish.

Historicism has not been a relevant concern to me in developing my conclusions. The deficiencies of pre- WW II scholarship are to some extent understandable, but they surely do not excuse the discipline's continuous non-intellectual behavior since the 1960s. If truth be told, one may go even further and say that whether we are in 1900 or 1999 common archaeological sense (there is such a thing) should have precluded most of the unfortunate provenience and authenticity claims that are confronted in this study.

Questions raised here about forgeries will be resolved only by submitting them to disinterested review: are the conclusions right or wrong, and why? To raise the question of forgeries as presented in this work is to raise the question of opposing the published views of many scholars against my own. I have no problem with this. The impulse that impelled this study is the knowledge of material culture I have acquired and assimilated. Experience as an excavator and archaeologist (in the broad and best sense of this often-abused term), and, yes, as a curator, has given me the security to undertake the present task. But I am not being disingenuous in observing that in the final analysis I recognize

that one man's conclusion alone can not suffice. The discipline – especially the students – has yet to speak and determine whether I am arrogant or correct.

The unexcavated object must speak for itself. The stories accompanying it, for example that it is genuine, that is comes from a given site, that it formed part of an old collection, are anecdotes. They are utterly irrelevant (and they are usually blatant lies – as every curator, director, trustee, collector, vendor knows; see in part Cooney 1962: 22 and Hess 1974: 148) for evaluation of its real history. The always dependable and intelligent de Pradenne (1932: 626) said this years ago, but no one listened: "... on ne 'croit pas quelq'un' on croit quelque chose." (And D. H. Lawrence said somewhere, believe the story, not the storyteller). It will be evident from what follows that many unexcavated objects do tell a story, and, if one listens, they speak to us loudly and clearly about their history and age: "We were made to be sold." These are the facts that inform the present study.

In my 1977b paper I cited the publications of various scholars who had published the indicted objects. Here too, names of many scholars, art historians and archaeologists appear in the text and Catalogue. As de Pradenne aptly wrote a generation ago (1932: 626): "Et si nous dressons la liste des dupes elle serait, à bien peu de noms près, celle du pantheon de nos archéologues." These words are still operational today. Citations with names cannot be avoided inasmuch as it is individuals who publish; citations also give the publication locus, a record of the (multiple) acceptances of forgeries, and how they have become embedded in the archaeological literature. I have no personal vendetta with individuals.[11] My quarrel is with the present state of archaeological-art historical scholarship and education. In the Catalogue I do not repeat all the citations of forgeries attempted by me in 1977b and 1979; usually I give the first and the last examples known to me, and in some cases others where appropriate. Those who want fuller details of publication history can go to the earlier papers and add the new examples reported here. (And do not neglect to review the list of scholars who are thanked by a dealer because – so he claims – they helped him in his writing of a handbook for collectors: Ede 1976: vii).

I am not satisfied with the 1977b monograph: it was written in haste to satisfy what turned out to be a false deadline. Much was omitted, in particular a number of forgeries that were known to me but not then published (I dealt only with published material there), and others that I had not yet fully evaluated; obviously many other examples were unknown to me at the time. In the expanded Catalogue below I do list almost all the forgeries or questionable objects known to me, whether or not they have been published. There were also typographical errors, in spellings and publication dates – some my responsibility, some that of the printers. Nevertheless, I remain secure that the monograph served a purpose – to judge especially from student responses – and it is for them that I write. And it also got a rise from parti pris scholars (viz. Strommenger 1976–77, on which see my 1980–81 reply). I repeat some of the material published there, in the preliminary and Catalogue sections, along with new information and new thoughts.

I have tried to publish enough photographs to represent a cross-section of the forgeries encountered; I also want to record that a number of museum curators and collections generously cooperated with my requests for photographs. One more issue. No scholar

sees and touches more than a fraction of the material integrated into research and teaching, and photographs are the largest component of the data investigated. So indeed is the situation in this study: but note well, that if I am accused of daring to call something a forgery "merely" from examining a photograph, then one must condemn the same (in fact, standard) procedure – methodology – that requires I accept as genuine most objects merely known only from a photograph. It works both ways – but good photographs reveal much and do allow for independent judgement. The curator or scholar who publishes a photograph of a so-called ancient object expects us to take his word (often little else is offered), and to take the photograph as evidence; I have looked at this evidence.

The great master of common sense and scientific analysis, Sherlock Holmes, never achieved one of his goals, to become an archaeologist – and the discipline has never recovered from the loss. Challenging those who are quick to throw out fiats that mask a fiction being created (elementary, he was thinking of art historians), Holmes stated "I never guess. It is a shocking habit – destructive to the logical faculty." This says it all.

Forgeries of cylinder seals are not discussed here (except ad hoc) because I have no expert knowledge in this area.[12] It is obvious from the literature and discussions that many hundreds have been manufactured since the 19th century. To give but one indication of the magnitude, E. Porada in *Archaeology* 10, 2, 1957: 143 recorded 250 forgeries of North Syrian seals made in one modern factory. For a limited bibliography of seal forgeries, many 19th century examples, see: Ménant 1887: 16, 28 ff.; Hilprecht 1894: 131 f.; Banks 1904–05: 60; also Unger 1957: 7; Norick 1993: 63 ff.; E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, New York 1948: 161 ff.; idem. *JAOS* 102.3, 1982: 505, n. 12; E. Strommenger, "Rollsiegelfälschungen, and R. M. Boehmer, "Fälschungen-Repliken-Originale...," in *BJV* 1, 1961: 196–200, and 201–210 respectively; W. G. Lambert in *Iraq* XLI, 1, 1979: 28 ff. (but shouldn't we also be wary of his nos. 85 and 86E?); incomplete and with no bibliography is Collon 1987: "Forgeries," 94 ff. Yale University has a large study collection of late 19th and early 20th century forgeries of seals–which should be more publicized.

I have a large file on Sasanian forgeries, examples of which are obviously modern even to a non-specialist like myself; some are very poorly executed. Aside from my own lack of special knowledge, this culture flourished beyond the traditional range of ancient Near Eastern chronology; hence it is discussed here rather briefly, accompanied by a few illustrated examples. Forgeries of Sasanian art may exist in the hundreds, in the collections of most museums and private collectors. Because of the mass of unexcavated material alleged to be Sasanian, it would be of value for a specialist to publish in one study a compilation of all excavated Sasanian sumptuous wares and their proveniences. To this should be added a section identifying the bazaar-derived along with their provenances.

A number of the forgeries catalogued below may seem to some critics to be unimportant, trivial, so obvious and foolish that "no one would be fooled." This misses the essential issue, namely that all were made to be sold, to fill the needs of the *Sammelwut*, and further, that many were sold to museums, collectors, and dealers, and thereby accepted as ancient artifacts.

I have thought that what is written here may eventually be relevant data for a future sociological/intellectual history of the study and practice of archaeology. And in the

writing I have not been in search of a subject, I am researching a subject.

I decided to write a general survey as an introduction and let the Catalogue serve as the major vehicle for fleshing out what I have to say. I do not play post-modern games, which would no doubt claim – masked as Theory – that it does not matter what is false, what genuine. I assert that the excavated/genuine is not an alien value to archaeology. If all the forgeries or suspicious objects discussed here merely existed in private display cases and were never *exhibited* in museums, *published*, or otherwise presented to the world as ancient artifacts or art, there would be little need to write about them, for they would not have become components of our intellectual culture. Nor would they have sabotaged the study of our past history. But such is not the case, hence this offering, which, to reverse Max Beerbohm's sense of his works, was not written with joy – easily.

NOTES

1 A good, and well-known, example of the Museum Ritual (see also Note 5, below) is given by de Pradenne 1932: 519–573, where he relates the obdurate, categorical, nationalistic, à priori defense of the tiara of Saitapharnes by its curatorial purchasers in the Louvre – against all the obvious evidence presented by scholars that the piece was a modern fraud.

A consummate paradigm – a parodist could not have made one up better – of the Ritual is revealed in a recent booklet announcing the opening of new exhibition galleries issued by the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum. The cover bears a photograph of the well-known Cycladic harp player (47.100.1), which to some scholars in the non-museum world is not demonstrated to be ancient and is considered to be a modern production (see C. Renfrew in *AJA* 73, 1, 1969 14): it is surely not known to be ancient (the harp player was also depicted on the Museum's poster advertising the new galleries). On the back cover is a photograph of a bronze griffin head protome (1972.118.54) discovered in 1914 at Olympia by the Epimelite of the Museum, Th. Karachalios, in the Kladeos river bed. He stored the head in the Museum (*Deltion* 1, 1915, Parartema section: 88 f. with an illustration) whence it disappeared (without authorization, i.e. was stolen); it was purchased in 1948 by Walter Baker, a Trustee of the Metropolitan Museum, who then gifted it to the Museum. The theft had occurred by 1938: E. Kunze in *Olympiabericht* II 1938: 114, note 2: "Der Kopf war im Museum von Olympia nicht mehr aufzufinden." See also – but for some reason with the nasty details omitted – U. Jantzen *Griechische Greifenkessel*, Berlin 1955: 19, 66, no. 78; H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympische Forschungen* XI, 1979: 16, 50, no. G 106, Taf. 70, 71; and my review of this work in *Gnomon* 53, 1981, 47 f. The Metropolitan's booklet photograph caption records that the protome came from Greece–Olympia, is not mentioned (after all, what counts is its present provenance). The provenience was mentioned by D. von Bothmer in his catalogue of the Baker collection, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities*, New York 1950: 7, no. 8 – "Found at Olympia in 1913" (sic). In the text of her publication of the head in the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* Fall 1985: no. 9, Joan Mertens transmogrified this correct statement "found at Olympia," into it "can be connected with" Olympia, thereby camoflaging precisely what the connection is; in the caption appears "From Olympia."

I have heard, to give a few examples, museum staff exclaim when told that something they purchased was a forgery: "It looks good to *me*!"; "I have a gut feeling it is good"; "*Well*, some say it is a forgery, some say [which includes the defending curator] it is genuine"; "You [OWM] see forgeries everywhere"; "He [OWM] is out of his gourd [i.e. crazy];" "What, Again?"

Students will find little information in print about the role museums play in the purchase of stolen and plundered art (see note 4) as well as forgeries, and the-behind-the scenes activities accepted as normal, expected behavior in these endeavors. One exception is Hess 1974 (attempts were made to suppress its circulation). Selected details on these matters is to be found in the quasi-fictional books by the cultural manipulator Thomas Hoving, who flaunts (because he is no longer a museum director, and because he knows that *no one* will do anything about his revelations) some of the intrigues and lies practiced by him and other gentlemen who run our museums: but the reader should be warned that much of the information in these books reported as first hand experiences include lies, half-lies, convenient conflations and many omissions.

Karl E. Meyer's *The Art Museum* (New York, 1979) is misnamed, for it consciously avoids reporting anything that would discomfort a museum curator, director or trustee, and thereby reveals absolutely

nothing about what museums actually do to acquire objects. But see his better focused and informed article "Behind the Damask Curtain," *MORE*, July 19, 1974: 11–14.

2 Pope so far as I know never had an established overt antiquity shop of his own – although he worked undercover in partnership with other dealers who had shops. Rather, it seemed that he worked, also undercover, from his homes and his various institution addresses in Iran, Europe, and the United States (see note 7 below).

After the essential completion of this work, I received the biography of A. U. Pope, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, Mazda Publishers, 1996, ed. Jay Gluck and Noël Siver, in which more and new information about the role of Pope the antiquities dealer is revealed. I discuss this issue further in my paper "The Pope and the Bitter Fanatic," to be published in the forthcoming *Studies in Honor of Ezat O. Negahban*, Tehran.

3 Besides being concerned specifically with denying the purchase of forgeries by the Berlin Museum (on which consult the Catalogue below), there is another purpose to this work written contra Muscarella 1977b. While seeming to accept the objective reality of the 1977b claim that forgeries of many ancient artifacts exist and are purchased (but not in Berlin), she deprecates its value on the grounds that I was opening already opened doors; others are alleged to be equally aware of the problem, that I said nothing new (see my comments in Muscarella 1980/81). Not one of these wary scholars was named.

4 Which in part explains why he published material that he knew had been plundered from a specific site in Turkey, and manifesting a distinct cultural background, as reflecting the style of another country and culture: *A Greek and Roman Treasury*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984.

We have all listened to archaeologists who when invited to an art museum to give a lecture pander to that institution. They praise the wonderful objects in the collection, or deceptively mix some of these with excavated material that is apparently the subject of their talks – but never mention just how the museum objects arrived there, that is, by a methodology other than that which generated the material from their excavations. Other archaeologists serve with pride and glory on a committee of a plundering museum that unabashedly displays its recent plundering before them for their approval.

5 I give here only a sample of the epithets published or exclaimed that describe the source for the destructive activities of collectors – and the reasons why forgeries exist. Gross sexual parallels come easily to mind, but manifestly sex without love. Love eschews power; here we have the bald scenario that merely because the collector wants something, he uses his power to get it: one dealer (with a broad, secure smile) said in a television interview that if antiquity producing nations will not yield their antiquities, we the dealers will use "our own ways" to get them. This is white slavery language, this describes organized plunder and rape. Taking advantage of modern colloquial language one is tempted to refer to those who destroy sites as mother-earth fuckers, but inasmuch as D. H. Lawrence taught us to respect that much abused word, I cannot take the cheap shot; the less mellifluous mother-earth rapists will have to do, and it gets the point across just as well. Equally, those curators and collectors who with straight faces assert that they are "saving" art when in fact they are sponsoring the irrevocable destruction of this planet's history, are precisely in the same formal situation as a rapist/seducer defending himself as one who saves virgins from chastity (I have actually heard this defense).

We still have reason to despair, for what other sensation is possible on the human and scholarly level to John Boardman's false (which he knows!) claim that "many" of a famous collector's antiquities were "casual discoveries," his defense and encouragement of the "collecting of antiquities," and his claim, undocumented, that attempts to stop it "can easily do more harm than good"? (in the Forward to *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, London 1994: what did he think this absolute is?). And his article in *The Art Newspaper* no. 54, December 1995: 20 f. in the final analysis skillfully argues for some acceptance and understanding of plundering and dealers' activities, and confronts those who fight these activities: they are "quite unrealistic, unjust [!] or naive." Two decades earlier Herbert Hoffmann, in the Preface to his guide book for collectors, *Collecting Greek Antiquities*, Crown, New York, 1971, thanked Boardman for cooperating in the book's production. We might forgive a solecism in 1971, but two decades later? And note that Boardman's University, Oxford, allowed its laboratory to test material for dealers and collectors (Hall 1990: 19)

No one is able to detail all museum conspiracies and crimes even in a chapter, let alone a footnote. Curators are hired, praised, and otherwise rewarded for their role in plundering, for their purchase and exhibition of the plunderers' products, the antiquities/art. They are the Producers of the Great Game of Plundering. The more sumptuous or unique, the more expensive the purchase, the more competitively acquired, the greater its value to the institution. Promotions, raises, hiring and firing (actual firings or threats) are determined by purchasing attitudes, activities, and successes. Also valued is "proper professional behavior," that is, to translate museum language, to recognize plundering as correct and essential to the profession, to see to it that all traces of the plunder and theft are covered up, and (without catching one's breath) to possess the essential mastery to maintain a "qui, moi?" posture, to deny that such reprehensible activities do or could ever occur in the purchasing institution.

Museum praise for its collecting employees is expressed as: X is a first rate scholar (concerning which claim the appraiser either has no knowledge whatsoever, or doesn't actually care); or Y is an aggressive, savvy Director or curator (we know precisely what this means – read any book by T. Hoving); an asset to the institution, for he/she has built up our collection of ancient art; and so on. One curator justified his need to purchase a plundered object by ejaculating: "it would be the culmination of my career." His institution couldn't resist this plea and purchased the coveted object (the same curator actively attempted to fire a colleague who objected to the purchase).

In the United States there are museums that have no curator, and the Director himself (usually chosen for his social poise, social and/or financial background, or powerful friends) makes all the purchases in his institution. It does not matter whether he is ignorant of all or most of the material he acquires (for a rare, and innocent, admission of this situation see Shine 1964: 34). He too gets trustee praise and regard for "building up the Museum," for "filling in gaps" in the ancient art collection – but never is it revealed that tax payers' money is being used (either through government grants or donated money that is tax-deductible). In the recent past, at least, dealers quickly recognized the value to them of the equally ignorant and arrogant Directors who were eager to purchase smuggled ancient wares, and vigorously and successfully seduced them. They alleged that they desired to sell not only to the major museums, they wanted to have their wares spread across the United States, they were interested in seeing art available for the masses, for which privilege they would charge less for their wares than the market value; and so on. Most of the museums so governed have a very high percentage of forgeries in their alleged ancient Near Eastern art collection, as the Catalogue below manifests (I leave it to Classical and Egyptian art specialists to examine these museums' claims about their other "ancient art" collections). Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated, these institutions have no monopoly on purchasing forgeries; a good number of museums with alleged curatorial experts have only a little better record.

One paradigm example of a non-specialist doing his job is available in the September 19, 1953 issue of *ILN* (435 f.) in an article written by Perry T. Rathbone (B.A. in Art History, Harvard University), then Director of the City Art Museum of St. Louis, Missouri. Bursting with pride over his purchase, the Director presented to the world for the first time a four-foot high terracotta Etruscan Diana, a "masterpiece of the 5th century B. C.," that is revealed to be "one of the finest ... and beautiful, Etruscan sculptures ... that has survived," and that reveals a "link with antiquity ... unrivalled." In addition to the statuette's age and beauty, the Director shared with us the "unusual history" of its discovery: it was "excavated" (sic) in 1872, kept in the "archaeologist's" (sic) possession for years, eventually sold by his heirs in Switzerland, whence it reached St. Louis by long-distance trade. Rathbone published his purchase as a coup in two other venues the same year, in *Archaeology* Winter 1953: 242 f., and in *Art News* November 1953: 1 f., here with the title "St. Louis Captures a Diana [read Dossena]." The statuette was subsequently declared to be a forgery created by Alceo Dossena by, among others, M. Pallottino (*Archeologia classica* 6, 1954: 170 f.), P. Cellini (*Paragone* 81, 1956: 54 ff.), M. Bieber (*AJA* 62, 1958: 341 ff.), and H. Parsons (*Art News* February 1962: 34 ff.). For a summary of the Diana story see D. Sox, *Unmasking the Forger,* London, *1987: 73 ff.* These scholars also put the lie to the forged provenience story and Bieber also documented the fact that the photo of Diana published by Rathbone as taken in 1872 was actually taken in 1937–38, the time when the statuette was manufactured. Rathbone's successor, Charles Nagel, also a self-proclaimed Etruscan scholar, and master of the Museum Ritual, continued to defend the piece in *Art News* March 1962: 10. He claimed that "Hundreds [sic] of scholars have examined it. Only one negative opinion is recorded, and this was later retracted." No names were given (were they the Museum's Trustees?). Twice TL tested the statuette in 1968, at the University of Pennsylvania and at Oxford University. Both laboratories declared the piece to be about 40 years old. Sox (pages 92 f.) reports that in 1972 Rathbone still defended his purchase, still maintained that Diana "is perfectly genuine." Diana is in fact a neo-Etruscan lady, born in Italy in the 20th century A. D. Her body was purposefully broken to be sold in pieces and restored for the Museum by Joseph Ternbach (not the first or last time that this innocent man was used by forgers as a "launderer" for their wares).

A scathing indictment of the British Museum's plundering activities and methodologies thereof accomplished by a most successful curator is contributed by E. M. Forster's "For the Museum's Sake," (1920); it should be on every archaeology student's reading list (but I have never seen it cited). Forster – not an archaeologist but one of the most sensitive writers of our century – understood that to acquire antiquities E. A. Wallis-Budge lied, stole, bribed, smuggled, deceived. As a reward for these *expected* performances of curatorial duties he was knighted by his sovereign. This essay could be reprinted verbatim with a 1999 date, merely substituting for Budge's name the long list of present-day curators from British, European and American museums. It is relevant to note here that in an important catalogue for an exhibition of forgeries, Jones (1990) and his fellow authors never discussed how the forgeries of antiquities from the British Museum entered that institution. In other words, they do not reveal just what the curators thought they were purchasing, and why. Nor do they quote Forster.

And it is important for museum historians to be aware that the acquisition problem was recognized

still earlier. Flinders Petrie wrote a letter about museum plundering and purchasing practices to *Nature* in 1893 (reprinted in John Malcolm Russell, *From Nineveh to New York*, Yale 1997: 127 f.). It is startling to read observations that, as with Forster's essay, are fully operative today (a fact not mentioned by Russell). Petrie noted that "... nearly all the growth of museums of foreign antiquities is in direct defiance of the laws. Most countries are engaged in thieving from others on a grand scale by various underhanded agencies ... some private agent, or museum official, hears of something important, and buys it in order to smuggle it for the museum in which he is interested ... all information concerning such discoveries has to be suppressed; and the most important acquisitions of museums are a matter which cannot be published, or even talked about in detail, while official papers have to be treated as secret archives." And he concludes with a plea that is disheartening, precisely because it is the very same plea presented to government officials in the course of the last three decades–and remains ignored: "Until our Government sees its interests in backing up work for its museums by honest methods, and straightforward dealings, we shall continue to lose the greater part of the scientific value of museum acquisitions, and to have a seamy side to our administration... ." One hundred and seventy-five years respectively after Petrie and Forster wrote, *nothing has changed*: thus John Walsh, Director of the Getty Museum, can write with unctuous sophistication in 1994 (*A Passion for Antiquities*: vii) "The *only* (my italics) considerations for the collector [which includes museum Directors] are, Do I like it? Can I afford it? Can I live with it?" But not, of course, "Will I thereby destroy this planet's history?"

One more little known social issue must be confronted. The deception and plunder practiced by museums is readily facilitated by the cooperation of newspaper employees, in particular editors, editorial writers, and art critics and exhibition reviewers, especially if the owner of the newspaper, their boss, is also on the Museum's board of trustees. Reviews of museum exhibitions or of publicized new acquisitions of ancient art written by newspaper critics never discuss just how the goodies reached the museum or collector – just read the many such reviews in the *New York Times*, all of which pimp for the plunderers. I know of one exception, a review of the Getty Museum's exhibition of the Fleischmann Collection. In *The Wall Street Journal* of December 15, 1994 Amy Gamerman called attention to their genesis, and cogently called their plundering the "closest thing to a perfect crime" because one can no longer determine specific sources. And she accurately nailed down the collector's Passion, described not as an interest in the ancient world, but as an itch to own beautiful things.

More commonly we encounter something else, an example of which is a review by John Canaday in *The New York Times* of February 26, 1973: 124 (owned by Arthur O. Sulzberger, once Chairman of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art) of a collection of plundered material in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Just prior to writing the review, Canaday contacted a curator to get information about the material. He was informed that the Museum's public press release sheet was a lie, a fraud, that the material derived from a culture and country other than what was being publicly claimed – all, Canaday was informed, to hide evidence of a plunder and its place of occurrence. Canaday was very upset and hostile in his questioning, and he published a review precisely repeating every lie he was instructed to publish, and ignored everything the curator told him: "All The News That we Decide is Fit to Print."

6 The same effective tactics exist across the whole forgery spectrum. The New York Times of January 15, 1997, C8, reported that there is a rise in wine forgeries, where faked labels and corks, and new wines, are used to create rare vintages for the serious wine collector (many of whom will never open the purchased bottle). These forgeries of old vintages "... are said to come from 'a recently unearthed cellar in Paris' or 'the collection of a Swedish nobleman'." What happened to old Italian families?

7 In the 1970s several United States archaeologists (sic), supported by European colleagues, joined dealers and museum personnel to oppose in testimony before the United States Congress any attempt to get the United States to stop the import of plundered and stolen antiquities (two shouted at me in anger to back off from my opposition; two others told me coldly that I talk too much about antiquities). And one still encounters archaeologists from Israel, the United States, and Europe, who vigorously defend dealer and collector activities. Nothing new here (I know field archaeologists who became involved in museum administration, and naturally and casually developed a to them serious and correct attitude of acquiring antiquities to build up the ancient art department repertories in their institutions; alas).

In the *Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology*, Teheran 1972: xxxiv, E. Negahban reports that a mild motion to "devise and adopt effective ways and means to prevent the export from and the import into one country of antiquities from another except through official and authorized channels" was accepted by all the delegates – except two, who voted against it. The two, whose names were not mentioned by Negahban, were Roman Ghirshman, sometimes an archaeologist, and Arthur Upham Pope, both of whom appear often in the pages below as promoters of the sales of antiquities and alleged antiquities. Pope was a major dealer for decades (see note 2 above, and Iranian Cultures, note 38). That Ghirshman sold objects is known to me (and others) personally, for he embarrassed me once by taking a gold bracelet from his pocket and suggesting I get the Metropolitan

Museum to purchase it. One scholar told me that in Europe it was well known that Ghirshman was an antiquities dealer, that in fact he tried to sell antiquities to his father. I cannot verify this claim.

Another example of a scholar claiming the right, even duty, to cooperate with plunderers is revealed in a document and letter I was shown a few years ago. The document is a series of resolutions prohibiting scholars to be involved in any capacity – purchasing, accepting gifts at an institution, authenticating, etc. – with plundered antiquities. Thirty scholars signed it. One of the signers, an archaeologist, among other roles, wrote a letter to a curator of a museum, reassuring the latter that he had no intention of abiding by the resolutions, that he was not bound by it. He was bound to the desires of his employers.

8 Scholars also help – albeit sometimes unwittingly – the collecting culture by referring to plundering activities as "illegal excavation" which pairing is not only an oxymoron, but mitigates the force of the action described. Archaeologists excavate, plunderers tear apart a site and destroy it; and whether the plundering is legal or illegal is thoroughly irrelevant to the intentional destruction. There are scholars who emphatically claim they ignore the forgery problem because they will not work with unexcavated objects in their concern with the plundering problem. They assert that they will "work with, cite or publish only excavated material." *All* unexcavated objects must be ignored and thrown away, in essence killed; and, because they were not excavated, be denied a proper birth. This is an issue I wrestled with many years ago, but could never resolve but in one direction, however reluctant and heartbreaking the decision (Muscarella 1984). And the decision was that not publishing unexcavated material would not solve the problem of plundering, of collecting! Plunderers and collectors don't give a damn if some scholar will not publish an artifact: not publishing does not save one artifact from the plunderer's bulldozers. The skewed opinion not grasped here is that no art historian, historian, archaeologist, anthropologist can claim to have investigated ancient material culture if countless artifacts are excluded from ancient culture solely because they were plundered. This indeed may be – in fact is – a conundrum, but it is a reality to be faced up front in archaeological research. It is a misplaced emphasis that demands punishing again the victim, shunning it, merely to satisfy a loose-cannon approach to a serious problem. The tragedy of bastard birth is absolutely unrelated to the reality of existence, an existence that is a fact now and will be a fact a hundred years from now (a position equally valid for bastard human babies and their descendants and ancient artifacts).

The issue is in the final analysis not that one publishes an unexcavated object, the issue is precisely how one publishes that object, what one explains about it, what one does not. Of course, understanding my position is essential to understanding the nature and reasons for publishing this present work, and others than I have written about forgeries.

Fight the plunderers, not the artifacts. But the sad story – alas, I found it easy to document – is that some of those who allege to be against plundering or for restrictive publishing do not lift a pinky to fight the fight: visit or write to their congressmen, lecture students *and* the public vigorously (not just pompously) on possible public action, write to museums, to collectors (they do write to ask them for money, however!), and to the media, defend and support those hurt by fighting the collectors; and so forth. For further discussion on the necessity to publish unexcavated artifacts, see my 1984 paper.

There are scholars and institutions, like the Archaeological Institute of America, who in full innocence of the implications proclaim as a condition of publication that only if some other journal or individual first publishes a plundered artifact will it then be allowed for themselves to do so. Put another way, let someone else commit the crime and then you are permitted to commit a copy-cat crime. But if first publication is an intellectual and spiritual crime, what philosophy transmogrifies the crime into a proper act merely because it occurs a second time in a subsequent publication? This same question is to be raised (but to a lesser degree) for those who argue that it is fine and proper to publish or purchase only material plundered before 1971 (a motion I helped to get adopted at an annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America because it was expedient; it deserves discussion again).

Then there are scholars and professional institutions who inform us with fierce conviction that they accept the prohibition on any purchase, publication, and study of unexcavated material: *except* when it concerns privileged (i.e. their own) specialties, for example cylinder seals, or coins, or tablets, or even Greek vases. Archaeologists are expected to recognize that these forms of artifact exist in a special time and space warp. They were not plundered, they were not torn away from a completely destroyed site, they in fact continue to fall from the sky as divine succor for serious scholars. Let us examine but one such situation in this context: the Archaeological Institute of America has a committee and funding specifically for the purpose of producing the *CVA*, whose "mission ... is to publish all the known vases, mostly Greek but also Etruscan, in the museums ... in the United States." Probably 95% (perhaps more?) of these vessels were plundered – some as recently as last week (just look at sales catalogues and museum annual reports). But these plundered vases are accorded a different quality precisely because – as I know from personal engagement with this issue – the money available to publish them comes from a wealthy purchaser and collector of plundered Greek vases; and also because collecting Greek vases has a socially accepted upper class background, an atmosphere much appreciated in the

AIA. And production of the *CVA* has continued while similar forms of publication are enjoined at the Institute's publications.

No cuneiformist would conceive not reading, collating and publishing a tablet merely because it was plundered, not excavated (e.g. the Tikunani tablets; the controversial "Blau Monuments"; and what of the many unexcavated Dead Sea scrolls? I know of at least one cuneiformist who attacks me precisely because I think his museum shouldn't purchase tablets in the bazaar). However unfortunate, I maintain that there is no other choice (yet I heard a pontifical cuneiformist who continuously studies plundered tablets sarcastically chide someone for studying and publishing plundered artifacts that are not tablets. One set of plundered material is sacred, another set is tainted; its as simple as that).

Given this foggy milieu one is not surprised to hear about the scholar who (this is not one of those so-called Polish jokes) informed an audience of archaeologists that he/she never would publish an unexcavated object, then immediately segued into the statement that *however*, when he/she does commit that deed, the object is banished to footnotes. This embarrassing rationalization, alas, comes from one of the few scholars active in the good fight against plundering (I was reminded of the wife who swore to her husband she had no lovers, but that when she did, she let them in the back door, not the front). Another scholar who continuously proclaims to colleagues and students that he/she will not cite or publish unexcavated material unabashedly uses hundreds of such objects in a hands-on seminar on ancient art taught semester after semester at a major institution housing a large collection of plundered antiquities. These scholars are not hypocrites in the conventional sense, but they most certainly can be accused of dissimulation, and not reflecting on the profound issues raised here. And there are others who commit the same solecism.

9 A personal note: from previous writings and lectures it should be quite clear what I think of dealers and their activities. Sometimes one encounters a dealer who is what in ordinary social intercourse would be called an honest, decent person, or an engaging one (Muscarella 1977b: 160 and note 29). The problem for the scholar is that these latter virtues, while compelling on a personal level, cannot erase the consequence of their activities. My experience has been that with two or three dealers who well know my feelings, a non-aggressive, correct, sometimes cordial, attitude obtains if we meet; in one case involving a complex, sometimes intriguing, always generous, individual who messianically believes he is a major saver of art for posterity, I am sought out for conversation and dinner, which I find interesting.

As for collectors the same situation exists. I have known several collectors over the years, meeting them in the course of my museum involvement. I invariably attempted to get the decent ones to stop their activities, giving all the good reasons. I know three collectors who were influenced enough to stop, one of whom grumbled all the way (L. Pomerance: an intelligent, sometimes embittered, but honest man) – but he ceased to collect antiquities. I thought I had persuaded his friend Norbert Schimmel (one of the most decent persons I have known, a *mensch*) to stop collecting – for when he asked me to edit his catalogue (1974a), I obtained his agreement that the catalogue must reflect the end of his collection activity, it would be its record. I then made a point of writing about Schimmel's "great foresight," his apparent cessation of collecting, in *Art News* January 1975: 75, where I discussed his collection. Naively, I did not count on the powerful forces at the Metropolitan Museum, who quickly unconvinced him. The second collector was Martha and Artemis Joukowsky – who stopped collecting immediately they heard The Lecture and who became my dear friends. Then just recently, a collector of East Asian sculpture finally accepted my explanations and arguments about precisely how the sculptures came into his living room, and he stopped collecting. Two other collectors, both, I believe, decent, good men in their other activities, stopped contact with me after my anti-collection Lecture and discussions. Another collector foolishly teases me while inviting me to dinner – "I just purchased some recently smuggled Peruvian textiles and would like to show them to you."

Ricardo J. Elia in *The Art Newspaper* 41, October 1994:20 said it strongly, and in the final analysis, I think ultimately correctly: "I wonder if it is even possible to be a moral collector of antiquities." I know collectors who tell me they know how antiquities are generated and why, but say they do not care.

10 The great magician Harry Houdini was a believer in spiritualism, which caused him to investigate and expose fraudulent mediums. In 1922 he and his wife held a séance with Arthur Conan Doyle and his wife. At a certain point Lady Doyle claimed that she was speaking in the voice of Houdini's mother, and then made the sign of the cross. Houdini knew immediately that something was wrong: his mother only spoke German, and was a Jew. Had Houdini been educated in Bazaar Archaeology in a Near Eastern Art and Archaeology department at a modern United States or European university, he would have concluded otherwise: that the evidence presented was real (because it was said to have come from Heaven). Consequently, he would know that his mother had spoken (derived) from a provincial Christian polity called Heaven; that there she learned a new language and, understanding now that two millennia ago the messiah had indeed arrived and had been crucified, had become a Jew for Jesus. The

ambiance of the scenario also speaks to us, for it supports a well-known sociological model, a good (ex) Jewish mother informing her son of important knowledge.

11 Even the casual reader of this text will recognize that among the many individuals, the pantheon, cited as publishing modern forgeries as genuine artifacts, a few names stand out because they occur quite often. Threaded throughout the text, they identify themselves as prominent citizens of the Forgery Culture. One of its most prominent citizens, and to go further, one of its most unrelenting pioneers – because he enlarged its inherited boundaries and population further than any other scholar or group of scholars – was manifestly Roman Ghirshman. His writings demonstrate that, like Dickens in London, he inhabited and was familiar with every feature within the culture's geography and knew all its dialects. The power of his authority was, and still is, such that scholars and students from all spheres of ancient studies turn to his published works for information about the material culture of ancient Iran and beyond. His forcibly asserted antiquity attributions together with guaranteed site proveniences have influenced all studies of the ancient world – notwithstanding the reality that too often forgeries of artifacts and of sites were being hawked. Ghirshman's credos pattern a ritual of their own, and many of them have been accepted and employed for their own purposes by an army of scholars: if an antiquity exists and is acknowledged by Ghirshman (or X) it is genuine (Muscarella 1977b: 169, n. 68); since it is genuine it must be supplied with a genuine provenience, no bastards exist; and when it is offered for sale (by Ghirshman or a dealer) a decent curator or collector is morally obliged to purchase it; anyone who argues that many forgeries exist, or that Ghirshman (or X) has published a forgery of an artifact or site, is an ignorant (or worse) scholar. If Ghirshman (or X) maintains that a forgery he is publishing was excavated by poor, ignorant peasants digging in fields at or near the ancient site or Land of Ooh Blah Dee, we are to understand and accept without pedantic questions that this is real archaeology, that we are reading a bona fide Archaeological report.

It is worth reading, if only to experience unintended irony, Ghirshman himself lecturing scholars about false proveniences furnished for plundered artifacts. In *Artibus Asiae* 33 (1971): 146 (a review of Calmeyer 1969), he chastises E. Herzfeld for claiming (in *AMI* I, 1929–30: 65 ff.) that certain bronzes derived from Tepe Giyan, when the only evidence for that claim was what the vendors told him. We are instructed that in Iran it is common for vendors (he omits scholars and himself in this indictment) to give false proveniences, and moreover, he adds unblinkingly that he knows that Herzfeld's bronzes in fact derived from Luristan, concerning which "... j'en ai la certitude absolue." (What was *his* source? Did he witness the plundering?).

Ghirshman's success in fabricating a non-existent archaeology and its embracement by many in the archaeological community as normal archaeological behavior is a fine paradigm of how much of archaeological information is not based on anthropology or art history, or common sense. I refrain from speculating about the reasons that may have informed Ghirshman's actions (run-away intuition; scholarly arrogance and cynicism; deceit; ignorance?). To give an opinion incapable of being proven has no value; and in the final analysis only the facts and their consequences are relevant. But Ghirshman has a defender. P. Amiet (*IranAntiq* XV, 1980: 155 f.), himself an adept of Ghirshman's methodology, champions his "grand bon-sens" not ever throughout his long career to privilege the excavated over the unexcavated – but Amiet says not a word (because he doesn't know?) about Ghirshman's privileging the forgery over the genuine.

Vying with Ghirshman in good citizenship activism was A. U. Pope, who, like Ghirshman, was not stupid. Pope in fact was very street-wise in his domain. He did not have so important a world-wide influence as Ghirshman, but he did quite well and he too was adept at convincing scholars, collectors, and museum directors of his great knowledge of "archaeology." His contributions to the Forgery Culture parallel those of Ghirshman: encouraging by publications and rhetoric the purchase of all antiquities – or said to be antiquities – offered for sale, supplying a provenience for them, and writing spirited manifestoes on the real story about forgeries – only very few exist. These manifestoes served equally to provide scholarly advertising and support for business conducted in his and other dealers' shops (see above notes 2 and 7), and to keep the Culture invisible, a task all its citizens are obliged to undertake. Successful charlatan may be the most appropriate term to describe him.

More complex for me to discuss (partly for personal reasons) are a few scholars involved with the Culture, albeit reluctantly, or better, unknowingly, I believe. I am thinking here of otherwise good scholars who were serious in their attempts to explicate the past but who failed because they ignored, or knew little of, archaeology and art history. One can think of several names in this category. Of these and other, less qualified scholars, whose names often appear in the text below, I choose to add nothing to what is already articulated there. The reader, if he or she chooses, can peruse the text for the often-occurring names and create a top-ten list.

12 But even a non-specialist cannot resist calling attention to a large group of seals that are most probably forgeries, at least suspicious, all conveniently published together in an auction catalogue "Antiquities from the Shuster Collecton" Sotheby's, London, July 10, 1989. Those that especially warrant attention

are nos. 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 38, 40 (?), 41, 43, 45: did I miss any?

[While this book was being type-set I belatedly discovered the artricle "The Director, the Dealer, the Goddess, and Her Champions: The Acquisition of the Fitzwilliam Goddess," by K. Butcher and D. W. J. Gill in *AJA* 97 1993: 383–401. I wish to call attention to this important work because it superbly discusses many of the forgery culture and bazaar archaeology issues discussed in the present work, in this case concerned with Minoan figurines of bare-breasted ladies. Major scholars, some archaeologists, excited by newly "discovered" figurines, all Unikums, vigorously supported their authenticity against all the evidence. (Arthur Evans, Alan Wace, Charles Seltmen, who also functioned as an antiquity dealer). They supplied false proveniences, "said" to come from X, and urged their purchase by museums and collectors. They then lavishly published them as major artifacts. An archaeologist (Winifred Lamb), who upon becoming a museum curator immediately acquired the expected curator behavior of lusting for and acquiring a figurine, defended her purchase and exhibition of one she assumed was plundered (supported of course by the Fitzwilliam Museum's Trustees). The article is a precise parallel to what I discuss above and is another paradigm of what archaeologists and curators were capable of in the 1920s – and as we have seen, absolutely nothing has changed].

II. Catalogue*

A. Iranian Cultures

Marlik/Amlash

I shall not list the forgeries of terracotta figures modeled on those excavated at Marlik – zebus, stags, male and female figures, and other animal and vessel forms. Some purchased examples were in fact plundered (Metropolitan Museum examples have been thermoluminescence tested as ancient), but a large(er) number from the bazaar are modern. To list all the suspected forgeries would require many entries – and without TL testing would be quite subjective. In Oxford, E. Hall (1990: 19) tested by TL 60 "Amlash" terracotta objects that proved to be modern creations (add Porada 1965: 104, pl. 25: Muscarella 1984: 62, note 3). I know of a zebu that was created completely from ancient pottery sherds (to deceive TL testing; see also Ghirshman 1976: 28; Kawami 1991: 228 f., nos. 173–179). It suffices to note that most dealers, auction houses, collectors, and museums possess forgeries of ceramic material catalogued as "Amlash" (see note 2) or "Marlik." Years ago I viewed some "Marlik" circumcised terracotta male figurines that the dealer claimed documented Jews living in the Caspian region. See, for example, *The Art of Amlash*, Galerie Israel Limited (Dubenir), 1966: no. 1 – either the whole piece is modern, or the genitalia have been grafted onto an ancient statuette. See also the worthless *Ancient Terracotta Figurines*, Tokyo, 1980, the T. Tanimura collection, where many amorphous and awkward, and surely modern, figurines alleged to derive from all over the ancient world, including areas in Iran, are presented: even if some are ancient, they have no value for scholarship.

I also omit discussion concerning the age of scores of bronze stags and other creatures available for years and attributed to Amlash/Marlik. They are easily made today, and here too a listing of suspicious pieces would be tedious and subjective. This material is found in every shop, auction, and collection, and not one example adds to our knowledge of ancient Iran.

I illustrate one example of a ceramic zebu (ex-Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia); a stag in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (63.15–2), there tested by TL to be modern; and a human figurine (dealer); also one bronze stag figurine (Amlash 1–4, P 251f.). The ceramics are pathetic modern imitations, quite evident (I state optimistically); and the lifeless stag is in Kansas City (60.16; *Handbook Nelson Gallery*: 13, upper right), there now recognized to be modern. There is no reason or excuse for scholars to be concerned with this ubiquitous unexcavated material; information about South Caspian ceramic and bronze objects derives from Marlik and Kalaruz.

Commentary is more constructively focused on the large group of exotically decorated metal vessels, primarily made of silver and gold, whose iconography forgers and

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* An asteriks(*) indicates that the cited author believed the object was a forgery or suspicious; "P" refers to the Plates p. 233ff.

dealers believed (and they were correct) would interest students of ancient Iran. They continue to appear in the bazaars – sometimes furnished with a romantic provenance (i.e. an important royal owner). U. Löw (1993: 37 f.) researched the evidence for the excavated vessels, the material from Marlik, Kalaruz, Kalar Dasht, and Hasanlu. She then discovered that of all the metal vessels published as from northwestern Iran or Marlik, 90% derive from dealers, whereas the excavated examples account for only 10% of the corpus. Of the former, she estimates that at least 50% are modern creations, and still others remain doubtful. My own research fully supports her astute – and rarely expressed in the literature – conclusions (my manuscript was completed before I could read her awaited work on Iranian vessels). But we have in our hands and minds that 10%, that excavated material, to study: at Marlik thanks to the perseverance and courage of E. Negahban.

All the neo-Marlik, Marlik-type, vessels listed here reveal problems in execution, form, iconography, tectonics, and in details – eyes, legs, wings, guilloche, base design, etc. In other words, when compared to the excavated evidence, there exist stylistic deviations in essential characteristics: hence they are to be suspected and isolated. I think most examples listed here reveal their modern birth quite readily.

Gold and Silver Vessels

1. Cincinnati Art Museum 1962.71, a thin, tapering gold beaker; in the upper panel, a lion demon mastering horned animals, in the lower, a stag procession (Ghirshman 1961a: 35; idem 1962b: 52; idem 1964a: fig. 36; *Sept Mille* no. 67A, pl. VI; D. Berciu, *Arta traco-getica*, Bucarest 1969: fig. 80; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 171; Negahban 1983: 19, 58, 61; Alizadeh 1985: 63, note 79; E. Jacobsen, *The Art of the Scythians*, Leiden, 1995: 7, note 16). This non-Marlik, neither in shape nor style, vessel is one of the first forgeries of the form to appear on the market; publications of gold vessels excavated at Marlik commenced in 1962 (Calmeyer 1987–90: 426 f. for bibliography).[1] One of the vessel's first publishers expressed pride in the fact that American taxpayers (who through tax deduction rules pay for all museum purchases – plundered material and forgeries) paid a "king's ransom" for it, and also that it was approved as an ancient production of "the Amlash culture"[2] by experts from the Oriental Institute (Shine 1964: 35). The present curator now recognizes that the vessel is a forgery.

We expect a difference between the writing of the scholar and that of the collector and vendor; we expect a different level and merit of analyses and observation – not to mention conclusions. But the reality is that often it is impossible to distinguish the rhetoric of the one group from that of the other; and in this first Catalogue entry we encounter a typical example of the blurring of the respective writings (other examples will surface infra) that can easily be interchanged. Goldman (1964a: 324) in an alleged scholarly report flattered the Cincinnati Museum's (non-specialist) Director (in the latter's house publication) for his "discriminating taste" in assembling "a choice collection," which has cultural "significance." This is manifested by the purchase of the present "high quality .... fully mature" vessel (327) – and by other objects as well, which we shall encounter in their appropriate categories below. "Fully mature" is the only accurate description in the evaluation. P 253

2. Cleveland Museum of Art 65.26, gold tapering beaker; upper panel, running lions; center, guilloches framing a zig-zag pattern (the guilloches seem to have been made by two different hands); lower, cocks (*Sept Mille* no. 67B, pl. VII; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 172). The tectonic arrangement of the central bands remains unparalleled. The execution and drawing of the figures and their bodies are paralleled in style on a beaker excavated at Kalaruz – A. Hakemi, "Kalaruz," in *Archaeologia Viva* 1, 1968: 65, pl. XXXIII; see also below No. 57, which along with this piece should too be kept in abeyance. P 254

3. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 67–7, gold straight sided beaker; upper panel, frieze of winged lions walking left (compare the heads to the Cleveland Museum lions); lower, a frieze of winged bulls walking right (*Handbook Nelson Gallery*: 12; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 180). The vessel is deceptively abraded; its shape, as no. 4 below, is that of Marlik no. 9 (Negahban 1983). P 255

4. Minneapolis Institute of Art 65.36.2, silver tapering beaker; three panels of reclining horned animals, heads resting on neighboring rumps (Institute *Bulletin* IV, 1965: 59, 74; Goldman 1974–77: 66, fig. 20; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 186). The style and execution of the animals, their body markings, and the dividing hands and rosettes, have nothing to do with productions from ancient workshops. P 256

5. Los Angeles County Art Museum 68.25, gold short beaker; frieze of grazing very long-necked horned animals (*A Decade of Collecting* 146, no. 3; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 174; *Löw 1993: 38, n. 16). Close to Abegg Stiftung examples, nos. 12, 13 below, and perhaps made in the same factory. At first view this, and its companion pieces, are well made, and might convince. But reexamination reveals lifeless eyes, attenuated legs, over-long horns, and a style that does not suggest ancient Iran. P 257

6. Same provenance, 76.74.268, ex-Heeramaneck, silver tapering beaker; upper panel, walking stags; lower, rampant heraldic felines. It is clearly modern to anyone who looks. P 258

7. Same provenance, 77.513M, ex-Heeramaneck, gold straight sided beaker; upper panel, backward-looking stags; lower, backward-looking suckling animals, probably meant to be does and fawns. An obvious parody of an excavated vessel, in part Negahban 1983, no. 14; see No. 23 below. The base is a travesty of Marlik no. 9 (Figure 1). 2P 259

8. Same provenance, a thin, gold tapering beaker with three decorated panels: the upper has felines and their prey moving right; the middle has a frieze of horned animals moving left; the lower has felines and prey moving right. Surely a modern production.

9. Same provenance, ex-Heeramaneck, silver (?) slightly tapering beaker; upper, heraldic rams; lower, back to back animals, and hanging half rosettes. P 261

(Note that there are probably more forgeries of Marlik-style vessels in the Los Angeles County Art Museum [see Muscarella 1984: 61 ff.]; note, however, that I was able to acquire most of the photographs I requested, with full cooperation from the curator).

10. Private (Leff?) Collection, silver tapering beaker; the upper panel has backward-looking animals walking left, the lower backward-looking heraldic animals. A poorly made parody of excavated material, see Negahban 1983: nos. 9, 14 (see here Figure 3). P*260

11. Ex–Terrisch collection, silver, ishkhan shape; backward-looking horned animals flank a tree (*From the Lands of the Bible* no. 414; Merhav 1981: no. 103; Muscarella 1977b: no. 188). A parody of animals and trees represented on Marlik vessels and here appearing on a shape that does not exist there. P*263

12. Abegg Stiftung, gold short beaker depicting stags walking left; note the aberrant base design of hatched concentric circles. A photo caption lists it as "gefunden in Nasbi (Marlik)." This beaker probably comes from the same factory as No. 13 below and No. 5 above. P*264

13. Same provenance, gold short beaker; winged horned animals walk left. The small eight-pointed star and outer ring at the base—the very same as No. 19 below—is a good indication of a modern conception (M. Sterrer, K. Orawskyy 1973: pl. 2; Muscarella 1977b: no. 175). Surely from the same factory as Nos. 5 and 12 above. P*265

The following beakers, Nos. 14–19, were first exhibited in the Musée Rath, Geneva, and published in *Tresors*; see also No. 58. This catalogue continued the concept established by *Sept Mille* and *Kunstschätze* a few years earlier, where dealer and collector material was presented as if excavated and genuine. Each of the catalogues offers graphic documentation of the pitch of scholar–dealer collaborations in museum-organized exhibitions of forgeries, forgeries of site provenances and the art of ancient Iranian cultures. In the few years separating the Paris and Zürich catalogues (which only lists "Amlash" material) from that of Geneva, Marlik fever erupted among collectors. The forgers and dealers rushed to succor them, supplying more sumptuous "said to be" art from "Marlik." Cooperation by magnanimous scholarly Doctors soon followed, and the newly manufactured material that surfaced was quickly exhibited in Geneva and published in *Tresors*.

The fact that a large number of the objects—forgeries and genuine—exhibited in the Museum exhibitions and illustrated in their catalogues was in the possession of dealers (masked by the deceptive "coll. particulière" or "Privatbesitz") indicates that the organizing scholars and museum authorities knew that the material on display was to be sold. The museums become bazaars under the guise that visitors were witnessing educational exhibitions of ancient artifacts. One component of this educational process at the Musée Rath was the documentation how the artifacts came out of the ground (but not how they came to Europe): on the museum walls were large photographs of smiling plunderers tearing up a site. This provocative display intended to evoke the innocent peasants who dealers, collectors, and museum directors and curators inform us accidentally find sites while hoeing their gardens (*Fundort unbekannt*: 13, 42 ff).

The museums functioned not only as bazaars, but also as laundries on two levels, for the transference and sanitizing of recently plundered artifacts, and for the epiphany of recently minted forgeries.

14. No. 517, pl. 19, von der Aue collection, gold tall beaker; winged heraldic rams, *en face* heads in the round, flanking a tree. A copy of Negahban 1983, no. 8 (Figure 2), this piece represents one of the better executed forgeries in the Marlik corpus, accomplished by a fairly skilled and ambitious forger. However, note the "live" animals of the excavated examples versus the dead ones of the Geneva vessel, and the composite tree; significant also is the aberrant base design – which boldly combines those of Marlik nos. 14 and 63 (Negahban 1983: 28, 88; here Figure 2). The execution, I suggest, is not so skillful as one unfamiliar with Marlik animals might think (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 177; Lukonin 1986: 29; *Löw 1993: 38, n. 16). P 266

15. No. 518, pl. 20, Moundschaief collection, gold slightly tapering beaker; upper and lower panels, crude felines and prey (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 178; *Löw 1993: 38, n. 16). One easily concludes that a provincial apprentice made this piece in modern Iran; he also seems to have made No. 21, below. P 260

16. No. 519, pl. 21, coll. B. Miller, gold short beaker; backward-looking horned animals (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 181; *Löw 1993: 38, n. 16). Notice here aside from the non-ancient style, the shorthand, cheap attempt at making borders. P 267

17. No. 520, pl. 22, coll. particulière, gold short beaker; birds with claws, vultures? For real Marlik vultures see Negahban 1983: nos. 14, 56 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 182). P 268

18. No. 521, pl. 23, coll. Moundschaief, gold beaker; backward-looking animals with stag horns, but note the tails (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 183; *Löw 1993: 38, n. 16). No ancient Near Eastern artist ever conceived or executed this composite animal. P 269

19. No. 522, pl. 24, coll. particulière, gold beaker; Shah Abbasi Museum, Teheran (stolen in 1982; see Interpol Bulletin, January 7, 1982, upper center); upper panel, animals walk left; lower, horned animals walk right (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 184; *Löw 1993: 38, n. 16). Their posture and movement are copied from the Marlik so-called unicorn vessel, Negahban 1983: no. 9 (Figure 3); see below, Nos. 24, 36, 52, and 53. And the mechanically made small star on the base is the same as No. 13 above, not of Marlik, no. 9, the unicorn vessel. 2P 270

20. Shah Abbasi Museum, Teheran, gold beaker; stags back to back. Stolen in 1982, Interpol Bulletin, January 7,1982, upper right.

21. Privatbesitz (*Kunstschätze* no. 662, pl. 31; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 179; *Löw 1993: 38, n. 16), gold beaker; upper panel, backward looking horned animals walk right; lower, horned animals walk right. Probably made in the same modern factory as No. 15, above.

22. Louvre AO 21814, silver beaker; horned human creatures (bull-men?), wrestle with upright bulls (?) (Amiet 1968: pl. XVII, 1/2; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 195). The continuous backward curve of the upper bodies of the animals as well as the awkward angles of the human arms indicate that the scene was copied from photographs of Akkadian period animal combat scenes (v. Godard 1962: pl. 5; R. M. Boehmer, *Die*

Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit [Berlin, 1965], pls. IX-XXIV; Collon 1987: nos. 99, 101). That ancient cultures had access to earlier iconography is determined from excavation, not from this bazaar purchase. That there is no evidence for ancient knowledge or skill is evident if one just looks: at the bull-men's hands, at the animals' necks and feet, at the former's faces and noses. Further – and important – the guilloche is unparalleled – for it is mechanically made; and the base design, also unparalleled, is modeled on Marlik no. 63 (Negahban 1983: 88), but without three incised lines outlining the petal. An objective reading reveals this (not poorly made) vessel is both neo-Marlik and neo-Akkadian art. 2P 271

23. Adam collection (ex-Mahboubian), silver beaker; upper panel, suckling animals; lower, rampant horned animals flank trees (*Art News* September 1967: 3; Christie's December 9, 1968, no. 81; Moorey 1974a: no. 183; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 187; Negahban 1983: 29; *Löw 1893: 38, n. 16). Copied from Negahban 1983: no. 14 – and alas cited by him (29) as a parallel; made in a factory related to the one of No. 7, above.

In *Minerva* 55, vol. 1,5, 1990, and in *Hesperia Arts Ltd*. November 27, 1990, no. 71 is illustrated a poorly executed gold "appliqué" depicting a cow suckling a calf, which is called East Greek, 550-525 B.C., but which may have been made to imitate the Marlik scene.

24. Bonhams sales catalogue May 20, 1992, no. 387, silver beaker; upper panel, unicorn-like animals walk right; lower, animals walk right. Close to Hong Kong Bank of Ca, no. 36 below; and to vessel, No. 52 below – also carelessly copied from the so-called unicorn vessel, Negahban 1983, no. 9.

25. Teheran Archaeological Museum, gold beaker; upper panel, horned animals walk left; lower, the same (Huot 1965, pl. 138; *Muscarella 1977b: 186, note 88). This piece puzzles me, and I cannot suggest recognizing it as other than suspicious.

26. Teheran Dealer 1964, later sold to a California dealer, thin gold beaker; upright horned animals completely covered with body markings, flanking a tree, with a tongue pattern at the base. This and the following bazaar examples are easily recognized as modern.

27. Same Teheran dealer; silver beaker with two tiers of recumbent animals, seemingly modeled after Negahban 1983: no. 10.

28. Dealer, Marion Hammer, Switzerland, gold beaker; eagle over backs of heraldic bulls–they are horned but the heads are those of horses, and a tree.

29. Dealer (ex-Azizbeglou), Teheran 1964, gold beaker; bulls walk left, rosettes in the field.

30. Dealer, Azizbeglou, Teheran, gold or silver bowl with a row of birds facing right. Their heads have ears, their beaks are very short, and their bodies are plump. In 1964 this vessel's vendor claimed it came from "near Rasht."

31. Dealer, a silver tapered beaker; backward looking row of stags walk right in a panel at the vessel's upper half; below are three bands of triple ridges, and a flaring foot decorated with a complex guilloche; terrible. P 272

32. Dealer, London, gold beaker; upper panel, horned, thick animals walk left; lower, same. (The dealer knew that it was discovered in Amlash in November 1962). P 273

33. A thin silver beaker offered for sale as ex-Abdol Reza collection. The upper panel depicts stags walking right, the lower has recumbent caprids, right.

Sometimes a dealer will drop a hint or in a whispering voice inform a potential customer that a member of the Iranian royal family is offering an object he is selling (very often a forgery). One could not of course verify the alleged provenance, but the intrigue of the object's background usually piqued class-conscious customers, and always the price was adjusted upward.[5] See No. 34, below.

34. Offered for sale as from the Abdol Reza collection, silver (?) istikhan shape that is covered with a hatched oval decoration.

35. Dealer (Christies December 2, 1969, no. 187), silver beaker; upper panel, winged horned animals walk right; lower, same walking left.

36. Hong Kong Bank of CA, silver beaker; upper panel, unicorn animals walk right; lower, same walking left. Close to No. 24 above and No. 52 below. Another copy of the so-called unicorn vessel, Negahban 1983: no. 9 (Figure 3).

37. Ishiguro, Japan, gold beaker; two backward-turning horned animals flanking a tree, none of which has stylistic parallels; the base design is badly copied from Marlik no. 10 (Negahban 1983) (Ishiguro 1976: no. 138; *The Ancient Orient Museum* 1978, no. 378; *Muscarella 1979: 8, no. 1).

38. Shumei collection, Japan, gold high footed goblet; three panels of stags with crude body markings walking left, right, left; the background is completely filled with tree branches and mountains, a *horror vacui*; a recent, and very inexpert work. (*The 1st Anniversery Exhibition* MIHO Museum 1998:16).

39. Same provenance, gold beaker; an upper panel depicts stags walking right, the lower half is plain: a unique and meaningless form.

40. Same provenance, electrum beaker; two zones of staring eagles or vultures, facing right and left. Aside from the staring, posed birds, note the non-Marlik use of the tongue pattern at rim and base (T. Kawami, *Shumei Family Collection* no. 11). Kawami compares these birds to Marlik vessel no. 13 (Negahban 1983; cf. nos. 13, 55 for a different "tongue" pattern), and asserts that the latter is "more advanced technically," more sophisticated, which signifies to her (but why?) that the Shumei vessel "predates the Marlik bowl." Differences in the base designs, and intricate body and leg markings are not worth discussion. P. Meyers (p. 178) supports the earlier age because the vessel

is electrum and has an added base and a vertical seam – features, he admits, without excavated parallels. This (non-sequitor) chronological conclusion reflects not technical or excavated evidence, but a subjective art historical intuition. For, in fact, the vessel may have been manufactured much later than excavated examples. Inasmuch as questions about its age remain unanswered, archaeologists will ignore the vessel. (I was informed that some of the Shumei objects published in this catalogue – and others in the collection not published – were once in the possession of the Iranian royal family. I cannot verify whether this information is true).

41. Same provenance, electrum beaker; a procession of three males walking right each separated by a vertical rosette band (Amiet 1986: 3,4, fig. 1; Kawami in *Shumei Family Collection* no. 10). It is constructed like the above with a separate base and a vertical seam. Amiet announced that the vessel "provenant d'Iran du nord," although he was aware only that it "appartenant à une collection particulière" (in fact, a dealer!). He suggested that the vessel was modeled, of course, in antiquity, after either a Kassite or Elamite model.

But why is this vessel ancient? The fragmented condition is at best inconclusive, and indeed irrelevant. Could it have been copied by an ancient artist from a Kassite procession scene? (See Marcus 1991: figs. 2–8, 16–2, for a fine treatment of this iconography, which surely was the model; also Collon 1987: nos. 235, 236). The proper answer bursts out immediately we observe that the crude, non-ancient execution, the figures' bare shoulders, hair, forelock, beard style, and the amorphous curved object carried by the three men (to Amiet it "ressemblant a un bois de jet;" Kawami ignores it), are unparalleled in Kassite, or any other, scenes. Observe also the badly executed rim and lower border design, and for the base pattern compare Negahban 1983: 59, no. 21. What remains is the consideration that a modern provincial artisan miscopied and misunderstood his Kassite model. Meyers, again writing as a technical observer, thinks otherwise; in a note (p. 177) he gives the same claim as for Shumei no. 11, that the technical aberrations indicate a pre-Marlik stage of manufacture.

Archaeologists know that a Kassite-like seal excavated at Marlik (Amiet 1989: 314, 320, fig.3a) is the sole evidence for a rare example of possible knowledge of Kassite style in the south Caspian region. P 274

42. Same provenance, gold short beaker; *en face* bearded males master felines. Nothing in the scenes' style and iconography, in the details of the clothing – short sleeved tunic? – or in the body markings, or in the eyes and beards of the men, indicates a manufacture in antiquity. Again we are asked to accept a non-excavated aberration as an ancient iconography – what good reasons exist for doing so?

43. Same provenance, gold footed "stunning goblet;" bulls walk right, *en face* heads project from the vessel; cutouts for inlays exist in the bulls' bodies; the heads are said to be smoothly added (Kawami in *Shumei Family Collection* no. 13). This is – whether considered ancient or modern – an ambitiously constructed work evidenced by the skill of forming the relief and the cutouts, and also by the intricate body markings. But my eyes see it as a puzzling work – note especially the animals' heads, the unparalleled,

sharp guilloche. The base apparently mis-copies Negahban 1983: nos. 10, 21; and no parallel for the shape exists. At the least, one must be abeyant.

Defenders of this and the following vessel cannot avoid the reality that in the real world populated with ancient artifacts an ancient quality has not been demonstrated. There is no substantive evidence that they are ancient. P 275

44. Same provenance, gold beaker; three raptors with heads in the round, projecting into space and held by rivets, with prey below (Kawami in *Shumei Family Collection* no. 12). The manufacturing technique of this piece is intriguing, but I cannot detect an ancient ambience or hand manifestly present in the wing and body pattern execution, or in the neatly made braid design; are not the heads too thin? The base is an elaboration of the design on Marlik no. 10. One man's subjective opinion, but abeyance, not automatic acceptance, is the operative word.

45. Ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia, bronze short beaker; two standing dead felines, right, with projecting heads (C. G. Sloan catalogue, 11/29–12/2 1979: no. 1973). A terrible copy of the Kalar Dasht vessel (i. e. in Porada 1965: fig. 61). P 276

46. Same provenance, bronze; the same form with added heads as above but made by a different craftsmen who enjoyed decorating animal bodies. P 277

47. "Mr. X..." gold (?) tapering beaker; confronting winged (apparent) bulls. Nouveau Drouot catalogue[6] May 26–27, 1983, rear cover (*Löw 1993: 38, n. 16).

48. Dealer, bronze beaker; a male confronts a rampant bear (?). Palais d'Orsay catalogue, Paris, April 26, 1979, no. 22. Apparently adapted from Negahban 1983: no. 19, but the specific culture the creator had in mind is unclear: he seems to have been both equivocal and unskilled about depicting the animal.

49. Ex-H. J. Bach collection, silver beaker; upper panel, bulls/unicorns walk left; lower, backward-looking winged felines walk right. Sotheby & Co. London December 4, 1972, no. 47.

50. Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, gold bowl; an almost human archer shooting at apparent rams (Eisenberg sales catalogue, *Art of the Ancient World* 1965, no. 95; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 185).

51. Devray collection,[7] gold beaker; crossed stags with thin legs and bodies, separated by superimposed trees – an original design! A mechanically made object. 2P 275

52. Dealer, silver beaker; upper panel, horned animals walk right; lower, same animals walk left (*K. Tanabe 1982: 26). Yet another obviously crude copy of the so-called unicorn vessel, Negahban 1983: no. 9; compare the floral pattern at the rim and base of both examples.

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54. Dealer, gold beaker; winged bulls walk right, heads in the round. (*K. Tanabe ibid.: 16). A bold but failing attempt to copy Negahban 1983: no. 8; the flower pot is adapted from Negahban, no. 12, the animals' heads are not Iranian.

55. The Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian, S1987.147, gold short beaker; walking winged horned animals back to back; each animal turns its head to suck the tip of a back-curving branch of a central, unique, tree: all its tips terminate in ducks' heads! The base design is adapted from Marlik nos. 10 and 63 (Negahban 1983). While the workmanship seems good, the piece remains to my mind suspect. 2P 279

56. Same provenance, S1987.199, gold beaker; horned, attenuated caprids of a breed we have met before, walk left: see the modern legs, head, shoulder, etc. P 280

57 Horiouchi/ex-Vollmoeller/ex-Cohen, gold beaker; with stags, dogs, cock-like creatures, floating in the field (Calmeyer 1973: fig. 139; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 173; *idem 1977c: 79). This piece may have been made in the same factory as No. 2, above, both based on a vessel excavated at Kalaruz. Some may argue that the vessel derived (was plundered–or even sold) from Kalaruz. I remain puzzled, and think that the vessel's rim and busy base design could be a copy of, but are not the same as, those on the Kalaruz vessel; I do not think it occurs at Marlik. Why should we accept the animal's neck pattern, or the base guilloche? This piece is seductively well made, but requires more study, and cannot automatically be accepted. P 281

58. Coll. particulière, gold bowl; procession of bulls walk right, heads in the round (*Trésors* no. 403, color pl. II; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 176). We cannot know whether the forger attempted to create an Achaemenian or a Marlik vessel, or a genre Iranian type that he left to dealers to determine; the publisher of this example assigned it to Pirkuh (rather than to Hamadan) in the south Caspian area. For similar forgeries of bowls with animals in relief see Northwestern Iran, Nos. 3, 4, 5, below.

59. A similar vessel shape, also gold, with bulls walking right. I do not know to which culture it was attributed but place it here by default, because of its similarity to No. 58, Mahboubian (to my knowledge, published only in newspapers, viz. *Newsday*, January 6, 1985, p. 3; *New York Post*, January 6, 1986, p. 3).

60. A. Farmanfarmaian, dealer, gold beaker; four *en face* bull-men holding upright spears; guilloche borders; very crudely and amateurishly incised on the vessel; probably copied after No. 63 c, below.

61. A gold short beaker with two (?) winged lion griffins, heads (only one is shown) projecting in the round, striding left; guilloche border at top, double mountain border at base; and a base pattern of interlocking units of double triangles or parallelograms, Mahboubian. This object circulated on a flyer (1995) announcing it was stolen and offering $ 100,000 for its return.

Perhaps at first view, one might think all is well; but a second reveals that *all* is not well (here are shared observations of Dr. Ulrike Löw and myself): the vessel shape

does not occur at Marlik (but does exist in this study's corpus); the figured decoration is maladroitly copied directly from the top panel of Marlik no. 12, the base pattern from No. 9 (Negahban 1983): viewing the griffin head alone is sufficient to condemn the piece as modern – it is a lifeless, not living, head; the nature of its eye, beak, crest (compare the feather design and front spiral to those of the original, but not to the drawings that miss important details) are giveaways. All the other details are incorrectly rendered, deviating from Marlik style: the wing pattern, the short legs and their positions, all the body markings (i.e. heavy dots), claw execution (three units instead of two, and one stands on its toes), the mountain pattern (a neat double row, and with a curved interior arc, rather than a more constricted triangle shape), the guilloche, and the base design (not triangular, and with a spiral terminal, not the circular one, as expected from the original).

The damage might tempt us to believe that the vessel is ancient, except that we know collections are filled with damaged forgeries accomplished by dealers.

62. Once in the Schimmel collection, silver beaker with three panels copying in part the unicorns of Marlik no. 9 (Figure 3), but going further by being embellished with a stag procession, based on Marlik no. 20 (Negahban 1983), and the addition of an Achaemenian-like winged lion monster. The base design is utterly wrong. 2P 282

63. Note: I have difficulty deciding whether some other Marlik-like vessels are forgeries or genuine. They seem to be correctly made, some well made, but their character and the nature of the motif depictions, sets me in an abeyant mode; however, I cannot assert that they are not ancient. I may be praised for the strength of the abeyant/hesitant stance, or challenged (here and infra) for its indecisiveness; I argue, however, that the problem is not one of scholarly resolution, but of the nature of the bazaar and its gifts.

I am aware that variety and regionalism in northwestern Iran could account for some of the subtle "variations" noted, as demonstrated by the Marlik vessels. But until that regionalism in style and motif is more extensively demonstrated (from excavated examples), the bazaar will not instruct us about the artistic activities of ancient artisans in that area. The following vessels are listed to generate objective discussion.

a. Louvre AO 20281, gold beaker; double headed winged feline monsters with entwined bodies hold horned animals by their tails (*Syria* XXXV, 1958: pl. XV; A. Godard 1962: pl. 34). The shape is like No. 61 above. The execution here is superb, but I stumble over the base design, fishes swimming in a sea of bubbly water, surrounding a rosette: not paralleled in ancient sources.

b. Dealer, silver beaker; confronting felines over animal body parts, Nouveau Drouot catalogue September 24, 1981, no. 162. Quite fragile and broken in pieces, also parts missing – by design or plundering accident? Autopsy is needed.

c. Foroughi/Ansari (coll. particulière), gold beaker; *en face* bullmen holding branches of a tree (*Trésors* no. 405, pl. 8; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 196). Another seemingly correctly and well executed piece. P 283

d. Teheran Archaeological Museum, gold beaker; three fields of seated sphinxes, in each field facing a different direction (Culican 1965: pl. 14, with a provenience and an art historical analysis "from Amlash...in mixed Assyrian and Luristan style....").

e. I published as suspicious in 1988a No. 146, a bronze bowl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (51.114) with a scene depicting a feline attacking a capri d (suspected also by *Calmeyer in *ZA* 85, 1995: 161). Hunting scenes of similar form are seen on unexcavated bronze strips, usually attributed to Luristan: Amiet 1976: no. 192; Bronzes iraniens no. 29 – see also no. 30 with a single animal but stylistically the same (no. 29 is now in Switzerland, Zimmerman 1991: no. 20); Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980, no. 402; there may be more examples. Are they all modern? (See Urartian, no. 7 below).

f. A silver beaker I indicted in 1977b: no. 194 was later considered to be probably ancient: Muscarella 1979: 4, no. 33.

Non-vessels

1. Gold "crown," Seattle Art Museum 67.47; chariots in hunt, with various creatures (*Annual Report Seattle Art Museum* 1967, 55 f., fig. 10; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 189). A horrible antiquity, which embarrasses us because its overtly incompetent forger was successful; we have here another example of a non-specialist museum director believing what a bazaar vendor told him – that a modern collectible was manufactured pre-20th century A.D.

2. Gold strip, coll. particulière; heraldic horned animals (*Trésors* no. 523; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 191).

3. Gold strip, Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels 0.3170; confronting winged animals (bulls?) and a tree (*Art Iranien Ancien*, Brussels 1966, no. 447).

4. Gold disc, two pair of recumbent caprids, and two stars (Eisenberg sales catalogue, *Art of the Ancient World* 1965, no. 94; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 190).

5. The granulation patterns on a gold two-piece "Amlash" bracelet published with other "recently discovered" objects by Ghirshman (1960: 551, fig. 7) bother me – anyone else?

6. What is one to make of Ghirshman 1964a, fig. 33, Amlash, from a Teheran collection (Foroughi?)? Represented is a bronze statuette of a nude figure, apparently a female, with a beaked head, projecting buttocks, and wearing a dagger at its nude waist. I cannot attribute it to any ancient culture in Iran or elsewhere.

There are other forgeries attributed by different authors either to the Southwest Caspian or to other areas of Iran, a situation not unique within Iranian style forgeries, infra. Perhaps the forgers were not skilled or wished to create generic Iranian material allowing scholars to make favorite attributions. In any event, I list and discuss them in the General Iran section below.

Northwestern Iran, Hasanlu

1. A silver beaker decorated in panels, private collection, USA. The uppermost panel is a direct copy of the chariot battle scene depicted on the 9th century B.C. silver beaker from Hasanlu IV (Porada 1965: pl. 28); the middle panel depicts heraldic horses (?) flanking a tree; the lowest panel is plain, again like the Hasanlu silver beaker; equally copied is the floral pattern on the upper and lower borders. P 285

2. A tortoise shell in bronze, genuine perhaps, bearing a crudely scratched scene – a man on a horse, dogs, prey – which for some inexplicable reason was attributed to Hasanlu, Borowski collection (Marseilles no. 189; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 199).

The next four vessels have been designated 8th-7th century by their vendors and owners; at least one was specifically attributed to northwestern Iran. I place them here but believe that their makers designated them for the general Marlik area.

3. A basin decorated with walking bulls in relief, their heads projecting in the round, and framed by guilloche bands, and at the base a central sharp rosette and concentric guilloches made with a machine; silver alloy, Kimbell Art Museum, Forth Worth AG 1980.06. Compare this vessel and Nos. 4 and 5 below with Marlik Vessel Nos. 58, 59, above. P 286

4. A similarly shaped vessel, but squatter and with an everted rim, here with five walking bulls in relief, their heads in the round, gold, offered to a western United States Museum in 1983.

5. A similarly shaped vessel, closer to No. 3, decorated with four walking winged bulls, their heads in the round, each pair separated by a stylized tree, and framed by guilloches, silver, European dealer.

6. A ram with its feet resting on a bar, and with a long "pin" projecting from its chest, bronze; cited as from northwest Iran, probably because the Expert who attributed it in the Hotel Drouot sales catalogue (September 26, 1980, no. 40) thought it resembled one of the well-known lion pins from Hasanlu.

7. A helmet-like object with raised ridges on its upper half and a caprid head in relief at its front, bronze; claimed to derive from Azerbaijan, showing Urartian and Luristan influence – all meaningless comments for this modern production, Leiden (van den Boorn 1983: 88, fig. 125).

8. A "Humped ox from Amlesh...(or Talyche)," sic, is attached to a long pin, bronze, Eisenberg sales catalogue 1960, no. 29.

9. A group of terracotta vessels offered for sale in Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980, nos. 438–453 as from Azerbaijan: which are genuine, which not?

10. A terracotta spouted vessel in Hotel Drouot December 15, 1981, no. 105 is surely all modern; and no. 107 "Caspienne" has a peculiar curved spout and strange protome.

11. A terracotta amphora that may be genuine but is now embellished with a caprid placed on each handle, *The World of Persian Pottery*, no. 56.

12. A genuine bridgeless spouted grey ware vessel characteristic of Azerbaijan and northwestern Iran in the late second millennium B. C. was embellished in the 1960s with scratches of a scorpion (but one not observed from nature) and a caprid's head and mouth; the rim lozenges also seem modern; ex-Hirschorn, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery 66.5204 (recognized there to have modern additions).

Achaemenian Art

Although genuine Achaemenian artifacts derive from different areas of the ancient Near East, I discuss their forgeries here for convenience. A large variety of materials – stone, obsidian, lapis lazuli, ivory, bronze, silver, gold – has been used to create modern, Achaemenian style sculpture of humans and animals. First presented are the modern copies of the Persepolis reliefs. Except for Nos. 1 and 2, I have no information about their provenances. Achaemenian forgeries have been around for a long time; Ménant (1887 16 ff.) noted Old Persian cuneiform incorrectly engraved on poorly made attempts to depict Sasanian princes on forged seals (see his figs 1, 2). I believe there is an increase in the number of forgeries of Achaemenian stone reliefs surfacing within the last decade, probably because forgers are counting on serious collectors believing that in the recent turmoil they were torn off the walls at Persepolis.

Not to be ignored is the intellectual fraud/forgery that cunningly changes Achaemenian art into "Greek, sixth century B.C.," to mask a true, and known, provenience (D. von Bothmer, *A Greek and Roman Treasury* MMA, 1984, nos. 17–29, 62–69). It is as if the same curator had labeled his Euphronios crater an Achaemenian vessel once provenanced in an old Armenian collection.

Reliefs

1. New York collection; 21 1/2 inches in height. Carved as a stairway newel block, three sides of which have reliefs: one side depicts two servants mounting a stair, one carries a bowl, the other an animal; the one carrying the bowl has a Delegation VI headdress. A second side has a Persian spear bearer with a quiver; the third has two overlapping Persians who carry staffs. Compare Schmidt 1953: pls. 72D, 82–86, 87 B, C.

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2. Same collection; ht. 31 inches. Relief with two Persians facing each other, one touching the other on his chest. They are not speaking Old Persian. Compare Schmidt 1953: pls. 55 A, C, 56, 67, 68. P 290

Aside from every possible misunderstanding of style and execution, and a lack of skill (eyes, hair, beards, mustache, shoes and foot arches, etc.), there is no place for the

newel at Persepolis – or elsewhere; the Delegation VI hat was a bold but foolish creation of the forger. The reliefs have been available at least since 1982.

3. Sotheby Parke Bernet, November 22, 1974, no. 79; ht. 19.3 cm., width 11.3 cm. (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 131). A fragment depicting part of the face of a male figure with a thick section below his mouth. Perhaps the forger was imitating the headdress worn by a member of Delegation IV or VII at Persepolis (Schmidt 1953: pls. 30, 33; Tilia 1972: figs. 72–74).

4. Sotheby Parke Bernet catalogue February 17, 1978, no. 183. A fragment depicting a male figure wearing a grooved or twisted torque, facing right; fingers of a hand touch his left shoulder. The mouth, mustache, beard, and eye are not Achaemenian executions; one would expect the hand to rest on the shoulder, and the torque and chest are badly proportioned. Also, the twists do not conform to examples represented on the reliefs.[8] Further, there is no space for this figure on the Apadana reliefs, whence it would presumably have come (information from M. Roaf). Compare Schmidt 1953: pls. 52, 57; Ghirshman 1964a: fig. 226 (*Muscarella 1979: 8, no.7).

5. Paris Drouot catalogue March 8, 1989, no. 67. A Mede faces left, his hand touching his thick mouth, the moustache falls incorrectly, the nose hooks too much, no neck is visible, and the torque is wrong. The well-made piece was copied from Schmidt 1953: pl. 52, Ghirshman 1964a: fig. 227. I can find no place for it within the extant relief placements.

6. Various dealers. A relief depicting a figure crudely copied from the Delegation VI tribute bearers (Figure 6; Schmidt 1953: pl. 32), with a bow case hanging from his thigh; part of another figure is visible. The relief has been circulating on the art market since at least the early 1970s, passed from one dealer to another (I know of three who attempted to sell it; one dealer confiding that it had just been smuggled into the United States by South American diplomats). There are two breaks, one of many examples where a forger distresses his work to suggest authenticity. P 291

7. Dealer. Two short males dressed like Medes having a face to face conversation in modern Farsi; they carry spears and one has a dagger. The relief is an original composition. P 292

8. Los Angeles Dealer. A Mede holds the hand of a member of a Delegation. The latter is copied from the Palace of Darius, Schmidt 1953: pl. 153, B, but not skillfully – look at the faces.

9. A badly made relief of a bare headed male figure carrying a small curved boomerang-like object in each hand; he wears a long-sleeved garment; in a private United States collection; it is allegedly a gift from the head of the Iran Bastan museum some years before 1977. P 293

10. In the collection of a western U.S. collector-dealer is a fragment of a relief preserving the head of a Persian, with a rosette border behind him. A casual perusal of the reliefs at Persepolis immediately reveals the non-Achaemenian face, eyes, mustache, lower lip chin curls, lower beard hair, base of headdress, and the ambience. P 294

11. A Geneva collection has a very poorly made fragment depicting a figure with a tight-fitting Mede headdress, ineptly carved hair, mustache, beard, eye and brows, and shoulder clothing folds. P 295

12a. The Potter collection of reliefs in the Brooklyn Museum was cited by me as forgeries (Muscarella 1977b: nos. 132–134). But J. Lerner (1980) has demonstrated that although eventually passing as Achaemenian antiquities, the reliefs had originally been made to be house decorations in Shiraz during the Qadjar period, l9th century; they are genuine modern Iranian antiques.

b. In 1947 two crudely made reliefs with vague Achaemenian backgrounds were offered for sale in Cairo as Achaemenian reliefs. One depicts the king stabbing a rampant lion, the other a seated king with a figure standing behind him. Perhaps these also date to the Qadjar period and reflect its naive imitative spirit (on this period and its copying of Achaemenian forms see in addition to Lerner 1980, Luschey-Schmeisser 1983: 286 ff., Taf 31, 32).

c. Pope (1939: 192) and Ghirshman (1976: 28) mention seeing forgeries of Persepolis reliefs; they gave no references, but we can be sure they must have been very badly made (a Mede with two heads?).

Human Sculpture

1. The upper half of a lapis lazuli male figure embracing a feline – the so-called "lion strangler" (just under 20 cm. in height; lion cuddler is more appropriate), Cleveland Museum of Art 60.175. The figure wears a bulbous, "Median," hat and stares into space with sightless eyes while embracing a very thin feline whose claws touch his chest and back. The physical anthropologist R.Ghirshman (1964a: 244 f.) instructs us that "The aquiline nose and almond-shaped eyes suggest that this man was a Median of the traditional ethnic type [of which there are too many examples to bother citing], an identification borne out by the round 'pudding-basin' hat [which unique shape so many Medes are known to have worn]". It has been published as genuine many times by believers; for a partial list see *Muscarella 1977b: no. 143, *idem 1979: 4, no. 23. One cannot do better than quote some pertinent – and quite accurate – comments from the initial publication (Shepherd 1961: 23, 24), namely that "the sculptor was not experienced," and that "he seems to have lost his bearings." Not many scholars, including its writer, recognized the implications of these quite perceptive observations. A loss of bearings precisely, although not adequately, describes the degree of the non-ancient, non-Achaemenian style and ambience of this modern work. Merely view figures 294–295 in Ghirshman 1964a to observe together the excavated lapis lazuli head of a

youth and the unexcavated lion strangler/cuddler – a wonderful (however unintended) instructive juxtaposition, the ancient and the modern, the live and the inanimate.

H. Luschey in *AMI* Ergänzungsband 10 (1983): 198, declined to cite the bust because it had been challenged; but in an acerbic note (16) he records that R. Ghirshman told him "gegenüber" that "er wüsste" that the figure was found in Persepolis. This communiqué reporting a provenience that could not have existed precisely parallels that of curators who provide proveniences for their purchases. (And it bluntly documents the activity of the forgery culture, and how it creates archaeological "knowledge.").[9] The figure was chosen as the title page photograph in Ghirshman 1964a, a fitting, and precisely appropriate, introduction to what was forthcoming in a volume instructing us about Ghirshman's views concerning ancient Iranian archaeology, artifacts and art. In this publication, contrary to what he had told Luschey, Ghirshman wrote (245): "*If* this small bust *really* comes from Persepolis..." (emphasis added, and any comment is superfluous).

Shepherd (ibid.: 24 f.) was more restrained about revealing archaeological knowledge. For although she was certain that the figure "came from Persia," an archaeological reality comprehended from an office in Cleveland, she was modestly unsure whether its find spot was Persepolis or Hamadan. But there was no lack of surety that "the importance of the Museum's new acquisition cannot be overemphasized." No one will doubt this claim: indeed, it cannot be overemphasized that something important is going on here–something concerning the health of Iranian archaeology. 2P 296

2. A lapis lazuli fragment of a human head; 6.9 cm. Barbier-Mueller Museum, Geneva (Zimmerman 1991, no. 36). The extant hair line on the forehead, the curve of the staring, the blank eyes, and the curve of the mustache betray a modern attempt to turn a fragment of lapis lazuli into a valuable antiquity.

3. A limestone head in the round of a bearded male with a bulbous, meant-to-be Median, hat; Borowski 1960. From the curl patterns one knows that we are meant to recognize an Achaemenian head, but this one is surely made with a machine. P 297

4. A stone head of a bearded male with a Persian style headdress; dealer 1968. Like the above, mechanically made. P 298

5. An unfinished (intentionally?) stone bust; dealer 1960. Presumably an attempt to be Achaemenian, and attributed as such by the dealer. P 299

6. A silver statuette of a male with Persian style headdress, one hand holding a lotus at his chest, the other resting at his side; feet missing, ex-Kevorkian. The eyes, mustache, beard, dress, and hat are not ancient – and the figure is a poor copy of the silver "Oxus" example – see Dalton 1926: pl. II: 1, and No. 10 below (*Sotheby's sales catalogue June 15, 1988, no. 410, "lst half of the 20th century," AD). P 300

7, 8. Two small bronze statuettes, one with a Persian and one with a Median style headdress, were offered for sale as Achaemenian artifacts in 1968. The Mede resurfaced after 20 years, unfortunately in M. A. Dandamaev and V. G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, Cambridge 1989: 83, fig. 17, with no provenance, and dated to the Achaemenian period.

9. A bronze statuette of a male figure offered for sale as an Achaemenian period work of art in 1950. The face is pinched, the head wrongly conceived, there is no neck or beard, the arms are short, and the garment is inexpertly constructed, there are no feet; it is neither Achaemenian nor ancient. P 300

10. A bronze fragmented statuette, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Culican 1965: 131, 250, pl. 66; *Archaeology* 19, 1, 1966: 6, upper left), "from Hamadan" and thought by the Museum's Achaemenian art expert Director to represent "possibly, King Darius I." The piece seems reminiscent of the "Oxus" silver statuette (Dalton 1926: Pl. II: 1; see No. 6 above) – could it be modeled on it? Damage seems to be more than one might expect from a forger but a mis-casting seems to have occurred. Reservations are justified.

(See also Median Art No. 6, below – which was surely made with Achaemenian style in mind).

Animal Sculpture

1. A stone shallow bowl with eight lion forepart protomes facing outward; diam. 67.8 cm (*Sept Mille* no. 633, pl. LXX; Ghirshman 1961a: 29; 1976: 23 ff., figs. 13-15; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 136; Rozenberg 1993: 53: "An outstanding example" of Achaemenian art). It is indeed an ambitious production, but it is far from convincing; known among doubters as the Bird Bath. Ghirshman, ibid., p. 28, shared with us not only his knowledge that it was rare to encounter forgeries made of stone, but also his disbelief that someone could utter the absurd hypothesis that a modern sculptor made this piece. This object and the following two were in the hands of various dealers over the last 35 or 40 years of their existence. P 301

2. A grooved stone vessel supported by three caprid foreparts; height 61 cm. (Amandry 1959a: 892 f., figs. 4–7; Ghirshman 1961a: 30; 1976: 18 ff., figs. 7–11; *Sept Mille* no. 660, pl. LXXII; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 135). Known among a few doubters as the Scrap Basket, it is the twin of the example set up before the main Teheran Post Office, and surely made in the same atelier (see Achaemenian Vessels No. 6, below).

3. A stone ibex with hollow back; length 37.5 cm. (*Sept Mille* no. 661, pl. LXXI; Ghirshman 1976: 13, fig. 1; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 137; Rozenberg 1993: 53). P 302

4. Shallow, stone bowl with six duck/swan head handles; diam. 52 cm. (Ghirshman 1976: 13 f., fig. 2; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 138). Copied from a vessel excavated at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957: pls. 53, 54, no. 1). P 302

When Amandry published No. 2, above, he claimed that "according to certain information" (surely from a dealer or a collaborating colleague – Ghirshman?) it derived either from Hamadan (see Muscarella 1980: 31 ff.) or Persepolis. Ghirshman (1976: 12, 18) on the other hand had more certain information about the find spot of all the four stone objects. This knowledge enabled him to assert the fiat that they derived from Persepolis "sans aucun doute," and that they were dug up there by local peasants who

found them while innocently building houses. An historical and humanistic comment informs us that this accidental find represents the first time the objects saw daylight since the Macedonian armies left the area.[10] Here is the involved archaeologist rescuing stray artifacts from oblivion.

Ghirshman then proceeds with his argument logically. Their provenience being an archaeological reality, graciously created (buried?) by the Macedonians for posterity, it follows naturally that the antiquity of these excavated artifacts is precluded from debate. This logical defense, presented obliquely, is not merely to counter unjust – and unnamed – skeptics (pp. 18, 24), but also for another reason. The thrust is directly revealed by Ghirshman's penultimate sentence: if a courageous museum curator purchases the objects (not of course from the innocent peasants at Persepolis, but from Swiss and New York antiquity dealers) he will be awarded with the author's congratulations (see also Muscarella 1977b: notes 42a, 68, 83) – and, we may surmise, his coaching in how to recite the Museum Ritual.

Such a prestigious prize, however, cannot suppress the fact that objects – forgeries I charge – were being offered for sale by an archaeologist in a scholarly journal.

5. An oval shaped shallow ivory vessel with a raptor's forepart projecting at each end; 40.5 × 10.5 × 10.5 cm. (Rozenberg 1993: figs. 1–3, 5; property of a New York dealer, Eghanayan). This "exquisite," and "rare" (inshallah) piece was accorded a special exhibition in the Israel Museum because its maker, owner and publisher declared it to be an Achaemenian creation. Offered as proof for this attribution is the vessel's similarity in style to eight Achaemenian objects. Three of these are in fact not parallels, but concerning the other five, they are perceptively and appropriately chosen, for at least four and possibly all five are modern creations (Nos. 1, 3 above, and Animal Headed Vessels Nos. 4, 23, below). One of these (Animal Headed Vessel No. 4) is lauded as "the most striking parallel" to the present example, and to display the same "masterful balance" – a parody of art historical analysis.

In Muscarella 1979: 8, nos. 10–12, I expressed concern about the authenticity of a group of obsidian small sculptures (below, Nos. 9–13, and an eagle head in Teheran) created seemingly in Achaemenian style; I have not changed my mind.

6. Obsidian lion head; Israel Museum. P 303

7. Obsidian lion head; Israel Museum. P 303

8. Obsidian lion head; Israel Museum. P 304

9. Obsidian lion head, ex- Ternbach collection (Ghirshman 1961a: 37; idem 1976: 25, figs. 16, 17; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 139). Not shown in the published photos is a pierced tang behind the collar. Ghirshman (1976: 25, figs. 16, 17) appropriately compares this head to those of No. 1 above. P 304

10 An obsidian calf head, ex- Ternbach collection. The top has end holes presumably for the insertion of horns. P 305

11. A pommel with addorsed lion heads at the top, white stone, collection particulière (*Trésors* no. 666, pl. 62; Muscarella 1977b: 182, note 83 raised doubts; Rehm 1992: 183, Fig. 68). I find the configuration of the join of the heads, the head curls, and the mouths not convincing. Compare this pommel and No. 15 below to that on the gold sword excavated at Chertomlyk (Figure 4; Barnett 1962: 88, fig. 5).

No examples of such addorsed animal heads at the crown of objects are depicted on the Persepolis reliefs or elsewhere in art (recently a gold dagger excavated in a khurgan at Filippokva, southwest of Ohrenburg in Russia, and unpublished, has addorsed griffin heads upside down on the mid-hilt. Furthermore, from the same khurgan is an isolated horizontal gold unit, possible another pommel, with addorsed caprids).

A mirror with addorsed horse heads at the top capital of the handle unit was excavated at Sardis from a tomb dated to the Achaemenian period (Oliver 1971: 113 ff., pl.30: a-c). Another very close example is in the Ankara Museum, from Ünye on the Black Sea; and a mirror with addorsed calf heads at the capital of a now missing handle is in the British Museum – both examples are probably Achaemenian period in date (Oliver 1971: 114 f., pl. 31, f.; Albenda 1985: fig. 7), and occur outside of Iran proper.

At least three other unexcavated examples of addorsed lion heads used as pommels on daggers exist, each with three "rivets" on the hilt: a gold dagger in Teheran, another in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Wilkinson 1955: 220 f.; Huot 1965: pl. 137; Porada 1965: pl. 47; cf. idem 1989 and No. 14a, below), and a third I saw in a dealer's shop in Geneva in 1980. Can any of these examples be accepted as ancient? I am not sure and hold all three in abeyance (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 116).[11] For other modern addorsed animal head representations masquerading as ancient see No. 13 below, Animal Head Protomes No. 11, Bracteates No. 4, Miscellaneous No. 12, Median Art No. 5, and Luristan Weapons No. 20, all below. P 305

12. There is also a small stone ram's head in the Honolulu Academy of Arts published by Porada (1989: 537 f,) as both Achaemenian and as possibly being the preserved part of an addorsed "handle." Not discussed, however, are the style of the head and the unexpected relief units carved on both sides of the ram's horns, and the semi-circular unit on the animal's forehead. I suggest that this sculpture can be ignored, or discussed only in a parenthesis.

13. A stone paddle-like object with a flattened end and addorsed lion heads at the top, Devray collection. P 306

14. A stone lion head in the form of a round ball, pierced in the side, Cleveland Museum? Apparently it was intended to be an Achaemenian work, see the muzzle and mouth, but fails. P 307

15. A stone lion head protome, apparently hollow at the rear for attachment, Cleveland Museum 62.26. This piece was also meant to be Achaemenian, as revealed by the neck curls, eyes and muzzle; and like the previous object it does not reveal that it is an ancient artifact. P 307

16. A black stone lion reclining on a plinth (size not recorded), dealer, Teheran. The sculpture was obviously modeled after the Achaemenian weight from Susa (Ghirshman 1964a: fig. 318).

17. A stone head of a ram, whose eyebrows betray it as not the work of an ancient artisan, dealer, Tokyo (*Treasures of the Orient* no. 109).

18. A lapis lazuli fragment of a lion head, Ishiguro collection (Ishiguro 1976: no. 143; *Muscarella 1979: 7, no, 2).

19. A lapis lazuli lion head, von der Aue collection (*Trésors* no. 667, pl. 63; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 140).

20. A lapis lazuli lion head, Drouot Montaigne Paris, October 24, 1989 no. 3.

I have not autopsied these last three cited lapis lazuli lion heads but suggest that no compelling art historical or archaeological reasons exist for accepting them as ancient, although without examination one cannot automatically condemn them. The same attitude must prevail for an example, ex-Kolleck Collection, Hotel Drouot November 9, 1995, no. 113. No excavated parallels exist and the heads do not speak their Achaemenian background; see also the obsidian heads noted above, Nos. 9, 10.

21. A miniature bull-man with bull body, (bronze?) reclines on a plinth, United States dealer. The head is very large and is copied from the bull-man of the Council Hall (see Schmidt 1953, fig. 55).

22. Two bronze so called throne elements, collection particulière (*Trésors* no. 656, pl. 61; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 150; I believe that these pieces are the same as those subsequently acquired by the Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts Centre, Teheran, illustrated in *The Art of The Achaemenians*);[12] the forepart of a feline with a hollow tube projection at the rear, presumably functioning as the arm rests of a chair. These objects are ambitious in concept, but in execution and detail do not quite convince us that they are Achaemenian artifacts (are they genuine but not Near Eastern objects?) P 308

23. I have problems accepting as ancient a statuette of a complete bull; I have no information whether it is solid or hollow cast. It appeared in 1965 with a dealer; I have not seen it since. The sculpture is an ambitious work (whatever its date) and I have moved back and forth in my opinions – but opinions are not sufficient: the short, squat legs, the head posture, as well as the execution of the eyes and body hair curls, suggests a wary attitude is required. P 309

24. Multi-piece openwork white stone plaque depicting two back to back lions within a solid frame, ex-Rabenou, Israel Museum.

25. Stone (marble?) bull, Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts (*The Arts of Old Persia* no. 93: "...dyed to resemble lapis lazuli, with gilded horns..." *Muscarella 1977b: no. 141).

26. A small reclining bull pierced for hanging, chalcedony, Mildenberg collection (Kozloff 1981: no. 28): surely a modern gem, unmatched in Achaemenian style and function. While to its publisher the piece "conjures up the massive Achaemenian bull protomes topping columns," she nevertheless observed that it is not pure Achaemenian in style, which logically demanded it be dated "Early Achaemenian, probably 6th century B.C." (A rock crystal figure of a reclining feline published in Christie's catalogue December 13, 1988, no. 163 is not Achaemenian as labeled).

Although based on poor photographic records, there are some pieces that I suggest may not be ancient works; good photographs and/or autopsy might help resolve the matter. Two are in the Ishiguro collection, a small gold reclining bull in the round, and a small gold stag protome (Ishiguro 1976: nos. 145, 146; *Muscarella 1979: 7, nos. 3, 4); a reclining silver caprid (*Kunstschätze* no. 871, pl. 28) – note the eyes; and a medium sized bronze bull in the round once in a dealer's shop in Geneva – the head looks too much like the sightless creatures on some modern Achaemenian style amphora handles (see below).

Nor do I think one should automatically accept as ancient the small lapis lazuli reclining bull in The Walters Art Gallery (Schmandt-Besserat 1978: no. 85); it was cited though by the publisher of the Mildenberg bull, No. 26 above, as a good parallel to that piece.

Animal Headed Vessels ("Rhyton")[13]

1. Bull protome, silver, Cincinnati Art Museum 1958.519, ex-Kevorkian (*Sept Mille* no. 687, pl. LXVI; Koch 1992: 184 f., Abb. 135; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 90; Markoe 1993: 80 f., fig. 39). An inexpert execution that resulted in portraying a dead bull – Achaemenian artisans always depict live animals – and a poor tectonic arrangement. Cincinnati claims that the only problem with this ancient piece is that in recent times the protome was cut back and poorly reattached. This explanation does not satisfy. The silver bull protome vessel from Borovo in Bulgaria (*Traci* no. 144/1), and an unpublished silver calf headed, bent, unfluted vessel excavated at Filippovka southwest of Ohrenburg, Russia (mentioned above with the addorsed lion pommels), are available for those interested in Achaemenian examples of this class, with or without a bull protome. Comparison of the Borovo and Filippovka vessels with the Cincinnati example manifests the latter's non-Achaemenian history.[14] P 310

2. Ram protome, silver, Seattle Art Museum 68.1, with a forged provenience, "found near Reshi" (Rashi in Gilan? *Annual Report Seattle Art Museum* 1963, cover, and 58; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 91; Koch 1992: Abb. 135). Compare this vessel to the excavated example from Kul Olba, from which I suggest it was copied (Minns 1913: 197, fig. 90). P 311

3. Ram protome, gold, coll. particulière (*Trésors* no. 638, pl. 58; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 93). Acquired by the Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts Centre, Teheran, illustrated in *The Art of the Achaemenians* and subsequently stolen, see Interpol Bulletin January 7, 1982, center left. P 312

4. Griffin protome, silver, coll. particulière (= Foroughi, then Ansari, then?) (*Trésors* no. 639, pl. 59; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 94 – mislabelled gold; Rozenberg 1993: 55, fig. 9). This and the previous example are inexpert parodies of ancient art. P 313

5. Ram protome, silver, Nouveau Drouot November 28, 1981, no. 27, of course deriving from the "Region de Hamadan."

6. Caprid/ibex protome, gold, lapis lazuli, Abegg collection (*Abegg Stiftung* 1968: no. 9; Stettler, Otavsky 1973: pl. 6: "Presumably [!] From eastern Iran, near the Afghanistan border" [Kipling could not improve on this]; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 96).

7. Winged lion protome, gold, Teheran Museum (*Sept Mille* no. 664, pl. LVII; Ghirshman 1961a: opposite p. 29; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 99; Koch 1992: 190 f., Abb. 140). This ambitious, but not convincingly Achaemenian, vessel is one of many bazaar antiquities successfully misrepresented as having derived from Hamadan (see Calmeyer 1972: 65; Muscarella 1980: 31 ff.). Both "Hamadan" and a provenance in the Teheran Museum allowed scholars to assume that the vessel came to the world either from excavation or confiscation activities at Hamadan: events which never occurred.[15] This and the previous listed example are accepted as genuine by Koch 1992: pl. 23, Abb. 140 "aus Ekbatana (Hamadan)", and Rehm (1992: 17), who believes that it "stilistisch rein achamenidisch ist", a conclusion easy to resist. Obviously a disinterested technical study of this vessel might be valuable.[16]

8. Caprid protome, bronze, Tokyo (*Exhibition of Persian Art*, Tokyo 1971: no. 126). Very poor quality and concept – but it worked.

9. Horned griffin protome, silver (*Tanabe 1982: 30, top). A very poor quality copy of the exquisite example in the British Museum (purchased, not excavated, at or near Erzincan: Dalton 1926: no. 178, pl. XXII).

10. Lion protome, bronze, ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia. As stupid as they come. P 314

11. Griffin/eagle? protome, silver (?), Israel dealer. P 315

12. Horse forepart protome, silver (?), same Israel dealer. P 315

13. Ram forepart protome, silver, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's sales catalogue November 24, 1986, no. 294, "earlier 20th century, in Achaemenid style....").

14. Forepart of a lion, gold, made to appear as if it had broken off from a bent vessel like the above examples, Devray collection. P 316

15. Griffin protome, bronze, ex-New York dealer (Ephron). Very poorly made. P 316

16. Ibex protome, bronze, made in the same struggling factory that gave us No. 15, just above, Dorotheum catalogue, October 19, 1996: no. 163.

17. Bull head protome, with stupid designs on the vessel walls, silver?, ex-Chrysler Art Museum (C. G. Sloan catalogue 11/29–12/2 1979; no. 1977).

18. Gazelle head, horn shaped vessel, silver; dealer? (*Kunstschätze* no. 865, pl. 46; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 95; *Calmeyer 1979: 199 f.). P 317

19. Stag head (note the horns), horn shaped vessel, fluted cup, silver, Israel dealer. It has the same quality as the preceding example. P 317

20. Winged ibex forepart protome, cast bronze, New York, various dealers (*Apollo* magazine, July 1980: 65; see also dealer catalogue M. Yeganeh (nd): 10; *Muscarella 1977b: No. 92); only the forepart is illustrated but a horn section has been exhibited with it elsewhere. This is a poor imitation of the Seven Brothers silver example (Figure 5). P 318

21. Winged ibex forepart protome, horn shaped, fluted, a floral pattern on the rim, gold (flaking), various dealers. It is also a poor imitation of the Seven Brothers example, but quite ambitiously made with some skill. The vessel was offered for sale in pieces and part of the rim missing, then given to the technician J. Ternbach to restore; he did so, believing it was ancient. P 319

22. Winged and horned griffin forepart protome, horn shaped, gold, various dealers. Probably made in the same modern factory as No. 21 – note the rim decoration, the form of the creatures' wings and the stuffed heads. It too is an ambitious undertaking. P 320

23. Winged griffin/eagle forepart protome, horn shaped, silver, Israel dealer; no horn section is preserved – or was it ever made? P 321

24. A winged feline forepart protome, horn shaped, gold, broad curved, guilloche-like decoration on lip. This vessel is known only from a drawing published in IFAR *Reports*, June 1993: 7; reported stolen in the same journal, April 1993: 27, no. 327.

25. Straight gazelle headed vessel, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sept Mille* no. 673, "époque achemenide..." pl. LX; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 98; *Sotheby's sales catalogue June 15, 1988, no. 412 – "lst half of the 20th century" AD – Rozenberg 1993: 54 refuses to accept this date). P 321

26. Straight gazelle headed vessel, gold, Teheran Archaeological Museum (*Sept Mille* no. 665, pl. LIX; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 97). Huot 1965, pl. 53 knows that it came from Hamadan.

27. Straight ram headed vessel, narrow regular grooves on cup, silver, Chicago Art Institute (Sotheby & Co. July 13, 1970: 18 no. "23, "an important Achaemenid silver Rhyton...."); same as Heller 1971: no. 10. P 322

28. A long, thin, straight horse headed vessel, silver gilt, Walters Art Gallery 57.1977, unpublished but listed as Achaemenian (Compare this piece with the silver, and equally modern, "Sasanian" example in The Cincinnati Art Museum, 1960.495, *Sept Mille* pl. LXXIV). P 322

29. Straight ram headed vessel, narrow grooves on the cup, silver, Israeli dealer. P 322

30. Straight horse head vessel, bronze or silver, offered to a European museum by a dealer in 1993. The cup has repoussé petals around its rim; the bit is placed outside and away from the mouth; a head strap passes in front of the ears; too many straps appear to pass through the boars' tooth bridle; the horse is not a live creature.

31. Straight ram headed vessel, gold, Sackler/Freer Gallery of Art S1987.32 (*Gunter and Jett 1992: no. 44).

32. Straight ram headed vessel, gold, offered to a California museum in 1983 and called Achaemenian: but the workmanship and the ear wrinkles closely parallel a similar vessel attributed by its vendors to Qaplantu (No. 34, below). Both vessels were probably made in the same modern factory working for an international market.

33. Straight ram headed vessel, gold, gift of Rabenou to the Jerusalem Museum, published as a post card and accorded the honor (appropriate for a gift) of being illustrated on a national postage stamp, as was Animal Head Protomes No. 11, below (*Calmeyer 1979: 199, no. 4).

34. Straight triple-antelope headed vessel, gold?, ex-Chrysler Art Museum (C. G. Sloan catalogue, 11/29–12/2 1979: no. 1985B).

35. In the *Shumei Family Catalogue* (no. 15) Nancy Thomas publishes what she calls an Achaemenian rhyton, 6th–5th century B.C., silver. The protome is formed as an apparent fallow deer with its front legs extended; the curved vessel is horizontally fluted with gilded floral elements at the rim. Also gilded are patches of body decoration and the rear legs that extend in low relief up the vessel's surface. I sense problems. First, if genuine, the vessel is not certainly from the Achaemenian period; it is not canonical in any event – look at the small head and the ears, and the lack of typical Achaemenian body markings; it would have to be provincial (about which we know little), or later. Extended legs do occur on Achaemenian animal headed vessels (Muscarella 1974a: no. 155), but they are more articulated and not so disjointed as represented here. We cannot exclude the possibility that this might be modern achaemenianizing, as may also be the case with the floral pattern. Unfortunately, Thomas makes a positive comparison of the vessel's "unusual" construction to the Cincinnati example (here No. 1) and to the details on an apparently genuine stag-headed vessel in the Ortiz collection (*In Pursuit of the Absolute*, London 1994: no. 206), which only reinforce our perception of problems with the Shumei example. We are informed that much restoration exists, which, if true, may signify that much of what we see is modern. Verdict: keep in abeyance; maybe part is ancient; maybe all is modern? In any event, the archaeological understanding is that the

vessel cannot casually be cited in studies of ancient artifacts. Why was no cross-section analysis accomplished on the alleged ancient silver areas?

Amphorae with Animal Handles

1. Backward looking ibexes, whose feet rest on a ring topping a support; two walking heraldic lions are in repoussé below the neck, "silver alloy," Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, AG 1980.5. The vessel is very light. Of interest is that the animals' feet do not directly touch the vessel, but stand on a plinth. This feature conforms to ancient custom as known from the excavated silver example from Duvanli, and a gold example (with ram handles) from Filippokva, an unpublished site mentioned above, and also of course from those represented on the Delegation reliefs (Figure 6; Schmidt 1957: pl. 70: D, F; Walser 1966: pls. 39, 46; Muscarella 1980: fig. 2; Filow 1934: Taf III, Abb. 59; Pfrommer 1990a: Taf. 39, 40, also the unexcavated Taf. 36, 38, 41, 44, and Abb. 7; Robinson 1950: 47, pl. XXIII). Most forgers as evidenced in the following examples usually miss this characteristic feature. Nevertheless, this "authentic" form cannot deceive us; the repoussé lions, the fluting, and the non-silver material determine the vessel's modern birth. See also No. 9, below for a similar unit – made in the same factory? P 323

2. Two frozen, embalmed, caprids stare downward; their elbows barely touch the rim and their feet touch the fluted vessel, gold, collection particulière (*Trésors* no. 634, pl. 56; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 103). Compare the posture of these animals to those of the unattached handles listed below. P 324

3. Two small lions barely manage to hold their footing on a horizontally and vertically fluted vessel; same position as above; gold, collection particulière (*Trésors* no. 635, pl. 57; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 194). P 325

4. Backward facing rams, same position as above, silver, Teheran Archaeological Museum (*Sept Mille* no. 684, pl. LV; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 102; H. Kantor in *Iran* XV, 1977: 14, n. 16; Amiet 1980: no. 715).

5. Backward facing felines, same position as above, silver, with two heraldic bulls in repoussé below the neck, Christie's March 16, 1977, no. 86; not November 16, as *Muscarella 1979: 7, no. 5).

6. Very thin backward facing caprids, same position as above, the vessel's neck has lobes, the body is horizontally grooved, silver. Once owned by a Swiss dealer (1960s). P 326

7. Two very straight postured mini-felines upright on a narrowly fluted vessel, gold/silver? Devray collection? P 327

8. Two forward facing bulls on plinths, silver, ex-Pomerance. E. L. B. Terrace in *The Pomerance Collection* no. 57, dates it late Achaemenian, in *Kunstschätze* no. 131, pl.

29, 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.(?), and early Achaemenid, 6th century, in *Art & Auction* June 1985: 35.

In its first publication Amandry (1958b: 1140 f., fig. 12) announced it to be "A new and splendid discovery." Not recorded was the name of the discoverer and the archaeological site; a specific date was avoided, although the handles were thought to be "in the Assyrian tradition." This, incorrect, guess is an attempt to explain the apparent Achaemenian handle form and its connection to the vessels' unparalleled shape and decoration.

The handles and the vessel should remain suspect (I still ponder about the handles, *Muscarella 1977b: 179, note 79). The tectonic anomaly of the combination is conveniently demonstrated in Amandry's article (1958b: 1141), where it is illustrated (fig. 12) with similar vessels (figs. 4–11), some excavated, some not, but all genuine.[17]

An isolated silver amphora handle in the Teheran Archaeological Museum (*7000 Years* no. 447) seems identical (except the angle of the front attachment section) to the handles on the present vessel. All seem to have been made in the same factory: ancient or modern?

9. Two backward facing felines stand on a plinth consisting of a twisted or grooved cylinder, the base of which has a caprid head. The vessel has a floral pattern below the neck, below that a field of backward-looking felines; the area below is vertically fluted – all a horror, Los Angeles County Art Museum 76.174.276, ex-Heeramaneck; compare No. 1, above. P 328

10. Two caprids, silver?, on a vessel decorated with a horned animal – a horror, ex-Chrysler Art Museum. (C. G. Sloan, 11/29–12/2 1979: no. 1983).

11. One long-bodied feline set as a handle on a Sasanian-like ewer decorated with crossed lions (cf. Plates with Medallions Nos. 10, 11, and Mirrors, No. 2 below), silver, Minneapolis Institute of Arts 68.80.1 (sold to them as Sasanian, ca. 3rd cent. B. C., but I suggest made to be neo-Achaemenian). One wonders how this piece could have been offered for sale with a straight face – and how anyone could have purchased it "in good faith." P 329

Isolated Amphorae Animal Handles

1. Pair of rampant caprids, one on a tubular plinth, with wire around their waists, hollow gold, Arthur M. Sackler/Freer Gallery of Art. Ghirshman (1960: 551, fig. 8) assigned the handle to Qaplantu and dated to the 7th century B.C., accepted essentially by Seidl (1968: 345, k; Huot 1965: pl. 140 called it Achaemenian; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 105). It was cited as a "suspected" forgery by Gunter and Jett 1992: 224 f., no. 43.[18] P 330

2. Single rampant caprid standing on a short triangular plinth, gold, Devray collection. P 331

3. Single rampant caprid standing on a short plinth, bronze/ silver (?), Horiouchi/Shumei collection.

4. Single rampant caprid, no plinth, bronze, Mildenberg collection, Zürich. P 332

5. Pair of rampant caprids, no plinth, silver, Christie's sales catalogue July 12, 1977, no. 67 (*Muscarella 1969: 8, no. 6).

6. Single rampant caprid, no plinth (?), silver, dealer, *Art from the Land of Ancient Caravans*, J.L. Malter & Co, Auction VIII, June 23, 1979, no. 295.

7. Single rampant caprid on short plinth, bronze, Hotel Drouot, March 21, 1986, no. 157.

To see the obvious in a blink of an eye, compare all these handles to the examples on the reliefs at Persepolis, and to those in the British Museum ("Oxus") and in the Rothschild collection, both surely genuine (Dalton 1926: no. 10; Porada 1965: pl. 49; note that Dalton, xvi, claimed the "Oxus" handle had been counterfeited, i.e copied). For what one might think was a not-so-clever modern imitation of paired amphora handles, but which in fact was commercially quite successful, see Achaemenian Bracteates, Nos. 1–3, below.

Plates with Decorated Central Medallion

Not a single example of an Achaemenian plate decorated with a figural motif in a central medallion has been excavated to date; all the recorded examples have surfaced in the bazaar, and all indicate that they are modern creations made to be sold. This situation exists for the other decorated plates listed below. These forgeries are not generated from models, but rather are new antiquities, created for scholars to add to the corpus of sumptuous Achaemenian art. A valuable study of excavated and unexcavated Achaemenian plates and bowls is Abaka'i-Khavari 1988 (more detailed and complete than Muscarella 1977b: 193 f.).

1. Lobed border, a bird/eagle in flight in the medallion, gold, ex-Kevorkian. Published many times (see *Muscarella 1977b: no. 108; *Abka' i-Khavari 1988: 111, 136, Z11), beginning with the 1960s exhibition catalogues and Ghirshman 1961a: 34, left). The most unfortunate – but consistent with bazaar archaeology methodology – publication is that of Börker-Klähn 1971.

She argued that the eagle form was originally Near Eastern, then was adapted by the Greeks, and in the Achaemenian period was reintroduced back to the East. The evidence for this cultural history is the present vessel. That no ancient artisan, Achaemenian or otherwise, sculpted the bird was not seen, a blindness that allowed an important cultural reconstruction to be grounded on an unexcavated and aberrant vessel (Muscarella 1995a).

What should have been its last publication was in *Sotheby's sales catalogue November 24–25, 1987, no. 395, dated to the "early 20th century AD". But this chronology is unacceptable to Rehm (1992: 286, note 290) who persists in recognizing the vessel as an Achaemenian artifact (as she does also for Nos. 2, 3, 6, and 11 below). P 333

2. Lobed border, typical Achaemenian motif of a lion attacking a bull in the medallion, silver, Foroughi collection (*Sept Mille* no. 676, pl. LXIV; Tanabe 1982: 21, lower right; *Muscarella 1977b; no. 110; *Abaka'i-Khavari 1988: 111, Z13).

For this creation's mate see J. and S. Gluck 1977: 132, a gold-plated brass plate with the very same motif and style, made in Isphahan in 1960, most probably by the same artisan who made the Foroughi example. Tanabe (1982: 21) shows both the Isphahan plates side by side but accepts the latter as genuine, as does Rehm 1992: 263, note 104, 286, note 290, because of formal parallels to reliefs at Persepolis.[19]

In the plate's first publication, Ghirshman (1961b; but not in 1964a: 258) ingenuously intimated that this "beau monument de l'époque achéménide" came from the south Caspian region, i.e. Amlash, as a result "des trouvailles fortuites" – his transparent fig-leaf euphemism for forgery-manufacture, or plundering.[20] Inasmuch as the plate comes from Iran it is ancient – end of discussion, and is a glory of Achaemenian culture (see its citation – with the plate No. 3 just below, and Animal Headed Vessels Nos. 1 and 4 above – as comparanda for an excavated vessel by the archaeologist M. G. Moskova in *Arts Asiatiques* XXXVII (1982): 9, 10, 12).

3. Lobed border, winged bull in the medallion, the whole surrounded by rays of leaves, silver, ex-Kevorkian (*Sept Mille* no. 678, pl. LXV; *Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 111, 136, Z9: = p. 134, Z8;[21] *Sotheby's sales catalogue May 29, 1987: no. 325, "early 20th century" AD; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 106; Rehm 1992: 286, note 290).

4. In 1966 a Beirut dealer had a gold plate with the very same winged bull in the medallion as No. 3, but instead of a lobed decoration, the background is a field of acorns–see below No. 7.

5. Lobed border, medallion of a backward looking striding feline, the whole, like No. 3 above, surrounded by rays of leaves, silver, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's May 29, 1987: no. 326, "early 20th century" AD).

6. Lobed interior surrounding a medallion depicting two back-to-back caprids with interlocking horns, ex-"Levy", and then Teheran, and then stolen, see Interpol Bulletin for January 7, 1982 (Amandry 1958: 1139 f., fig. 1; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 109; *idem 1979: 3, no. 1; *Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 111, 136, Z12; Rehm 1992: 187, 286, note 290). "This is truly a Royal piece...." wrote Amandry, made by an artisan "attached to the court" and probably from Hamadan.

7. The same motif of back-to-back caprids with interlocking horns occurs on a gold plate seen in a New York dealer's shop in 1965; here, as with No. 4 above, the field is decorated with acorns, a favorite motif of this factory.

8. Lobed exterior, a medallion with the same motif as Nos. 6, 7, but cruder, silver, ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia. P 334

9. Pointed lobes surround a medallion depicting two back to back winged bulls, horns overlapping, silver, Israel dealer (*Tanabe 1982: 20, top). P 334

10. Double lobes surround a medallion depicting two facing, back to back felines, silver, same Israel dealer as No. 9. P 335

11. A lobed border surrounds a narrow, fluted zone and a medallion depicting facing, back to back felines, tails entwined, gold, collection particulière (*Trésors* no. 627, color pl. IV; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 111; *Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 134, Z10; Rehm 1992: 186, note 119,[22] 286, note 290).[23] P 335

12. "Assiette achéménide," gold, with the bazaar-canonical lion-bull confrontation in the center. Surrounding it is a ripple of lines ending in a floral pattern: the vendor, knowingly and appropriately, compares the ripple-floral design to that on a silver bowl in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Culican 1965: pl. 54) – which was the model for the present, embarrassing, inadequate copy, Galerie Koller Zürich, November 15, 1982, no. 5.

Decorated Plates

1. A plate or shallow bowl with a staring, winged bull in repoussé filling the full area, bronze, New York (Eisenberg sales catalogue, *Art of the Ancient World* 1965, no. 109; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 107; *Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 111, note 99, 134, Z9 – but see here note 21).

2. A flat plate decorated in two concentric zones, one with running bulls, the other with running felines, and in the center a rosette, silver, Foroughi, ex-Mahboubian (*From the Lands of the Bible* no. 385; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 112).

3. A flat plate decorated around the inside with five repetitive units of bulls attacking lions, and in the center a rosette, bronze, Foroughi collection.

4. A shallow plate with a row of four caprids walking around a rosette, silver, ex-Schimmel collection (Wilkinson in Muscarella 1974a: no. 117). The piece was cast, artificial patination was applied, it has only 81% silver, and the caprids are not Achaemenian creatures – which did not prevent a scientist in Mainz from stating that there are no arguments against the plate's authenticity (*Calmeyer 1969: 58, n. 195; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 117). P 336

5. A plate with four horned animals walking around a rosette, like No. 4 above, silver, ex-Pomerance collection (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 117). The horns are poorly made, not those of a bull or caprid; although the heads seem to be caprids', in the publication the animals are called bulls. In form and concept, the ex-Schimmel example and this one are the same. Neither has a feature that indicates an ancient background. P 337

6. Lobed silver bowl, ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia. For the range of Achaemenian (excavated) examples of lobes on vessels see the references in Abka'i-Khavari 1988. None of many examples has any relationship with this and the following. P 338

7. Lobed silver bowl, Devray collection. P 338

8. Lobed bronze bowl, Borowski (*Marseilles* 74, no. 204, center; *Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 134, Z14).

9. A shallow bowl with a flat rim decorated with incised floral patterns, the inside is lobed, silver, Mahboubian (*Treasures of Persian Art* no. 213; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 113).

10. Lobed silver plate, Walters Art Gallery 57.1816. Although placed on exhibit, this plate has not been published in Museum catalogues (acknowledging something?).

11. Lobed silver plate, Sackler/Freer Gallery (Gunter 1988: 36, 38, fig. 21). The vessel is considered (why?) to be of Parthian date, a descendant of Achaemenian examples, but it is post- Parthian, a forgery of Achaemenian forms.

12. A gold lobed bowl in Leiden seems too sharply and sloppily hammered to have been made in ancient Iran (van den Boorn 1983: 71, fig. 86; *Haerinck in *AfO* XXXII, 1985: 117 also condemns it). I also believe that the bronze example in the same collection (van den Boorn 1983: fig. 136) deserves more thought and examination before it is accepted.

13. There remains a group of silver and gold bowls, some of which bear "authentic' Achaemenian inscriptions. They lack an archaeological provenience (but have a forged provenience, Hamadan), and their forms are not closely paralleled by the excavated corpus (for which see Abka'i-Khavari 1988). I had suggested that they be kept in abeyance and handled with caution (for discussions see Moorey 1974a: no. 181, and p. 184; Muscarella 1977b: 180, no. 116, see also the bowl-like object mentioned in no. 115, not inscribed; also Muscarella 1980: 33; Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 110, 134, Z1-Z7). More examples surface, and should be ignored: Christie's July 3, 1996, nos. 491, 492.

Recently, in *Iran* (XXXIII, 1995: 149–153) there appeared an article "A Silver Bowl of Artaxerxes I," by J. Curtis, et al., wherein it was demonstrated that three silver bowls bearing the inscription of Artaxerxes I were tested by various means. They were all determined to be genuine Achaemenian artifacts, because of metallurgical analysis, an acceptance that the cuneiform is correct, and because the weight conforms to the correct ancient proportions.[24]

Vessels

1. A handled jug fluted body, silver, Adam collection (Christies December 2, 1969, no. 188; *Moorey 1974a: 185, no. 182; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 100). A copy of Dalton 1926: pl. VII, 2. Moorey cites the purity of the silver content but the sharp points of the fluting are disturbing.

2. A horizontally fluted beaker with a row of ram heads in the round along the rim, gold, Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts Centre, Teheran, illustrated in *The Art of the*

Achaemenians, stolen, see Interpol Bulletin of January 7, 1982 (*Muscarella 1979: 8, no. 8). For an Achaemenian fluted beaker see *Traci* no. 141/2.

3. A cup shaped vessel depicting four lions walking left, heads in the round, and with a lobed lower border, gold, "D. Boris" (Rabenou) collection (*Sept Mille* no. 672, pl. LXI; Ghirshman 1961a: 31 top; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 114).

4. A vessel similar to the above but narrower and shorter, also decorated with lions walking to the left, and surely made in the same factory, silver ("very patinated" when purchased), European private collection. P 339

5. A vertically fluted vase with a frieze of backward-looking lions, silver, collection particulière (*Trésors* no. 636, pl. 49; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 101). Compare this vessel to Ziwiye No. 38, below. P 340

6. A thin fluted vessel with three caprid fore parts at the base, silver, ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia. A crude copy of the stone "Scrap Basket" above, Animal Sculpture No. 2. P 341

7. A beaker shaped vessel with two or more rams' heads at the base; gold or silver, ex-Kevorkian.

8. A beaker with vertically fluted surface, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's November 24, 1986, no. 293, "earlier 20th century, of Achaemenid inspiration....").

9. A chalice or mortar form vessel on a high base, decorated with two incised bands, one with lions striding left, below it caprids striding left, below that a row of drooping buds, bronze, New York dealer. The worst kind of workmanship; the vessel may be old, but not ancient. P 342

10. A short, istikhan shaped vessel decorated with winged felines striding left, bronze, French based dealer, 1963. P 343

11. A vessel with incurved sides decorated with a row of caprids, framed by a crude guilloche and floral pattern, silver, Sotheby's London, December 12, 1983: no. 102 (*Löw 1993: 38, n. 16 – listed as a Marlik forgery).

12. A beaker with four walking one-horned animals not from this planet, silver, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's December 2, 1988, no. 452).

13. A plain chalice-shaped gold vessel, called Achaemenian for convenience, not for style or because of its age; it is clearly of recent manufacture, Leiden (van den Boorn 1983: 71, fig. 86).

Animal Head Protomes

1. Animal (calf?, goat?) head, pierced flanged collar, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's May 29, 1987: no. 320, "...earlier 20th century, in the Achaemenid manner...."). P 344

2. Feline head, pierced flanged collar, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's November 24, 1986, no. 292, "earlier 20th century, in Achaemenid style...."). P 345

3. Griffin head, flanged collar, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's June 15, 1988, no. 411, "lst half of the 20th century" AD).

4. Lion head fragment, flanged collar, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's December 2, 1988, no. 448, "first half of the 20th century" AD).

5. Lion head, silver alloy, ex-Paris dealer (1964), Gluck collection (*The World of Persian Pottery*, no. 170), and of course from Hamadan.

6. Bull forepart protome, bronze, collection particulière (*Trésors* no. 655, pl. 60; *Muscarella 1977b, no. 149). P 346

7. Ram forepart protome, bronze, Privatbesitz (Amandry 1959a: 892, figs. 1–3; *Kunstschätze* no. 863, opposite p. 56; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 151).[25]

8. Caprid head, bronze, ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia. P 346

9. Ibex forepart, bronze, ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia. P 347

10. Ibex head, bronze, Reza Abassi Cultural and Arts Centre, Teheran, illustrated in *The Art of the Achaemenians*. From the proportions I suspect that the piece is probably not ancient.[26]

11. Addorsed bull foreparts, broken at the center, gold, Devray collection. Published in Israel as a post card and illustrated on a national postage stamp (as was Animal Headed Vessels No. 33, above) – another foolish example of favoring the unexcavated over the excavated. Compare a pair of gold backward-looking caprids in Berlin that Otto (1944: 13 ff., Abb. 1, 2) thinks may be from the hilt of a dagger (see above, Achaemenian Animal Sculpture, no. 11); I cannot judge the Berlin examples. P 348

12. Raptor head, gold, Devray Collection. P 349

13. Lion head, gold, Devray Collection. P 350

14. Lion head, gold, ex-Kolleck Collection, Hotel Drouot November 9, 1995, no. 116.

Socketed Animal Headed Finials

Not a single example of this form of object has to my knowledge been excavated; all known examples derive from the antiquities market. Equally, not one compels acceptance as an ancient artifact. Nevertheless, the possibility that there may be ancient models among them cannot be rejected: but if so, from which culture? And what are they? – they are usually made of gold and are often called whetstone handles. I list the examples known to me; there are probably more. Some dealers and scholars label similar forms as Achaemenian or as from Qaplantu/Ziwiye (see below), with corresponding chronologies: another example of the freedom to declare one's culture of choice.

1, 2. Two examples, one terminating in a ram, the other in a feline head, gold, Borowski; first published by Amandry (1958b: 1139, fig. 2), and then published in the travelling exhibitions of alleged ancient Iranian art (*Muscarella 1977b: nos. 118, 119).

3. Feline head, the tube has rows of granulations (?), gold, Lauber collection (Sept Mille no. 693, pl. LXVII: 3; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 120).

4. Gazelle head, with elaborately decorated hair patterns, the rim has a cord-bordered guilloche, gold, Teheran Archaeological Museum 7749 (*7000 Years* no. 452, listed as from Hamadan, also by Huot 1965: pl. 52).

5. A piece not dissimilar to the above, gold, first published in an exhibition held in the Musée Cernuschi, *Iran* (1948): 37, no. 58, as Achaemenian, and in *Trésors* no. 598, pl. 50 (with different measurements, but surely the same object), as from Ziwiye, and pre-Achaemenian (*Muscarella 1977b: 180, note 81 – there treated as two examples because of the published measurement differences).

6, 7, 8. Three gold examples from the art market, all rams; two are decorated at the socket with granulated triangles and seem to form a pair; the third has elaborate granulated decoration on the tube. P 351

9. Lion head and thin, grooved tube, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's December 2, 1988, no. 447 "...first half of the 20th Century."

10. Ex-Chrysler Art Museum, antelope-like head (C. G. Sloan catalogue, 11/29-12/2, 1979: no. 1978).

11. I also believe that the gold lion headed example once in the Schimmel collection may not be ancient (C. K. Wilkinson in Muscarella 1974a: no. 160).

12. Can the gold example published in Christie, Manson, October 19, 1970, no. 70 be ancient? Note the molding of the horn curl and the eyebrows.

Bracelets, Armrings

Fortunately, a fairly large number of excavated Achaemenian bracelets, many of gold and silver, are available (Muscarella 1977b: 195); there is a viable corpus to study. There is also a large number of examples, mostly gold, from the antiquities market; some seem to be genuine (for example the gold bracelet in Karlsruhe: Muscarella 1977b: 195; see also Pfrommer 1990b: Abb. 116 for genuine plundered examples – but many supplied with false proveniences), others appear to be forgeries, while still others remain difficult to evaluate. It is well known (but not to most scholars) that modern bracelets in Achaemenian style were (are) openly manufactured in Iran and often sold as copies (for a public reference see J. and S. Gluck 1977: 176); and some bazaar examples have neither *stylistic* nor character parallels that objectively relate them to the Achaemenian period. Probably more forgeries exist than are registered here, but without autopsy (which may not help in all cases), it is difficult to proceed further.[27] Given the large number of excavated examples one should forage in the antiquity bazaars slowly and cautiously.

1. Rilled gold arc with separate lapis lazuli feline terminals, Cincinnati Art Museum (Kantor 1957b: 16 f., fig. 9; Pfrommer 1990: 335, T 44; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 122; Rehm 1992: 57, A.34). This and the following two examples are clearly related.

2. The arc is rilled except for the inner surface, which is smooth, feline terminals, gold, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: no. 151; *Muscarella 1977b:no.129; Pfrommer 1990: 339 TA 99 – "Vorachämenidisch?"; Rehm 1992: 57, A.37). Maxwell-Hyslop (1971) considers this piece to be "topologically" – whatever that means – later than Nos. 1 and 3 here.

3. Rilled arc with feline terminals, gold, ex-Rabenou, Teheran Archaeological Museum (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: XXI, 196, no. 149b: Pfrommer 1990: 336, TA 59; Rehm 1992: 57, A.36). Maxwell-Hyslop dates this piece earlier than the other scholars do, to the 8th-7th centuries B.C. – because dealers claimed it for Amlash? P 352

4. Rilled arc with feline terminals, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's November 24–25, 1987, no. 400, "probably Persian, early 20th Century" AD).

5. Detached feline terminals seemingly from a bracelet, gold, Cincinnati Art Museum (Kantor 1957b: 15 f., figs. 7, 8; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 123). They were acquired at the same time (and from the same dealer) as the gold and lapis bracelet (above, No. 1), and accepted as an example of the same bracelet class.

6. Arc decorated by grooves and circles, dog-like heads as terminals, gold, Japanese collection (*Tanabe 1982: 36, top).

7. Grooved arc with feline terminals, below which is a grooved beveled section, gold, Abegg Stiftung, "from Hamadan" (*Abegg Stiftung* no. 11; Stettler, Otavsky 1973: pl. 5; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 124; *Rehm 1992: 17, note 28).

8. Ram headed terminals, silver, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Geneva (*SPA* IV, pl. 122 H; *Trésors* no. 643, pl. 54; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 128; Pfrommer 1990: 347, TA 173; Rehm 1992: 32, note 171, A.95). When one compares this bracelet's heads to similar-headed animals on excavated examples, viz. Amandry 1958a: figs 28, 30 (from Cyprus); also the heads of figs. 21, 22 (from Cyprus), 24, and Rehm 1992: A. 89, A.90, A.91, A. 92, one must be suspicious.

9. Ram headed terminals, gold, Borowski (*Marseilles* no. 298; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 127; Pfrommer 1990: 344, TA 148; Rehm 1992: 22, A.54).

10. Ram headed terminals, gold, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's June 15, 1988, no. 417, "lst half of the 20th Century" AD).

11. The arc is formed of beaded segments with ram head terminals, gold, Teheran Archeological Museum. Ghirshman 1964a: 113, fig. 148 published this piece as coming from Ziwiye, and was unhesitatingly followed by scholars who accordingly dated it to the 8th or 7th century B.C. To the question why the piece is ancient, I get no answer (it doesn't speak to me!). I think we see an attempt to create either an Achaemenian style or generic Iranian bracelet. Rehm 1992: 24 (also p. 21) uses this example (A. 62) to demonstrate the problems art historians encounter when dating ancient bracelets (since she knows the bracelet derived "aus Ziwiye," it is thus ancient). She argues that one can recognize both archaic (i.e. pre-Achaemenian) and Achaemenian stylistic features – but the latter being the latest prevails, as every archaeologist knows, and the piece is catalogued accordingly (what problems this creates for the chronology of "Ziwiye" is not confronted). Pfrommer (1992: 345, TA 152), on the other hand, believes it is "Vorachämenidisch." Will anyone consider New Achaemenian?

12. A silver example similar to No. 11, above, and equally to be treated with reserve, private collection, Kevorkian? (*Ancient Art in American Private Collections* no. 117; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 130; Pfrommer 1990: 345, TA 151).

13. A recurved arc with calf head terminals, gold, Leff Collection (Sotheby's Parke Bernet November 20–21, 1975, no. 59; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 126). The animal heads are uncertain, the arc is thinner than usual, and the recurve looks incorrectly executed.

14. Bull (?) headed terminals, gold. First offered for sale by Hapsburg, Feldman, Geneva, May 14, 1990, no. 262, then by Taisei Gallery, New York, November 5, 1992, no. 138. This is a puzzling piece, but the unformed heads bother me – are they bulls or as both catalogues call them, goats? The gold seems to be flaking – from base metal?

15. Winged griffin forepart terminals, with recurved arc, gold, Jill Sackler collection, published in an advertisement (T. S. Kawami) for an exhibition *Jewels of the Ancients*, Royal Academy of Arts, May 1-June 28, 1987, no. 81. The execution of the heads does not look ancient Near Eastern.

16. Closed bracelet with two reclining and lifeless boars resting on the upper section, gold, offered to a museum in the western United States in 1983.

17. Two feline head terminals, gold, offered for sale in 1983 to the same western United States museum as No. 16. They seem to have been made to be added to a bracelet.

18. A gold bracelet with a recurved arc, caprid terminals and granulated triangles, Sotheby & Co. July 12, 1971, no. 64, is surely, nay, obviously, modern: note the terrible execution of the animals' eyes, brows, nose, mouth, the sharpness of the incurve, and the surely modern granulation.

Within the corpus of Achaemenian jewelry there are gold bracelets or torques that have terminals in the form of a full animal body with extended rear legs, and a head in the round. I only know two examples of this class of artifact that have been excavated, a pair from Manisa in Anatolia (Rehm 1992: A.117). Ancient examples of a bracelet form and perhaps an armlet are part of the so-called "Oxus" group in the British Museum (Dalton 1926: nos. 116, 137; Rehm 1992: A.118), and a well preserved torque is represented in relief on a stone statue of one Ptah-hotep, purchased in Cairo, and now in the Brooklyn Museum (Cooney 1953: Figs. 1, 5; Muscarella 1980: 35 f., fig. 16). A number of unexcavated examples in existence should be approached cautiously.[28]

19. A gold and silver bracelet with caprid terminals, ex-Kevorkian (*Sotheby's November 24–25, 1987: no. 397 "early 20th Century" AD).

20. A gold bracelet with caprid terminals, City Art Museum, St. Louis (Culican 1965: pl. 68; *The St. Louis Art Museum Handbook* 1975: 30; *Muscarella 1979: 7, no. 1; *Pfrommer 1990: 343, TA 127; *Rehm 1992: 42, note 249).

21. A bracelet with recurved arc, calf head terminals, flaking gold; dealer? Details are crude.

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Appliqués, Bracteates

1, 2, 3. Three units of cut-out appliqués/bracteates, all exactly the same (except that their heights may be different), forming an ensemble consisting of two rampant ibexes flanking a tree. They are mechanically made – the animals are hanging corpses – and to one who looks they fail (not in the commercial sense, of course) to evoke Achaemenian gold workmanship.

At least three dealers were involved in their sale: one ensemble is in the Louvre, AO 22372 (*Trésors* no. 649, pl. 55; *Syria* XLV, 3/4, 1968, 262, fig. 3; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 146; idem 1994: 308; Rehm 1992: 194 f., and note 206, H.60); one is in Geneva (Zimmermann 1991, no. 34); and one is in Athens (M. Brouskare, *The Paul & Alexander Cannellopoulos Museum*, Athens, 1985: 33 f., nos. 443, 443a, 443b). All three examples were designed and made in the same successful factory, most probably the one that made some of the amphora animal handles listed above.[29]

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4. A small disc embellished with addorsed lion heads, and three loops at the back, gold, Mildenberg collection (Kozloff 1981: no. 30; Rehm 1992: 190, H.54 – an "einmaliges Stück" – we are pleased to know). In the original publication, the bunched manes are considered to depict a tree of life – which says something about the skill of the artisan. Disclosed with a straight face and no explanation is the art historical conclusion that the disc represents "an early stage in the decoration of gold bracteates," pre-figuring those examples all archaeologists know derived from Hamadan. In this assertive system of scholarship, the disc therefore could easily be dated "towards the end of the reign of Darius who died in 485 B.C." Compare the addorsed lions of Animal Sculpture, Nos. 11, 13 above.

5. A gold strip in the A. B. Martin collection is suspicious and warrants exclusion from the corpus of Achaemenian material (von Bothmer 1961: no. 44).

Very few bracteates from the Achaemenian period have been excavated (see Muscarella 1977b: 195, Clothing Ornaments; Rehm 1992: H.45–47), but a fairly large number of examples have surfaced over the years in the bazaars. I find it difficult to determine how many of these are ancient, for the common sense reason that none of the excavated examples resembles the few unexcavated ones.

Probably ancient are the examples of striding lions, and the side view lion heads with open-work mane (most with wire loops at the rear) housed in the Metropolitan Museum (Schmandt-Besserat 1978: nos. 79, 81), the Oriental Institute (Kantor 1957a: pls. III-VI), the Brooklyn Museum (see Figure 7), and Teheran (Ghirshman 1964a: figs. 548–549; see also Rehm 1992: H.42, 43, 44, 51, 52), but I do think that two examples of the side view lion head in Japan are modern:

6. Gluck collection (*The World of Persian Pottery* no. 174, "Hamadan").

7. *Tanabe 1982: 24.

8. This is another poorly made example where the mane is solid curls, gold, offered to a western museum in the United States in 1983. (And is the example in *Exhibition of Persian Art*, Tokyo 1971: no. 136 ancient?).

What is possible to conclude about the winged lion pair I mentioned in 1977b, no. 148? Can one ascertain the age of all the many depictions of back to back standing lions with turned back heads, framed within a circular unit? None conforms in style to the Achaemenian lions represented in other materials, nor does the motif exist in a single excavated context (see Mirrors below). For examples see Schmandt-Besserat 1978: no. 80; Kantor 1957a: pls. III, IX; Ghirshman 1964a: fig. 550; Rehm 1992: H.50 (cf. E.71). One unpublished example in the Seattle Art Museum seems grosser than the others because the two heads are unrelated, at least one looking like a canine.

The same problem with authentication exists for examples of two addorsed lions with one *en face* head (*Kunstschätze* no. 868, pl. 18a; Rehm 1992: 183 f., H.48 cites two forgeries [see below Median Art, No. 2, and Ziwiye, No. 1, her fig. 69] as parallels to demonstrate its antiquity and to indicate that the motif is not "einzigartig").

If the winged griffin within a circular unit in Chicago is genuine (Kantor 1957a: pls. III, VII, VIII, X, A), then surely an example in Japan is not:

9. *Tanabe 1982: 37, top.

10. Given the acquisition history of the so-called "Oxus Treasure" (Muscarella 1980: 26), we should pay attention to Dalton (1926: xvi, 19) who noted that some of the gold plaques assigned to that corpus might not be ancient: thus, is the example published by D. Collon *Ancient Near Eastern Art*, Br. Museum, 1995: fig. 147, right, to be accepted as ancient?

Surely not ancient is a horrible copy of the "Oxus" barsom-holder plaque offered by Christies December 12, 1996, no. 96.

Mirrors

No mirror is depicted in an Achaemenian representation, but one or two examples of probable Achaemenian date have been excavated (see above, Animal Sculpture No. 11 discussion; also plain silver examples recovered from western Turkey, I. Özgen et al., *The Lydian Treasure*, Republic of Turkey, 1996: 128, nos. 82, 83). Alleged examples are offered in the bazaar; of these, one presents a problem for scholars interested in Achaemenian culture: the ex-Schimmel example (Wilkinson in Muscarella 1974a: no. 154). There seems to be no doubt that the mirror itself is ancient. The problem lies with the addorsed back to back rampant lions, namely, whether they were made as one with the mirror, or were created later. Two laboratories maintained that the unit was made as one piece and is ancient (Muscarella 1977b: 183, note 84, and 196 ff.; see also Iran General Mirrors, below). However, we observe that the execution of the outside paws of the lions as well as of their mane looks unskilled, and there is a lack of excavated parallels for the general pose, which in part explains why it has been cited as comparanda to two forgeries (Rehm 1992: 186 f.; see Plates with Decorated Central Medallions, Nos. 6, 11 above). The question concerning the age of the mirror's decoration is still unanswered. I have no qualms about the other alleged Achaemenian mirrors known to me that are offered for sale: they are all modern–and are examples of the forger enriching the repertory of Achaemenian art.

1. A "beau Miroir," the circular enclosure filled with a winged feline in relief, Nouveau Drouot December 15–16, 1981, no. 87.

2. A circular bronze mirror decorated in the enclosure with two backward facing bulls separated by an elaborate tree, J. P. Barbier collection (*Trésors* no. 237, color plate I; *Bronzes iraniens* no. 24; *Calmeyer 1973: 113 f., note 87; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 147). Its vendor attributed the mirror to Luristan, but its maker intended it to be Achaemenian; in any event, the design at least is modern. The style is said to pre-figure Achaemenian art, an interpretation logically based on the scene's (poor) execution and bazaar provenience. Four other "Luristan" mirrors are mentioned in *Trésors* 79 f., nos. 235, 238, 239, 240, but are not illustrated.

For a related mirror forgery, see also under Ziwiye below, No. 18, which was arbitrarily assigned to Ziwiye, but could easily have been assigned to the Achaemenian period. P 355

I have no idea how to identify a bronze disc with a projecting human hand and a caprid head published by De Wael (1982: no. 351); he calls it a mirror and from the Achaemenian period–which makes no sense, although I have no suggestions about its age.

Miscellaneous Objects

1. Part of a gold strip depicting lions striding, right, ex-A. Bradley Martin, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1973.33.3 (von Bothmer 1961: no. 44. pls. 15, 102). Compare the similarly decorated gold strip in the British Museum, published as Median (Median Art No. 4, below); and the similarly decorated gold strip in the Metropolitan Museum listed there as from Ziwiye (below Ziwiye No.2). As noted, some forgers/dealers generously allow curators to choose among the cultural and chronological attributions they supply. And different choices are made by their customers. P 356

2. Plaque pierced at four corners incised with an Ahura Mazda figure in a disc, surrounded by two floating caprid heads and two backward looking winged sphinxes, bronze, Horiouchi/Shumei collection. A splattering of inexpertly conceived and executed motifs.

3. A crescent shaped object with incised design of a winged bull, bronze (Sotheby Parke Bernet May 19, 1979, no. 120); the metal object may be old.

4. "A magnificent Achaemenian shield with central umbo..." decorated with four felines in repoussé, bronze (Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980, no.259).

5. A bronze disc decorated with a series of raised nipples around the perimeter and four incised striding winged caprids. This object was offered to several museums in the 1970s; the disc may be old.

6. A bronze "mortar" decorated with three repoussé striding winged lions (Nouveau Drouot September 24, 1981, no. 140).

7. A short tubular object with the upper and lower of three registers decorated with felines striding right (*Marseilles* no. 206; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 144).

8. A fragment of a segmented round plaque preserving part of a winged bull and a border of rosettes, lapis lazuli, Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts Centre, Teheran illustrated in *The Art of the Achaemenians*.

9. A bronze strip 85 cm. long, 11 cm. wide, decorated with an incised row of striding winged bulls. It circulated among museums and collectors in the 1970s; the strip itself may be old.

10. This is a small gold strip that may be an attempt to duplicate an Achaemenian object; it is not ancient and should not have been defended against its own evidence, Adam collection (Moorey 1974a: no. 180; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 145).

11. An ivory plaque depicting two figures in a chariot; one figure shoots an arrow, the other holds the rein depicted in the form of a chain, Mahboubian (*Apollo* April 1981: 107). A poor attempt to imitate Assyrian or genre Near Eastern art, but called Achaemenian by the vendor.

12. An akinakes scabbard depicting at the top four felines around an ombos, an unrecognizable animal in the side area; on the vertical sheath there are, separated by a line, two rows of felines marching upward; and the chape is decorated with addorsed feline heads; gold, offered to a western United States museum in 1983. A poorly conceived and obvious forgery; for the addorsed heads see Achaemenian Animal Sculpture Nos. 11, 13, and Bracteates, No. 4, above, and Median No. 5, below.

13. A bronze Achaemenian-style stepped incense burner with triangular cut-outs and a cock at the apex is set on a tripod that has a bird on each leg, and three rampant felines at its top, which support the incense burner; bronze, Menil Collection, Houston, Texas 73–15 DJ (Melikian-Chirvani 1993: 123 f., figs. 16, 17). The ensemble is a pastiche, but it remains to be resolved whether the parts are independently genuine. The incense burner is classical Achaemenian (ibid. figs. 11–5, 18); and the tripod pastiche is an old friend – see Luristan Pastiches, Nos. 22–24. And note the partial parallel of the stand to an example excavated in a tomb near Arjan in Khuzistan in southern Iran (Alizadeh 1985: 53, fig. 4, 60 f.), which has six rampant lions at its top; its base is different from the present example. The tomb is dated by Alizadeh to the first half of the 8th century B. C., surely too early; it is to be dated sometime before or after 600 B.C. (Curtis 1995: 21 f.).

Melikian-Chirvani says the ensemble is "entirely original" from an "independent school of metalworking," which are correct observations: however, it is not the only independent school that is producing original objects for the modern world. P 357

14. A bronze spoon handle with the front terminating in a duck's head projecting from a lion's mouth, and the handle unit forming a loop terminating in a calf's head, Bach collection (*Bronzes de la Perse*, no. 183). The piece was surely copied directly from the silver example ex-Schimmel, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.31 (Wilkinson in Muscarella 1974a: no. 158), as is indicated by the badly executed heads and the mechanical grooves above the animals' heads; note also the calf's head bulging into, rather than resting against, the molding.

15. A silver belt in the Ashmolean Museum was originally published by Moorey 1967: 91 ff., pls. II, III, as post-Achaemenian in date. In *Iran* VII 1969: 155 Moorey recognized the belt to be a modern forgery and retracted his previous endorsement (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 57).

16. I am sure that there has been active counterfeiting of Achaemenian coinage. The problem for the non-specialist is control of the variety of quality, for the figures represented on Achaemenian coinage are crude if judged by other Achaemenian standards. (I wonder if forgeries have slipped into the realm by innocent numismatists who continuously publish what they call hoards: but which are in fact assemblages manipulated by dealers and not hoards). I offer but one example for review: is a *siglos* (silver coin) in Leiden published by van den Boorn 1983: 95, fig. 133 ancient?

What of seals? They warrant more study than I can give, but two seals recently published by J. Boardman in *Iran* XXXVI, 1998: 3 f., 10, especially bother me. No. 10.4, Fig. 3 depicts a seated and a standing figure flanking a table laden with strange objects, and a carved, surely defective, name vertically placed. No. 18.1, pl. I, 4 depicts a nude (Greek?) male fighting a clothed Persian over a female shrieking between them. Boardman explicitly accepts both as ancient, even defending No. 10.4 precisely because of the aberrations he documents – an inexplicable and wrong methodology that accepts, priviliges, the unexcavated aberrant against the excavated evidence. No. 10.4 had previously been obliquely challenged by M. Poetto and S. Salvatori, *La Collezione anatolica di. E. Borowski* [actually, Lands of the Bible collection], Pavia, 1981, 44 f., "A condizione che l'oggetto sia genuino ...." They also discuss the linguistic problem associated with the inscribed name.

17. Inscriptions: R. Borger and H. R. Uhlemann, "Ein neues achämenidisches Schwert," *BibOr* XX, 1/2, 1963: 3–5 claim against the evidence – unparalleled errors in script – that the name Darius inscribed on a much earlier dated sword is ancient (cf. Calmeyer 1969: 137, 167, no. 92). R. Schmitt, "Ein weiterer Bronze dolch mit 'achaimenidischer' Inschrift," *AMI* 22, 1989: 345–347, maintains the same, also against the evidence, for another inscribed sword – he recognizes the inscription is added but suggests this could have occurred in the 4th century B.C. (see also Muscarella 1988a: 283 f., n. 4, and 301, n. 5).

For discussion of other forgeries of Achaemenian inscription see R. Kent, *Old Persian*, 2nd edition, New Haven 1953: 115, "Spurious Inscriptions;" and Addenda, 218, 113b.

R. Schmitt (*AMI* 28, 1995: 269–273) also discusses again an old problem. For years I have been intrigued by a gold tablet allegedly commissioned by Darius I and giving his genealogy (see *From the Lands of the Bible*, no. 381), which surfaced in the bazaar about 1960; it was offered for sale over some years by three dealers (but all partners of one dealer). Aside from some printed references (noted by Schmitt) there has been much private discussion, wherein a number of scholars have doubted the tablet's authenticity, but expressing some insecurity on the matter and noting the text's sophistication. Schmitt now argues forcibly that it is a modern creation, but oddly believes that the tablet is ancient.

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For a forged inscribed silver tablet allegedly of Darius II that was copied from one or more original texts, see S. Shaked and H. Tadmor "Spurious Epigraphy," in *BullAsiaInst* 4, 1990: 273 ff. fig. 5. Note that both the gold and silver tablets discussed here were said by dealers to have come from Hamadan (see Muscarella 1980: 31 ff.). A question surfaces: was there not scholarly involvement in the creation of some of these forged inscriptions?

Median Art

In a study (1987) addressing the problem of identifying specific artifacts and a certain style as evidence of Median artistic production, I argued that objects alleged to be Median in culture and chronology are in fact either Achaemenian (genuine) in date, or modern forgeries. In the latter case, the forgers, who knew nothing about Median art, intended the works to be Achaemenian in style. In this goal they failed. But coming to their rescue, scholars ingenuously interpreted the works to be evidence of earlier artistic activity, dating them to the pre-Achaemenian period (rather than post-, and much later: see Muscarella 1977b: 183 f.; 1987, esp. pp. 123 ff.; also 1994). The aberrations in style and execution, and ambience, between the object (the forgery) and Achaemenian art were noted, but invariably interpreted by an intuitive leap to be a characteristic of what we should expect in pre-Achaemenian art; and thus this art historical insight allows one to make a great discovery. In the literature different writers sometimes attribute similar kinds of forgeries to either Achaemenian or pre-Achaemenian workshops. Resolution is determined by a principle of bazaar archaeology that demands that, if the dealers' site "Ziwiye" is brought into the discussion of any quasi-Achaemenian object, one declares it to be pre-Achaemenian (cf. Achaemenian Socketed Animal Headed Finials, Nos. 5 and 11, above).

The modern recovery of Median art offers a neat example of the methodology of bazaar archaeology and its contributions to scholarship. But I continue to argue – because there is still no contrary evidence – that no western Iranian artifact or iconography can at present be identified with surety to have been made by Medes. All "Median art" attributions have been based on subjective assertions or meaningless art historical analyses.[30]

1. A short carinated amphora, decorated in repoussé with palm motifs at the rim, a panel of confronting winged felines below, a lobed and fluted lower section, and handles in the form of Janus headed caprids, gold, Cincinnati Art Museum, 1956.82 (Ghirshman 1964: 96, fig. 125; Lukonin 1986: 36; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 152; *idem 1979: 4; *idem 1987: 123 f., note 55; *idem 1994: 64, for discussion and an incomplete list of references to some of the many scholars who have accepted and welcomed this modern pastiche of several Achaemenian formal motifs and ideas; *Calmeyer 1972: 66; *Abidi 1994: 30, fig. 11). The present curator in Cincinnati recognizes this piece to be a forgery.

The vessel has been called "magnificent," the technique what "we have come to expect in Achaemenid work" (Kantor 1957b: 18), an observation based on the Achaemenian-form animal handles, which, however, she acknowledged are "unparalleled"; an example "convincingly ... showing Median workmanship" (Porada 1965: 140); and "ein charakteristischer Vertreter der vorpersischen Kunst" (Akurgal 1968: 123).[31] Kantor (ibid.18 ff.) seemed to prefer a Median background, but left open the question whether in fact it was Median or Achaemenian. It was Barnett (1962: 78) who baptized the vessel as Median (bringing along with it No.4, below); he was followed by Ghirshman, Culican, Porada, Akurgal, etc., all interpreting the deviations in one chronological direction, the wrong one. P 359

2. A carinated amphora bordered at the top with a guilloche, under which is horizontal fluting, then a frieze of two pair of confronting felines, each sharing one head, and more fluting below, with feline handles, gold, ex-Kevorkian; (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 153; *idem 1987: 124; Lukonin 1986: 33, 36: "nordwestiran"; *Sotheby's May 29, 1987, no. 321, "early 20th Century" AD; Rehm 1992: 184, note 92; *Abidi 1994: 30, fig. 14). In its earlier publications (viz. *Sept Mille* no. 159; *Kunstschätze* no. 83) it was listed as from Luristan, Median?, and 7th century B.C. in date; the Median cultural and chronological attributions were followed in subsequent publications. Compare Ziwiye, below, No. 1. H. J. Kantor in *Iran* XV (1977): 14, note 16, joins this example and No. 1 above (and others) to form witness to the Median and Achaemenian continuity of an early animal handled vessel excavated at Choga Mish.[32] P 360

3. A fluted bowl with a rosette on the outside center, decorated on the inside with two facing, rampant and crossed felines, silver, Ashmolean Museum (it was originally published by Moorey 1971: 313 f. no. 539 as genuine, but later he realized the motif was modern, see *Muscarella 1977b: no. 154; *idem 1987: 124; *Abidi 1994: 30, fig. 13). Unfortunately, some scholars still accept it as ancient, viz. Genito 1986: 30 f.; Rehm 1992: 121, note 617: "fruhen (?) Achämenidischen;" Alizadeh 1985: 62, fig. 8H cited it as genuine but was warned off by Moorey, see page 68, Addendum.

As noted in the Achaemenian section, the motif of back-to-back felines was often accepted as a genuine Achaemenian motive, but sometimes an example was intuited to have been created earlier, because it just didn't look quite Achaemenian. P 361

4. Fragment of a plaque depicting a winged lion striding right, framed by guilloche bands, gold, British Museum 132219 (Barnett 1962: 78, pl. I, a; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 165; *idem 1977a: 211; *idem 1987: 124; Rehm 1992: 200, fig. 81; *Abidi 1994: 30, fig. 12). Barnett cited this forgery as a parallel to the Cincinnati forgery, No. 1 above, accepting both as ancient Median works. Compare this strip to the one called Achaemenian in the Metropolitan Museum, Achaemenian Miscellaneous No. 1, above, and to an example said by dealers and scholars to have derived from Ziwiye, below, Ziwiye No. 2.

5. A dagger hilt consisting of addorsed lapis lazuli lion heads above a hollow gold shaft decorated with three rosettes, British Museum 135908: published only as a postcard in 1977: "Median or Early Achaemenian, c. 7th–6th centuries BC" (*Muscarella 1987: 124). Compare the addorsed feline heads on a pommel, Achaemenian Animal Sculpture No. 11 (cf. No. 15); for an akinakes see Achaemenian Miscellaneous No. 12. P 362

6. A fragmented white marble head of a bearded male, executed with hair curls vaguely reminiscent of Achaemenian art, in particular the head of a Persepolis bull-man capital block (Schmidt 1953: fig. 550), Louvre AO 21966 (*Muscarella 1987: 124 and note 60; *Abidi 1994: 31, fig. 15). Its publisher, A. Parrot, with support from P. Amiet ("Tete royale achéménide (?)," *Syria* 44, 1967: 247–251), presented a canonical example of a Museum Ritual analysis for attaining historical and chronological knowledge: a symbiosis of scholarly cooperation with both the forger's incompetence and the bazaar's skill forges ancient history.

First one begins with the donnée that the head is ancient, a clean and direct method

that avoids being bogged down in the difficult matters that research entails. Then one accepts another donnée as knowledge of the real world, that the ancient artifact derived from Hamadan; this direct method allows one to avoid the only known fact about the head, namely that it was purchased in a Swiss bazaar. Some sophisticated analyses of stylistic details are then presented, which in this case indicate that the head both reflects and deviates from characteristic Achaemenian art. Linking together the Hamadan provenience with the analysis brought the curators to the unfaltering and logical conclusion that they were confronting not an Achaemenian, but a pre-Achaemenian, a Median work (hence the ? in the title), which is all the more compelling because Amiet (250, fig. 2) believed that the head looked like a Mede on an Assyrian relief (also Spycket 1981: 395). In the world of real knowledge, the identification of the figure on an Assyrian relief as a Mede is simply a made-up bad guess – but in any event there is no similarity in the first place. The whole discussion is archaeologically insignificant, or worse; but it doesn't matter, for more significant museum-model issues are present, brought forth in the manner of a parody on a Molière play.

Invoking the museum model enabled the curators to decipher the message, and it further enabled them to attain the perception that the head could be a portrait of a Median king, either Cyaxares or Astyages.

However, that this museum-analysis model is a pragmatic, not a closed system is documented by a note published by A. Parrot in *La Revue du Louvre* 1967, 2: 90, the same year as the *Syria* article, and with the same title – but minus the ?. Parrot there instructs us that the great workmanship of this head, now recognized as Achaemenian, suggests that among all the known kings, one "nous semble s'imposer: Darius Ier...." There is no mention of Medes, or of the article in *Syria* written in a Median mood. Spycket (1981: 394 f.) also accepted this "belle tête" as genuine; she too rejected the Median attribution and accepted the second, reflective, opinion of Parrot, recognizing a portrait of Darius.[33] The head is reported to be a "Don des Amis du Louvre," which makes one struggle not to respond with a quip (the Louvre has many similar "gifts" from friends).

Subsequently, the head was reproduced and a cast was displayed in the Metro Louvre station. There is also good news: Annie Caubet removed the head from exhibition when she became chief of the Department in 1988, and stopped the sale of the reproductions; progress may be slow but sometimes it exists. 2P 363

7. A marble relief depicting a lion killer who is followed by two cohorts, embarrassingly modern, but "from Hamadan district, 8.7c B.C. (Media or Mannai)." Gallery Mikazuki catalogue, Japan 1977, no. 18 (*Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 8).

8. Two bronze and one gold short strips, each with terribly executed scratches of a figure, Foroughi Collection, are both, according to the archaeology of Ghirshman (1964b: 90) "provenant du Luristan," and depict the same ritual as on the so-called Oxus examples. Further, if I understand him correctly, the strips date to the Median period.

Calmeyer (1964: 54 f., no. 116) describes a small gold loop with feline terminals as "Ein Vorläufer der bekannten achaimenidschen" animal headed bracelets. Whether the object is ancient is not manifest (but it is unrelated to the excavated bracelet from Marlik to which Calmeyer compares it, and has no archaeological value).

Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu

These two sites – said to be about 5 km. distant from each other – can be considered together, for the dealers have successfully played with the minds of the purchasing community by assigning wares as coming either from one site or the other. Sometimes dealers determined the crucial site-specific distinctions: this piece came from Ziwiye, but this one came from nearby Qaplantu; some pieces from either site reflected the same culture and period of time, while others did not. Ziwiye of course has been designated the site of choice of hundreds of objects. And to speak the truth, since so many scholars accepted the proveniences given in the bazaars of New York, Zürich, Geneva, Paris, London, Teheran, etc., it is unfair to blame solely the dealers for the deception (on Ziwiye problems see Muscarella 1977a).

The forgery of provenience is compounded by the acceptance of forged objects as ancient artifacts derived from the two sites;[34] these forgeries from forged sites exist alongside many genuine artifacts assigned to the sites. A conception that "Ziwiye" is an archaeological site that yielded a recognizable deposit of hundreds of sumptuous artifacts seems still deeply implanted in modern studies (see Muscarella 1994: 64; add to those indicated Goldman 1989; Rehm 1992: passim).[35]

Some of the sumptuous art said by dealers and scholars to have derived from the two sites are listed here; they actually derived from modern factory sites, probably in Iran. The earliest "Ziwiye" forgeries began to appear in the early 1950s, soon after 1947 when plundering apparently occurred at Ziwiye. Some forgeries were surely meant by their makers to be accepted as Achaemenian art, but they chanced to surface at a time when "Ziwiye" was the designated style for the serious collector, forcing dealers to switch labels.

1. Two joining, cut fragments of a gold truncated plaque with representations of a tree above, below which are two rampant winged felines sharing one head and placed above a plant, Metropolitan Museum of Art 51.131.1, 54.171. The plaque was purchased in two pieces three years apart and from the same dealer, who discovering that they joined was guaranteed a second sale. The two purposely broken fragments established a verisimilitude that they had been found by peasants who divided the loot, a situation existing for genuine material attributed to Ziwiye. For the motif, compare Median, above, No. 2. (Wilkinson 1955: 216; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 156, ill. 7; idem 1979: 4, no. 26; *idem 1977a: 211, no. 1; idem 1995b: 308; Rehm 1992: 184, fig. 69. E. M. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, Grand Rapids, 1982: 73 ff., rejects Muscarella 1977a and accepts Ghirshman's vision; he cites this plaque, fig. 12, as from Ziwiye). The plant is typical "Ziwiye." P 364

2. A fragment of a gold strip depicting addorsed winged bulls framing a tree, with a guilloche border, Metropolitan Museum of Art 55.122.2. This strip was said by its donor to have come from Ziwiye; the donor of the strip listed above as Achaemenian, Miscellaneous No. 1, however, said his gift was an Achaemenian piece. Both objects were then catalogued and published according to the received information. They were probably made in the same or adjoining factories, where I suggest the forgers probably intended them to be either Achaemenian or generic Iranian antiquities. P 364

3. Two sides of a vertical tapering "sheath", decorated with crossed ibexes above a tree, and various filling ornaments, gold, Metropolitan Museum of Art 55.122.3a, b, c; gift of Kevorkian (Wilkinson 1956, 77 f. "found in Zawiyeh"; *Muscarella 1979: 10, no. 2). P 365

4. A cut off sheet of gold foil decorated with horizontal rows of confronting felines, each pair becoming more attenuated from the preserved top to the bottom row, with fillers of plant motifs, University Museum, Philadelphia, gift of Kevorkian (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 155; *idem 1977a: 211); cf. No. 5 below. P 366

5. Top part of a cut-off gold tapering sheet, with confronting felines at the top frame, and confronting stags below, the same form as No. 4, above, and probably made in the same "Ziwiye" factory, ex-Kevorkian (present whereabouts unknown). P 367

6. A rectangular gold plaque depicting two rampant winged felines framing a tree, ex-Kevorkian (*Sept Mille* no. 527; Culican 1965: pl. 24; *Calmeyer 1973: 114, note 88; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 165; *idem 1977a: 211; *Sotheby's November 24, 1986, no. 291, "earlier 20th Century, in the style of Ziwiye...."). Culican (244) believed that the style "prefigures that of Achaemenid lions." P 368

7. A vertical, cut-off gold strip depicting a figure spearing a rampant lion, framed with "Ziwiye" plants like those of No. 1 above, Cincinnati Art Museum 1953.64 – where it is now recognized as a forgery (Kantor 1957b: 8, 13, fig. 1; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 163; Negahban 1983: 14); see No. 25 below. P 369

8. An oval shaped gold plaque depicting three figures spearing two lions, from the same factory as No. 7 above, Cincinnati Art Museum 1953.65 – where it is now recognized as a forgery (Kantor 1957b: 11, 13, fig. 2; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 164; *idem 1977a: 211).

9. A gold strip depicting two crossed lions surely made by a provincial, inexpert craftsman, who even weathered the piece sloppily, Cincinnati Art Museum 1963.402. P 370

10. A gold strip depicting a tree, a sphinx, and a griffin, purporting to be a fragment of the well-known trapezoidal pectoral from "Ziwiye," Oriental Institute, Chicago A 30796 (see H. Kantor in *JNES* XIX, 1, 1960: pl. 1); for analysis of its failures see *Muscarella 1977b: no. 162 bis: compare it to Godard 1950: figs. 16, 17, 20, 21 – and note that the Chicago fragment has the wrong sequence of figures.

11, 12, 13. Three fragments of gold strips depicting walking winged felines and two figures flanking a tree, gold, art market 1955 (Amandry 1966: 120 ff., Pl. XXV, fig. 5; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 165; *idem 1977a: 211). The mechanical nature of the execution was correctly noted by Amandry (122).

14, 15. In 1983 a dealer offered to a major western United States museum two rectangular gold strips from "Ziwiyeh". Depicted in relief on one are two backward looking sphinxes flanking a rosette, and on the other two downward-looking caprids overlooking a plant exactly like those of Nos. 1 and 7 above; both are very crudely executed.

16. A gold plaque like the others from "Ziwiye", here depicting two genii flanking a tree and approached at the right by other winged figures. The 20th century AD artisan who made this piece was still learning his craft when executing the arms and hands, wings, clothing, tree branches; dealer, present whereabouts unknown. P 371

17. A bronze tondo depicting in a circle six running bulls, Teheran Archaeological Museum (Calmeyer 1973: 141 f., Abb. 117; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 73; *idem 1977c: 79). In two previous publications, the object was published as from Luristan; the tondo itself may be ancient (date?).

18. A bronze mirror, possibly ancient, with a modern embellishment of four incised bulls, Christies March 4, 1969, no. 165; *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 11; it was on the art market since at least 1962. For the "Ziwiye" model for this and the previous example, see Godard 1950: fig. 104–106. P 372

19–23. Five gold discs decorated with the same scene, a central hero mastering felines, surrounded by wires and lozenge granulations: in the Metropolitan Museum 59.103.3 (photo); Nelson-Atkins Museum 60–19, *Handbook Nelson Gallery*: 12, and *Collon 1996: 15, pl. 20; the Teheran Archaeological Museum, Huot 1965: pl. 150; Berg Collection, *Man Came This Way* no. 18; the Brooklyn Museum 70.142.9 (see Figure 7). They are sometimes attributed to Qaplantu (viz. Seidl 1968: 345, g). Examples listed in *Trésors* no. 622, and in *Kunstschätze* no. 856 are attributed to Ziwiye. These may be identical to one of the pieces listed here, but they cannot be the Metropolitan or the Kansas City examples.

One (or more?) may be ancient, the others copies, but all share stylistic problems– the insecure human figures, the strange feline heads and bodies, heavy and appearing to have been cast – the surface of the MMA example is in relief, the back is flat; some seem to have genuine granulations and wire (*Muscarella 1977b: 185, note 86; *idem 1977a: 212). Collective examination is needed in one laboratory. P 372

24. A horse nose guard (?), bronze, engraved/incised with flying and heraldic animals (Nouveau Drouot December 15, 16, 1981, no. 84). The guard may be genuine, a plain example similar to Godard 1950: figs. 96–98.

25. A bronze situla with an added genre Ziwiye scene of a figure spearing a lion (see Nos. 7, 8 above) and a Ziwiye tree, Metropolitan Museum of Art 62.78.3 (Wilkinson 1963: 282, fig. 14; Mazzoni 1977: 156, pl. XXIV, N 1; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 162, ill. 8; *idem 1977a: 211; *idem 1988a: no. 499). P 373

26. A bronze situla with added scenes of felines hunting stags, dealer, 1958, attributed to Ziwiye. P 374

27. A bronze situla with an added scene of kneeling caprids flanking a tree, dealer, 1963, attributed to Ziwiye. P 374

28. A bronze situla with the added scene of badly conceived *en face* horned upright creatures/animals, Israeli dealer (Robert Deutsch, Archaeological Center, Auction no. 13, September 21, 1994, no. 279).

The above four plundered situlae were surely recovered plain, which disappointed the dealers. To increase their market value designs were added, a typical practice with undecorated material. Plain situlae from the art market of the same shapes as Nos. 24–27 exist (Moorey 1971: 268, fig. 23: 513). Note a situla of the same shape as those recorded here, and bearing an Assyrian-form siege scene excavated at Chamahzi-Mumah in Luristan: Vanden Berghe 1977: 60 f., color and regular photograph; idem 1983: figs. 53, 57, 58, 59: 19.

29. A finial in the form of a caprid protome, with granulated motifs on its body and along the rim of the rear opening, gold, "Privatbesitz" (*Kunstschätze* no. 848, illustrated opposite p. 40: 2; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 157; *idem 1977a: 211). The style arbiters could just as well have attributed this object to the Achaemenian period (see above, Achaemenian Finials).

30. Gold beaker decorated with walking caprids, their heads in high relief, "Privatbesitz" (Kunstschätze no. 849, p. 53; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 158; *idem 1977a: 211; *Low 1993: 38, n.16 – listed as a Marlik forgery).

31. Gold beaker decorated with plants placed in a criss-crossed section, "Privatbesitz" (*Kunstschätze* no. 851, pl. 32; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 159; *idem 1977a: 211).

32. Two caprids, one larger than the other, on a plinth; they have leashes on their necks, gold, Ch. Bernoulli (*Kunstschätze* no. 853, pl. 15; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 161; *idem 1977a: 211).

33. A cow with a collar, gold, Ch. Bernoulli (*Kunstschätze* no. 852, pl. 14; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 160; *idem 1977a: 211).

34. A ram-headed cup, with floral pattern around the rim, gold, ex-"Boris" collection, Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts Centre, Teheran illustrated in *A Collection of Iranian Artifacts* 1977, "Ghaflan Kuh" (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 166; *Calmeyer 1979: 199 f.). Here is another object arbitrarily attributed by dealers and scholars to one culture rather than to another; see Achaemenian Animal Headed Vessels, above, No. 32. P 375

35. Ram headed straight vessel, bronze (Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 104): "a beau rhyton," indicating that beauty exists in the eye of the beholder, here a government certified "Expert."

36. Gold finial, gazelle head, granulated lozenges at the rim of the opening, ex-Berg, Los Angeles County Art Museum, assigned to Qaplantu (*A Decade of Collecting* no. 4; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 168).

37. Gold finial, ram's head, granulated lozenges at the rim, "From Kaplantu, near Ziwiye," Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, (Ghirshman 1960: 550, fig. 4; *Handbook Nelson Gallery*: 12 (60–18); *Muscarella 1977b: no. 169). P 375

38. Silver jug with horizontal fluting and floral design on the neck, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (*Trésors* no. 619. pl. 46; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 170). Surely the forger was thinking Achaemenian (compare above Achaemenian Vessels No. 5). P 376

39. A gold bracelet attributed to Ziwiye looks modern, Cincinnati Art Museum 1953.68 (Kantor 1957b: 12, fig. 4; *Muscarella 1977a: 212). Note also the bracelet in the Teheran Archaeological Museum (*7000 Years* no. 434; Rehm 1992: A.62) discussed above, Achaemenian Bracelets No. 11, alternately called Achaemenian and Ziwiye.

40. A small ivory plaque depicting a mounted archer shooting at a raptor, an outrider, and the upper body of a supplicant; ex-Erickson, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1988.102.42 (von Bothmer 1961: no. 38; Ghirshman 1964a: 101 f., fig. 134; Mazzoni 1977: 187). Hrouda (1983: 104) challenged it, cogently noting the left-handed archer: note the fingers. Left-handed archers rarely occur in ancient Near Eastern art, primarily in glyptic (see also Canby 1971: fig. 2, pls. X, XI; other archers as in ibid., pl. XIII: c, and Strommenger 1962: pls. 202–204 are actually right handed – see the fingers; see also Luristan Strips Nos. 7, 16, Nipple Beakers No. 26; Urartu Nos. 16, 22 below). Further, note the rider seated over the horse's neck, the outrider's hand and the mixed bow/whip form, the beardless, dead face, the horses' head pieces and the horse's straight chest. The piece has nothing to do with ancient warfare, pace Yadin 1963: 84 f. who dates it to "c. 9th century B.C." It is illustrated in a book on horsemanship, V. B. Kovalevskaya, *Kon'i vsadnik*, Moscow, 1977: 88, and cited by I. M. Diakonoff, "The Cimmerians," *Acta Iranica* VII (1981): 134, n. 57, who identified the figures to be either Urartians or Mannaens: why not modern Iranians? P 377

41. A fragment of an ivory plaque depicting a hunt scene; a chariot with three occupants and some footmen attack generic Ziwiye lions with spears and daggers; one dagger wielder is under a lion. The plaque is damaged but I suggest it is modern distressing to cover-up a bad execution; Borowski (*From the Lands of the Bible* no. 370; *Kunstschätze* no. 858; also *Frühe Bergvölker in Armenien und im Kaukasus*, Berlin, 1983: 43, Abb. 32: "Es ist ohne neuassyrische Vorlagen des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. nicht denkbar" – an astute observation). P 377

42. An ivory fragment preserving a badly executed and grossly conceived lion hunt, Copenhagen (M.-L. Buhl, *Skatte fra det Gamle Persien*, Nationalmuseet, 1968: no. 205.

43. A related group of five medium to large sized silver ram/mouflon-headed vessels usually attributed to Qaplantu (but cf. Shepherd 1966: 48 – "very obviously related to the art of the Achaemenid Period"): Abegg collection, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 8), Cleveland Museum of Art, ex-Pomerance Collection; a related but different form is in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Shepherd 1966: figs. 13, 14b, c, d; Wilkinson 1967: figs. 5–11, pl. I-VII; Seidl 1968: 344 f., b). In 1977b, no. 167 and

1988a: 25, I condemned the Abegg vessel but allowed that the others might be ancient. P. Calmeyer 1979: 199 f., argued that the whole group might be modern.

I do not think the Philadelphia example is a forgery, whatever its cultural background, nor am I compelled to condemn the Metropolitan example (accepted by Porada 1989: 538). However, a re-examination of the other vessels suggests that the ex-Pomerance vessel may be modern (compare Wilkinson 1967, fig. 11 to others previously published; *Sept Mille* pl. XXXIV; *The Pomerance Collection* no. 54); and I would place the Cleveland piece in limbo. Probably (subjectively determined) ancient are the Philadelphia, Metropolitan, and perhaps the Cleveland pieces; the other two are most likely modern. The Cleveland ram's horns have been added to the body (Shepherd 1966: 49); so are those on the Philadelphia example – which given the width of their projection is not surprising; but the horns on the Metropolitan example are claimed (in a 1968 examination report) to have been hammered out from the original metal.

Since the above examples were published, P. Amiet in *La Revue du Louvre* 1983, no. 2, 85 ff., figs. 1–4 disclosed his purchase for the Louvre (in 1982; AO 27909) of another example of this group, to him from the region of Ziwiye.

As the group is known only from the bazaar and at least some seem to be modern creations, it follows that their archaeological value is limited. Even if a single laboratory accomplished examination of each example and one or more were determined to be ancient, we would still argue about chronology and cultural background.

Luristan

Considerable archaeological knowledge is now available about Luristan – excavated, ancient Luristan – thanks both to the preliminary publications of L. Vanden Berghe's fifteen years of excavations (1965–1979), and to the final publications of Surkh Dum and other sites excavated in 1938 (Muscarella 1981; idem 1988a: 122–135; Schmidt et al. 1989). Nevertheless, a firm archaeological comprehension of the culture(s) of Luristan remains to be realized (for a fuller discussion of the problems concerning Luristan cultures see Muscarella 1988a: 112–120, 136–206; idem 1988b: 33 ff.). This situation exists in large part because of the extensive plundering in the area, and in part because for decades scholars accepted the cultural label "Luristan" to define any unexcavated object that they or anyone else asserted was "said to come from" that area; it was irrelevant whether the object was related to material known to derive from Luristan or from other regions of Iran, or from Mesopotamia, or India – or whether it was ancient or modern. It was also irrelevant that the anonymous "said to come from Luristan" fiats were not generated from excavation reports, but from dealers' stalls. The phrase came to be embraced as a quick entry into the archaeology of Luristan, and a large number of unexcavated, unprovenienced objects are now frozen in the said to be archaeological literature as representing the culture of ancient Luristan. One rare exception was Potratz 1960 and 1963, who was aware of the forgery and forgery of provenience issue; he was ignored or misunderstood in the archaeological literature.

One important example of this situation is the blind belief that scores of Mesopotamian artifacts bearing inscriptions dating across several millennia were excavated in Luristan.

This alleged provenience generated the spilling of much ink to provide profound interpretations of the causes for such a quantity of foreign inscriptions in western Iran. But it is all a forgery of provenience, for not a single example had been excavated; all had been sold by dealers in Iran, France, England, Germany, the United States, etc.; all could have been plundered elsewhere, perhaps Iraq (Muscarella 1988a: 120, note 6, and No. 468, for discussion of these artifacts).[36] Even when it is possible to accept artifacts said by dealers to be from Luristan as probably genuine Iranian artifacts, often one is unable to assign them to a specific geographical area, whether to Luristan, or to an adjacent or distant province. For example, varieties of horse paraphernalia, usually ascribed to Luristan, could have been plundered from anywhere in western Iran (Muscarella 1988a: 155 f., and below). Many publications gave the message that it was normal practice and methodology to raid other ancient cultures for the purpose of creating an ancient Luristan. With these thoughts in mind, I list here any object designated "Luristan" by a dealer, curator, or scholar, whether in a private sale, museum records, or publications of any kind. The objects cited here may have been manufactured as forgeries of Luristan or as other Iranian artifacts. Calmeyer (1969: 138) suggested that there were more pastiches than full forgeries of Iranian metalwork, but I think the record below will demonstrate this is not the case.

The Zurvan Group

This group consists of sheet metal tondoi/discs and plaques sharing the motif of an *en face* head flanked by a sub-human or grotesque torso that projects in profile. A few variations of the three head forms and accompanying scenes are sometimes present. This specific motif is a good example of the forgers' misunderstanding of the models they were copying. The Zurvan triple heads derive from otherworldly figures from Mesopotamian and Iranian prototypes (viz. Godard 1962: figs. 43, 44, 45; Moorey 1975: pls. I, IIIb, figs. 1, 6; ibid., no. 444; Schmidt et al. 1989: pl. 211, a). Among the latter is the Luristan so-called master of animals standard (Muscarella 1988a: 147–150), and most certainly the scene on the Metropolitan Museum's bronze quiver (ibid. 192 ff. with illustrations on pp. 192 f., and fig. 15; Figure 9). From its first publication, the group was attributed to Luristan.[37]

When the motif first surfaced in the bazaar (No. 1, below), it was interpreted as an astrological scene, the god Aquarius giving birth to the Gemini, and dated between 1200 and 900 B.C. (Ackerman 1955: 27: "recently come out of Luristan").[38]

Ghirshman constructed a more ingenious interpretation concerning the projecting humanoid torsos (for the first time in his 1958 publication where he published Nos. 1 and 3, below). He decreed the motif – whose history he ignores – to be a major 8th-7th century B. C. Iranian representation of Zurvan, Infinite Time, and the birth of his twin sons, Ormazd and Ahriman. These *ipse dixit* "plaques du Luristan" provide – because they exist – precious information on very early Iranian religion, primarily that the heretical Zurvan cult existed in Luristan by the early first millennium B.C. (ibid.: 41 f.). The ca. 400 to 150 year discrepancy between Ackerman's and Ghirshman' chronologies has yet to be discussed (Brentjes 1967: pl. 26, dated No. 1 to the 10th-8th centuries B.C., and Related Zurvan No, 1, below, his pl. 15, to the end of the 2nd millennium B.C.).

The proponents of this iconography expect us to believe that the ancient Lurs were Zoroastrians: another display of bazaar archaeology's power to destroy the distinction between archaeological evidence and rhetorical assertion. And its continuous power to give birth to successful hoaxes in the intellectual sphere is evidenced by those scholars who without reflection embraced Ghirshman's proclamations – about provenience, chronology, and interpretation:[39] they believe the phenomenon, believe the phenomenon bearer, never question its appearance, its genesis, history, or the message revealed. The only reality in this business is that not one decorated object excavated anywhere in Iran or elsewhere has yielded an iconography or style relating to that of the Zurvan group: its iconography was conceived and born in a bazaar stall.

1. A plaque depicting a central *en face* head connected below to a unit consisting of drooping wings (?) that frame a central human face; the projecting torso on one side faces a procession of standing sub-human unbearded figures, grasping with them long branches with curved tops; the other torso faces a row of standing *en face* bearded figures together with whom they also hold branches; each of the standing figures wears a different garment, some with braces. Under the former group sit three similar creatures dressed in pleated skirts and holding their knees; a mechanical floral pattern is at the upper border and below the right hand group, and there is also a pomegranate lower border; silver, Cincinnati Art Museum 1957.29 (Ghirshman 1964a: 52, fig. 64; Barnett in *BibOr* XXXI, 1–2, 1974: 129; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 1; *idem 1979: 3, no. 2; *Porada in a review of Calmeyer 1969, ZDMG 1979: 399). See Related Zurvan group No. 1, below.

The model for the bearded *en face* figures carrying long branches is surely the scene on the Metropolitan Museum's bronze quiver (Muscarella 1988a: 192 ff., illustrations on pp. 192, 193, 195, and fig. 15; the quiver is known since 1939; Figure 9), whose figures are horned and winged; both feet turn in the same direction, unlike those on the plaque.

A physicist examined the plaque, making a metal analysis. He believes the piece is ancient, which I find difficult to accept; I suggest it represents an inadequate understanding of the nature of metal behavior when subjected to short-term stressing.

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2. A tondo depicting the trilogy, here the torsos grasp at lions, and below are sub-human figures cavorting around a similar figure who rides a bull/cow, and holds its tail: i.e. a rodeo scene. One of the lower figures carries the same branch as those in No. 1. The central boss is an *en face* head that may be ancient, part of the original tondo, just as the six bosses around the rim that were flattened down to facilitate the new decoration; one became displaced; bronze, Borowski (*Sept Mille* no. 229, pl. XX: *Muscarella 1977b, no. 3; *idem 1979: 3, no. 4).

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3. A fragmented tondo depicting the trilogy, whose torsos also grasp lions; below are caprids; the central boss is an *en face* head that may belong to the original tondo, bronze, ex-Heeramaneck, Los Angeles County Art Museum 76.97.155 (Ghirshman 1958: fig. 1; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 5; *idem 1979: 3, no. 5; Moorey 1981: no. 452; Alizadeh 1985: 65, notes 95, 96 writes that it was "discovered at Surkh Dum from a level dated to the 9th century B. C.").

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4. A tondo depicting a standing figure with projecting torsos at his head, all three grappling with lions; figures of sub-humans riding prancing horses flank the central figure, bronze, Barbier collection (*Kunstschätze* no. 734: "Vielleicht eine Darstellung von Zurvan mit Ahura Mazda und Ahriman (?)"; *Bronzes iraniens* no. 32: the ? is omitted here; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 6); see Tondoi, No. 4, below. P 381

5. A rectangular plaque with a missing boss at the center. A central figure similar to that of No. 1, and projecting torsos holding a branch (?); bosses exist around three sides; bronze, Barbier Collection (*Trésors* no. 190; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 7); part of this plaque may be ancient. P 382

6. A broken tondo with a raised outer rim depicts a figure whose bearded (but without mustache) head is exhibited in side view; projecting from his shoulders are long-necked bird heads; below the head is a "drooping wing" unit like Nos. 1 and 5 above, and a central *en face* head; apparent felines that appear horned confront the central figure, bronze, ex-Heeramaneck, Los Angeles County Art Museum. P 383

7. Gold plaque with the trilogy, the side heads are those of undefined long-tongued creatures; below is a drooping winged unit like Nos. 1, 5 and 6 above, with a central head, very poorly made; same floral border as No. 1 (*Treasures of the Orient*: 25, 253, color plate no.11; *The Ancient Orient Museum* 1978, no. 326; *Muscarella 1988a: 201 f., note 4).

Objects related to the Zurvan Group

1. Disc pin with tang, embellished with *en face* bearded figures wearing skirts held by braces, carrying branches, like those of Zurvan Nos.1 and 2; other unbearded figures of the same form as those and No. 4, below; some of the figures stand, one with a drooping mustache and a pussy-cat face is seated, another rides a prancing bull;[40] around the rim is the same mechanical floral pattern as found on Zurvan Nos. 1 and 7 above; silver, Cleveland Museum of Art 63.257 (Goldman 1964b: 144 f., pl. XLI–pl. XL is Zurvan No. 1 above; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 2; *idem 1979: 3, no. 3). Goldman astutely recognized the similarity in details between the Cleveland pin and the Cincinnati plaque. This led him to the correct conclusion that they both "come from one workshop," which he dated "with a modest degree of assurance..." to a time "prior to the art of Pasargadae." It was noted above that Brentjes (1967: pls. 25, 26) dated the Cleveland and Cincinnati objects to different periods, ignoring the obvious relationship in details that indicates an identical chronology and workshop. P 384

2. A disc pin with tang, damaged; decorated with felines, caprids, bull-men, seated figures, and apparently three groups of addorsed sub-human, Zurvan-group style torsos, each carrying a branch (?); silver, ex-Rabenou, ex-Heeramaneck.

3. A beaker with two panels of decoration; above are two grotesque, staring master of animals, one with feline heads and paws projecting from his head; below a horned hero stabs felines, another masters two bull-men, gold, ex-du Puytison, Gallerie Koller,

Zürich, November 15, 1982, no. 6; also attributed to Luristan in *Art and Auction* October 1982: 31; but see *Connoisseur* October 1982: 123, where the vessel is listed as: ...from Ur (Louristan) Civilisation of Marlik, influence of Ur Provenance: found at Lake Orontes near Tanagara... – an archaeologist could not ask for better data (*Muscarella 1988a: 201 f., note 4). P 385

4. An istikhan shaped vessel with an incised/engraved *en face* figure mastering winged creatures, another figure holding a "branch" sits amidst the animals. Both figures are the same as those on Zurvan Nos. 1 and 2 above, with braces and twisted belt, skirt, face, etc.; see also here Figure 9, infra; bronze, R. Schmidt collection (*Trésors* no. 199, pl. 29; *Muscarella: 1977b, no. 8 – note that Calmeyer 1973 cited there is actually 1969: 51 f., Abb. 51a; *Muscarella 1988a: 378; *Porada in *ZDMG* 1979: 399, a review of Calmeyer 1969, obliquely stated doubts and noted the figure's connection to Zurvan No. 1 above; Barnett in his review of Calmeyer 1969 in *BibOr* XXXI 1/2, 1974: 129 accepts it). P 386

5. A rectangular plaque depicting a figure with drooping wings and an *en face* head at his stomach holding at bay with each hand a feline; there are four panels at the base, each depicting winged and natural animals, bronze, New York dealer 1953, ex-Heeramaneck.

6. A bracteate disc depicting an *en face* figure with drooping wings and central disc, braces and beard like others in this group, but here grasping small breasts (!); gold, Louvre AO 21415 (Amiet 1969: 328 ff., fig. 6; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 76 – there incorrectly listed as a bracelet). Amiet correctly connected the disc to the Zurvan group, but identified the figure as an androgynous Zurvan–supplying scholarship with newly mined information about ancient Zoroastrians.

Several unexcavated objects depicting sub-human figures, some carrying "branches," deserve discussion: Muscarella 1977b, no. 4 suggested that two seated figures (but not the faces or the felines) on a bronze tondo in the Borowski collection might be modern; two bronze bracteate discs in the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 10) with two holes on one side, each bearing the same seated sub-human figure with a "branch" (Muscarella 1988a: 201, note 4); and a bronze disc depicting a thin, seated figure carrying a long "branch" in the National Museum in Stockholm (*Persisk Konst i Sverige* 1973: no. 51). The figures on the first and second example have pleated skirts and are posed as Zurvan No. 1, above; it is unclear if the Stockholm figure is clothed. Well illustrated in Dussaud 1949, figs. 2–4, Godard 1962: pls. 21 and 23, figs. 56, 59, are more examples of sub-human figures holding "branches" and dressed in skirts with braces – i.e. like the clothing represented on Zurvan No. 1, above (but the heads are different).

These pieces may be ancient; the Ashmolean discs "looked good" to me in macroscopic autopsy, but the bracteate disc form is rare; the Stockholm example also looks good.

The examples published by Dussaud and Godard appear to be genuine; on the latter the head and hair (dotted units) are executed exactly the same as on the Metropolitan Museum's quiver (Muscarella 1988a: illustrations on pp. 192, 195, and fig.15), and on material excavated at Surkh Dum (Schmidt et al. 1989: pl. 209, d). These examples might be the models for the figures on the Zurvan group.

Disc Pins

Because so many unexcavated examples exist, sorting out the modern from the ancient is difficult within this class of artifact (see Moorey 1981: 67, and my extended comments expressed in *JAOS* 101.2, 1981: 228–230, a review of D. de Clercq-Fobe, *Epingles votives du Luristan*, Teheran 1978). Beginning in the late 1930s, a date coinciding with the excavations at Surkh Dum, a mass of pins and sheet metal objects, purportedly from Luristan or western Iran, appeared in the bazaars. They were decorated with a hitherto unfamiliar iconography and style; and it took many years before the suspicion developed that while many indeed were recently plundered, others were recently manufactured. The quantity of the latter may never be fully realized, but its presence compromises objective studies of Luristan iconography. The disc pins therefore have limited archaeological value, and proper research will focus on the excavated pieces, few but precious because real (see Schmidt et al. 1989); the others function as secondary sources, to be approached cautiously.

I list those pins that trouble me, but a number remain in an unsure, limbo category. Other researchers will add to or subtract from those indicted here.[41]

1–5. The disc has a central boss surrounded at the top by a horned head flanked by lightning shapes, at the sides by grotesques holding their tails and a bird-headed staff, and below by a caprid. There are five examples of this object known to me, all basically the same, differing only in details of hat, beards, etc; not one is undoubtedly ancient, a model for the others. For a silver example in the Metropolitan Museum (53.117.5) see *Muscarella 1977b: no. 15, ill. 3. Add: Brussels, bronze (Vanden Berghe 1983: no. 272); Thierry collection, bronze (claimed to have been purchased in Teheran in 1955); two in private collections in the United States, at least one is silver. I do not know if the examples published by Godard (1962: fig. 41), Hotel Drouot May 19–20, 1987, no. 54, and Christies July 5, 1995, no. 93, silver, are additional examples, or are among those mentioned here but not previously published. P 387–

6–7. The disc is decorated at a right angle to the shank with a winged female seated on a chair set above an animal that faces the wrong way; she is faced by a figure floating in the air over which is a bird. Two examples are known to me, one of silver in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.117.4 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 16, ill. 4), the other, bronze, in Los Angeles 76.97.149 (*Moorey 1981: no. 391).

8. This fairly large disc, 6 1/2 inches in diameter, has a central face flanked by prancing felines; below is a male riding a bull/cow being suckled by a calf whose rein is held by a figure placed below the expected ground line, and many floral patterns; bronze, ex-Godard, and various dealers (it was offered for sale in NYC in 1981; Dussaud 1949: 203, fig. 6, pl. X; *Muscarella 1977b: 173, note 75). The face may be ancient – but what of the felines? And the bull/cow rider scene cannot be defended as ancient iconography (see note 40, above).

Another pin (source unknown to me) has the same diameter and depictions, face, felines, etc., but no bull/cow rider. Is this example a pair with Godard's, which was then embellished in modern times and acquired by him? P 388

9. The disc depicts a bulbous-headed figure facing sideways, mastering two upside down horned animals; he wears a skirt with braces and carries a dagger at his waist, bronze, Bach collection (Hotel Drouot December 12, 1973: no. 18; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 23). This is a close copy of the animal master on the Metropolitan Museum quiver (Muscarella 1988a: illustrations on pp. 191, 195, fig. 15; here Figure 9). But the provincial craftsman lacked the ancient artisan's natural sense of style and execution, see the beard, skirt, etc.; he also borrowed the dagger from figures in the quiver panel. Compare also Tondoi No. 5, and Strips No. 21, below.

10. On the disc is a bearded figure with a drooping mustache who masters prancing, double-winged felines; tassels flow from his belt; framing the scene are rows of floral and geometric patterns; gold, ex-Heeramaneck, Los Angeles County Art Museum. The drooping mustache and tassels are borrowed from the seated figure on Zurvan related No. 1, above; see also Luristan Embellished Vessels No. 5, below. P 389

11. On this disc is an *en face* figure holding upside down animals attacked by vultures, surrounded by a floral pattern in zones, bronze, Los Angeles County Art Museum 76.97.142 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 21; *Moorey 1981: no. 388). This pin is another of those examples mentioned above in note 41 that puzzle me: genuine or well-made forgery?

12. A disc with a short tang depicts an *en face* figure with a pumpkin shaped head mastering two upside down animals, bronze, ex-Godard, Louvre (*Amiet 1969: 329 ff., fig. 7; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 18; G. Charrière, *Art Crafts of the Early Eurasian Nomads*, New York 1979: fig. 273). The forger was probably copying figures like those in Godard 1962: figs, 34–36.

13. In the center is a lion mask surrounded by garlands of floral motifs, gold, ex-Rabenou. Published many times as from Surkh Dum (i.e. "gewiss aus Surkh-i Dum"), of course; but even dated to the Achaemenian period (see *Muscarella 1979: 8 f., no. 6 for references).

14. A disc similar to No. 13 – central lion mask surrounded by floral patterns in zones, gold, Japan (*Treasures of the Orient*: 78, top left; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 26).

15. The disc is divided into two zones, above are heraldic caprids framing a tree, below are two squatting creatures, bronze, Adam collection (Moorey 1974a: no. 101; *Muscarella 1977b; no. 27).

16. Surrounding a central lion mask is a circle of animals in a manner and style that suggests to me that the piece may not be ancient; cast bronze, Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1961: no. 361; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 17).

17. Around a small central lion mask is a series of winged (the wings look like three upright petals) equids, sphinx-like creatures, a bull, a feline, and a bird, bronze, Los Angeles County Art Museum 76.97.132 (*Moorey 1981: no. 372).

18, 19, 20. Three disc pins depicting a nude female with legs spread as if in a birthing or a sexually receptive position, bronze. One is in Los Angeles County Art Museum 76.97.140 (Moorey 1981: no. 387 – with incorrect references); here the female holds branches, her vagina touches the ground line, and her head and body are poorly drawn. It is a poor copy, omitting the rosette, of similar scenes on disc pins (Godard 1962: fig. 77; Amiet 1975: no. 189).

Another example is an exact, albeit inexpert, copy of Godard's fig. 78, where a head projects from the vagina, Queens College Museum. P 390

A third example of this motif is on a pin with a long tang. Here are four rosettes framing the arm, and there is a blob below the vagina area. The head, face, and the body are poorly executed, bronze, private United States collection.

21. Surrounding a central lion mask are two sub-human figures whose long noses touch the mask, floral motif above and below, bronze, Los Angeles County Art Museum 76.97.143 (*Moorey 1981: no. 376, "authenticity doubtful").

22. A fragment of a disc depicting a winged feline at the top, a bull-man holding a curved object and wearing a hat revealing an ear and one small horn (he is a cousin of the figure in Nos. 1–5 above); below are two small crouching figures separated by a strange tree, bronze, Los Angeles County Art Museum (*Moorey 1981: no. 373, "authenticity doubtful").

23, 24, 25, 26. There are at least four other examples in Los Angeles that are probably forgeries:

– a poor attempt at a central feline head is surrounded with dead fish being eaten by vultures (*Moorey 1981: no. 383).

– a central and frontal female with staring face and tubular body masters rampant felines while she touches their open mouths (*Moorey 1981: no. 384).

– two rampant caprids flanking a tree (*Moorey 1981: no. 396).

– a rectangular frame depicting a figure wearing a belted skirt and with upright arms (*Moorey 1881: no. 398). This scheme copies figures like Godard 1962: pl. 21.

27. A fragmented disc preserves: heraldic felines (?) at top center, their legs grasped by two flanking males, both wearing daggers, one unaligned; the right figure carries a bow and an arrow in his free hand; below are two backward-facing felines, and spread around are odd rosettes and birds (?), bronze; Seattle Art Museum 51.112. Can we believe that this crudely executed and composed disc is ancient? P 391

28. A disc with a crude face surrounded by blobs that are called pomegranates, Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960, no. 31 (also what can be said about no. 32?); (*Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 13).

29. A lion mask in cast gold, Moore collection; the piece is usually attributed to Azerbaijan for some reason ("Bei Salmas...entdekt wurde," P. Thomsen, *AfO* XIV, 1941–44: 227f.; *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 7). The piece copies the central motif of a disc pin.

30. Equally mimicking the disc pin motif is a rectangular plaque depicting a central face mask flanked by caprids one of whose feet rest on a rosette-like object, silver, "A. Mazda" collection (R. Ghirshman, *Bishapour* II, Paris, 1956: pl. XXIII: no. 4; *Muscarella 1977b; no. 64).

31. One of the earliest pastiches of a disc pin published are the two fragmented genuine discs combined into one; recognized by H. Kantor (*JNES* V, 3, 1946: 234–238, pls. VII-VIII, fig. 1).

32, 33, 34. Three decorated disc pins offered for sale in Hotel Drouot May 19-20, 1987, nos. 51, 62, 63, all claimed for Surkh Dum, do not compel us to accept them as ancient works.

35. A silver (?) disc pin with a central lion mask above which is a crudely depicted face flanked by strange creatures, and at the sides rampant caprids. A very badly made and composed piece (*The Ancient Orient Museum 1978*, no. 256.

Tondoi

As with the disc pins the specific age of pieces in this group are difficult to determine. I list those that I suggest pose few problems about their age.[42]

1, 2. These two examples are similar in all details, except for hair depiction, clothing details, and body markings. Surrounding a damaged central mask are dealer-designated Luristan figures flanking an altar (?) and wielding batons and daggers to dispatch felines; others jump rope, sit next to a child, etc., bronze; ex-Kevorkian (Sotheby Parke Bernet, May 8, 1976, no. 73); for the other see Dussaud in *Syria* 1949, fig. 7 (*Muscarella 1977b: 173, note 75, and no. 69). P 392

3. A tondo with unconnected juxtaposed scenes depicted: a bull rider who slips off the beast's back while striking a feline with a big axe, a seated figure offered an animal, a master of a walking and prancing caprid and bull, a left-handed bowman in a 1940s designer skirt; bronze, Leiden. This piece is a poorly executed and modern attempt to replicate ancient scenes – but successfully sold and published (van Wijngaarden 1954: no. 1, pl. I; Calmeyer 1973: 36, C 1, with bibliography; *Muscarella 1977b: 176. no. 70; *idem 1977c: 79; *idem 1979: 3, no. 9; van den Boorn 1983: 47, fig. 51; *E. Haernick in *AfO* 32, 1985: 117).

4. A tondo depicting a Luristan type head above two horse riders, Sara and Yaacov Salomon collection, Israel, *Promised Gifts* Israel Museum catalogue no. 126. The same horses, human hand waving posture, and trousers – same factory – as Zurvan, No. 4, above; see also note 42.

5. A tondo depicting a bearded master of animals and caprids does not inspire belief it was made by an ancient hand, bronze, Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 235. Compare Disc No. 9 above.

6. A difficult piece to evaluate, and thus at least to be considered suspicious, is a disc with a central human mask and genre Luristan scenes that incorporate the drooping winged figure with enclosed mask from Zurvan No. 1, above, and *en face* horned figures that either hold snakes or have outstretched arms, all separated by stylized trees; there are also two duck-billed quadrupeds pecking at one of the figures – or maybe he is feeding them, New York dealer 1959 (private collection?). P 393

7. I find the left-handed archer unconvincing and meaninglessly positioned on an ombos in the Louvre, Amiet, *La Revue du Louvre* 1972, 4: 429, fig. 9.

8. I leave in limbo Marseilles no. 161, Borowski (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 68).

9. Judging from the poor photograph of a large disc decorated with walking bulls published in Hotel Drouot May 19–20, 1987, no. 158 – with the generous, and revealing, choice given us by the auction house Expert "Louristan ou Marlik," 8th–7th century B.C. – I do not think it derived from ancient Iran.

10. A disc depicting a figure carrying fronds published in Sotheby's November 28, 1990, no. 137 (then and now in a dealers' collection) may not be ancient. On first encounter nothing caught my eye as abnormal. When told that it had come into a family's possession decades ago, I was puzzled by the lack of a pre-1990 publication. This is what I find worthy of consideration concerning modern or ancient age: the hair seems layered like a wig; the mouth is a thin line with no lips; unclear is the depiction of a chin; the full eyelids are heavily scored and the pupils bulge; the nose has semicircles on each nostril: compare all these features with their counterparts on a disc in Zürich (Godard 1962: pl. 21) – which I suggest is the model for this example. Also, the fronds almost touch over the figure's head and end below in curved wing forms – arguably a misunderstanding of frond representations and of the distinction between fronds and wings as distinct iconographical features: compare the vertical fronds on the Zürich disc. Decorated button-like breasts occur – again an apparent misunderstanding of the Zürich disc, which has bulging pinheads at the chest. The clothing lacks suspenders, but double lines on both sides of the garment run up to the shoulders where in one case they join, in the other cross over double lines; double lines also unintelligibly outline both sides of the arm; the chest is decorated with a vertical band depicted above and below the belt; the garment is decorated with + marks and impressed dots; placed below the fringe on the garment's base is a zone divided in two parts, one decorated – the usual bottom border in these scenes is a fringe or herring-bone pattern.

None of the above features is paralleled among the figural designs I accept as ancient, although all are unexcavated (viz. Ghirshman 1956: fig. 28b; Godard 1962: fig 58, pls. 21, 23; Muscarella 1988a: fig. 15). The deviations and problems mandate doubts about this disc's antiquity. To the question, is it ancient? we hear a long silence. P 394

Strips and Belts

1. A rectangular strip with figures mastering and killing animals amidst two Achaemenian like trees, gold, Louvre AO 22139 (*Muscarella 1977b, no. 54); a truly modern work.
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2. A rectangular strip with figures holding animals by the tail or leg, mastering or killing them with daggers, or carrying fish and spears, surrounded by a guillloche pattern and pierced at the rim with double holes; gold, Compte Jean d'Ursel Collection, Brussels (I think that Ghirshman, *Artibus Asiae* 1950: 194 f., figs. 18, 19 is the same as Ghirshman 1964a: 71, figs. 92, 93, which seems to be no. 34 in *L'Art iranien*; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 55; Negahban 1983: 19, note 75). In 1950 Ghirshman said it came from Ziwiye but because of A. Godard's archaeological fiat (*Artibus Asiae* 14, 1951: 240 f.) that it actually came from Luristan, he shifted the origin – provenience–to that area in 1964a (archaeologists, we are told, should change their minds if necessary: see note 11 in the Introduction above); the Brussels writer did not reveal why he preferred Ghirshman's first declaration.

3. A rectangular strip depicting at a broken end a seated figure with advancing figures holding animals upside down or by the paw, or branches, or reaching for the sky; gold, ex-Godard (Dussaud 1949: 210 f., fig. 10 – called bronze and from Surkh Dum. Dussaud knew but did not mention Godard's ownership – and Godard 1962: 88, pl. 32 listed himself as Collection particulière; De Wael 1982: no. 420; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 56; *idem 1981: 331, n.38).

4. Figures decorating an istikhan are related to the same modern Iranian ethnos and playful cultural activities as those represented on Nos. 1 and 3 above. It is decorated in two zones separated by an elaborate guilloche encircling a row of bosses – a motif not known hitherto; the decoration was probably made in the same factory as Nos. 1 and 3 above; silver, gift of K. Rabenou to the Cleveland Museum of Art 63.95 (Shepherd 1966: 45 f., figs. 10, 11). Shepherd bemoans the difficulties involved in identifying various styles that exist on many unexcavated objects which "there is reason [not one given] to believe" derived from Surkh Dum. However, immediately after assigning the unexcavated vessel to Luristan, she shifts its geography to the north, and we are informed that it probably came from the Ziwiye region (46; which crystal ball should we believe?).
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5. An incomplete plaque incised with five panels of sphinxes, winged bulls, felines, birds (?); bronze, Bach Collection (*Bronzes de la Perse* no. 112; also *Lorestan Bronzes and Islamic Metalwork*, Catalogue for the Khoramabad Museum (Teheran, N.D.): 31, no. 10; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 66).

6. A strip decorated with incised bulls and lions flanking a tree, all mechanically made, bronze (*Calmeyer 1973: 114, pl. 8:6 – "Relief modern?"; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 53).

7. A strip decorated with a kneeling, left-handed archer wearing a strangely patterned skirt, and caprids, dog, rabbit, rosette; silver, Los Angeles County Art Museum (Ghirshman 1964: fig. 95; Calmeyer 1973: 111, 113: III 4u; *Moorey 1981: no. 607).

8. A strip with punched holes around its edges recently incised with figures in panels separated by vertical double lines: the figures include a fish floating over a feline confronting another, horned animals, sphinxes; bronze, ex-Heeramaneck.

9. A curved strip with curled terminals, decorated with incised heraldic winged felines flanking a tree, bronze, Borowski; the object is surely ancient, the design modern (Marseilles no. 187: "provient de Ziwiye"; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 67).

Plain examples of this form, clearly belts, were excavated at Marlik (E. Negahban, *Weapons from Marlik*, Berlin 1995: 97 ff., figs. 86–91); having escaped modern dealers, all are plain. Another excavated plain example comes from near Bisitun (W. Kleiss, *AMI* 22, 1989: 28 f., Abb. 6). Vanden Berghe (1964: pl. XXXIX, no. 277) and Moorey (1971: 243) claimed for Khurvin (infra) a plain example in a private collection. In short, excavated examples are always plain, bazaar examples usually decorated: what is the message here?

10. The same belt form as above, with an added design of incised heraldic caprids flanking a tree, bronze, Ashmolean Museum 1965.833 (Moorey 1971: 241, no.461; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 48). Moorey ibid. and in 1967: 88 saw the anomalies as a result of "Neo-Assyrian influence on local Iranian smiths...."

11, 12. I think we should reject an ancient age for two more similar belts, also in the Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1971: 358 f., nos. 462, 463). The first is decorated with a simple unformed male repoussé figure holding his hands above his head, surrounded by repoussé dots and punched holes, bronze; the second has a similar figure standing on the back of a horse holding the reins as if in a circus scene, surrounded by repoussé dots (*Muscarella 1977b: nos. 48, 49). Surely, genuine plain artifacts have been embellished, like Nos. 9, 10 above.

13. Another bronze belt with double spiral terminals was inadequately incised in modern times with a scene like that on Nos. 1 and 2 above, in a United States collection.

14. A strip fragment depicting in a raised dot motif figures holding tambourines, or hands, leading animals, jumping up and down; bronze, Louvre AO 21813 (see P. Amiet, ["The Adventure of the Dancing Men"] in *Syria* XLV, 3/4 1968: 256 f., figs. 47; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 51).

15. An oval sheet decorated in relief with Çatal Hüyük-like stylized figures between caprids, bronze, Adam Collection (Moorey 1974a: 134, no. 118; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 52).

16. A broken or neatly cut strip, one edge intact, decorated with crudely incised ziz-zags and figures, some carrying or shooting a bow – left handed, one riding a horse (?), one holding a captive (?). Collectively unconvincing as an ancient narrative scene; bronze, ex-David-Weill, Adam collection (Moorey 1974a: no. 118A).

A group of small bronze plaques and strips have master of animal motifs in various styles of execution, and without ancient parallels. All seem to have been made to be sold. It is possible that the material is ancient, plain fragments begging to be saved for higher purposes, and higher prices:

17. This "exceptionnelle plaque figurative" is decorated with nonsense figures, one standing on an animal while mastering other animals, another brandishing – backwards – a spiked axe, Hotel Drouot June 30/July 1 1993 no. 2.

18. The strip has three large bosses below which a kneeling figure with a big ear and nose, who touches with each hand the noses of felines, Borowski (*Marseilles* no. 121; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 63).

19. "An abdomen plaque" decorated with a "crudely traced figure, with arms raised," and a stylized creature on each side, Adam collection (Moorey 1974a, no. 119). Even if one does not believe that this piece reflects the style of a Luristan artifact (which it does not) but that of another culture, the indictment surely still stands (*Muscarella 1977b, doubly listed as nos. 44 and 62 – and both with misprints for the Moorey reference).

20. A cast plaque depicting an *en face* figure with breasts mastering two very thin creatures with Luristan-like coiled heads; the figure's toes grip the plaque's rim for security, Barbier (*Bronzes iraniens* no. 33; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 61).

21. A strip bordered by lozenges and decorated in five bordered panels of scenes incompetently copied from published works. In one panel is a winged figure like that from the rear of a spouted vessel (see Muscarella 1980: fig. 8; idem 1988a: no. 347), in another is a winged master of animals with a feathered headdress (like Moorey 1981: no. 386), another has a female in a birthing position (see Disc Pins nos. 18-20 above), here flanked by caprids (like Amiet 1976: 81, no. 189), and scenes borrowed from the Metropolitan Museum's quiver (see Muscarella 1988a: 195, and fig. 15; Figure 9); gold, dealer, 1961.

22. A square plaque depicts confronting stylized felines over a distorted caprid, surrounded with apparent pomegranates and buds; bronze. It resembles a plaque excavated at Surkh Dum (Muscarella 1988a: no. 192; Schmidt et al. 1989: pl. 211, f. – cf. pl. 209, d), but the execution of this scene and its filling ornaments condemns it, ex-David-Weill (*ILN*, March 1, 1941: 293, figure 7; Amiet 1976: 87, no. 196; *Muscarella 1977b, no. 65).

Embellished Vessels and other objects

Included here are bronze objects, mostly vessels; in most cases they are probably ancient, but embellished with modern scenes to satisfy serious collectors who do not appreciate plain objects:

1. A jar, its belly decorated with winged caprids flanking a tree, a caprid and griffin flank another tree, Ishiguro collection (Calmeyer 1973: H 8; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 14; *idem 1977c: 79; *idem 1988a: 248, n. 4; Calmeyer 1994: 3 f., Abb. 2 still defends it, ignoring his own comments on modern assyrianizing scenes added to older vessels; 1969: 137; see below Nos. 11–13; Assyrian Art below, No. 19; and de Pradenne 1932: 621). Aside from the enigmatic heraldic human-headed caprid and the griffin, and the sharp outlines of the execution (the dealer thought the design was "retraced"), the craftsman left a clue that points to a recent birth: it is with its *left*, not the mandatory right, hand that the griffin germinates the tree. All excavated representations of these scenes depict germination by the right hand, never the left, i. e. rotational not mirror imaging (just look at Calmeyer 1973: 63, H4!). To posit an imaginary ancient workshop behind this stray object sitting on a shelf in Tokyo is to undermine the reality of archaeological research.[43] P 397

2. A vessel similar in shape to No. 1, but with a handle, Cincinnati Art Museum 1957.225. The vessel appears to be ancient but modified in recent times: first, the Luristan type confronting caprid "finials" attached to the handle cannot be original: pace Goldman (1964a: 329) who praised the finial-handle as "an unexpected bonus"; indeed, but for whom? Another bonus is the decoration of an *en face* figure mastering stylized, winged caprids; bronze (both Calmeyer 1969: 138, E and 1973: 40 f., C 6, pl. 7:2, and Moorey 1974a: 146 f., believe the caprids were added but they accept the decoration as ancient; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 9); perhaps embellished in the same factory that created No. 8 below. For the same shape with a plain unembellished handle, the condition of the present vessel before embellishment, see Hotel Drouot December 12, 1973: no. 124. See Pastiches below, Nos. 1–3 for added Luristan "finial" handles. P 398

3. A shallow bowl embellished with a figure mastering a stylized caprid of a species like the one depicted on No. 2 above (see also No. 8 below), art market, 1930s (Calmeyer 1973: C 3, 139, 162 – for the photograph see Calmeyer in *BJV* 5, 1965, Taf. 4; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 13; *idem 1977c: 79).

4. A goblet incised with three horizontal panels, the upper depicting flanking felines over prey, the center plain, the lower depicting a procession of caprids; both vessel and scenes are modern, Metropolitan Museum of Art 61.264 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 10, ill. 3; idem 1980–81: 118: correcting an earlier solecism).

5. A bowl with an added spout and handle, the former possibly ancient. The body is decorated with a recently added scene depicting figures of the same type as found on the Related to Zurvan group No. 1, and Zurvan No. 1, above. One figure has a drooping mustache, others are sub-human figures, some *en face* holding branches, British Museum 132930 (Moorey 1974b: 38, Pl. XX; *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 10).

6, 7. Two bowls with spout and bulge, a short base, and added decoration: one example has caprids, some turning to look at each other (affectionately); bronze, Barbier collection (*Bronzes iraniens* no. 19); the other is decorated with birds, Amiet 1976: 53, no. 89; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 85).

8. A bowl decorated with a row of walking winged caprids, Leiden B.1956/2.1 (Calmeyer 1973: no. P 2, pl. 7: 3; Van den Boorn 1983: fig. 50). Calmeyer noted on p. 139 that he knew other examples of this shape from the bazaar, which are not decorated; the excavated examples are also plain: Vanden Berghe 1968: pls. 28, 33a (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 11). Probably copied from or made in the same workshop as Nos. 2, 3, above.

9. A vessel of the same shape as No. 8, decorated with Assyrian-like donkeys (?) flanking trees, and sun discs, Ashmolean Museum – P.R.S. Moorey called my attention to the bowl and its added scene. P 399

10. I am not secure with a tapering cup decorated with kneeling bulls flanking a tree above a zone of pots of flowing water and trees, Brussels (*L'Art iranien* no. 49). The decoration could easily have been recently and inaccurately copied by a provincial from beakers (for example, Calmeyer 1973: 74 f., L 1). The decoration is similar to that on a bowl with two walking bulls flanking a tree, acquired in the 1930s by the British Museum (123062; C. J. Gadd in *BMQ* VII, 1933: 44 f., pl. XVII; Porada 1965: 79, 84 pl. 18; Calmeyer in Curtis 1995: 36, pl. 25).

While the Brussels bowl is dated to the 8th century and attributed to Luristan, the British Museum vessel is accorded a different history. Gadd initially claimed (44) that it was "said to have been found" in a cave near Kermanshah, then (45) added "It is said that the ...bowl was found with the daggers; *at least* [emphasis mine], it comes from the same vicinity."

Calmeyer accepted this dealer provided provenience (with rationalized reasoning). He dated it to the 12th-11th centuries because he perceived a parallel to Isin II period trees and because the two daggers found with them have 12th century inscriptions (also Porada, ibid.). I could not find a good, close parallel for the trees; as for the alleged collective find, it deserves no reaction other than dismissal.

I do not know whether either bowl is ancient, and they deserve a cautious reserve. Their publication history has value. It demonstrates how on the basis of a dealer's sales claim followed by a curator's museum-model archaeology we have instant archaeological evidence of Mesopotamian material being recovered in a specific cave in Iran – on the Khorasan Road, too (see note 36 for more museum information about Mesopotamian artifacts from Iran). And it enlightens us how scholars can analyze two apparently stylistically related and unexcavated objects and obtain different conclusions about date and provenience; and it demonstrates to beginning students that archaeology is both easy and fun.

11, 12, 13. Three bronze vessels with recently added scenes: one with rampant goats flanking trees; another with heraldic griffins touching a tree with the left hand (see No. 1, above); the third with trees flanked by tongue and guilloche patterns; Los Angeles County Art Museum: M.76.97.354; M.76.97.360; M76.97.394 (*Moorey 1981: nos. 410–412). 3P 400

14. A tapering goblet decorated with a picket fence (similar to Calmeyer 1973: Abb. 92) on whose points squat heroes mastering animals, dealer 1993. P 401

15. A vessel of the same shape as No. 14, decorated in the lower zone with zig zags, and in the upper with short, thick legged figures, one holding his head with both hands (he is embarrassed for being represented here), the other chasing an animal, from the same dealer as No. 14. P 402

16. A vessel in the form of a counter-curved profiled body separated by a pronounced construction (for proveniences and chronology of this form see Muscarella 1988a: nos. 348-350: no. 349 is closest in shape to this example), decorated with running cats (meant to evoke fierce felines) chasing caprids; all set below a frieze of leaves and a guilloche, Buffalo Museum of Science (*Hobbies* 26, 3, 1946: 89, lower right). The vessel is no doubt ancient, but like other examples of this shape (see Pastiches, below) has been embellished. P 403

17. A vessel similar in shape to No. 16, modified with a human face pushed out from one side, Berlin (Moortgat 1932: 13, pl. X: 26; *Muscarella 1988a: 260).

18. A vase with a long neck and inward sloping body decorated in both areas with winged figures mastering animals, the same form as those from the Zurvan and the Zurvan related group, viz. Nos. 4, 5, ex-Kevorkian (Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc. May 8, 1976, no. 77; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 12). Is the vessel modern?

19. A gadrooned "belle coup" decorated at its center with a horribly rendered Zurvan-type *en face* horned master of animals, Hotel Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 109.

20. An istikhan shaped bronze vessel, offered to a New England museum in the 1970s, has a beginning apprentice's execution of an *en face* bearded figure confronted by a figure with a sword; another *en face* figure holds the long stemmed branches with square bases: these cartoons are copied from panels of the Metropolitan Museum's quiver (Figure 9).

21. A small vase decorated with poorly rendered scenes of a man kneeling before a seated figure and others taking a walk, New York dealer 1971.[44]

22. A bronze bucket that may be partially ancient, decorated with a crude, non-ancient motif of seated and standing figures, Eisenberg sales catalogue December 1962: no. 58.

23. Probably not a forgery, but certainly not from ancient Luristan, is a pedestaled vessel, bronze, Holmes collection (*SPA* IV: pl. 66).

24. A probable ancient dagger, its blade recently incised with a flock of flying caprids, the leader alone walking, and looking back, Metropolitan Museum of Art 61.265 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 88, ill. 6; *idem 1988a: 282, no. 386). In this context, one wonders whether the row of bees and flies on the blade in Brussels (Calmeyer 1969: 124, Abb. 125; Vanden Berghe 1983: no. 179) is also a modern embellishment. I also believe we should consider that the scenes on the dagger blades published by Calmeyer 1969: 65, Taf. 2: 4; 3: 2–5, B′, D′; 124 f. human and animal hunt scenes, could also be modern additions. And what of the stag and rosettes on Godard 1962: pl. 11? P 404

25. A round sheet metal object with spiral-like terminals, called a mirror, probably ancient but later embellished with a badly executed *en face* master of animals figure, Barbier collection (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 71). For plain, unadorned forms kept in their original plundered state see Moorey 1971: 237 f., nos. 445–452.

26. A bronze plate depicting five concentric zones surrounding a sharp leafed central rosette; in the zones are from the outer inward, confronting kneeling caprids, confronting winged felines, confronting caprids, confronting winged felines, confronting caprids – all modern animals. The dealer (1961) said it came from Luristan, hence its inclusion here: it could have been called Achaemenian (cf. Decorated Plates, No. 2, above), or Iranian; Sackler collection? P 405

27. Called a lid in *Trésors* no. 224, and a goblet in *Bronzes iraniens* no. 20, Barbier Collection; this protome-like object, is too stylistically murky to determine its age, hence suspicion is justified (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 75).

28. A pendant with dangling small bells is probably ancient, but the foolishly executed and composed huntsman and his upside down to one another prey is modern, Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 91.

29. A (once plain, I suggest) bowl in the Louvre is decorated on its base with a crudely executed scene of a peculiarly dressed figure stabbing a winged feline (A. Godard, *Les bronzes du Luristan*, Paris 1931: 93, no. 225, pl. LXIII).

Pastiches

1. A flask similar to an example excavated at Marlik (Negahban 1964: fig. 30) was modified to become an amphora by the addition of two handles made from Luristan caprid "finials;" the vessel and handles are most probably ancient; ex-Stora, Los Angeles County Art Museum M.76.97.412 (*Calmeyer 1969: 138 C; *idem 1973: 136 f., fig. 114; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 80; *idem 1977c: 79; *Moorey 1981: no. 416). For Luristan "finials" added to a handle, see Embellished Vessels, No. 2, above. A number of plain flasks are on the art market, viz. Calmeyer 1973: figs. 113, 115. De Waele 1982: no. 114 calls attention to one-half of a feline "finial" cut away from its mate–probably to make a vessel handle like the present example; see also Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 29 (ancient?); see Nos. 2, 16, 25, 26, below. In bazaar archaeology this New-Luristan pastiche is considered to be the Iranian predecessor to the Achaemenian amphorae. P 406

2. A vessel with a counter-curved profiled body and tall neck. Two Luristan caprid "finials" have been added as handles to its sides, creating an amphora – and thus another bazaar precursor of Achaemenian examples. At my request, the join areas of the handles were examined and modern solder was found, Buffalo Museum of Science (*Hobbies* 26, 3, 1946: 89, lower left; Moorey 1971: 266; *Muscarella 1979: 8, no.5). P 407

3. A vessel with a spout and a swelling at its base with large rivet heads; ancient but embellished at the rear with a Luristan feline functioning as a handle, Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1971: 276 f., no. 522; *Calmeyer 1969: 139, N; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 82).

4. The same type of spouted vessel as No. 3, also probably genuine, with an added handle in the form of a ram, Sotheby's July 5, 1982, no. 82 – which may be Hotel Drouot October 4, 1991: no.43.

5. The same type of spouted vessel with body decoration and a caprid on the handle, Teheran Archaeological Museum; known to me from Calmeyer 1969: 139, M (see also *Sept Mille* no. 334). Calmeyer wonders whether an ancient repair may have occurred– why not a modern "repair"?

6. A spouted vessel formed from fragments of two vessels, Berlin (*Nagel 1961: 211; *Calmeyer 1969: 139 (I); *Muscarella 1977b: no. 79; *idem 1988a: 260).

7. A spouted vessel area set on a flaring base, ex-Ternbach Collection (Merhav 1981: no. 99). The base and spout have been added to the vessel.

8. The uncommon straight neck of a similar spouted vessel offered for sale at Christies, December 9, 1968, no. 61 suggests that this vessel is also a pastiche.

9. A spouted vessel like the above but with a handle, rear attachment of some sort (Calmeyer's 1969: 99 ff., Group 47), and large rivet heads in front; in this case the lost spout has been replaced with a corrupt vertical one, dealer.

10. A spouted vessel like the above, embellished with an oversized spout and loop handles held to the rim by bird protome clamps, (*Exhibition of Persian Art*, Tokyo 1971: no. 96).

11, 12. For convenience I place here (rather than in Vessels, above) two apparently completely modern spouted vessels: an example in silver, Metropolitan Museum of Art 47.32.2; according to laboratory analysis, the whole is a modern creation (*Muscarella 1977b: 172, no. 10 bis, ill. 2). And an example in the Burrell collection, Glasgow (*Peltenburg 1991: no. 131); lathe marks are visible, but also note the wide neck.

13. A spouted vessel with swelling and large rivets, superficially like those just discussed, but the body has a higher form, a loop handle, and on each side of the vessel is a projecting feline protome, ex-Rabenou, Hamburg Museum (*ILN* January 17, 1931: 89; Potratz 1963: 143, pl. XLIV: 1). Nothing else like it exists – as Potratz realized in 1955: is it ancient?

14. A counter-curved profiled vessel, dressed up with the rivets and swelling of a spout; the spout itself is broken away and a caprid protome has been added. The vessel and spout fragment are probably ancient; in any event, there are three disparate elements

joined together, a New York collector (*Ancient Art in American Private Collections* no. 92; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 83; *idem 1988a: 260).

15. The same shaped vessel as No. 14, with a spout apparatus added, Brussels (*Calmeyer 1969: 139, K; *Muscarella 1988a: 260).

16. Same shaped vessel as Nos. 14, 15, neatly embellished with two Luristan "finials" of coiled feline form, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva – where the authorities eventually recognized the pastiche (private communication from a colleague). P 408

17. A similarly shaped vessel, adorned with a loop handle on which perches a bird, bronze, Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden, Leiden (van Wijngaarden 1954: no. 88, pl. XIV; *Muscarella 1988a: 260).

18. A spherical jar with a spout and a bull head protome overlooking it, bronze/terracotta?, Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 117. The bowl is not readily recognizable, but the spout with its animal protome is similar to those found on examples from Sialk and on bronze and terracotta vessels that are usually assigned to the Caspian region or to Khurvin (viz. Vanden Berghe 1964: pl. II; Hotel Drouot October 8, 1984, no. H), although not one example has been excavated there.

19. A counter-curved shaped vessel with two caprid heads and loops added to the sides to function as handles, ex-Rabenou (*ILN* January 17, 1931: 89; *Calmeyer 1969: 139, L; *Muscarella 1988a: 260).

20. An istikhan shaped vessel with an animal, perhaps the head from an ancient pin head, added to form a handle, Hengst collection (*Potratz 1963: 143, pl. XLII: 1, 2; *Calmeyer 1969: 139 0; Moorey 1971: 35, note 2; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 81).

21. An istikhan shaped vessel with an added attenuated animal handle, Sotheby Parke Bernet, November 20-21, 1975, no. 18 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 84).

22. A counter-curved profiled vessel, plain but joined to a figurine that forms its support; the latter is probably modern, (*Potratz 1963: 143, pl. XLIII: 1; *Calmeyer 1963: 139, H; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 77; *idem 1988a: 260 for this and the next two examples).

23. The same shaped vessel, placed over a high rod joined below to a tripod, with three birds above each prong (*ILN* January 17, 1931; 89; *Calmeyer 1969: 138, G; *Amiet 1976: 51, no. 100). Compare the tripod of this and the vessel below, No. 24, with Achaemenian Miscellaneous, No. 13, above.

24. A carinated bowl, the same form of tripod stand and birds as above, Barbier collection (*Bronzes iraniens* no. 18).

25. A complex, imaginative unit consisting of a tripod with prongs splaying out to hold a spouted basin; on this upper part of the tripod are several Luristan style "finials," Stora

collection (*Potratz 1963: 144, pl. XLIII: 2; *Moorey 1971: 35, note 2; *Calmeyer 1969: 138 f., (D) Abb. 145; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 78; see also No. 1 above).

26. A slightly inward tapering vessel decorated at the rim and base with an incised frieze of prancing bulls amidst trees, and two backward looking caprid figurines on the rim, all added in recent times, (Christies December 9, 1968: no. 60; G. M. Bellelli in *Oriens Antiquus* 23, 1984: pl. XIX; *Muscarella 1988a: no. 499, 380, note 1). P 409

27. A petalled bowl joined to an animal headed handle, both units are probably ancient, but of different dates–the handle may be Roman: see Muscarella 1988a: no. 594 (A. Parrot in *Syria* XL, 1963: 249 ff., pl. XX: "presque totalement iranien"; *Calmeyer 1969: 138, (P); *Muscarella 1977b: no. 87).

28. A fluted carinated bowl embellished with a spout and handle, and a short stand, Hotel Drouot, October 29, 1980, no. 78.

29. A high footed cup, probably ancient, embellished with a Luristan style cock pendant set on a loop handle, bronze, Buffalo Museum of Science (*Hobbies* 26,3, 1946: 89, top right). P 410

30. A cup shaped vessel embellished with a crudely hammered scene of a bowman shooting backward at caprids (Amiet 1976: 53, no. 86; *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 14).

Decorated Nipple Beakers and Vessels with Related Iconography

In museum and private collections are a large number of bronze nipple based beakers (often incorrectly called situlae) with various forms of figured scenes on the body. The only excavated example(s) of a figured beaker occurs at Surkh Dum, where a fragment of one beaker and fragments of what may be another were recovered (Muscarella 1981: 329 f.; idem 1988a: 246; Schmidt et al. 1989: 322, pl. 204: b, c). However, the archaeological record shows that a good number of plain, non-figurative, nipple beakers have been excavated (see Vanden Berghe 1968: pls. 28, 31a; Calmeyer 1973: 129 ff. nos. a, c, d, m, n, o, q, r).[45]

P. Calmeyer (1973: 113 ff.) and I (1974b: 250; idem 1977c: 79; idem 1988a: 247: note 4) have discussed forgeries of decorated beakers, but we have reached quite different conclusions concerning the quantity of ancient examples in the corpus. Simply stated, we disagree whether the inexpert workmanship and misunderstood iconographical elements evidenced on a number of these *unexcavated* objects had their genesis in ancient or modern workshops. I strongly support the latter position, pace Calmeyer. This disagreement concerning the interpretation of "misunderstood" scenes and style goes to the very heart of the problems raised in this study (for other perceptions on what is ancient/modern, see also Muscarella 1977b: 169, note 68).

In this section are included other vessel shapes that are decorated with the iconography associated with the nipple beakers – the analysis and study of ancient iconography is more relevant than the medium. Unless specified, the vessel cited is a bronze beaker.

1. An istikhan shaped vessel decorated with two ladies, one kneeling and trousered, one holding a dagger, and a dancing bear in a grossly modern attempt to reproduce a Sasanian style scene; the rim and base decoration have wavy loops, and half rosettes (?), private collection (Egami 1974: 225 ff., pl. XXIV; *The Ancient Orient Museum* 1978, no. 217). Egami declares facts that preclude any argument, that the vessel is a "bronze situla from Luristan," dated to the "9th-8th century," and that Anahita is represented. These data demonstrate that Anahita was worshipped in Iran for many centuries, from "the pre-Zoroastrian times of the Luristan bronzes to the later Sasanian or early Islamic periods," and that "religious continuity for such a long period" has been demonstrated (227 f.; *Muscarella 1988a: 247, note 4).

This use of bazaar archaeology produces precisely the same interpretation pattern urged by the publishers of the Zurvan iconography–another bazaar group of modern forgeries: the ancient inhabitants of Luristan worshipped both Zurvan and Anahita. Historians of ancient Iranian religion will have to unravel the interesting disagreement between two modern scholars' views of Iran's religious development: the Zurvan team (Ghirshman) claims that Zoroastrianism and its heresy existed in the same time and space that Egami knows was pre-Zoroastrian, where Anahita was worshipped. (If this weren't serious, one could have a good laugh).

While Ph. Gignoux in *Studia Iranica* 4, 1975: 139 rejects Egami's iconographical interpretation, he generously supplies another, because he too knows that the scene is ancient.

2. Decorated with a walking figure who has stylized hair set in rows, a scraggly beard, stylized muscular arms and thick legs, and odd clothing – I do not know if a so-called ostrich is also present (*Exhibition of Persian Art*, Tokyo 1971: no. 99; *Muscarella 1988a: 247).

3. A four-winged bearded figure with a feather crown pursuing a so-called ostrich, ex-Ephron, Boisgirard et de Heeckeren, Paris, April 26, 1979, no. 23.

4. A standing figure holds one arm akimbo while the other hand either holds something to his nose or a vessel to his mouth, and behind him is a backward looking caprid; the museum authorities claim that there are remains of cuneiform above the figure; silver, Copenhagen 14886 (M.L.-Buhl, *A Hundred Masterpieces*... The National Museum of Denmark 1974: no. 90; *Muscarella 1974b: 251; Calmeyer 1973: 107 f., 3 f., hints that something may be wrong).

5. A kneeling archer hunts a bird, gold, ex-Kevorkian, *Sotheby's November 24, 1986: no. 290 – "...earlier 20th Century, in Luristan style...."

6. An istikhan shaped vessel has a scene of six walking figures, four carrying bows; gold, ex-Kevorkian, *Sotheby's November 24/25, 1987: no.394 – "...early 20th Century...."

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7. Two confronting plumed horses, Ludwig collection. The beaker was offered for sale as from "Urartu, 8th–7th c. B.C." (Numismatic & Ancient Art Gallery AG, Zürich, April 11, 1991: no. 336), but when purchased and republished it was re-baptized "9.–7. Jh. v.

Chr., vermutlich Luristan" (*Paradeisos*, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, 1992: 33 ff; on p. 35 the vessel is listed as "unpubliziert").

8. A man chasing a so-called ostrich, copied from Calmeyer 1973: 39, Abb. 4, C 4, but with misunderstanding: the execution and representation of the hair, beard. eyes, chest, leg, and kilt are all wrong; the figure wears a scarf; instead of a sword hilt, the forger made three horizontal units; the bottom of what should be a quiver is a swelling on the figure's thigh, and it projects up, not down; the bird's head is small, and so forth; Iranian dealer, 1992.

9. Walking animals, Fitzwilliam Museum (J.M. Munn-Rankin in *Iraq* XXIX, 1, 1967: 2, pl. I, here called calves). According to Calmeyer (*1973: 106, note 77, 114, note 89) the scene has been altered, remaking the original bulls into the present creatures.

10. Calmeyer cites as a forgery an example in Baghdad depicting five encountering figures, two holding beakers, which he says is "gar sinnlos" (*Calmeyer 1973: 115; I have not seen it).

11. An istikhan shaped vessel depicts two male figures flanking and greeting a tree placed in a pot from which water flows; a plant surmounted by a lozenge separates the figures; bronze, Seattle Art Museum 48.41 (*Calmeyer 1973: 114 Abb. 104). P 412

12. A corrupt banquet scene depicting both the seated figure and another before him, both carrying beakers, one in his left hand; a third figure carries a vessel, and a thin vase holding a tapering tube; there is no table, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (Calmeyer 1973: 20 f. 160, A7; *Muscarella 1974b: 251: *idem 1977c: 79).

13. A banquet scene, bronze, Eisenberg April 1962 sales catalogue, no. 56, which according to Calmeyer (*1973: 20 f., A 8), has two recently added figures (*Muscarella 1979c: 79).

14. Another banquet scene with iconographical problems: the fan bearer stands before the table, not as is typical – canonical – behind the seated figure; the vessel with a tube rests on a pillow-like object, and the seated figure's hat, not a polos, is awkwardly rendered, Teheran (Calmeyer 1973: 30 f., A 22; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

15. A conflation of an "ostrich" hunt and a banquet scene – here a strangely dressed figure drags a large bird by the neck and offers it to a seated figure who holds a vessel; the rim guilloche moves right to left, which is unusual for beaker ornamentation, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (Calmeyer 1973: 38 f., C 2; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

16. A strangely executed and contrived scene depicting a figure shooting a composite bow at a bird on a tree, before them is a figure attacking two caprids with a spear; both figures have shoes tipped with spirals; Paris collection (Calmeyer 1973: 50 f., 215, F 8; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

17. A modernly reworked hunt scene distorting the bow, clothing and perhaps more, Simon Collection, Strassburg (*Calmeyer 1973: 52 f., 113, pl. 8: 5, F 11; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

18. Heraldic caprids confront a tree. The caprids seem to be foreshortened, from a vessel with a plant flows herringbone pattern water, the rim guilloche moves right to left, and there is no hatching on the nipple rosette; dealer, Koutalakis (Calmeyer 1973: 58 f., G 3; Sotheby & Co. July 14, 1975, no. 87; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

19. A hunt scene depicting what appears to be a nude and awkward bowman on a beaker bearing a lion head-mask at the base, "Moon" Collection (Calmeyer 1973: 80 f., 148, N 2). This beaker is closely matched to one formerly in the David-Weill Collection, another seen in the bazaar, and a third formerly in the Moore Collection (Calmeyer 1973: N 1, N 3, N 5; Amiet 1976: 52, no. 83). They all have the same mask at the base, and an undecorated, plain body; there are differences among the mask details – mane, eyes, warts. The alleged remains of an inscription on the "Moon" beaker suggests the vessel is ancient, but surely the hunt scene is a modern addition (*Muscarella 1977c: 79).

20. On a vessel with a base mask like No. 19, a lion hunts its prey, Yeganeh, Frankfurt (Calmeyer 1973: N 4, ambiguously doubted part of the scene, noting modern work, but did not condemn the whole scene, a possibility that should be considered).

21, 22. Two beakers depict heraldic winged lion sphinxes touching trees, MfVuF, Berlin; Ben Zion collection (Calmeyer 1973: 98 f., Abb. 92, 93, pl. 7, III 3a, 3b, Taf. 7: 4, 5; *Muscarella 1974b: 251; *idem 1977c: 79). I see no evidence that the creatures are ancient executions; note that those on 3a walk on a picket fence, and the sphinxes on 3b are crudely incised – not in relief – on the vessel; also the guilloche of 3a moves right to left.

23. A beaker with a flat base depicting a veneration scene, the seated figure wears a fez extending down his neck, holds up his empty right hand in salute (see here also No. 25); the feather bearer is behind him, not facing a table – in other words unique and not an ancient composition; Paris collection (Calmeyer 1973: 100, Abb. 94, III 3c: Calmeyer believes this and the Ben Zion example, No. 22 above, were made by the same hand; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

24. A scene of two creatures with complex body decoration and bulls' heads with ibex horns interlocked in combat; a tree is below their heads; the body decoration is a mixture of different creatures. Calmeyer categorizes this and the two following examples as from a "grob-plastische Werkstatt." I agree, but we differ on its chronology: I suggest that the inexpert "grob" workshop is modern; Maria Hundhausen Collection, Essen (Calmeyer 1973: 100 f., III a', Abb. 95, pl. 8, 4; *Muscarella 1977c: 79; *idem 1988a: 247, note 4).

25. On this beaker, a seated man is presented with a bull grasped by one horn– conveniently curved forward, as if it were an ear – by an attending figure who also

holds a thin vessel in his other hand. The seated figure, like No. 23 above, holds up an empty hand, his face and beard are unclear, the animal has a caprid's tail (noted by Calmeyer), and the iconography is unparalleled; St. Louis City Art Museum (*Ancient Art* no. 89; Calmeyer 1973: 103, III b′, Abb. 96; *Muscarella 1977c: 79; *idem 1988a: 247, note 4). An abeyant position is appropriate given the problems.

26. Here an odd-looking archer shoots a composite bow with his left hand – note the fingers – at a caprid, which does not turn its head. Note that all other beaker archers are right handed. Vollmoeller collection (Calmeyer 1973: 104, III c′, Abb. 97, pl.8, 3; *Muscarella 1977c: 79; *idem 1988a: 247, note 4).

27. A short bucket with loops for handle attachments is conventionally decorated at top and base, but an oddly dressed archer hunts a caprid holding his shooting hand in space far from the bow's string; another identically dressed masters two powerful plants, Vorderasiatische Museum, Berlin (Calmeyer 1973: 48. 139 F 3). Calmeyer noted the uniqueness of the object, that the handle loops when added covered the guilloche pattern, and suggested that the vessel may have been cut down from a standard beaker, in antiquity – just too many unanchored assumptions to justify the anomalies (Muscarella 1977c: 79).

28. A beaker with lozenges at the rim, a tongue pattern at the base, and grazing stags, Teheran dealer (*Calmeyer 1973: 105 f., 113, III a"; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

29. A beaker with a scene of two confronting asses, Louvre A.O. 20463 (*Calmeyer 1973: 106, 113, III 3b"; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

30. An istikhan shaped vessel embellished with two apparent birds of prey–but probably confused with the "ostrich" on other beakers, Barbier Collection (Calmeyer 1973: 111 f., 162, III 4 v, believes the confusion occurred in antiquity, in ancient Iran, *Muscarella 1977c: 79 – weakly stated in 1988a: 378).

31. A flask with tall neck, decorated at the top of the belly and base with guilloches, tongue patterns and a base rosette, relating the object to the beaker group; on the body is incised a hyena and a feline divided by a plant, Motamed, Frankfurt (Calmeyer in *Das Tier* no. 52: "Privatsammlung"!; idem 1973: 70, I 2). Surely the beasts were not on the vessel in antiquity; for vessels of the exact shape and ornament decoration, but with plain bodies, see Calmeyer 1973: 83, O 4.

32, 33. Two ancient examples reworked in modern times, Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960: pl. 18: 88 (provided with a false, flat base), and M. Hundhausen, Essen (*Calmeyer 1973: H 2, A 15; *Muscarella 1977c: 79).

34. Moorey 1981: no. 430 raised doubts about a beaker in Los Angeles, 76.97.349 (ex-Heeramaneck?) with a banquet scene; I have seen the photograph and am not sure either way; the seated figure's posture, clothing, hat, and the chair are very close to an example in Teheran, see No. 14, above.

35. An istikhan decorated with a banquet scene characteristic of nipple beakers offered for sale (Hotel Drouot May 15, 1997, no. 86) depicts a seated king facing right – all other examples known face left – and holding a vessel in his left hand, which is drawn as if a right hand: the only other example where a left hand is used is on the Malecki symposium beaker mentioned below. There is also a strange guilloche and squat hat worn by the king.

36. A straight-sided "grand goblet" decorated with a "Ziwiye" genre scene of a man fighting a lion, Hotel Drouot November 7, 1977, no. 47.

37. An istikhan shaped vessel depicting a walking male – a hunting scene? At the rim are uncanonical thick vertical units above crude squares (*The Ancient Orient Museum* 1978, no. 218).

38. There are more vessels that continue to puzzle me; perhaps someone will autopsy them in detail and record the results. Others published poorly in auction catalogues prevent any determination, viz. Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 102; Sotheby Parke Bernet March 1/2. 1984, no. 191; Christies July 8, 1992, no.48.

a. It is difficult to evaluate one of the most interesting and provocative scenes ever depicted on nipple beakers or elsewhere, that on an example in Teheran, Maleki Collection (Calmeyer (1973: 18 f., A 1; Akurgal 1968: Abb. 62). A man and woman sit on cushions atop a couch, eating and drinking from a table placed beside the couch, and a harp player and an attendant hold a small object. The photographs seem to reveal an ancient skill, although the drawing published may be prettified. The formal parallel with the Assyrian Assurbanipal banquet relief is obvious, except that I do not know two figures seated on a couch in ancient Near Eastern art. Nor are there iconogaphic parallels on other beakers of the couch, the two seated figures, the female attendants and their decorated clothing, the harp being plucked with both hands on the same side. This example is best kept in abeyance (*Muscarella 1974b: 250 f.) rather than subjectively embraced as a unique, exciting, antiquity.

b. I am still reluctant to accept the beaker in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 54.5 challenged in *Muscarella 1974b: 249 f., 252 ff., pl. 46, figs. 4–6; idem. 1980–81: 117; *Porada in her review of Calmeyer 1973, *AJA* 80, 2, 1976: 201; it is considered ancient by P. Meyers 1988: 14, 16, figs. 11–13, and by Calmeyer (1973: 24, 115, 155, 214, A 13); unfortunately, I neglected to include this vessel for discussion in Muscarella 1988a.

c. Calmeyer 1973: 78, 113, M4 raises doubts – the lack of relief, foreshortening, etc. – about a beaker in Teheran; I have not seen it.

d. I would like to autopsy Calmeyer 1973: 108, III 3h, a cast beaker-like vessel depicting two springing caprids confronting a tree.

e. The same should be done for Calmeyer 1973: 86 f., P 1, a bowl with a walking caprid on the side – was it recently added?

In the following sections concerning sculpture, pin heads, the so-called master of animal "standards" and animal "finials" (terms of convenience), and horse cheek pieces, it is especially problematic to recognize the genuine material. In this culturally diverse area

noted for exotic and complex works, so few of these forms have been excavated that objective determinations remain difficult. Even with sustained study, it is a challenge to identify which of the disparate bazaar examples labeled Luristan are ancient, and which are not. Potratz (1963, 1968) was one of the earliest scholars sensitive to the formal and stylistic diversity of artifacts in Luristan, and the potential ease of forgeries being sold in the antiquities market; a generation later most scholars still have not read, let alone heeded him, and one is forced to repeat his warnings.[46]

Because of the extensive and systematic plundering in the area to satisfy collectors' lusts, we are confronted with masses of unexcavated material, far more than encountered elsewhere in Iran. How does one correctly answer the authenticity question? There is no alternative: if an unexcavated piece is in certain opposition to what may reasonably be considered genuine, a dissent, and a rejection of the much accepted dealers' motto "Novum, ergo verum," is appropriate. I have spent more time on the Luristan corpus than it may be worth: see similar comments in Muscarella 1977b: 169, note 68 and in 1988a: 141, note 5.

All known modern creations are not listed here, and I refrain from listing ambiguous pieces.

Sculptures

Many publications, particularly sales catalogues of dealers and auction houses, or collectors' catalogues, publish disparate small, odd, unique, and amorphous bronze statuettes of human-like form as from Luristan or somewhere unspecific in Iran. From an archaeological perspective most of the non-excavated statuettes should not be cited as artifacts of an ancient culture (see Potratz 1968: 28 ff., and 31 f. for problems with his nos. 121, 122: are they genuine?). For excavated statuettes see Schmidt et al. 1989: pls. 182: b-e; 185: c; for animals see pls. 186-188 (see Muscarella 1977b: 176, note 76 on some problematic pieces not repeated here). Note that Moorey 1981: 99, 103 f. indicts seven statuettes in Los Angeles but exhibits only one, no. 587; see also Iran General, below.

1. "Rare cachet pendentif," depicting two upright creatures (felines?) snuggling and holding hands, Hotel Drouot April 14, 1991, no. 62.

2. "Rare figurine" of two humans standing on an elongated animal, Hotel Drouot October 4, 1991, no. 17.

3. Called a rhyton, this is the head of a caprid, the top of whose horns are bridged by a statuette of a small animal, Barbier Collection (*Trésors* no. 191, pl. 28; *Bronzes iraniens* no. 62).

4. "A very rare and unpublished type" of an amorphously shaped female figurine, Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960, no. 1 (*Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 13).

5, 6, 7, 8. Four statuettes conveniently published together, Nouveau Drouot May 26/27, 1983, p. 7 (unnumbered), top left, a shapeless figure; top right, a figure holding its head

with both hands; and page 8, bottom center, a female figure with outspread arms; and center left, a figure standing on a plinth over an animal's head.

9. A female figure holding her small breasts with lumpy hands stands on a bull; on her head is a quadruped with a loop on its back. The object is considered to be a pin, Nouveau Drouot December 15/16, 1981, no. 21, the same as Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980, no. 279.

10, 11. In the above Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980 catalogue are two other not convincing statuettes listed, to cover all bets, as deriving either from Luristan or Amlash, but which probably derived from neither area: nos. 317, 323 – same as *Treasures of Persian Art* no. 180 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 201 – called no. 177). What is no. 322 – a generic "ancient" object?

12. Addorsed caprid heads joined together over a base, Sotheby Parke Bernet November 20/21, 1975, no. 20.

13, 14, 15. Three statuettes ex-David-Weill, all questionable (Amiet 1976: 93, nos. 219-221; *Muscarella 1978: 242) – and what can one conclude about Amiet, 92 f., nos. 210, 218, genuine, modern (see also *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 14)?

16, 17, 18, 19. The same hesitancy surely should obtain for four statuettes in the Barbier collection listed as deriving from "Louristan," *Bronzes iraniens* nos. 74, 75, 76, 77.

20, 21, 22. Equally uncertain are four statuettes in the Barbier collection listed as deriving from "Louristan," *Bronzes iraniens* nos. 74–77.

23. A figure that De Wael (1982: no. 397) has determined is from ancient Luristan; its silly putty form suggests otherwise.

24. A tubular human-headed figure with birds' heads projecting inward and outward from its body, Louvre, ex-Coiffard Collection (P. Amiet in *La Revue du Louvre* 1963: no. 1: 15, fig. 6). Even if the figure is ancient, the birds surely are not.

25, 26. Two statuettes published in Sotheby Parke Bernet November 20/21, 1975, nos. 42, 43 (*Muscarella 1977b: nos. 59, 60).

27. A Mona Lisa smiling female, *Treasures of Persian Art* no. 177 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 58 – there listed as no. 180).

28. A human figure with hands across the stomach standing on a plinth set over the horns of an animal head, itself over a long shank, probably all modern, not a pastiche, *Bronzes de la Perse* no. 27, equals Nouveau Drouot May 26/27, 1983, "Epingles", left side of page.

29. In the ex-Godard collection is a tubular statuette of a female that has a very high tin content, 25.90%, suggesting a modern origin – perhaps an aftercast, or judging from its

strange hat, a newly created figure (Godard 1962; pl. 26; De Waele 1982: 105 f., no. 125, fig. 85, right). If an aftercast, it is made from examples like De Waele 1982: 104 f., no. 124, fig. 124; Godard 1962: pl. 27.

30. Ought we to accept some statuettes of apparently nude females, but without genitalia or breasts? (Vanden Berghe 1983: nos. 287, 290 – cf. to the mirror atlas figures; the same form equals Moorey 1974a: 163, no. 143, but here one observed sexual features – although the piece itself is unclear).

31. I know of three examples of statuettes of a (seemingly) blushing and modest female with bulging thighs, whose thin incised arms and flared-out fingers cover her pudenda (Amiet 1976: no. 221; Vanden Berghe 1983: no. 285 – supplied by a dealer with a tubular base; and Hotel Drouot December 15, 1995: no. 7 – furnished by a dealer with a variety of added ensemble elements). Are any of these genuine; is one the model for the others? We may never know the answers (*Muscarella 1978: 242).

32. Two ibex heads with swept-back horns attached to a thick pin were not cast in one piece, but were separate parts joined together by rivets, Israel collection (**Fakes and Forgeries* no. 88).

33. A whetstone socket with an animal projecting from and clearly added to the goat protome's chest; the former may be ancient (*Moorey 1981: no. 112).

34. Two bracelets, one with doubled arc and monster headed terminals, the other with horned monster terminals, Hotel Drouot March 30, 1994, nos. 124, 126.

35. One must mention the "hollow monkey" claimed for Luristan in Eisenberg sales catalogue December 1962, no. 58A.

Other examples of the problem include Potratz (1963: 135) in which a small statuette of a youth is called a forgery because it had little to do with Luristan art. It was first published as silver, listed by Potratz as bronze, and then later by Moorey (1981: no. 662) as iron (Muscarella 1977b: 176, note 76). But all accept that it came from Luristan. Missed here, even by Potratz, is the historical reality that the dealers' fiat about provenience is fiction, the true provenience will never be known, although the statuette may be an artifact from some ancient culture.

Potratz (ibid.: 135, Taf. XXXIII-IV) also believed that a bronze statuette of a female in Brussels "eine plumpe Fälschung ist." But is it a forgery or from a non-Luristan, unidentified culture?

Are the two figurines in the British Museum published by R.D. Barnett in *BMQ* XXVI, 3/4, 1963: pl. XLV, b, ancient? One holds a large leaf, the other stands. They are not Luristan bronzes, but could be genuine – I do not have an opinion, yet doubts linger (Muscarella 1977b: 176, note 76).

Openwork Pin Heads

Many strange compositions form the crests of pins about which I have no straightforward opinions with regard to authenticity. I do believe, however, that the selections published by Moorey 1981: pp. 70–75, and De Wael 1982, nos. 117–121, are odd but not negatively strange, and may be ancient. One should examine the two examples excavated at Surkh Dum (Schmidt et al. 1989: pl. 185, a, d – the latter pin is similar to De Wael's no. 121).

a. How does one approach Moorey 1981: nos. 362? Is it an ancient, but not Luristan artifact?

b. The same abeyant posture obtains for Orthmann 1982: 31, 32.

c. I suggest that two examples illustrated in *Museum Altenessen* (1986) nos. 64 and 66 make no sense. Surely they are not from Luristan and probably not from another ancient culture.

d. Note that solid head pins are also sometimes a problem. One example, a mixture of animal heads, *Moorey 1981, no. 317, is correctly indicted (is his no. 331 ancient?).

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So-called Standards and Finials

Here too it is difficult to sort out the ancient from the modern; I list only those that especially trouble me, but do not claim to list all of the problem pieces or modern creations. It is appropriate to recall that of the hundreds available for examination, archaeologists have excavated but one standard, a fragment of another, a head of another, and three finials (Vanden Berghe 1983: Figs. 23: 19, 26, 28, 29; Muscarella 1988a: 137; idem 1988b: 36). Because all unexcavated examples of an ensemble of standard/finial set on a stand with the unit held together by a bronze pin are suspect (Muscarella 1988a: 139 f., note 5), I do not list the many published examples – it would take up too much space.

1, 2, 3, 4. Several standards in Los Angeles published by Moorey 1981 are more foreign than expected: nos. 222, 227, 231, 240 (Moorey notes that nos. 222 and 240 are unusual. And what of nos. 241 and 244?

5. A pastiche composed of two broken fragments, both probably ancient; the join is easily seen in the middle where the two heads overlap, Lancaster Collection (*Archaeology* 5, 2, 1952: 97, fig. 2; *Muscarella 1988a: 141, n. 5).

6. A standard that is similar in composition to No. 5, two fragments seem to have been joined together at the center, Beitz Collection (Orthmann 1982: no. 13; *Muscarella 1988a: 141. n. 5).

7, 8. Two standards seen in the bazaar correctly indicted by *Potratz (1968: 56, 59, nos. 223, 240; *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 12), the former perhaps a pastiche, the latter an obvious perversion (*Muscarella 1988a: 141, note 5). Potratz (ibid.: 55 f.) also indicts

his nos. 221 (Louvre) and 222 (Boston) – about which I cannot judge. (Difficult to follow are Potratz's observations, 61 f., about his no. 249, which looks genuine).

9. A column-like figure straddles a cutout tube but otherwise has the form of a master of animal standard, Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980: no. 304 (*Muscarella 1988a: 141, note 5).

10. A probably ancient standard altered in recent times, Nouveau Drouot March 30, 1981, no. 9.

11. A pastiche, or completely modern, long necked master of animal standard figure, Hotel Drouot July 7/8, 1981, no. 9.

12. An odd, certainly unique unit consisting of two backward looking, confronting creatures with horned human heads and caprid bodies, and stylized, supported wings; the creatures hold a central tube and are fixed on a mount, Nouveau Drouot December 15/16, 1981: no. 14 (*Muscarella 1988a: 141, note 5). (I wondered if this could be from an unknown culture, but was pulled to a negative conclusion by its apparent artificial character).

13. A "Rare Idole," depicting two human-heads on long necks joined to animal bodies, a humanoid head between them, and the whole set into a mounting, Nouveau Drouot May 12, 1982, no. 43.

14. Moorey 1981: no. 246 mentioned a pastiche in Los Angeles, but it is not illustrated.

15. A tube like, mirror-image standard, the upper and lower units duplicate each other, upside down, Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960, no. 12 (*Calmeyer 1969: 138 (A); *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 13). Calmeyer also condemned another mirror-image figure (ibid.: (B)), and Potratz (1968: 59, Abb. 237) raised doubts about the form in general. However, Moorey 1981, nos. 250, 257, has defended it, and a recent laboratory test alleges that no. 250 is ancient. I denounced no. 257 (1977b: no. 28), but in 1988a: 141, note 5, I was more hesitant in condemning the group. The form may be genuine, with modern copies present, like the one noted above.

16. An animal "finial" with two very attenuated confronting caprids, Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960, no. 16 (*Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 13).

17. Two confronting flat-nosed caprids with twisted wire tails, Nouveau Drouot September 24, 1981, no. 21.

18, 19, 20. Potratz (1963: 136 f.) condemns three animal finials, his Taf. XXXVII, nos. 2–4, a Luristan feline and two with confronting caprids – but how does one really know in these cases?

21. Moorey 1981 believes Los Angeles County Art Museum no. 259 may be an aftercast of no. 258, three cavorting caprids in a circle, but here with heads turned backwards.

22. Two confronting caprids with rectangular animals on their backs are most probably not ancient, Seattle Art Museum, *Annual Report* 1965, fig. 11 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 29).

23. Although called a standard by its publisher, it is basically a unit formed by the joining of addorsed caprids (function?) to a pin: a modern pastiche, ex-Godard collection (De Waele 1982: 108, 115, no. 128, fig. 87; in note 12 he defends the "montage").

24. A bad pastiche standard composed of odd pieces, or it is all modern, Hotel Drouot December 15, 1995, no. 5.

25. An attenuated inexpertly made, and recently created standard ensemble (the base may be ancient), Hotel Drouot December 8, 1975, no. 45.

26. A composite standard, Tel Aviv collection (**Fakes and Forgeries* no. 87).

27. A pastiche either consisting of ancient pieces, or completely modern, is a standard with a human torso between two rampant caprids, Sotheby's July 5, 1982, no. 80.

28. I do not know if a tube in Los Angeles, Moorey 1981 no. 276, is ancient or modern, but it seems not to be from Luristan in any event.

One looks at Amiet 1976: 91, nos. 202, 203, with horse finials, and *Exhibition of Persian Art* Tokyo, 1971, no. 79 cautiously: I reject the first two, and wonder if the third is partly genuine. What of *Bronzes iraniens* no. 109?

Figured Horse Cheekpieces

Another difficult group to judge objectively, for the same reasons as expressed for other Luristan material; one may overlook forged pieces, or call into doubt some that are ancient. In this group one finds a great variety of forms and styles, a paucity of excavated examples, and one has to consider the probability that Luristan was not the only culture in western Iran that produced figured Cheekpieces associated with mouthpieces (for discussions of each of these issues see Muscarella 1982; idem 1988a: 86 ff., nos. 147-149, 155 ff., 161 f.).

This last issue speaks to the evaluation of non-Luristan style figures observed on a number of cheekpieces. In a bazaar driven culture, all cheekpieces offered for sale have been designated to be "Luristan" artifacts. Archaeological evidence, however, demonstrates that several cultures in western Iran utilized horses and probably manufactured figured cheekpieces – and surely represented them in non-Luristan style. A pair of bronze horses or onagers excavated in Tomb 53 at Marlik in the early 1960s but only recently published (*Marlik, The Complete Excavation Reports*, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1996: pl. 135: 940) neatly demonstrates this. In form they are exactly the same as the cheekpieces (which is what Negahban calls them), including the figure placed on a bar and the presence of a neck "collar," but they lack the

characteristic opening expected for the leather reins, and each has a large rear loop for attachment. Their date must be within the first millennium B.C., probably late 8th-7th century.[47] Whatever function the figures may have had, their form and style suggests that some non-excavated, but similar, animal-form cheekpieces probably originated outside of Luristan, certainly in the north (see the above references for more details).

Savage (1963: 37 f.) mentioned a colleague who allegedly visited a forgery factory near Hamadan in the 1930s where "standard-heads and horse bits," and other objects, were made. He also claims that similar forgeries were made in Paris.

1, 2, 3. That not all horse-form cheekpieces are ancient is evidenced from a pair and two isolated figures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (32.161.25a-c, 32.161.26, 27: Muscarella 1988a: 162, figs. 10–12), that are probably modern. MMA 32.161.25a-c is very close in all details to a pair with a mouthpiece, and a single example in Brussels (*Bull. Musées Royaux* 3, 3, 1931: fig. 21, ibid. 3, 4, 1932: fig. 15; D 0.950), and to a similar pair in Leiden (van Wijngaarden 1954: pl. VIII; 33) – are they aftercasts or originals? For what it is worth, Pope (*ILN*, October 29, 1932: 667) mentioned the manufacture of forged horse pieces in 1931; on the appearance of Luristan forgeries on the market, see Muscarella 1988a: 119, note 2.

4. Other horse-shaped examples could be modern, but there is no certain evidence: Potratz 1963: 139 f., indicted his pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX. For the former, the rein hole is placed too far forward on the body (see also Moorey 1971: 114 ff., no. 120); for the latter – plump, formless equid (?) bodies with the heads looking down, that is not clearly conforming to an expected type, compare Moorey 1971: 114 ff., no. 118, and *Bull. Musées Royaux* 3, 3, 1931, fig. 1 – are they aftercasts or originals? What of Hotel Drouot March 30, 1994: no. 112, or Nouveau Drouot July 7/8, 1981: nos. 76, 79, or Hotel Drouot December 15/16, 1981: no. 73 – ancient? And so forth....

Aftercasting is a practice that may be more extensive than can be presently documented (Potratz 1963: 133). This is well illustrated in the following unexcavated figured groups:

5. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art (51.17) is a piece cast in the form of a bowman in an abbreviated chariot moving right; there is one four-spoked wheel, broken away at the lower right, and the vehicle is pulled by an open-mouthed feline monster, previously discussed at length (Muscarella 1977b: no. 31; *idem 1982); I give here only a summary. The Metropolitan Museum piece has a disproportionate amount of zinc (17.4%) and 3.0% of tin; it is assumed to be a forgery, however, stylistically the form is ancient and it must be an aftercast of an ancient example.

There are three or four known mates of the Metropolitan piece, all facing right, and identical in all details including the broken wheel rim: the Louvre, the Paris art market (1961), the Stora Collection; one surfaced in the Godard Collection (unknown to me in 1982; De Wael 1982, no. 83; no. 44 in *L'Art iranien*), possibly a fifth example, or the passed-on Stora piece. There are five examples identical in form to those just mentioned, but they face left, and have a complete wheel: ex-Pomerance Collection, Los Angeles County Art Museum (ex-Ackerman-Pope Collection), a private collection in Detroit, an example in the Schmidt Collection and one in the Zürich Landesmuseum: the last two

are mentioned in Moorey 1971: 104, note 3 (and known from xerox copies kindly sent to me by that generous scholar). One example identical to the above, with a complete wheel, but moving to the right, is reported to have been in the Kevorkian Collection. Two other examples move left but are missing the horizontal spokes of their wheel: Stora Collection, Ackerman Collection; another misses its horizontal spoke, like the ones just mentioned, but moves right, in Fribourg (*L'Animal*, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1982: no. 1).

The differences in some of the wheel and rim configurations may reflect a casting flaw (in the original castings). Two of the examples from the Stora Collection, one facing left the other right, and with different wheel casting flaws, may be a pair – although this is to assume that the plunderers kept a pair together. Of course it is possible that others in the scattered group form pairs, regardless of the wheel configuration. Without testing it is useless to speculate on this matter or that concerning how many of the group (I have listed a total of thirteen or fourteen) are ancient, and how many besides the Metropolitan Museum's might be aftercasts. The originals were probably made somewhere in western Iran.

See also a cheekpiece consisting of an open-mouthed feline identical in all details–even the tail crossing over the body and coiling at the tip – to those above drawing the chariots (Sotheby & Co. July 14, 1975, no. 90): an original ancient copy? P 414

6. Another group that may contain modern aftercasts are figural units composed of two confronting winged semi-human creatures grasping with one hand stylized trees; animals or birds are set in a triad between them; the scene probably depicts a ritual. I mentioned them as pieces to be analyzed in Muscarella 1977b: 175, no. 39. Also mentioned: one ex-Heeramaneck and now Los Angeles (Moorey 1981: no. 156), another from the Heckett Collection (*Ancient Bronzes* no. 24) are identical and seem to form a pair, but Moorey thinks the former may be a modern aftercast. A closely related group published with a mouthpiece is shown in *Exhibition of Persian Art*, Tokyo, 1971, no. 86; here the figures are without wings, but they grasp rein rings above their heads like the two above mentioned; one does not seem to be an aftercast of the other.

Other extant pairings may well be ancient (subject to close autopsy). A pair published in Nouveau Drouot November 6/7, 1982, frontispiece, reveals differences that may indicate one is not an aftercast of the other, or of the similar example in Buffalo (*Hobbies* 16, 3 1946: 85, fig. 8). See also a pair from Sotheby & Co., June 19, 1961: no. 58, the figures hold stylized trees, as does a figure on a fragment in Buffalo (*Hobbies* 26, 3, 1946: fig. p. 87, which is Potratz 1963: pl. XXXII: 2). And an example in Los Angeles (Moorey 1981: no. 158) could be the mate to an example in Buffalo (*Hobbies* 26, 3 1946: fig. 8). A variant published by Moorey (1974a: no. 48) depicts winged figures like those discussed here, grasping addorsed feline heads; parts are allegedly restored–is the whole ancient (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 32)? This complex group may not have derived from Luristan.

7. Members of another uniform group have been scientifically determined to be modern, probably aftercasts, for the form itself appears to be "authentic." The pieces are identical, a human headed, horned and winged quadruped, *en face*, stands on addorsed hares at the base; on the creature's back and at the join of the hares is a scallop-like projection;

its tail rests on the base. I know five examples: Ashmolean (*Moorey 1971: 122 f., no. 126) – Moorey considered it an aftercast because of a high zinc level (14.7%), a glued-on patina and no corrosion (Craddock 1980: 133; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 38); the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 88.102.25 – a laboratory examination indicates 4.1% tin and no zinc or arsenic; under magnification "the surface corrosion layers appear to be genuine and consistent with...archaeological bronzes"; Cincinnati 1954.49 (Ackerman 1957: 5, fig. 2; photograph here) – was subsequently condemned there because of a high percentage of tin, 19.7%, and lead, 9.66% (this piece was advertised for sale by Pope in *SPA* IV, pl. 33a – who then sold it); Schmidt collection (Moorey 1971: 123); ex-Kevorkian Collection; also Eisenberg sales catalogue December 1962, no. 57A, which may be one of those mentioned here – or another example.

At least two examples are aftercasts (from the Metropolitan Museum model?); analysis will determine how many others of this form are also aftercasts. P 414

8. A quadruped almost identical to those above but lacking the trampled hares and the scallops, and its tail is raised; there is a strut between the wing and head and the front legs are awkwardly bent in the wrong direction (Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960: no. 81). This piece may not be ancient; two very similar, but more securely executed, examples and with the tails hanging appear to be authentic, perhaps an ancient variant of the scallop and hare group: one is in Los Angeles (Moorey 1971: 134 ff., no. 150), the other was sold at auction (Sotheby & Co. July 14, 1975, no. 60). They face in opposite directions, suggesting a pair (one would need to examine them together). A related and authentic looking example is in the Cincinnati Art Museum (*Cincinnati Art Museum Bull* January 1951:4).

9. Especially odd to me is an example in the Heckett Collection (*Ancient Bronzes* no. 31) depicting back to back stylized felines grasping and devouring Luristan-like beasts, all resting on addorsed animals, like those of No. 7 above. The leg positions and angles, and the articulation of all heads catch our attention to indicate this piece is not ancient.

10. A winged mouflon in the Ashmolean Museum (*Moorey 1971: 120 ff., no. 123; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 37) condemned for its high zinc content (A pair of mouflon cheekpieces in Israel was condemned as a forgery (**Fakes and Forgeries* no. 85), partly because it is claimed the head is not typical of Luristan art, and it resembles Ashmolean no. 123 – which it does not; I leave the matter of age open.

11, 12, 13. Moorey (*1971: 124 f., nos. 128–130; *Muscarella 1977b: nos. 34–36) correctly indicts three cheekpieces in the Ashmolean Museum, all variations of the master of animal form.

Moorey (1981, nos. 142, 143) also raises doubts about two mouflon examples in Los Angeles. I have seen a photograph of one but have no opinion either way.

14. A silver mouthpiece, aside from the use of silver, its ends terminate in a poor attempt to create Luristan beasts; the cheekpieces are described (but not illustrated) as crested birds or animals, ex-Brummer Collection, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc. April 20–23, 1949, no. 52 (*Muscarella 1988a: 163: note 2).

15. A very malformed execution of a horned animal, with an odd undercutting of the body area adjacent to the rein ring, Hotel Drouot July 7/8, 1981, no. 74 (also March 20/21, 1986, no. 144). And what of Nouveau Drouot May 26/27, 1983, "Mors" page 2, top – compare also Hultman 1974: 66 f. – a pair of bull cheekpieces, not cast from the same mold (*Muscarella 1988a: 163, note 2)?

16. A badly executed and modern misunderstanding is an example in Frankfurt (a dealer's collection) depicting a winged horned creature with a small animal blob crawling between its legs – note the tail, legs, head (Calmeyer in *Das Tier* no. 50).

17. Another imaginatively rendered horsebit depicts two confronting blob figures with tails (?) flanking the rein hole, Golschmann Collection (Amiet in *La Revue du Louvre* 1973, 50, 52, fig. 13). In *Arts Asiatiques* XXVIII, 1973, 9 f., note 11 Amiet expressed doubts about the antiquity of this object but noted that "...elle reproduit, au moins, un modèle authentique." (Meaning precisely what?)

18. A bridle ring with the long extending horns of a mouflon terminating at each end in a human torso, Israeli collection (**Fakes and Forgeries* no. 86).

19a. If one examines the horse bits in Moorey 1974a: 75 ff., nos. 40–50, a number do not disturb us even though they may seem odd – they appear to be ancient. But no. 45, a scene of addorsed winged equids attacked (?) by upright animals, and no. 50, addorsed winged griffins mastering felines and resting on two facing hares, do disturb us, and they may be modern. Moorey (ibid.) doubted the antiquity of his no. 49 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 33), striding sphinxes: he may be right.

b. Two examples in Sotheby's July 9/10 1984, nos. 114, 115 seem queer – the heads of the former, and the excess spirals and duck mouths of the latter: are they genuine? What of a unique example in the Louvre, ex-Coiffard: a moon/pumpkin headed creature with a crescent –meant to be horns – on its head, which Amiet in *La Revue du Louvre* 13, 1, 1963, 12, fig. 2 has no problem accepting into the Luristan corpus, but about which I am uneasy. In 1977b: no. 30 and 1988a: 163, note 2, I raised doubts about a complex figured cheekpiece ensemble in the Cincinnati Art Museum: perhaps I was wrong to suggest there was a problem here; P. Meyers has examined it and believes it to be ancient.

c. Is no. 77 in Sotheby Parke Bernet May 4, 1973 a bad ancient casting, or is its central human face flanked by animals with long necks a bad modern casting?

d. Moorey 1981: 38, 44 ff. indicts a number of possible modern cheekpieces, but does not illustrate them.

Weapons

Whether the following list of imaginative weapons are pastiches made in dealers' shops from odds and ends, or are completely modern creations, is unclear, but irrelevant with

cern for archaeological use. Some of the weapons listed below are modeled on sopotamian forms, and thus assumed (of course) to be imports into ancient Luristan vestern Iran.

1. Socketed axe (cf. Calmeyer 1969: 32 ff.) with a striding unarticulated lump of an animal on the socket, Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960, no. 70. This piece is similar to Calmeyer, ibid. 129, Abb. 135: ancient? (*Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 13).

2. Similar to above, with a striding animal on the socket, Hotel Drouot May 22 1980, no. 204.

3. Similar to above, with a chariot and driver on the socket, Hotel Drouot May 22 1980, no. 215.

4. An asymmetrical halberd (cf. Calmeyer 1969: 70 ff.) with "a realistically modeled rodent-like animal" on the socket and a crude mask on the blade, Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960, no. 71 (*Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 13).

5. A halberd as above with its long blade spit out by a feline head topped by a feline, Hotel Drouot May 22 1980, no. 223.

6. A halberd blade spit out of a feline head joined to a spiked socket, Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980. no. 212.

7. A foreshortened halberd with a crouching feline, Nouveau Drouot September 24 1981, no. 107.

8. A long axe with a socket at its middle decorated with four figures, and Janus headed Pazuzu heads at the butt, Hotel Drouot May 22 1980, no. 222.

9. A socketed axe with a short blade in the form of Luristan lion masks, Nouveau Drouot September 24 1981, no. 108.

10. Two addorsed animals form an axe "blade" and are spit out of the headless jaws of an animal attached to a socket, ex-Coiffard Collection (Calmeyer 1969: 42: O, Abb. 44; Amiet *La Revue du Louvre* 1963, 1: 13, fig. 3). This piece relates to nothing known in the ancient world.

11. Is not the caprid a recent addition to the socketed axe in the Abegg Collection (*Einführung in die Sammlung der Abegg-Stiftung*, 1982: 10)?

12. Moorey 1981 noted that five axes and two daggers in the Los Angeles County Art Museum have been embellished in recent times with incised scenes, nos. 3, 26, 27, 44, 60, 70, 80.

13. Moorey 1981 mentioned two crescent axes that he suggested are modern, nos. 47, 53.

14. Moorey 1981 also mentioned but did not illustrate seven dagger blades embellished with modern hilts or stray ancient ones added nos. 77–83; no. 81 (photograph) has addorsed animal heads on the pommel and a lion's mask at the hilt, just like No. 20 below. In 1974a: 189 f., he cited two swords assembled in recent times from separate units, nos. 186, 187. P 415

15. De Waele 1982 published as ancient daggers with animals engraved on the blade (nos. 30, 32), which may not be ancient; and he calls our attention to some modern assemblages of swords, nos. 37, 45.

16, 17, 18, 19. Amiet 1976 published some ex-David-Weill bronzes. One sword has an added caprid incised on the blade (no. 36); two swords are clearly modern assemblages, as noted by Amiet himself (34 f., nos. 37, 38); and there is a poor modern attempt to create a hilt, as again, Amiet recognized (ibid.: 36, no. 46; *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 14).

20. Surely a pastiche is a hilt composed of addorsed antelopes above a grooved grip surmounting a lion mask, joined to a blade, bronze and silver (Nouveau Drouot March 30, 1981, no. 135). The hilt is manifestly modern, a failed attempt to copy alleged Achaemenian forms of addorsed animal-head hilts, see No. 14, above, and Achaemenian Animal Sculpture No. 11, above.

There are probably still more daggers and swords in collections and publications, which are pastiches composed either of modern or ancient hilts added to blades (see Wever 1969 for a discussion of the forgers' technology in creating these pastiches).

21. In 1977b: nos. 46, 47 I called attention to the possibility of aftercasts in regard to two groups of axes, one example's butt terminates in a lion's head, the other's where the whole body of a lion forms the blade and socket. The forms seem authentic.

Potratz (1968: 9, note 20, Abb. 39) doubted an axe – or instrument – depicting in the round a figure facing animals on a plinth joined to a tang and a blade, Heeramaneck (*Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 12): I wonder whether it is not a forgery of a Luristan object, but rather something from another culture.

Note that for ibid.: Abb. 31, a broken halberd blade joined to a lion head that is part of a four-spiked butt, we now have a related example known to have been excavated at Surkh Dum (Schmidt et al. 1989: pl. 176, a) – so that I am now less inclined to doubt (cf. *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 12).

Quivers

I include in the Luristan section some sheet metal quivers bearing I believe recently added designs. These quivers along with examples that seem to be ancient are usually assigned to the convenient scrap basket areas of Luristan or western Iran ("western

Luristan," Moorey 1971: 255 – and specifically to Gilan, 1974a: 53; "Zagrosgebiet," Calmeyer 1964: 43; "aus Westiran," Calmeyer 1969: 81). In *IranAntiqua* IV, 1, 1964: 2, Y. Maleki provides an example of the shifting proveniences offered by competitive bazaars: she was offered a quiver as having derived from Hulailan, Luristan; shortly after another dealer told her that this quiver had actually been found near the Caspian Sea, 500 km. distance from Luristan. Still later she saw two more, similar, quivers this time assigned to Gilan in Luristan. But not one decorated quiver has ever been excavated in Luristan or western Iran. Rather than separate the differently attributed examples into separate cultural areas, for documentary purposes I list them together; all are bronze unless otherwise noted.

1. The quiver has three preserved decorated panels, all deviating from ancient art: the upper master of animals figure's wings and physiognomy, the central tree – a new growth, the lower figure flanked by trousered spear-bearing figures. The oddities were recognized by its publisher, who assumed that the "deviations could be interpreted as a modern attempt," but concluded that the "internal style is consistent" with neo-Elamite and Luristan "styles" and thus the piece is ancient, from "Luristan...ninth to the first half of the seventh century B.C." This is not stylistic analysis but rather a priori belief, Bèkèsy Collection (Hultman 1974: 68 f.; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 40).

2. A silver (?) quiver copying the Metropolitan Museum quiver (Muscarella 1988a: no. 308, fig. 15; Figure 9) in an embarrassing execution, ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia (C. G. Sloan catalogue, 11/29–12/2: no. 1976). P 416

3. Another copy, bronze, of the same quiver, made in the same modern factory by the same hand, Texas private collection.

4, 5. Two other bronze objects, both horrible and ex-Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia, also copy scenes from the Metropolitan Museum's quiver. One is a plaque; the other is a scene carved as decoration on what seems to be a Sasanian period sword scabbard, but whose presence informs us immediately that the whole unit is modern.
2P 417–418

6. A quiver with five panels, four bearing crude "assyrianizing" scenes: siege, winged disc juxtaposed to two small men flanking a small tree, confronting archers, figure attacking "ostrich", Borowski Collection (*Marseilles* no. 123; Mazzoni 1977: 179, note 5 accepts this and the next two; Calmeyer 1969: 84 f., 43 C', Abb. 86; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 43). Calmeyer notes that the winged disc may have been added – it was (but cf. Calmeyer 1964: 45, note 61, C). Surely the ostrich scene is equally not ancient, and were not the figures in the siege scene also added? What of the other scene? Calmeyer thinks that a provincial ancient Iranian craftsman made this and the next two examples (but cf. his p. 137; see also the terminology introduced by Calmeyer 1973:94: "mesopotamisch-barbarischen Stils", which is a made-up multicultural assertion – but he is partly right, for I suggest that a provincial artisan did make this piece.

Worth examining is Calmeyer's A', in Berlin: it too may be a forgery – or perhaps the (ancient) model for others with this decoration, here and Nos. 7, 8. P 419

7. The very same depictions, minus the winged disc panel, as the Borowski quiver, Bröckelschen Collection (Calmeyer 1964: 44 ff., Abb. 4–6; idem 1969: 85 f., 43 D', Abb. 87). It is difficult to accept that an ancient artist made the human figures (see his Taf. 51). Note another example of the same motifs sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet May 20 1982, no. 14–the photograph is poor.

8. Yet another example, this one from the Swiss bazaar, manifestly a gross forgery (pace Calmeyer 1969: 86, 43 E', Taf. 7; *Porada in *ZDMG* 1979: 400 suggested it was a forgery – she did not comment on the other examples).

9. A quiver with five decorated panels: a male holding at bay a rampant caprid; an archer shooting an upright bear/feline; confronting rampant caprids; two bowmen shooting at each other at close range; a winged horse, Foroughi?, ex-Kevorkian (Calmeyer 1964: 45, note 61 B; idem 1969, 86, 43 F', Abb. 88; idem 1973: 94, note 56; Sotheby & Co. December 8, 1970, no. 135). On what basis can one believe in the alleged ancient age of a single panel?

10. Three of the five alternating panels of this example are decorated: a winged disc; a man killing a winged animal; the same, Motamed, Frankfurt (Calmeyer in *Das Tier* no. 54; *Muscarella 1977b: no.42). A provincial apprentice artisan in Iran probably added the scenes, about 25 years ago: can one seriously doubt this modern chronology?

11. All six of the panels on this quiver have scenes that insult us and shame the forger: winged disc; master of animals in the next two; deity on beast; winged deity; winged animal. One will note the crude attempt to mix genre Near East with Urartian motifs, Motamed, Frankfurt (*Archaeology* 14, 2, 1961: 152; Mazzoni 1977: 179, note 5; *Calmeyer 1969: 87, note 286; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 41). P 419

12. The execution of the scene of two griffins fertilizing a tree, repeated three times on a quiver in the Eisenberg sales catalogue April 1960, no. 76, justifies a challenging of its antiquity (Calmeyer 1969: 82 ff., 43 D sees it as "eine weitere Variante innerhalb der assyrisch-babylonischen Bildkunst;" *Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 13). What is surprising is the correct rotational depiction of the griffins' right hands in the fertilizing – compare Luristan embellished Vessels, No. 1, above.

13. I have difficulty forming an opinion regarding the antiquity of a quiver in the Teheran Museum (*Sept Mille* no. 227, pl. XXX), which Calmeyer (1969: 87, note 290 A"', idem 1973: 95, 217, Abb. 143) likes very much. Varied events are represented – chariot, mastering of animals, reverence (?) scene – reflecting perhaps the Carchemish and Malatya reliefs, the Hasanlu gold beaker, and vague "Luristan" or Iranian style.

14. It is difficult for me to accept that three figured scenes on a quiver offered to us by the Hotel Drouot, December 13, 1996: no 36 ever knew Luristan in the 10th century B. C. (as the Hotel's experts claim). The winged nude females are inexpertly executed in their proportions and body features, and inadvertently, it seems, differ from one another.

Iran General

In this section I include strays that have been attributed by dealers and others to various parts of Iran, sometimes specifically to western Iran, or Luristan, or the vast Zagros area, or elsewhere.

Three unexcavated shallow bronze bowls are identical in essential details, decorated on the inner side with a frieze of four walking stags, each separated by a curved-trunk tree bearing large fruits; the differences among these vessels are solely in the central area. Their publishers attribute all the vessels to Iran, although Calmeyer thought them middle-Assyrian in style:

1. Collection particulière, *Trésors* no. 541, pl. 36; there is a rosette at the center (*Muscarella 1977b, no. 193). P 420

2. Bröckelschen Collection (Calmeyer 1964: 19 ff., Abb.2, pls. 14, 15; idem 1969: 57 f., Taf. 8, 1); plain center.

3. Los Angeles County Art Museum, Moorey 1981: no. 419; plain omphalos center. The execution of the trees and animal forms, and the multiplication of the vessels, automatically provokes special attention and reserve. Moorey (1981: no. 419) reported that a macroscopic autopsy of the Los Angeles example indicates a possible ancient origin. All three examples require disinterested laboratory examination. Based on the lack of ancient iconogaphic or stylistic parallels, there is no compelling reason to accept the group as ancient.

For the Bröckelschen example, Calmeyer (1964: 19 ff.) cited 13th century B.C. Assyrian trees as parallels, and from them he dated the bowl, a work "die bisher völlig unbekannt war" to the 13th century B.C. Unfortunately, to my eyes the trees are not similar in form or style to Middle Assyrian forms, and the fundamental difference triggers doubts; at the least, the Middle Assyrian parallel collapses. Subsequently, Calmeyer (1969: 57 f.) claimed that the Bröckelschen example is genuine, whereas the one published in *Trésors* is not; he only knew of the Los Angeles (ex-Heeramaneck) example from hearsay.

Archaeologists have available for study a shallow bowl that was excavated (sic) in Luristan, at Chamahzi-Mumah; it is formally related in its decorative scheme of animals and trees to the unexcavated examples under review: see Vanden Berghe 1977: 60, bottom; idem 1983: figs. 53–55, 59:5; Markoe 1985: 336, 337. Compare the tree forms and their fruit and the animal skin depiction recovered on the excavated vessel with the unexcavated group.

4. A "superbe bassin," bronze, embellished with three pairs of confronting head-touching meant-to-be caprids, separated by a small tree; it is compared to animals from Ziwiye, bronze, Nouveau Drouot September 24, 1981, no. 138, now in a United States collection. P 421

5. A bronze basin supported on a tripod of three bull foreparts was not made in the ancient Near East; dated to the 1st millennium B.C., Nouveau Drouot September 26,

1980, no.129 (what is the date of no. 133, described as a Sasanian lamp, and similar in form to no. 129?).

6. A concave-sided bronze vessel on a raised base decorated with three caprids or stags (they are called both) with lumps on their horns, interspersed with floral motifs. This is a horror, probably intended to be a forgery of the nipple beakers discussed above, but the astute writer of its caption labeled it "slightly later as it reflects Scythian stylization...," *Art from the Land of the Caravans*, J. Malter and Company, Auction VIII, June 23, 1979, no. 346 (*Löw 1993: 38, note 16).

7. A bronze bowl inexpertly decorated with incised felines pursuing bulls in an outer zone, and others separated by a guilloche in the inner zone, Bach (*Bronzes de la Perse* no. 128; Culican 1970: 73 ff., fig. 5; Markoe 1985: U4, 216, 346). The bowl may be ancient, but the scratched design was not made in antiquity. The Bach caption writer dates it 600–550 B.C. on the basis of a Cypriote parallel, allying with those who believe similar vessels, including the present example, were imported into Iran – see No. 8.

8. A bronze bowl inexpertly and aimlessly decorated with incised animals, some unidentifiable, others bulls; also trees and at least one hunter wielding an axe, all above a deep mountain motif, ex-Bach, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem (*Bronzes de la Perse* no. 122). In its original publication Iran in general was the preferred source, in Jerusalem it was perceptively recognized to be Elamite; it is not ancient.

9. An alleged Cypriote bronze bowl, with a scene very similar to that on a vessel in the Metropolitan Museum's Cesnola collection (Figure 11), ex-Rabenou, Teheran Archaeological Museum. The seller claimed it was found in Luristan; it first circulated in a New York dealer's shop in 1958. It has been published many times (see *Muscarella 1977b: no. 89 and *idem 1979: 3, no. 11; Markoe 1985: U6, 217, 347). This is another forgery of provenience leading to nonsense "history" about Phoenician (unexcavated) artifacts imported into Iran by long-distance trade (viz. Culican 1970: 65, 75; see also Markoe 1885: 105 ff., and the Ir section, pp. 209 ff. for orphaned Phoenician-influenced vessels accepted as deriving from Iran). Its only long-distance trade occurred in modern times. To my eyes the design of the Teheran vessel is not clearly ancient, and seems to be a copy of the Cesnola vessel. I suggest it may be a forgery. P 422

10. A bronze object, a deep vessel or a socket, has at its base a recently incised decoration of a deity set against a double bordered disc (*Treasures of the Orient* no. 114). I think the forger was thinking Urartian, but the dealer preferred Iran, first millennium B.C.

11, 12. Two bronze beakers decorated in two panels with aberrant scenes; both vessels are clearly related, whether one considers them to be ancient or modern – I favor the latter. They have been attributed across Iran and time.

Brooklyn Museum, bronze beaker; the upper panel has a bird on the back of a caprid on the back of a bull, a thunder god, and a seated figure; the lower has warriors, prisoners (?), supplicants, and two men, one kneeling, juggling an animal, human figures, New

York, Eisenberg sales catalogue, *Art of the Ancient World* 1965: no. 108, listed as Amlash, 8th-7th century B.C.

Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem (Hotel Drouot May 18/19, 1960, no. 92: "trouvé au Louristan," early first millennium B.C.; *From the Lands of the Bible* no. 412, Iranian, early 2nd millennium B.C.; Muscarella 1977b: no. 198: expressed confusion; Schlossman in Muscarella 1981b: no. 67); the upper panel has gift bearers approaching a seated figure; the lower a man on a horse, a man wielding an axe over an animal, an animal copulating with one caprid of an heraldic pair. The beakers are partly damaged, a feature irrelevant to their age.[48]

13. A bronze disc with central nipple rosette embellished with heraldic kneeling caprids and a bud-palmette pattern that is unparalleled in ancient art, execution and specifics. Offered by a dealer as from Luristan–but it is generic Iranian. P 422

14 I recently became suspicious about the decorated concave-sided ("Kizil Kuh") plaque I published in 1988a: no. 341, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.178.1, and its mate, ex-Barbier collection (*Bronzes iraniens* no. 26; Calmeyer 1973: 109 f., n. 82, Abb. 102). Depicted is a kneeling archer attacking a caprid, a pattern surely copied from the nipple beakers, Calmeyer's group F (he thinks they could derive from the same workshops). But on both plaques the archer is left-handed, and positioned to the right of the prey – an iconography non-existent on the beakers. Also, in both cases the execution of the beard, legs, kilt, bow, arrow, etc., does not suggest an ancient enterprise. Following my suspicion, the Metropolitan Museum's plaque was examined in the laboratory, where a modern patina was recognized, under which the grooves are smooth, with no corrosion pattern. The whole piece seems to be modern.

About 30 similar plaques are decorated with various scenes or motifs: all should be treated with caution, and eventually examined: are any scenes ancient?

I know of one manifest example of a left-handed archer depicted in ancient Iranian art on an excavated object. This occurs in a hunting scene depicted on the inside of a bronze bowl from Chamahzi Mumah in Luristan (E. Haerinck, B. Overlaet, *Chamahzi Mumah: An Iron Age III Cemetery*, Leiden 1998: 26, ill. 12, fig. 37, pls. 58, 60). Here two kneeling archers are placed symmetrically at opposite sides of the scene. One is shooting right-handed, the other left-handed (note the hands). The mirror image is probably the attempt of the artist to balance the two figures facing in opposite directions. On three bronze plaques excavated from BB III at Hasanlu (unpublished but see Muscarella 1988a: No. 4) a group of archers are depicted shooting to the right and left. Those shooting left seem to have a right arm holding the bow, but the execution is not clear and the intent of the artisan remains uncertain.

In Urartian art there are representations of left-handed archers, judging from arm positions, and also, where possible to observe, from thumb and finger positions. They seem to be usually depicted when a chariot or mounted archer is shooting to the left (see H. T. Kellner, *Gürtelbleche aus Urartu*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde XII 3, 1991: Taf. 4, 5: 12, 13; 7: 19; 8: 36; 13: 60; 16: 74; 26, 27: 99; 30: 106; 41: 157; 43: 174). Compare also right-handed archers depicted symmetrically when shooting both to the right and left: ibid., Taf. 12: 63.

In Assyrian art the king when shooting backward and to his left seems to hold the bow

in his extended right arm, to be left-handed. The artist, however, consciously executed a left hand and thumb to this arm, thereby indicating a right-handed king (Strommenger 1962: Taf. 202, 203, 248, 251; for archers in general see pls. 204,-237). If this sense was also the intent of the Urartian artisans, the effect is not evident.

But note the left-handed archer on the unexcavated plaque in Godard 1962: fig. 83. It seems to be ancient, but what is its culture, and was there a right-handed archer to the now missing left section? See also Tondoi No. 7, above. Left-handed archers are rare in ancient art. P 423

15. Also in 1988a (no. 146) I expressed suspicion about a simple bowl incised with a feline attacking a caprid, Metropolitan Museum of Art 51.114; the scene occurs elsewhere (viz. *Bronzes iraniens* no. 30; Amiet 1976: no. 192). While seeming to be "authentic" it might not be ancient; again, caution and abeyance are compelled – is there an original example? P 423

Kohl Containers

Small hollow bronze female figures may have been containers for kohl – no one has tested the contents. No excavated examples are known, but they are attributed to various cultures in Iran. One or more may be ancient, Foroughi Collection (*7000 Years* no. 241; Ghirshman 1964b: 90 f., Taf. 19: 1, 2, assigned to Luristan: in the former a pin is inserted in the top of the head, in the latter it is omitted!); Louvre (Amiet 1976 no. 241, assigned to Luristan); perhaps Los Angeles County Art Museum (Moorey 1981: no, 620, called Achaemenian, from western Iran); and a small, similar example, but solid (?), in the Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Aleppo (D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, New York 1962: pls. 84, 85). The following are seemingly not ancient:

1. Sotheby Parke Bernet November 20/21, 1975, no. 42, "probably Luristan," Leff Collection. The face is a mask, the arms are badly rendered, and the head-rim is like that of a vessel.

2. Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980, no. 301 – a poor copy.

3. A column-like object grooved except at the top, where a human female head projects; also hollow and with a circular rim at the top, Los Angeles County Art Museum (Moorey 1981: no. 618). This piece is not from any ancient period.

Mirrors

Bronze mirrors with vertical handles in the form of anthropomorphic caryatid figures have surfaced over the years and are "said to have been found" in western Iran. Vanden Berghe (1964: 1 ff., and Ghirshman 1964a: 23, fig. 23) asserted (compare Albenda 1985: 6) that many ceramics and bronze objects (including weapons, jewelry, figurines, vessels, bells, pendants, pins, and two mirrors, one with a figured handle) in the Maleki collection in Teheran, derived from Khurvin in western Iran. The archaeological reality

is otherwise. None of the objects published by Vanden Berghe 1964, including the mirrors, and none of the material published by Ghirshman 1964a: 17–23, figs. 15–23, as deriving from Khurvin, was excavated there: they were purchased in Teheran in 1948. And the information and material published by Y. Maleki in *Archaeologia viva* 1968: 47 ff., is deceptive inasmuch as she writes as if discussing excavations at Khurvin when in fact she is publishing and interpreting her own purchased collection. In Vanden Berghe's 1954 excavation at Khurvin he recorded no mirrors (and very little material besides pottery).[49]

Because of the asserted locus of the Maleki mirror, some scholars assume that a mirror with a figured handle offered for sale derives from Khurvin: viz. De Wael 1982: no. 350; *L'Art iranien* no. 13 (ex-Godard Collection). But other proveniences have not been neglected for these unexcavated objects. R. Ghirshman in *l'Iran des Origines à l'Islam*, (1951): pl. II, 1 published a similar mirror (possibly the same one published as from Khurvin by Vanden Berghe) and assigned it to Luristan; to that area was also assigned an example of the same form in the Louvre (see Albenda 1985: fig. 6). And Moorey (1974b: 34 f.) asserted that, although rare, nude female handled mirrors occur in Luristan. De Wael 1982: 213 accepted this incorrect claim: he knew enough about multi-proveniences to declare that female caryatid mirrors were at home in Luristan and in Khurvin.

A mirror with a horse at the end of a plain handle is claimed by Sotheby's (June 12, 1993, no. 234) to be from the "Southwest Caspian;" it may be genuine but it has no provenience.

Not one mirror has ever been excavated in Khurvin or in Luristan, but they have been excavated elsewhere in Iran. One with a plain tang handle, once covered with a perishable material, was excavated at Marlik (Negahban 1964: fig. 126). Other plain examples were excavated in burials at Sialk (Ghirshman 1937: pls. 29, 52, 59, 65, 68, 69, 70,73, 79). And at Surkh Dum were recovered discs and a spade-like object with a tang covered with wood; these might be – but not certainly – mirrors (Schmidt et al. 1989: 322, pl. 191 i, j, k).

Mirrors with nude females as handles have been excavated in Iran, dating to the Parthian period: R. Ghirshman *Terrasses sacrées Bard-é Néchandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman*, Mémoires de la Délegation archélogique en Iran, vol. XLV (1976): pls. 42, 57; also at Susa, *MDP* XXV, 1934: 222 f., fig. 69 (these reference are from Judith Lerner): both are similar in form to *Bronzes iraniens* no. 210, and to Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no.233 (which seems joined as a modern pastiche to another kind of mirror plate – note also that no. 232 in this catalogue is listed as a Luristan production based on a forgery of provenience by Godard; if genuine – and it may not be – it would date much later).

The following handles attached to a disc exhibit no evidence of ancient origin:

1. The caryatid figure has a silly smile and a thick twisted belt, Tokyo (*Exhibition of Persian Art*, Tokyo 1971, no. 102; *The World of Persian Pottery* no. 90, from "Ardebil-Khalkhak"). Compare the smiling face to Moorey 1974a: 163, no. 143.

2. A disc in the Adam Collection with an "ineptly fitted" and ineptly executed formless anthropomorphic handle (*Moorey 1974a: 191, no. 188).

3, 4. I have no clear opinion about Sotheby's November 24, 1986, no. 27, the handle in the form of a clothed female with short hair and thick neckband. No. 26 in that same catalogue, a caryatid nude female missing her disc, may be ancient, whatever its date: it is the same in form as those called elsewhere Iranian and dated to the first millennium B.C. (above), but here it is assigned to "Anatolia or Syria, ca. 1500–800 B.C.".

5, 6. The two mirrors offered for sale in Parke-Bernet Galleries April 29/30, 1964, nos. 74, 75, have crudely executed handles, one with its feet touching the disc, in the other the head touches it; both figures seem to have been recently made and added. The captions call them Parthian, without reason; I suspect the forgers were thinking of generic Iran. No. 74 was offered for sale again over three decades later in Christies East, March 17, 1998, no. 73.

Is a female statuette with hands raised in Hori 1983: no. 31 a mirror handle, and ancient?

Sculpture

As with the sculptures cited in the Luristan section we also confront here amorphous objects without character or style, for which reason they are dumped in the Iran at-large area, known to auction houses as being very large and producing all types of material. Some pieces could be interchanged with the Luristan group, or be dated to any historical period – it did not concern the dealers, and it shouldn't matter with archaeologists. I do not list all the strange scattered bronze objects in the auction catalogues, but a good portion:

1. A dozen bronze statuettes in the Adam collection do not compel us to cite them as examples of ancient Art (Moorey 1974a: nos. 142, (143?), 144 (?), 145 to 153 – a large number). How could we know if these are ancient?

2, 3. Two seated figures in the Bach Collection, one ithyphallic, the other a female with a large head and her hands clasped in prayer, Bach Collection (*Bronzes de la Perse* nos. 105, 158).

4. "A Western Iranian [she "speaks to me" in her local dialect!] elongated female kneeling on a seated animal with one arm upraised supporting a bowl." The arms, hands and feet are unformed, Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980, no. 313.

In the same sales catalogue are nos. 317 and 322, two bronze statuettes – one a warrior, the other an amorphous nude male. One can not say much about them: are they forgeries or ancient, but from a culture other than one in western Iran?

5. A horned figurine looking like the devil himself, with a smiling face, and hands clasped in mock prayer, Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 11.

6. A sculpted vessel in the form of a plump stag, but having a cow's head and the remarkable feature of a horn projecting from its forehead, Hotel Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 128.

7. Another sculpted vessel, with a top and frontal pouring spout; and resisting the temptation to leave things alone, the forger added a caprid protome between the two spouts, ex-Smeets, Sotheby's November 7, 1977, no. 47 (*Muscarella 1979, no. 3).

8, 9. Two monsters, one with a "visage grotesque," and prominent phallus, the other a "personnage" in terracotta with outstretched arms seeking a purchaser, Nouveau Drouot July 7/8, 1981: nos. 15, 18.

The latter object's publication history should be of interest to those charting the bazaar's function as archaeologist: in the Paris sales catalogue it is listed as deriving from "Ouest de l'Iran, fin du 2e millénaire av. J.C.," but 15 years earlier, in *Treasures of Persian Art* no. 49, it is labeled "Found in Al Ubaiid area (Urartian?), 3rd or 2nd millennium B.C." Which provenience and culture is an inquiring scholar to believe?

10. The creator of Sotheby's London, July 9/10, 1984, no. 106, a figure carrying an animal on his shoulder, was surely copying a Greek statuette; but, as sometimes happens (see No. 11), his intention was ignored, and the piece was sold as "An Iranian bronze ...." (In the same catalogue no. 120 seems bad, but the photograph is poor).

11. Finally accepted by its curators as modern is the apprentice-made silver female head in the Freer Gallery 66.24, originally published as Parthian and from Iran: why? – because the *ILN* said so (Christmas Number 1967: 54 f.); but surely its creator intended it to be a Greek, archaic, work. (*Gunter and Jett 1992: 233 ff., no. 46 – but they neglect to mention *Muscarella 1979: 10, no. 16). P 424

12, 13. Two statuettes, ex- Ternbach (Merhav 1981: nos. 83, 84). One is a female, with a crudely executed vagina, breasts placed under her arm pits, and arm stumps extending on both sides (first attributed to north east Iran, but when it resurfaced in Eisenberg's sales catalogue of February 1989, no. 162, it was baptized "Syro-Sumerian" – a nice mix). The other is a bearded, formless male ("probably Elamite"). Merhav parallels the male to a clothed statuette published in *Iranica Antiqua* V, 1 (1965), by M.L. and H. Erlenmeyer (p. 5, Taf. II: 10a) as "eine iranische Bronze." It is certainly not that, but is it genuine, deriving from another area of the ancient world?

14. From the same factory as No. 13 comes its almost identical twin, dealer. P 425

15. A shapeless figurine with a staring face, short hat, and outstretched hands (begging "please buy me"), "probably western Iran," Sotheby's November 24/25, 1987, no. 76.

16. Because of a vague similarity between a Siamese-twin figure and a figure in a Teheran private collection known by believers to come from Khurvin (supra; Vanden Berghe 1964: pl. XLVIII), the British Museum purchased what R. D. Barnett recognized as "warriors from Khurvin" (*BMQ* XXVI, 3/4, 1963: pl. XLVI, c; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 204). Why is the unit ancient?

17, 18. Two statuettes formerly in the Bomford Collection (Moorey 1966: 48, nos. 241, 242) attributed to northwestern Iran (with poor parallels cited) are probably modern productions. No. 242 was gifted to the Ashmolean Museum (1971.963) and later published by Moorey and Fleming 1984: 87, no. 33, pl. XXVII: but without the laboratory report accorded other bronzes published in this article.

19. The bronze statuette in the Los Angeles County Art Museum M.76.97.788, (Moorey 1981, no. 565) is surely too amorphous and crude to be ancient.

20. A small bronze figure depicted in a slashing, karate position is supplied with a stray base that is usually associated with Luristan bronzes, Sotheby Parke Bernet May 16, 1980, no. 116.

21. An openwork bell in Tel Aviv, Israel, with a bird top, recognized there as modern because of size and no loop for suspension (**Fakes and Forgeries* no. 5).

22. I published an openwork rattle bell with addorsed animal heads on the loop in 1988a: no. 378, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.514.15. Subsequent examination and X-ray has revealed that the heads were soft soldered in place, the ribs have all been attached by soft solder to the domed top and bottom units, and the patina is false. Here is a good example that demonstrates forgers will make anything that sells.

This examination of the Metropolitan Museum's bell caused me to look again at Amiet 1976: 67, no. 136, an open-work bell with a human head top whose hair forms the necessary loop; is it not contrived?

23. How should we react to three statuettes holding their ears? Barbier collection (*Bronzes iraniens* nos. 71–73), securely attributed to "Région de Hamadan." Does this forged provenience match a modern manufacture?

24. A male figure with clasped hands is transformed into a tripod; a ring on his head is for a vessel, bronze, Walters Art Gallery 54.2247, acquired in 1926. For genuine examples of this form of tripod/caryatid see P.R.S. Moorey "Some Syro-Phoenician Bronze Caryatid Stands", *Levant* V, 1973: 83–90. P 425

25, 26, 27. I place here three gold objects with no style other than "modern ugly," for which reason they have been automatically assigned to Iran (they are not the same form as those listed below as Small Gold Artifacts). Melvin Gutman collection, published in the 1961 *Allentown Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* vol. XVIII, 2/3 (by Charles Parkhurst):

– a very small gold cow, assigned to Luristan after a tortuous discussion about its possible Achaemenian or Sasanian – but not modern Iranian – origin: 275 f.

– A winged ibex with a bearded human face, assigned to Luristan ca. 1000–500 B.C.: on 277 f. Parkhurst notes that someone thought it a forgery but he assures us that "no evidence [has been] put forward against the piece." (He no doubt arrived at this

conclusion by consulting the Museum Ritual as recited by the owner and the museum officials).

– a winged ibex "said to have been found in Northern Persia or [sic] Anatolia." Doubt also "has been cast on this piece," which thought of course is dismissed, and the object, 3/4 inches in height, is astutely compared to Achaemenian amphora handles (surely only those listed above).

28. I am not at ease with an ivory plaque fragment depicting parts of two horsemen with different heads and clothing, and part of an animal in the field; it is described as "Iranian...in Assyrian style...c. 8th century B.C., " which is easily translated to mean that it is poorly made and has no parallels, ex-Smeets collection, Sotheby & Co., November 7, 1977, no. 64 (*Muscarella 1979: 11).

Small Gold Artifacts

A group of miniature, hand-sized, gold vessels and other forms, clearly related in their embarrassingly bad workmanship, have been circulating for many years as ancient Iranian. I know of at least eleven examples, which have changed hands often (it is easy to laugh at them, until one remembers that they were made to be sold: and were).

1. Ex-Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami, Florida 73.029.000, gift of Stephen Junkunc III, listed appropriately as Achaemenian, because of the Scrap Basket motif (Achaemenian Animal Sculpture No. 2, above). In 1995 the Museum authorities became suspicious and investigated the piece; they now know its age. P 426

2. A vessel seen in 1982, present whereabouts unknown: a winged feline whose horns support a caprid handle of a falsely granulated cup – obviously imitating Achaemenian vessels. P 427

3. A small vessel formerly (?) in the Leff Collection has three caprids in relief separated by "trees" around the vessel. P 428

4. A winged feline overtaking a caprid: as bad as those above (*Tanabe 1982: 23, upper left).

5–11. Ex-Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia: a figure in a chariot driven by bulls; another chariot with two drivers and bulls overriding a caprid (ambitious!); two whetstone handles, both in the form of an animal with another riding on its back; a griffin terminating in a tube; a prancing animal; a cup with romping caprids: seven gold objects in all (I show three examples). 3P 429

12. Three examples published in *Treasures of the Orient* no.79, "Iran, 1st millennium B. C."

Sialk B Pottery

Over the years, a number of Sialk B style painted vessels have been offered for sale; many seem to have been plundered. But some have features that do not match the excavated examples in shape and geometric design, a situation that justifies concern whether they were made in modern pottery shops. Spouts with animal head protomes are especially difficult to evaluate and I confess that I have problems determining authenticity in these cases.

1. Hotel Drouot December 2, 1963 pl. 1, no. 10, and Sotheby's May 20, 1982, no. 21: the shape and geometric decoration are unparalleled.

2. Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 116: the shape, geometric decoration, and color control are not normal.

3. Nouveau Drouot December 15/16, 1981, no. 104: a spout has been added to an ancient vessel. The vessel's form and pouch are appropriate for an upright short, fan spout (see Ghirshman 1937: pls. LXIV, LXVII, LXXXVIII), which has broken away and been replaced with a horizontal spout. Notice the double swelling at the spout's base.

4. Galerie Mikazuki catalogue, Tokyo (1977), no. 15 (*Muscarella 1979: 9, no. 9). The decoration and paint are unparalleled, and the pointed swelling at he spout's base is suspicious.

5. I am suspicious because of the crisp paint and sharp decoration preserved on a vessel once in Frankfurt, Motamed (Calmeyer in *Das Tier* no. 56); also the horse protome head seems too carefully articulated, to judge from excavated examples, but maybe I am wrong.

6. This thin, tall vessel (Sotheby's December 2, 1969, no. 191) has a very high upright spout section with a tall animal head protome, and an incomplete (?) painted animal placed between the dense geometric decoration. I doubt it is ancient but TL testing results would be of interest. Compare an odd (but ancient?) similar example in the Kofler collection (*ILN* December 15,1934: 1005, top right). A similarly shaped vessel that bothers me is a monochrome one in Hotel Drouot May 26/27, 1983, top right, claimed for Khurvin.

7. A vessel with an animal head protome in the handle area, a protome that faces towards the front of the spout, a checkerboard decoration on the spout, and a combination of motifs on the front, under the spout, Sackler Collection (Kawami 1991: 168 f., no. 65). No Sialk vessel has a protome in either of these positions, nor a spout so decorated, nor the juxtaposition of the particular designs as noted here. The paint looks ancient – but could this be a result of intentional stressing?

8. A vessel that is uncertain if it is supposed to depict a "Khurvin" or Sialk product, with an animal riding a spout, Israel (**Fakes and Forgeries* no. 71).

9. Queries: are the spouts and animal head protomes added to genuine terracotta and bronze vessels in *The World of Persian Pottery* nos. 150, 151? And in the same catalogue, is no. 38 all ancient? What of the odd-formed vessel in M.-L. Buhl, *A Hundred Masterpieces*..... National Museum of Denmark, 1974: no. 96? Does the fact that the spout is curved on a vessel listed in Christie's, London, November 25, 1997: no. 181 condemn it, inasmuch as we expect a straight spout?

Elamite Art

In the 1960s a number of bitumen roundels with a finely sculpted central motif, sometimes overlain with gold and silver, began to surface in the bazaars and are now to be found in several collections (there are more than a dozen; for publication information and fuller discussions with illustrations of the objects, summarized here, see P. Amiet, "Appliqués iraniennes,' *La Revue du Louvre* 1977/2: 63–69; E. Negahban, "Haft Tepe Roundels...," *AJA* 88/1, 1984: 3–10; Harper in Muscarella 1974a: no. 151; idem 1988a: 226 f., and notes 6, 7; idem *BMMA* XLIX, 3, 1992: 14 f.). Two central motifs predominate, one consisting of a powerful *en face* head of a bearded Hero with three sets of side curls, the other of a central rosette; in both groups the central motif is surrounded by six or seven recumbent rams.

From the time the roundels first surfaced, scholars accepted the dealers' unfailing attributions to the South Caspian/Marlik region ("from Dailaman," "Gilan"). In archaeological reality, excavated examples were recovered from two sites far from the Caspian: one from Susa, and two from Haft Tepe, both sites in southwestern Iran, in Elam (Negahban 1984). None of the three excavated examples has preserved metal overlying the bitumen base. Two examples have the central rosette motif; one Haft Tepe example is in fragments, and its center is not preserved; all have an outside row of rams. While the central rosette motif is known from excavations, there are as yet none with the Hero face from that source.

The forgers manufactured copies of the genuine examples to satisfy the "Marlik" market–although unwittingly, they were actually forging Elamite material.[50]

1. In the Eisenberg sales catalog, *Art of the Ancient World* 1965, no. 94: ("Amlash, Iran") is a foolish copy of the central rosette motif, a gold (?) disc decorated with two sets of heraldic rams at top and bottom, divided by small stars. On the ancient examples there are usually six or seven recumbent rams, all facing the same direction, and the rosettes are rosettes.

2. Los Angeles County Art Museum (Moorey 1981: no. 608), with a silver and gold overlay. Accepting the ex-Schimmel roundel (Figure 12), as well as other examples in the Louvre and France, as examples of ancient works (obviously based on subjective analyses), the Los Angeles one and the others cited below betray their inexpertly executed and misunderstood modern births. In these instances, rather than the expected six or seven recumbent rams all facing in one direction, we have, as No. 1 above, two pairs of heraldic rams above and below the central face, and poorly executed. As for the face, all is coarse and gross – the hair lines, the lips. the mustache, the eyes (with holes for pupils) and

eyebrows; and note also the lack of small forehead hair curls. Moorey suggested modern tampering ("repaired") occurred. Perhaps; but whether the whole overlay (and assuming the bitumen below is ancient) is modern, or ancient but destroyed by tampering, the piece has no archaeological value.

3. Texas collection; the same problems as the Los Angeles example, and its mate in all the crude executions: so clearly is this the case that it is probable both were made – tampered with – by the same hand. P 430

4. Years ago I saw an example like the above two, in New York City in the temporary possession of a collector.

5. Sotheby's December 14, 1993, no. 25. Formally the same as the ex-Schimmel roundel, with seven circling rams surrounding the central face; but like the above examples this is a badly constructed mask. Whether it is totally modern, or an expertly tampered work, it will not interest archaeologists.

6. Two roundels offered on the art market, Drouot Rive Gauche July 11, 1979, no. 13, and Nouveau Drouot September 24, 1981, no. 165; from the photos these appear problematic; an autopsy might decide the question.

7, 8. Two fragmented stone plaques once in the Heeramaneck collection preserve parts of scenes that appear to have been copied from ancient models; both were labeled Elamite works. One is adorned with a three-horned bearded figure holding a staff in his left hand, a dagger in his raised right hand, and stabbing himself in the shoulder; he has three tiers of horns, and his hair looks like a helmet with a top plug. The carving may be a copy of a relief from Susa (P. Amiet, *Elam*, 1966: fig. 407).

The other fragment is now in the Seattle Art Museum 59.57. A double-winged figure grasps an "ostrich" by the neck while an upright bull-man with raised arms watches. The deity's garments and hand, the "ostrich's" head, body and legs, and the bull-man's body, hand, three horns and top knob, do not seem natural and ancient. Compare the "ostrich" strangler with cylinder seal representations, such as that of the well-known Urzana, king of Muṣaṣir (D. Collon, *First Impressions*, Chicago, 1987: nos. 350, 405 – and for a forgery of this seal see E. D. van Buren, *Anelecta Orientalia* 21, 1940: no. 106). 2P 431

9, 10. Two objects offered as Elamite in Hotel Drouot May 22, 1989 deserve observation: one is a much reworked bitumen (?), protome vessel, no. 478; the other is a terracotta vessel which I suggest has a scratched scene added, no. 489.

11. In 1979: 10, no. 15, I raised doubts about a bronze statuette of a nude female paralleling general terracotta Elamite examples, published as deriving from Spain (BagdMitt 8, 1967: 159 ff, Taf. 20: a, b). It is not good Elamite and it was not excavated in Spain.

12. An amorphous statuette, with no culturally distinctive characteristics but labeled Elamite. It seems to be a badly cast piece, and its essence not ancient (Hori 1983: no. 30).

13. For amorphous statuettes that could be assigned anywhere, see Ishiguro 1975: no. 78, where five examples of twenty-four small bronzes in the collection are illustrated, and attributed without a blink to "Iran, from Kerman."

14. A stone male torso of a nondescript, Ancient Near Eastern genre, male figure, called Elamite, Berg collection (*Man Came This Way* no. 9; *Muscarella 1977b, no. 200).

In the early 1960s there also surfaced about five or six small statuettes of a powerful, broad chested male figure, solid legs that end abruptly without shoes, and wearing a kilt. Characterizing the figurines is a scar cut diagonally across one side of the face, the body marked by a pattern of raised, articulated scales, and construction from several pieces of differently colored stones, attached by tenons carved together with two of the units. These otherworldly figures are appropriately called "Narbenmänner." For the main publications see A. Parrot in *La Revue du Louvre* XII, 2, 1962:93 ff.; id. "Statuette archaïque iranienne," *Syria* XL, 1963: 231 ff.; R. Ghirshman, "Statuettes archaïques du Fars (Iran)," *Artibus Asiae* 26, 1963: 151–160; W. Nagel, " 'Westmakkanische' Rundplastik," *BJV* 8, 1968: 104–117; Spycket 1981: 215 ff.; an example – ex-Azizbeghlou – was sold at Sotheby's, July 10, 1989, no. 59; H. P. Francfort in *Antiquity* 68, no. 259, 1994: 409 mentioned only three examples .

Not one was excavated but Ghirshman (op. cit.:151) shared with us his crystal-ball derived knowledge that they were found by an innocent peasant while working in "son champ ou son jardin" (he is not sure) southeast of Shiraz. Dealers also proclaimed that they were found together in a hoard in Fars, southeast of Shiraz. Other scholars accepted this geographical origin, for it is a great convenience to have peasants and dealers doing the dirty archaeological work for us. There is however serious debate about the precise number of kilometers southeast of Shiraz where the hoard was innocently found (see Nagel ibid. 114).

In 1972 a statuette of this form surfaced on the market (ex-Mahboubian, ex-Heller, Breitbart collection); it appeared to be another well executed example of the above group. Upon comparison, however, differences are observed: in its head formation, chest muscles, waist, arm position, joined thighs, and shoes are present; also, it is made in one piece of stone. If the other examples are genuine (Strommenger 1976/77: 321), for there seems no reason to doubt them, how do we relate them to the differences to be observed in the Breitbart example, especially in manufacturing technique? Are the differences substantive? Based on the manifest skill and ancient ambience the piece evokes, I cannot argue that it is a modern creation (years ago a scholar did strongly challenge its authenticity but later reversed that decision). However, all determinations and comparisons in the matter are based on material with no excavation bona fides, precisely a component of the forgery/antiquity determination problem.

In this case, the difference between an assignation of a provenience and a legitimate art historical evaluation has been addressed, compelling archaeological and art historical use of this example to recognize and address the problem.

Scythian

I have not catalogued all probable forgeries of so-called Scythian artifacts, because most of the examples known to me are copies of the "Scythian" stag. Although formally based on Scythian style, some examples display no appropriate parallel in details, especially in the sculpting/carving, and they lack the liveliness (a subjective opinion here, but viably defended) that is a characteristic of what we call Scythian art. I do not discuss here Graeco-Scythian forgeries, for example the famous and successful so-called Tiara of Saitaphernes, for which see de Pradenne 1932: 519 ff., or the Louvre silver animal headed vessel (Rieth 1970: 127 ff., fig 61). I use the term "Scythian" here because that is what this style is called. I see no reason in the present context to discuss problems of ethnic identity.

1. A gold stag in the Seattle Art Museum 69.76 (*Annual Report* 1969: 41; *Muscarella 1977b, no. 205). Comparison with genuine Scythian stags demonstrates that this and the following examples were not made in antiquity (see *From the Land of the Scythians*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973/4: Pl. 3 – the model for the forgeries – and pl. 15). This (photograph) and the following examples were certainly made in a factory that specialized in poor copies of dead, not live and lively, animals. P 432

2. A gold stag whose kinship to No. 1 is obvious; ex-Eisenberg, private collection.P 433

3. A gold stag, Ishiguro collection (Ishiguro 1975: no. 124; *Muscarella 1979; 10, no. 2).

4. A gold stag, Mahboubian Gallery (*Apollo* February 1978: 5; *Muscarella 1979: 10, no. 1).

5. A gold stag, Patti Birch gallery (*Jewelry from Persia*, Schmuckmuseum, Pforzheim, n.d., no. 40; *Muscarella 1979: 11, no. 3).

6. A gold stag, Cleveland Museum of Art (*Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin* 73,2, 1986: 37).

7. A bronze stag, Tokyo (*Tanabe 1982: 38).

8. A cast bronze head of a caprid, "Northwest Iran, Scythian, 6th cent. B.C.," Seattle Art Museum (*Annual Report* 1967: fig. 8).

9. A badly composed and executed bronze plaque that is described as depicting two caprids – but the maker left out the upper body of one, also with part of a nude body, and another orphan caprid on its haunches. It is assigned to "Art scythe" 6th century B.C.(Hotel Drouot, June 30–July 1, 1993 no. 28).

10. In 1983 among other "antiquities" offered to a western United States museum was an *en face* reclining stag with one leg bent up; it has thin horizontal antlers and a moose face.

B. Anatolian Cultures

Hacilar

The great majority of forgeries claimed by interested parties to be antiquities deriving from ancient Anatolia are those that purport to result from the plundering of the neolithic site of Hacilar in the southwest. J. Mellaart (*Excavations at Hacilar*, Edinburgh, 1970: vi) noted that after completing his excavations (1957–1960) the site was plundered, most likely causing the flood of Hacilar material on the antiquities market. For this flood, however, another explanation is more evident. Although plundering of that precious site occurred, much of the alleged Hacilar material offered for sale represents another kind of culture-plunder, that generated from modern forgeries.

Vendors claim (knowing this will excite and intrigue curators and encourage them to buy) that they personally dug (plundered) at Hacilar the forgeries they offer for sale. Letters and presentations from diplomats or servicemen mention acquisition of Hacilar material in Turkey; sometimes social contacts with archaeologists are mentioned, thereby implying that the offerings are genuine – and valuable. Most of these objects were made within years of the sale offering.

Reports recorded on a laboratory's stationary attesting to the authenticity of a manifestly modern ceramic exist and are cited by dealers and collectors as evidence of authenticity. In some cases dissimulation is evident, for the laboratory technician presents allegedly stylistic issues, not the results of appropriate scientific tests (Hall 1990: 21; this situation is not a monopoly of Hacilar testing). A glance rather than close observation of Hacilar-like material is not uncommon, even among archaeologists. After Mellaart's 1964 lecture tour of the United States, several collectors claimed that he had authenticated their Hacilar-style figurines. These were forgeries (which fact calls attention to a pedagogical issue, that many archaeologists have little knowledge about the artifacts they excavate).

Specific articles on the identification of Hacilar forgeries include Aitken et al. 1971: 89-141; Muscarella 1971; idem 1980-81: 120. Aitken et al. 1971 listed 66 terracotta Hacilar-form objects that were exposed to TL testing; 48 were determined to be "recently fired": 7 were bowls, 12 anthropomorphic vessels with either one or two heads, and 29 were human figurines (110-115, with a summary on p. 109). These figures provide only a glimpse of the magnitude of the Hacilar forgery problem (Hall 1990: 19 mentions testing 80 Hacilar-type objects, all of which "were modern."). A large number of still unrecorded or unpublished modern fabrications are housed in many museums and private collections. Some of these are grotesques (I have seen photographs – unattainable to me – of Hacilar like amphora vessels with full-body animal handles, and anthropomorphic vessels with female figurines attached at two sides – other than No. 61 below); most (all?) remain untested by TL – because the owners do not want to know the results.

Although incomplete, a considerable number of forgeries of figurines and anthropomorphic vessels, some previously known, are listed here. I do not record forgeries of Hacilar vessels. They seem to be quite common but judgement often requires close examination of the paint. One example tested to be modern by TL in the Metropolitan

Museum (62.39; Figure 13) is worth illustrating because it has a modern mate in the Ashmolean Museum (Aitken et al. 1971: pl. 3, e 1, here Figure 14, right; the others in the photo were also determined to be modern; see also Hoffmann 1964, no. 79).

As for objective determination of age: all (sic) the excavated Hacilar figurines were constructed from several lumps of clay pressed together, with the addition of clay arms, legs, and head to the torso; all (sic). The excavated standing Hacilar figurines were formed with the legs alone, *not* the thighs, separated, usually in a V position (Figure 15). Many alleged Hacilar figurines do not conform to these criteria – they have a solid mass interior and separated thighs – hence it is not difficult to determine an unexcavated figurine's age. For some reason both the forgers and the purchasers and publishers of the figurines remained ignorant of these technical and stylistic contrasts between the excavated and the unexcavated artifacts (for stylistic and technical discussions see: Muscarella 1971: 77 f. figs. 5–7; idem 1980–81: 120; Ucko in Aitken et al. 1971: 117 ff.). All examples cited here are terracotta unless noted otherwise.

1, 2. Two figurines in the Metropolitan Museum of Art are recognized there to be forgeries, one a painted, seated female 64.90, the other a standing monochrome female 64.286.7: the latter was purchased as a forgery for study purposes (*Muscarella 1971: figs. 1, 4, 6, 7). Style and technique of manufacture reveal their modern origins.
2P 434–435

3. A seated, monochrome female probably made by the same hand as MMA 64.90, No. 1 above, dealer.
P 435

4. A pastiche of two genuine fragments joined together to create a modern torso, Metropolitan Museum of Art 64.286.6 (*Muscarella 1971: figs. 2, 3, 5).

5. A squatting female, Minneapolis Institute of Arts 70.1 (*MIA Bulletin* LIX, 1970: 80; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 218). Compare the forgery in Aitken et al. 1971: pl. 14, left, 16, top.

6, 7, 8. Three figurines in the Indiana University Art Museum: one painted standing figure, another monochrome standing figure missing its head and feet, and a monochrome seated figure, ex-Burton Berry collection. All were tested by TL in 1981; all were confirmed to be modern. The testing results were made public – a rare admission for a museum – in an exhibition and phamplet (*Is This for Real? Problems of Authenticity in Art*, Indiana Art Museum March 20-May 5, 1985: 4).
4P 436–437

9, 10, 11. The British Museum possesses two figurines and one double headed anthropomorphic vessel, all TL tested to be modern (*Aitken et al. 1971: 111, h 1, h 3a, h 3b, pls. 7, 13, 17; also Jones 1990: no. 319b, c).

12. A double-headed anthropomorphic vessel in the Ashmolean was TL tested as modern (*Aitken et al. 1971: 111, f 1, pl. 7), as were three vessels (ibid. 110).

13, 14. The Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin, possesses two figurine forgeries. One is painted stone (acquired in 1963) – and looks like a clown doll, the other is

terracotta (acquired in 1970). The stone example was first proudly published on the front and rear covers (in color; also fig. 12) of *Steinzeit und frühe Stadtkultur* (Berlin, 1966). Both were published together by W. Nagel in *ActaPraehistA* 1, 1970: 101 ff., figs.1–8 – for the stone material it was recognized to be "ein Novum," therefore considered to be all the more valuable (alas, only for the dealer who sold it). The two were indicted by me in 1977b: nos. 221, 222, and subsequently vigorously defended by Strommenger 1976/77: 321 as obviously ancient: because they were given "eine sorgfältige Publikation," (by her husband, a minor fact not thought worth mentioning), and were purchased by an important museum (see also Sumerian, No. 22, below). They were discussed and indicted again in Muscarella 1980/81: 120; Ucko in Aitken et al. 1971: 122, obliquely casts doubt on the stone example, but not the other. 3P 438–439

15. Standing painted terracotta female similar to the Berlin stone example, Israel Museum, where it was recognized as a forgery (**Fakes and Forgeries*: 66).

16–23. Eight published forgeries of Hacilar material are in the Louvre. Five are female figurines: A. Parrot, *Syria* XLI, 3/4, 1964: pl. XI, 1–3; A. Parrot, *Syria* XLVI, 1/2, 1969: pls. III, 1–4; IV, 1–3; one is an anthropomorphic vessel with one head: ibid.: pl. V, 1–2; one is a figure blended onto an animal vessel, another a double-headed horse: ibid.: pl. VI, 1, 2 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 224; *Ucko in Aitken et al. 1971: 120 123, challenged some of the above).

One of the Louvre figurines (1969: pl. III: 4) was first published by P. Amiet (*La Revue du Louvre* 1967, 6: 298 f., fig. 8), as goat-headed (it probably has a pinched human head); this feature and the geometric decoration indicated to Amiet that we are witnessing a "mythologie certainment très archaïque..." Parrot (ibid. 49) called it a "création bimorphe," a female with an animal head, which is a mystery to us–the real mystery is how is it possible to look at this "très moderne" piece, or read about its bazaar archaeology, and not smile?

The Louvre examples are noticeably absent from the Aitken et al. 1971 Oxford TL testings (maybe because A. Parrot believed what he wrote in the introduction to his 1969 publication of seven of the forgeries he had purchased and presented as ancient: "Les imitations sont relativement faciles à exécuter mais hereusement les faussaires ne sont pas à l'abri des erreurs qui permettent de les dépister").

24. A kneeling female figurine in the Abegg collection, whithout Hacilar parallels for the position or the execution (*Abegg Stiftung* 1968: no. 2 *Muscarella 1977b: no. 219).

25. A squatting female in the Ishiguro collection (1976: no. 61; this seems to be Hori 1983: no. 2; for a Hacilar seated female, see Figure 16).

I know the following examples from either the bazaars or from private collections; I only list the examples published or of which I have a photograph. As already noted, the list of fake figurines is much larger.

26. A squatting female, ex-Ternbach collection (*From the Lands of the Bible* no. 10 – not published in Merhav 1981; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 223).

27. Same form, ex-Schimmel collection (Hoffmann 1964: no. 81; *Thou Shalt Have no Other Gods Before Me*, Jewish Museum, New York, 1964, no. 115). I removed this example and two others, nos. 78bis (No. 51 below) and 79 (a vessel) from the 1974a Schimmel catalogue.

28. Same form, painted, head bent far backwards, "collection privée," (A. Parrot, in Syria XLI, 3/4, 1964: 216, figs. 3–4; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 227).

29. Basically the same form, "collection particulière," (A. Parrot in *Syria* XLVI, 1/2, 1969; 48, figs. 1-2, pl. IV, 4; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 225).

30. A standing, crude and poorly executed female, Heller collection (*Beyond Europe*, Saidenberg Gallery 1971: no. 2; *Ucko in Aitken et al. 1971: 122).

31. Squatting female, the exposed interior is a solid mass, dealer. P 440

32. Kneeling female, dealer. P 440

33. Squatting female, dealer. P 441

34. Squatting female with a small head, ex-Rockefeller collection, *Thou Shalt Have no Other Gods Before Me*, Jewish Museum, New York, 1964: no. 116; it was recognized to be a forgery by the Museum of Primitive Art in December 1972.

35. Standing female, dealer. For a standing figure from Hacilar see Figure 16. P 441

36. Standing female, dealer. 2P 442

37. Standing female, dealer. P 443

38. A standing, "extremely rare," we are fortunate to learn, radical feminist female in a gladiator position; one hand is on her thigh, the other one is held in front. It is a truly original composition, Sotheby & Co. March 5, 1962, no. 11 – where we are given as a parallel an excavated Hacilar figurine that is, of course, not a parallel. P 444

39. A standing female, dealer.

40, 41. Two kneeling female figurines made by the same hand (and offered by the same dealer) as No. 39; one is embellished with spirals on her breasts. 2P 445

42, 43, 44. Two terracotta figurines and what was described as an anthropomorphic vessel in the form of a very obese female were offered for sale by the Galerie Simone de Monbrison, *Arts Antiques* 1968: page 16, a figure with no legs and missing its head;

page 17, the vessel; pages 18–19, a squatting female. Ucko in Aitken et al. 1971: 122, 123, condemns the figurine on pp. 18 and 19, but is less emphatic with the one on p. 16; he does not mention the vessel. None of these are ancient.

45. A light colored stone seated figure from "Hacilar," dealer. P 446

46. A dark colored stone seated female figure with a high collar and a head tilted to one side; the hands disappear under enormous breasts (Galerie Mikazuki sales catalogue, Tokyo 1977: no. 2; *Muscarella 1969: 11).

47. Called a "janusförmige" figure, this seems to be a forger's failure, an attempt to be a fragmented neolithic creature, rock crystal, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Hoffmann 1973: 215 f.). The author generously admits that "Vergleichbare Idole sind mir bisher nicht bekannt geworden" but nevertheless he finds a stylistic relation to the Hacilar ladies that justifies his museum's purchase and his publication.

48, 49, 50. There are a number of forgeries and doubtful figurines published in the sales catalogue *Idols*, Ariadne Galleries, New York, 1989: no. 1, a standing figure with quite thick thighs – a manifest forgery, ex-Zacos; no. 8, a kneeling, stone figure, hands on its stomach, is probably modern; no. 3, a stone figure with large eye cavities and a hole for a nose, and with a child on its back, is also not ancient; nos. 2, 4, 5, and 6 are amorphous stone, seemingly squatting figures that are impossible to analyze and should be ignored.

51. A double headed anthropomorphic vessel, ex-Schimmel (Hoffmann 1964: no. 78 bis; *Lands of the Bible* no. 7); this may be the example determined to be modern in Aitken et al. 1971: 111, j 3).

52. Anthropomorphic vessel in the form of a coy female, "plus élegant de forme," private collection (A. Parrot in *Syria* XLVI, 1/2, 1969: 51. pl. V; 3–4; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 226).

53. Anthropomorphic female with erratically painted decoration, dealer? (A. Parrot, ibid. 50 f., fig. 3).

54. A painted anthropomorphic vessel, Sotheby's March 5, 1962, no. 12 (*Aitken et al. 1971: 113, n 6). P 446

55. Same form, painted, dealer. P 447

56. Same form, but here with arms akimbo, dealer. P 448

57. Same form, painted on the shoulders, and very badly executed, dealer. P 448

58, 59. Two grotesque figurines offered for sale by individuals in Europe and the United States, accompanied by a certificate of authenticity from an official of a German Museum: "Both figurines have been tested independently by several methods, some of

them chemical. There were several indications as to the *genuineness* [original emphasis] of both and none at all pointing to a fake.... I do not see any possibility to doubt that both idols are genuine Hacilar works of art...[and] are extremely valuable" – especially to dealers and curators. None of the "indications" or descriptions of the tests was revealed, but we do know that neither TL nor just looking at the objects were among them. But the stock market evaluation betrays the hidden nature of the report.

– Two females – both have small breasts – or possibly a male and a female in frontal sexual intercourse (on which see No. 60 below). P 449
– A seated female whose non-articulated hands hold non-articulated breasts. P 450

60, 61. In 1989 J. Mellaart published Vol. II of a four-volume work called *The Goddess from Anatolia*, Milan (more will be said below). In Pl. XIV, he published crude sketches of what he claimed were Hacilar objects: no. 215: two painted, joined figures (called male and female in the caption) horizontally rendered as if engaging in sexual intercourse (on p. 52 Mellaart suggests they are "mating"); and no. 216: a vessel in the form of "a female figurine, flanked by animals transformed into handles").

Neither object was included in previous publications on Hacilar: this is their unveiling. Comparing the confused sexual activity to No. 58, as well as the lack of excavated parallels, I reject them as from Hacilar or as ancient. Mellaart does not inform us whether he is claiming he excavated these objects, or encountered and accepted them in a bazaar stall.

For a review of Mellaart's recent publications of artifacts he claims were recovered at sites he himself had excavated, see below, Çatal Hüyük.

62. A coiled snake and a tortoise in the British Museum were purchased as Hacilar objects (why?), and determined to be forgeries (Aitken et al. 1971: 111, h 4, h 5; Jones 1990: no. 319 d).

63. The Ankara Museum has on view (second floor) eight confiscated forgeries of Hacilar figurines, all manifest modern creations. Turkish colleagues tell me that there are many forgeries in private hands in Turkey – the market is not strong now and the owners are stuck with them.

64. Although some statuettes excavated at Hacilar were missing their heads, I do not think one of them is the exemplar in the Dr. Victoria Levene collection published by M. Noveck in *Images from the Ancient World*, Roberson Center for the Arts & Sciences, Binghampton, New York. The eyes, ears, mouth, neck, diadem are all wrong.

65, 66, 67. Two forgeries of standing terracotta Hacilar-like ladies were seen by me many years ago in the Arthur M. Sackler collection. I only recently discovered (from T. Kawami) that one has been published as ancient by Charles Avery in *Fingerprints of the Artist*, ed. Lois Katz, Cambridge, Mass. 1981, fig. 2, and that there is in fact a third forgery in the collection. Requests for photographs years ago were ignored, but thanks to the cooperation of T. Kawami I am able to publish photographs of the three examples. 3P 451, 452, 453

Mea culpa: A double-headed anthropomorphic vessel in the Abegg collection (*Abegg Stiftung* 1968: no. 1) was indicted by me (1977b, no. 220). This piece was tested at Oxford and determined to be "fired in antiquity," (Aitken et al. 1971: 113, n 1, pls. 1, 4, 5: the vessel is not identified (why not?) but comparing the photographs makes the identification certain).

The Dorak Treasure

In the *ILN* of November 28, 1959: 754 there appeared 18 illustrations and a report by J. Mellaart of an alleged cache of sumptuous artifacts consisting of a variety of materials that he claimed to have seen in a private Turkish home, and which he was informed was clandestinely dug up in Dorak, in western Turkey, about 1922. Since that publication much writing and discussion of the material has ensued, especially because in the early 1990s Mellaart revealed further exciting archaeological discoveries (see below, Çatal Hüyük). Some scholars (see the Editorial note in *Antiquity* XLIV, no. 174, 1970: 89 f.) accepted the Dorak report as a genuine publication of material observed; others argued (not in print) that it was a fabrication. In 1988a: 397, note 5, I attempted to reexamine the alleged discovery by undertaking a disinterested internal archaeological review. The integrity of the find did not hold up to the scrutiny of this evidence.[51] Years later, I discovered that F. Schachermeyr had presented a similar study in his fine report "Die Königsgräber von Dorak," in *AfO* 19, 1959/60: 229–232. He too focused on archaeological concerns, which allowed him to conclude that the *ILN* report was skewed. Conceding that the find was not an archaeological discovery, he considered the possibility that forgeries were among the alleged finds (the "Meister der Dorak-Gräber"), and expressed doubts about the survival of a kilim with its material and decoration intact and visible upon first uncovering (this criticism would surface again with scholars' reactions to Mellaart's Çatal Hüyük revelations, below – but with no knowledge that Schachermeyr had anticipated them). One senses that Schachermeyr had doubts about the alleged find, as well as about individual objects therein contained.

Succinctly, all is clear: not one artifact published as from Dorak has any corroboration, as a discovery from one or more sites, as a group of plundered artifacts, or as individual objects. Hence, there is no alternative but to consider the hoard as published to be a forgery of artifacts and provenience.

Çatal Hüyük

Also to be considered *de facto* forgeries are the drawings/paintings exhibited and published by J. Mellaart as reconstructions of frescoes he excavated at the Anatolian neolithic site of Çatal Hüyük in the years 1961-63, and 1965. Almost twenty years after the termination of the excavations, in London in 1983, Mellaart discussed for the first time reconstructions of frescoes that he claimed were based on small fragments he had personally excavated. Four years later, at London University's Institute of Archaeology, and for the first time to a scholarly audience, he gave an illustrated lecture on these particular frescoes, claiming he had made drawings of "thousands of fragments of fallen paintings" from the site.

In 1989 Mellaart was the author of Volume II of a four-volume work entitled *The Goddess from Anatolia*, Milan, in which (19 ff.) he discussed the frescoes and the reconstructions (actually illustrated in Vol. I). Some of the reconstructed frescoes were called kilim designs, which is precisely what some look like. In this context, Mellaart instructs us that "The key to understanding Anatolian kilim motifs is to be found at two Neolithic sites in southern Turkey", Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük (Vol. II: 3).

The following year Mellaart published a paper on the latter site and its remains, based on a lecture he had delivered in Basel at a kilim conference: "The Earliest Representations of the Goddess of Anatolia and her Entourage," *Anatolische Kelims*, Basel 1990: 27–46. Here Mellaart added to the site's corpus of artifacts more paintings he claimed to have discovered, other types of artifacts – stone and unbaked plaques with designs, and decorated bone figurines, as well as a three-dimensional shrine. Prominent in the iconography are alleged goddesses in various activities, also ships, houses, towns, mountain ranges, volcanoes, and so forth. Finally (?), in *Hali* 55, 1991: 86–87, Mellaart wrote a reply to his critics in an attempt to justify the veracity of his excavations, lectures and writings.

Other publications of the alleged reconstructions of the alleged recovered fragments appeared in a non-scholarly venue written by kilim specialists: viz. an article by Ian Bennett in *Hali* 50, 1990: 116–129; also *Hali* 50, 1990: 97–99.

The London and Basel lectures and Mellaart's publications were (almost!)[52] unanimously received with disbelief, sorrow, and anger by the archaeological community: articulated in the review articles by D. Collon (*Hali* 53, 1990: 119–123); M. Eiland and M. Mallett (superbly, in *Oriental Rug Review* 10, 6, 1990: 19–26; 32–43; also Mallett in *Oriental Rug Review* 11, 2, 1991: 40–41); M. Voigt (*Oriental Rug Review* 11, 2, 1991: 33–39); C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (*The Review of Archaeology* Spring 1992: 37–39).

Every claim made by Mellaart was carefully confronted and reviewed by these scholars–and rejected; they noted that his revelations on the alleged discovery of the frescoes and other material surfaced decades after the last publications on the site's excavation; that there never was a reference to their existence in any previous publication or lecture; that no one who worked at the site ever saw such frescoes either being discovered or being recorded; that the fragments were never recorded at the Ankara Museum; that they have no relationship in style, form and color with the known frescoes published from the site; that some of the alleged houses cited as their loci were noted in past publications as either having no frescoes, or preserving examples of other designs; that in his site report publications Mellaart specifically claimed both that certain motifs were rare (such as goddesses!), and that certain types of artifacts, such as stone, bone, clay – material now being reported, did not in fact exist at the site; that the painting reconstructions on their own terms cannot be justified from the alleged small tracings claimed for their genesis.

Mellaart has a long known interest in Anatolian kilims (see *Anatolian Studies* XXX, 1980: 91–99 and *Anatolian Studies* XXXIV, 1984: 87–95); it is relevant to recall that in 1959 he published a color reproduction of a kilim described as an artifact from Dorak (supra). In the two *Anatolian Studies* investigations of kilims, he did not mention either the Dorak kilim or the Çatal Hüyük painted kilim designs. Nor in his 1989 volume did he mention the alleged example from Dorak as a source of modern patterns as he had claimed for the Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük paintings – which are not actual kilims. And, as

Mallett discovered (1990: 42), Mellaart published two different drawing reconstructions for the Dorak kilim in 1959 and in his 1989 Goddess volume!

Eiland and Mallett have also noted that the Dorak and Çatal Hüyük problems are interrelated: major discoveries based on one individual's claims, without the existence of evidence. Several critics used forceful terms such as "fabrications," "travesty" and "hoax," to describe Mellaart's productions. The usage is not exaggerated. From this conclusion self-generating conclusions follow: these painting reconstructions, and the decorated clay, bone and stone artifacts, have no reality and are not artifacts made by ancient man.[53]

Beldibi

In his 1990 *Anatolische Kelims* paper, Mellaart casually insinuated another set of artifacts into the archaeological corpus. He claimed (pp. 28 ff. with drawings) that someone (no names are mentioned) "collected" at Beldibi beach a number of pebbles incised with goddesses and their children, ships, animals, birds, and houses: but we are instructed that the "uninformed" will not be able to see them, this feat is reserved only for the "*cognoscenti*" (for comparanda see the so-called Glozel inscribed fakes, Rieth 1970: 92 ff.; Jones 1990: no. 334).

It would be a bad joke to say that we eagerly await the next archaeological discovery of J. Mellaart, simply because he has caused too much damage by exposing archaeology's soft underbelly: any archaeologist can publish what he wishes.

Pre-Hittite, Hittite

1. A bronze bull in the Mildenberg collection (Kozloff 1981: no. 7) is said to be Hattian, an Alaca Hüyük type, but to my eyes not necessarily. Also, in the same catalogue, two small animal figurines, nos. 8, gold, and 9, electrum, may or may not be genuine, but surely they are not Hattian: all three have value only in a collector's vitrine, not in archaeological discussion.

2, 3. Two bronze statuettes, one labeled pre-Hittite, the other Hittite – from the "Bogazkoy area...", Berg collection (*Man Came this Way* nos. 12, 13; *Muscarella 1977b: nos. 229, 230). These and the following two examples are neither Hittite nor old.

4. "Standing king (or thunder God)" bronze statuette, Heckett collection (*Ancient Bronzes* no. 10; *Muscarella 1977b, no. 232).

5. A large-headed, flat bodied male figurine, gold, Lipschitz collection (*Ancient Art in American Private Collections* no. 106; *Muscarella 1977b, no. 231).

6. A vessel purchased and exhibited as Hittite is decorated with awkwardly executed and iconographically misunderstood separated frieze scenes framed by spirals and triangular cutouts: it was produced for the modern bazaars. One frieze depicts what is meant to be

a cult scene formed of scratched and lumpy, meaningless figures and objects in relief: the forger – and the purchaser – does not know that the "libating" figure at the right has a mis-placed vagina, and that instead of holding a spouted vessel, strikes a floating altar with an amorphous mass; or that the bird carried by a seated figure should not have caprid horns. A second scene depicts an archer shooting a doe (?) held by him on a rein; and there are two scenes with heraldic animals – unidentifiable except as generic feline. Parallels in form and style are non-existent. I suggest that a modern forger – not a skilled one – created a free form he thought to be generic Hittite; he convinced the Cleveland Museum of Art to purchase it (85.70; *The Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin* 73/2, 1986: 36, no. 24).

In the brief annual report note the caption records the provenience as "Turkey or Syria, Hittite, 1400–1200 BC," but on the rear of the photos available the provenience has shifted, for we find written there "Eastern Turkey." What is an inquiring scholar, or a serious collector, to believe? What internal learned museum conferences occurred that led to the change in proveniences?

I requested a museum official to have the vessel tested by TL. The answer was that Oxford, University's laboratory had "TL'd" the vessel before it was purchased. After further requests for information and initiating inquiries to Oxford, I was informed by the latter that a sample had indeed been accepted in 1985, but from the dealer (presumably prior to its being purchased by Cleveland), and that it was taken from the base. I inquired: who supervised the sampling, and why was a base allowed to be tested, since it is an area most susceptible to fraud (a good base can have a modern body superimposed)? Oxford replied that they have since stopped accepting samples submitted by dealers. On August 28, 1996 I wrote to Cleveland asking them both to x-ray their vessel and have a new sample taken for TL testing, but not from the base. I have received no further information. One may note here that the Cleveland Museum curators were loyally following the instructions of John Cooney in his Introduction to Herbert Hoffmann's guide to collectors, *Collecting Greek Antiquities*, Crown , New York, 1971: xii, that the Museum purchased only objects it "believed to be outstanding examples of their kind...."

For students who wish to study Anatolian relief vessels that do not require TL testing, go to R. M. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Bogazköy* (Berlin1983), and T. Özgüç, *Inandiktepe* (Ankara 1988), not to Cleveland. 3P 454, 455, 456

7. I still find it difficult to accept the so-called priest-king in the Cleveland Museum of Art 71.45 (Kozloff 1972: figs. 1–3, back cover; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 228). Kozloff (56, 59) suggested that the piece came from Ras Shamra, where a similar example was recovered (her figs. 7–9) – but little of the excavated figure is preserved, and the gown border folds of the two figures are not the same. Spycket (1981: 266, note 187) confined the piece to a footnote wherein she expressed doubts about its ancient age. The visage as well as the uncertain carving and direction of the fringes on the garment should cause concern and caution. R. Merhav (*Israel Museum Journal* IV, 1985: 30) believed that the fringe arrangement "contributes greatly to our understanding of the way the garment [represented on seals and elsewhere] is worn." I think such an interpretation is not justified. Suspicion, if not necessarily outright rejection, is justified for this "most important" object – which attitude considerably limits its use. P 457

8. Not Hittite – but claimed to have been made during that culture's floruit, and "soll aus einem Schachtgrab ... in Zentralanatolien stammen," and found by a – yes, a simple peasant, is a gold mask that is a close copy of the "Agamemnon" mask found at Mycenae by H. Schliemann (S. Alp in *Belleten* 29, 1965: 18–23, pl. I). Although raising the possibility of doubt (20), Alp concludes that it is genuine, agreeing with the owner: "Die Besitzer versichert, dass die Maske echt sei." (One cannot quarrel with the view that asking the dealer for his opinion is by far the easiest and quickest way to determine age); he dates them to the 16th century B.C. J. Mellaart, the archaeologist, accepted the find as important for Anatolian archaeology; he cleverly suggested, however, that it may have derived from Arzawa, not from where the dealer said it was found.

H.-G. Buchholz (*ActaPrHistA* 1, 1970: 120) thought otherwise, and recognized the fakery and the forgery of a provenience. Electrotype copies of Mycenaean material, including the "Agamemnon" mask, were being made for sale by 1903 (Jones 1990: no. 23 i; Norick 1993: 30); at least one of these reached Turkey. (For a discussion of gold face masks, mostly Parthian, see J. Curtis, "Gold Face-Masks in the Ancient Near East," in The *Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, ed. S. Campbell and A. Green, Oxbow Monograph no. 51 [1995]: 226-231; alas, the study compromises itself with the standard phrases "said to come from," "attributed to," "believed to come from").

9. The same as above, an object claimed to have derived from Anatolia during the Hittite period: a broken steatite statuette of a nude male, Berg collection (*Man Came this Way* no. 63). Aside from the correct classification, "A great rarity...," the catalogue caption claims that the piece "was excavated at 'Level 7A' from the mount [sic] of Hissarlik...by the Turkish Archaeological Expedition of 1959 and presented to us." It would be nice to accept the story as true, and perceive some Turkish humor at work.

10. There are a number of statuettes labeled Anatolian published in the dealer's catalogue *Idols*, Ariadne Galleries, New York, 1989, that are culturally meaningless and without archaeological value, because they reveal no evidence of ancient spirit or manufacture: nos. 31–33, 35–37; 34 may or may not be ancient, whatever their cultural background actually is.

11. Seals are outside the general scope of this discussion, but a prominent publication is worth mentioning. A seal in the Louvre AO 29722, published as a forgery by D. Hawkins in *Syria* LXIII, 1990: 735–741, fig. 1, was defended in the same journal by M. Salvini, pp. 743–747, and by P. Amiet, pp. 749 f. Salvini believes that the anomalies cited by Hawkins argue for the seals' authenticity; Amiet thinks it has an "aspect favorable, notamment au toucher," and, evoking the Museum Ritual, sees it to be a "bel objet," an aesthetic judgement sufficient to satisfy curatorial – and historical – needs. Hawkins' arguments clearly convince us that a problem exists; it cannot be resolved by appeal to uniqueness, ancient diversity, or concepts of beauty.

A second seal offered for sale with the above was also published by Hawkins as a forgery, ibid. 738 f., fig. 2.

As early as 1900, Messerschmidt: 242 f. mentioned forgeries of Hittite seals (after *AJA* IX, 1894: pl. XV: 1, 2), a determination based on style, material, and the fact that

the copied signs are upside down. Surely more forged Hittite seals are waiting to be sold or are already in collections.

Urartian

The listing below does not document all the forgeries of Urartian culture – for a point was reached where I realized that attempts to appraise the mass of alleged Urartian material served up to us in many scholarly publications, were doomed to frustration. Beginning in the late 1960s large quantities of Urartian material reached the European, primarily German, bazaars, and they soon found homes primarily in German, but also in other, museums and collections. The present situation is that there are far more (genuine) Urartian artifacts owned by museums and private collections than have derived from excavations in ancient Urartian territory. And soon after their appearance they were being published, primarily by scholars who had access to them in German museums (at least one of which actively cooperated with dealers to find homes for them in other institutions and collections).

A study of the representational scenes found on many published Urartian artifacts indicates that both canonical and non-canonical workshops are in evidence, exhibiting different qualities of finished material. A review of the non-canonical material indicates that many examples do not derive from excavations, a reality ignored or not recognized and thus not commented upon by the scholars who claim a right to publish them. We are on familiar ground here, the symbiosis of the bazaar and the archaeological site. Many scholars who write about Urartian art accept practically every stray decorated bronze defined or baptized as Urartian by a curator, or by a label in a museum or private collection (or if it turns up in Munich, which provenance is accepted as a guarantee of antiquity). No questions arise because no analysis or considered reflection is deemed necessary for these born-again Urartian artifacts. This is more obvious in alleged synthetic studies, where it is not considered important to separate for study the excavated from the unexcavated, even though their histories are in opposition (viz. Eichler 1984; Dezsö and Curtis 1991; Merhav 1991). With (of course, decorated) blinkers protecting their eyes from real world issues, some of these scholars also claim that they *know* which among the countless stray bronzes purchased in Europe are in fact components of a Fundkomplex derived from one depot or site in eastern Turkey.[54]

This anarchy has made it almost impossible for concerned scholars to derive objective, unbiased data on the techniques, styles and motifs accomplished in ancient Urartian art: how many of the often published decorated scenes incised on a large number of surely genuine bronze artifacts were in fact anciently executed? How much unexcavated "Urartian" iconography must we accept? This is especially pertinent for there exist many undecorated units of the same forms from the same stalls and, if one bothers to look, equally from excavations (viz. Gropp 1981: Abb. 5). The task then for those who seek to determine which objects within the vast supply of dispersed material are modern intrusions, forgeries, is very difficult. But a study of the excavated – the archaeological – evidence and good old fashioned art historical analysis removes any reluctance on my part to offer my own observations that oppose those of others. A systematic reading of the studies of some of the authors cited below suggests that they have turned "Urartian

art" into an anti-archaeological sub-culture. Some can be appreciated only if they are read as parodies of scholarly writing. This situation is not new. What concerns the historians among us is that these writers mirror the methodology related to the bazaar-correct reading of iconographies from those scholars who taught us what "Iranian art" was all about.

Forged proveniences for Urartian material are (one need not have to say, of course) also available (see also Giyimli, below). Here is a recent example – a particularly embarrassing one: A. S. Philoposyan in "An Urartian Bronze Belt," *SMEA* XXXVII (1996): 123–129 publishes another stray belt in a private collection (mysteriously unnamed). He gladly shares with us his crystal ball analysis that the belt was recovered (he avoids the word plundered) at Tepe Leilan in Syria, and thus was part of the burial deposit of an Urartian warrior "who died during the conquest of Tell Leilan." Aside from the abuse of having someone who cannot know inform us precisely about the derivation of but one of hundreds of plundered belts known, we suffer further from our archaeologically derived knowledge that Tepe Leilan was abandoned in the second millennium B. C., when there was no Urartu, and that Urartian troops never penetrated so far south into Syria in the first millennium B. C.: why did *SMEA* publish this article?

I give an attenuated list of the problem pieces that caught my attention more than others do; I remain certain that more Urartian forgeries exist than are recorded here (are the embellishment ateliers located in Germany or Turkey, or in both countries?).

1. A characterless bronze statuette of genre ancient Near Eastern background, but called Urartian by the Hotel Drouot May 22, 1980: no. 324.

2. In the same sales catalogue, no. 435, a terracotta "vase à kohol," a tall vessel resting on a quadruped, which never saw Urartu.

3, 4. Two elaborate terracotta alleged kohl vase ensembles, with different shaped vessels on a quadruped, offered for sale: one in Hotel Drouot March 30, 1981, no. 75 – where the May 22, 1980, no. 435 vessel, No. 2 above, is cited as a parallel; the other is in Drouot Rive Gauche February 26, 1980, no. 6. Are these containers modern forgeries, or genuine elements of another culture's repertory colonized by the Parisian market?

5. In the same Drouot Rive Gauche sales catalogue, no. 24 is an inarticulate and asymmetrical scene inexpertly raised on a gold plaque, alleged to evoke Gilgamesh, and thrown into the Urartian scrap basket.

6, 7, 8. In the Hotel Drouot September 26, 1980 catalogue are three bronze artifacts listed as from Urartu, not one exhibiting evidence for an ancient life: no. 21, two identical male figures stand atop a plinth placed over a casket of sorts with creatures' heads projecting; no. 211, a plaque embellished with two felines hunting a gazelle, but the manufacturer became confused about which animal was attacking which; and no. 212, a fragment preserving most of a scratched-on figure holding his extended belt ends, and animals are scratched below.

9. A bust fragment from a statuette that is so odd it is dumped in the Urartian scrap basket (what happened to Luristan?) as "probably" a storm god, is best left out of any Near Eastern culture's repertory, J. Duffy collection (Ede 1976: fig. 278a).

10. A small silver pendant incised with a female holding a fan in one hand and looking forward with big eyes. The vendor informs us that this piece, in "superb condition," was found with a silver torque, also offered for sale; the stall as site again (*Auction XXXII*, Joel L. Malter November 30, 1985, no. 352).

Something is very wrong with the incised decoration on a number of otherwise ancient bronze artifacts published in the fulsomely praised, in fact flawed and archaeologically distorting, Jerusalem alleged Urartian Exhibition Catalogue (Merhav 1991; a number of them were previously published elsewhere). The forgers and dealers quickly realized that there were/are many empty spaces on many plundered Urartian bronzes that beg for bazaar embellishment to satisfy the joys of the serious collectors and the intellectual passions of serious scholars; the Jerusalem editor generously exhibited some of them for our education and enjoyment. (I want to stress that there may easily be – and I believe are – other examples of embellished ancient artifacts than I record here, but photographs do not always allow for a determined conclusion that they are genuine or forgeries):

11, 12. Two originally plain trapezoidal armor (?) plaques have incised/scratched scenes of figures that exhibit no features that appear to be either Urartian or ancient: 92: no. 51 (Israel Museum M 85.39.89, gift of E. and B. Borowski; see also Eichler 1984: P.W. 5, 22, 31); and no. 52 (Louvre AO 28359). Various winged creatures greet each other, and a central figure wears a round loop over his neck (meant to be a sun disc). Even by Giyimli standards the poor execution of hair and clothing features fails to inform us that they were made in antiquity. 2P 458

13. The lower section of a plaque bothers me (am I correct?): 121: no. 6 (Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem; also Eichler 1984: P.W. 14, 38, Taf. 14; R. Merhav *Treasures of the Bible Lands*, Tel Aviv, 1987, no. 74). It has floral and geometric decoration, and a one-legged master of calves/bulls. His clothing suggests to me a modern attempt to depict a kneeling master of animals and something Urartian (*van Loon in *BibOr* XLIV 1/2 1987: 228 "feels uncomfortable" with this piece). I cannot say anything about the representation of a deity in a sun disc in the upper zone except to note that this motif occurs on many unexcavated horse trappings (in the Jerusalem catalogue and elsewhere), all of which should be viewed skeptically (see below).

14. Why should we believe that the pomegranate tree incised on so-called arm guards, 122, no. 8 (Ebnöther collection; also Vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1983: no. 38) is an original, Urartian tree? See the blank, i.e. original plain condition, of examples on page 120.

15, 16. Two horse blinkers, 85, 87, nos. 40, 41, 119, fig. 4 (Karlsruhe BLM 89.9: also Maass 1987: 84, Taf. 1.2, 9.2; Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem: Merhav, *Treasures of the Bible Lands*, Tel Aviv, 1987: no. 75), are accepted as a right-left pair and dated to the "late 9th-early 8th century B.C.E." Their scenes probably have been recently

added: near a bush a kneeling archer shooting at a caprid bordered by buds. Both scenes are inexpertly executed, but were not made by the same artisan: note the clothing, the quivers, the tassel on the foot of no. 40, the human and animal body parts – the attenuated elbow on no. 40, the arrow sticking out of the throat of no. 41's caprid, and the archer of no. 41 is left handed (see also Ziwiye No. 40, Luristan Strips, Nos. 7, 16, Nipple Beakers, No. 26). For other archers attributed to Urartu, see Nos. 20–24, below.

At least two more examples exist, decorated with the same archer and prey, both published by Maass 1987: 85, nos. 14, 15, Taf. 1, 2.

The blinkers were decorated to be sold, two as a (modern) pair, and the archers depicted here in mirror fashion helped scholars recognize the obvious connection. The forgers were drawing something they thought was generic Iranian style (viz. Calmeyer 1973: 46 ff.), a hunt copied from the beaker scenes; but scholars ignored this and published their work as Urartian.

On page 98, fig. 13.1, is a blinker decorated only with a caprid and no archer; see also O. Belli in *Anadolu Araştirmalari* IX, 1983: 343: are the designs ancient? Other blinkers are plain, viz. Merhav 1991: 84, nos. 37, 1, 2; see the excavated examples in Gropp 1981: Abb. 5. P 459

17. The incised scenes added to a conical helmet with multiple incurving raised feline bands (127, no. 9, Karlsruhe BLM 89.1) reveals no indication that it should be accepted as an anciently executed iconography – although many scholars believe otherwise. It was first published by Kellner (1980: 207 f., Taf. II-VI), followed by others: Eichler (1984: H.1, 19, 37, 39, Taf. 8, 9); P. Calmeyer (*AMI* 19, 1986: "Zu einem Ziselierten Bronzehelm des 8. Jahrhunderts," 79 ff., Abb. 4, Taf. 15–20, and in Merhav 1991: 124, 127, no. 9; Maass 1987: 71: Taf. 1, 2); and recently by Born and Seidl (1995: 26 f., Abb. 25, 26). Formal parallels were made to similar – but excavated and genuine – decorated helmets from Karmir Blur (viz. Calmeyer 1986: Abb. 1, 2; see also O. Y. Taşyürek's report on a similarly decorated Urartian helmet fragment in Gaziantep, *Türk Arkeoloji Dirgisi* XXI-1, 1994: 177 ff., figs. 1, 2). In this example a centrally positioned tree in a cartouche is flanked by two figures, and below is a frieze of winged and non-winged figures flanking a similar tree. This frieze was surely the inspiration for decorating the plundered plain helmet before it came to Karlsruhe.

Calmeyer (ibid.: 81) correctly noted (some) problems on the Karlsruhe's example, for example the body proportions of the winged figure centrally positioned between the heads – the presence of only one horn, the misunderstanding of the bow, whose upper end converges with the wing, his short wing (also his face and helmet band are wrong). And for the frieze of heraldic figures below, we may note that aside from inconsistencies and poor execution in the tree and figure drawings, there is a larger number than expected – and an unprecedented unplanned space allowing one heraldic figure at the end to be omitted. All these anomalies are submitted to us as simply the work of an ancient artist – a conclusion not possible to accept because it is merely a guess – and it makes no archaeological sense. What does make sense is that these scenes have been added to satisfy the German art market and scholarly needs. And satisfy them it did indeed – gaining a wider audience in its exhibition in the Israeli alleged Urartian exhibition.

I have no opinion about the age of the chariot scenes on the helmet; a laboratory examination to establish corrosion history would help – did the incisions cut through

the corrosion (why wasn't examination accomplished before making the purchase)?

Perhaps the incised decoration was added in the same or a neighboring factory that worked on the proclaimed Assyrian helmet, below in Assyrian, No. 42. 2P 460

18. The incised decoration on a helmet in the Ebnöther collection (128 f., no. 11; also Eichler 1984: 19, H.3, Taf. 9, 2, 10; Vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1983: no. 22, fig. 33 below, is a sanitized drawing; Maass 1987: 69 – considered by him to be from the same Near Eastern Fundkomplex as No. 19 below: Dezsö and Curtis 1991: 124), raises high one's eyebrows and causes us to hold the decoration much in abeyance. A scratchy (but sometimes described as "feiner Gravierung") and unskillfully executed scene depicts a mixed group of griffins and casually drawn, ethnically unidentifiable humans collectively flanking a tree that supports a sun disc whose tail wing crosses over a mountain motif. Two royal (?) figures unevenly grasp tendrils from the sun disc. Flanking all this is a procession of apparent Assyrians and tribute bearers, and two confronting, greeting royal figures, all terminated at one end by a figure under or emerging from a curved parapet. None of the royal figures has a point over their fezes; pace Maass (ibid.), there is no parasol bearer present, but rather someone ineptly holding a crooked stick over only one royal figure's head.

Maass (ibid. 70) shares with us his archaeological interpretation of objects that first appear in Munich, not in a Near Eastern site: "Man mag an eine Koregenschaft wie die von Ischpuini und seinem Sohn Menua denken, um die Mittelgruppe zu erklären." He also recognizes that the scene's execution reflects provincial not court style – but avoids explaining why such a momentous iconography would look so provincial: could it be because it was not made by an ancient provincial?

19. The decoration on still another helmet, Karlsruhe (Kellner 1980: 211 f., Taf. XIII-XIV; Maass 1987: 65 ff., No. 1, Taf. 1, 2, 3; Calmeyer in Merhav 1991: 123; Dezsö and Curtis 1991: 115, 121, 124, pl. XVIII), this one with a top projection in the form of an animal-head protome, also cannot be left unchallenged. The central motif has two confronting figures before a tree (one like Assyrian below, No. 44), and there is also a frieze around the rim. This consists of oddly proportioned, irregularly, differently dressed, armed, bearded and footed men bearing strange gifts, the whole obviously inexpertly executed. To Maass, as to Kellner before him, the scene is Assyrian. He dated it to the third quarter of the 9th century B.C., in form and style, and believed the tributaries to be Phoenicians and Syrians. Calmeyer (following Kellner) sees here "a decoration in the ninth-century Assyrian style;" Dezsö and Curtis suggest the date is late 9th century B. C., and use the helmet and its alleged stylistically determined chronology to date other examples of this helmet form and to establish that the helmet is Assyrian.

On the basis of what we know about ancient Assyrian style and iconography I find it utterly impossible to permit a casual acceptance of this scene; we have before us a kind of pastiche.[55]

20–24. Two breastplates, 85, 87, nos. 43, 44, Karlsruhe (also Maass 1987: 87 ff., Taf. 1,1, 8), Munich PS 1975.2954, have very poorly executed scenes: a winged deity facing left flanked on one side by a griffin, on the other by a human, each libating, and these flanked respectively by a human-headed sphinx and a griffin-sphinx. To fill in all available space,

in each of the two curved corner spaces of the plaque is a genre Iranian hunting scene, a kneeling archer shooting at a caprid (see just above, Nos. 15, 16, and Iran General No. 14, above). Why these depictions are to be considered an ancient scene is never explained, for the obvious reason that it cannot be explained.

At the same time, no. 42 in the same catalogue, "looks good." It illustrates only part of the center area of the same form of breastplate that shows a much better executed winged deity – who faces right here – and one flanking griffin: is this good? I have no idea.

Three other examples of the same shape and decoration are known to me: one in Karlsruhe (Maass 1987: Taf. 1.1), one in a private collection (?) published by Born and Seidl (1995: 71, Abb. 59), and another published by Eichler 1984: 25, P.4, Taf. 23. All bear the very same scene. If my count is right, we have at least six breastplates decorated with the very same scene, at least five of which I suggest may have been made in the same, very successful, recently established factory.

25. As noted above, other incised bronzes in the Jerusalem exhibition may equally not depict ancient workmanship and should be accorded a suspicious attitude; again, autopsy in a laboratory might help determine whether patina exists within the incised lines, or was cut through; for example:

a. The sun disc scene from Munich (PS 1980.6245), 106, no. 67 (also Born and Seidl 1995: 80, Abb. 70), where we have a right to be uneasy with the bow position and the deity's face.

b. And what of those works represented on pp. 108–109? Born and Seidl 1995: 80, Abb. 69, also Munich, may be the same as one of the latter examples: their antiquity is not adequately demonstrated. The top unit of no. 72, for example, Munich PS 1971.1641 (also Vanden Berghe and de Meyer 1983: no. 31; P. Calmeyer and U. Seidl, *AnatStud* 1983: 108, n. 34; E. Haerinck and B. J. Overlaet, *IranAntiq* XIX, 1984: Taf. 1; G. Işik, it AMI 18, 1985: 77, n. 10; 84, n. 63) seems artificial. The head is beardless, there are no horns, the knob on the crown may be too large, there is no lower body; also, there is a wrong thumb on the right hand attached to a thin arm; the motif spills over onto the bulge. All these problems do not suggest to us that it is ancient.

c. Why should we accept that the alleged mate to the above, ibid. no. 72, Munich PS 1971.1698, necessarily has an ancient decoration of a winged figure?

d. From what I can see of the design on no. 73.3, Munich PS 1971.1645, it was recently executed.

26, 27. Two gold objects in the exhibition should not be included into the corpus of ancient Urartian art, although they have been published a number of times (especially by H.-J. Kellner). One is a crescent pendant depicting two females flanking a seated female, 166, no. 2, and 175, fig. 15, Munich PS 1971.2028. The execution of the female's hands and gowns, the addition of rayed sun discs as fillers, suggest modern incompetence, not ancient "provincial" attributes.

The other example is called a medallion and is also in Munich, PS 1980.6100 (ibid. 167, no. 4; see also H-J. Kellner *AMI* 13, 1980: 83 ff. fig. 1–fig. 3 is the crescent just mentioned) depicting a uniquely helmeted – with a rear tassel – worshipper with

upraised hands before a deity who stands on a lion; a blazing sun symbol is behind the god. We ask: why is the deity without horns (no damage is evident, they are simply and foolishly omitted)? What is projecting obliquely from the back of both figures? If it is a sheath where is its upper part? Why is the blazing sun disc added behind the deity? Why is the human figure's garment unparalleled in Urartian art? Why is the area below the ground line clear, when the apparently good examples have a base supported on buds or ziz-zag? The lion's mane seems mechanically executed. Depicting the deity holding his bow with the string out deserves investigation in Urartian context, for in the same Jerusalem catalogue: 76, no. 29, 96, nos. 62.1–3, 63.1–3, and 291, no. 1, the deity holds the bow with the string facing inward.

Why is this disc ancient? It is very easy to incise designs on gold discs, and not only in ancient Urartu. Compare it to ibid. 164 f., figs. 1, 2, and 291, no. 1 – all of which seem to be ancient.

28. Another breastplate decorated with a winged disc catches my eye, Munich PS 1971/1699 (T. Kendall, *BMFA* 75, 1977: 47, fig. 14 b; P. Calmeyer, *JdI* 94 1979: 363, Abb. 12; U. Seidl, *AMI* 13, 1980: 77, n. 21 – dated to the time of Menua; Vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1983: no. 32; P. Calmeyer and U. Seidl, *AnatStud* 1983: 108, n. 33; Eichler 1984: 23, 32, P.W. 8; G. Işik, *AMI* 18, 1985: 77, n. 10, 84, n. 63). The asymmetrical form and the odd bend of the bow suggest that something is not right here.

There are problems with at least six more incised bronze object published as Urartian by Born and Seidl 1995:

29. A fragment, 87: Abb. 76, Ligabue collection, reveals problems concerning style and iconography and the issue of welcoming and accepting Unikums from the market as evidence of ancient experiences and practices. Look at the not-typical Urartian loosely trousered – or tight skirted – and left handed (note the fingers, and where is the other hand?) archer, who has no helmet and is depicted shooting with an unbalanced bow, and astride a strangely constructed horse; border holes are lacking. The authors casually note (85) that the hand that holds the bow is "gewöhnlich der linke." A problem piece.

30. A plaque, 85 f.: Abb. 77, A. Guttmann collection, that the authors themselves call attention to as an Unikum. It has a subordinate figure shooting an arrow with deformed hands, and furnished with an odd, alleged hooked arm and wrist protector, a strange projection at his chest and a "quiver" at his shoulder (it looks like a fish tail). But, as with "Giyimli" figures (below), who really knows if this is ancient – and therefore why quote and publish it?

31. Then there is a helmet first published by Kellner (1980: 210 f., Taf. X-XII) that has a scene of a faceless male mastering above his head two floating-in-the-air winged bulls with turned-back heads, all flanked by felines with very odd body markings (94 ff.: Abb. 85 – better seen in Kellner Taf, XI; *BullAncOrientMus* IV, 1982, Tokyo: pl. VII). All looks, aside from being non-Urartian in style and iconography, as if it were recently added to increase the value and sales expectancy of a plain helmet. Inasmuch as Kellner (210) knew the helmet was found in a Fundkomplex in Urartu, it followed that it was

Urartian. Born and Seidl (94) wrestle with attribution, claiming the decoration is not Urartian, but concluding that its assyrianizing form could have been executed in eastern Anatolia, a nice thing to know.

And 89, Abb. 80, ex-private collection, Munich, are plaques decorated with libating deities, one depicted with one, the other with two horns, and holding buckets in different positions.

32, 33. While I cannot speak for the belts themselves, elements on two examples published caught my eyes. One (100, Abb. 89), Guttmann collection, published in a small photograph depicts a scratched-on archer above an animal: the former surely cannot be an ancient Urartian; was this section recently added to the belt?

And in the same collection (102, Abb. 93) there seems to be represented another non-ancient Urartian – look at the space between his widespread legs and his foot resting on the horns of the bull, not to mention his inexpertly rendered – here deeply incised – head, quiver, bow, and right and left arms. Further, the bull seems to have been executed by an artisan other than the one who formed those on the belt proper. A laboratory check would help – but in the meantime it will not matter in the least to scholars that another alleged Urartian belt exists in a Berlin private collection.

34, 35. A fragment of a decorated belt in Munich (81 f., Abb. 71) deserves to be considered together with another decorated fragment (provenance not supplied) published by W. Röllig ("Ein urartäisches Gürtelblech mit Darstellung einer Löwenjagd," *Orientalia* 66, 1997: 213–221) who probably correctly notes that it "sicher aus der gleichen Werkstatt, wahrscheinlich aus der Hand des gleichen Künstlers, stammt....". I have no quarrel with Röllig's conclusion, the issue of contention being when did this workshop flourish?

Both fragments depict combined Urartian-like battle and hunt scenes, and both exhibit many stylistic and iconographical aberrations and anomalies. I suggest that we consider that a dealer commissioned a forger to embellish two originally plain fragments (no waste of material in his shop). This view makes more archaeological/art historical sense than accepting the pieces as ancient workmanship merely because they exist (no metal analysis was provided in either case).

The two fragments share the same overlapping of figures, the same warrior grasping cavalry horses, the meandering long tails of the lions, and crude workmanship. As Röllig is well aware, there are no parallels in Urartian art. Page after page he documents for his belt the non-paralleled features and iconography, generously pointing out this characteristic, but remains unaware throughout what this might signify, never asking, why is this piece ancient? His conclusion is that the lack of parallels indicates that the belt is ancient and unique. Note the chariot without an archer, the doubled cavalry horses facing in two directions, one frontal, the non-Urartian-acting lions and raptor, warriors confused as to which direction they are fleeing, and so forth. Because of these problems, neither fragment has archaeological or art historical value.

36. A tapering plaque has a seemingly stiff but apparently adequately executed scene, a stylized (to me) winged deity on a bull over a stylized tree, Ebnöther collection (Vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1893: no. 41, fig. 37; G. Işik, *AMI* 18, 1985: 77, n. 10; I.

Medvedskaya, *Iran* XXVI, 1988: 4, fig. 2; Merhav 1991: 90, no. 48). *P. Calmeyer and U. Seidl, *AnatStud*? 1983: 108, e' say that the "zentrale Figure...scheint uns gänzlich modern oder stark überarbeitet zu sein." In note 32 they point out that there are technical and stylistic discrepancies between this figure and the other motifs, suggesting not simultaneous work, or possibly an excessive modern re-working. *Eichler 1984: 64 also thought this piece might be a forgery (which is of interest, for it is the only piece in his publication that is challenged, see below). I too am puzzled by this piece, but think it is all good or all wrong – there is no compelling sense in assuming the ancient depiction of a bull over a tree and a recently added deity. At the same time I find its workmanship good, except perhaps for a thin arm. In any event, what matters, given the questions raised, is that the piece should be quoted with caution expressed: does it have historical or archaeological value?

Calmeyer and Seidl ibid.: d' accept as genuine a similar scene depicted on a frontlet, one that I published years ago, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem (Muscarella 1981b: no. 146; Eichler 1984: P.W. 2, 22, 30; Merhav 1991: 85, no. 39). I still think it is ancient (of course, the fact that a Menua inscription exists on the border is not relevant to the age of the scene): but as suggested for many of the "Urartian" strays on modern foreign soil, we do well to be cautious in using it historically.

37, 38. Two discs of different sizes published by Eichler (1984: 20, 33, 34, S.2 and S.3, Taf. 12, 13) don't compel me to automatically accept them as ancient. The first has an un-winged deity in a disc that has many pairs of rays projecting from it; the other is badly damaged but preserves a deity on a bull faced by a homaging figure high in the air. The former's feet are not in the expected position; his face is poorly executed.

Eichler also publishes (P.W. 10, 23, Taf. 20.2) a plaque in the British Museum (BM 135999) depicting what seems to be a cute-faced deity, with very projecting horns, in a winged disc. The execution of the hands and head make one think they may not be ancient; a laboratory probe would help.

39. A belt offered by Christies, New York, December 18, 1997 as Urartian consists of an apparent senseless mixture of warriors, hunters, chariots, hunted animals, and so forth. It is difficult to situate these scenes into any ancient culture's iconography and style. Autopsy gives no help in determining how – if such is the case – the scenes were added to ancient metal. It is a confusing piece, but one that cannot be automatically accepted.

Examining H.J. Kellner, *Gürtelbleche aus Urartu* (Stuttgart 1991), I find little to bother me (but note that the drawings are usually standardized) except for two examples that have odd aberrations. One, no. 256 (in Japan), depicts females bearing gifts to a female leaning across a table in amiable conversation with a figure seated in a double-backed chair who holds worry beads in her hand. The other, no. 282 (private collection), extraordinarily depicts women seemingly changing sheets on beds, or holding them in the air, while others weave on looms, dance, eat; there is also a fortress with one square and on rounded arch. What is this all about, and are these scenes to be cited as manifest ancient iconographies? I think they may be used only parenthetically, and attended to as unproven Urartian. If genuine, they are extraordinary.

Giyimli Plaques

The so-called Urartian Giyimli bronzes deserve a separate section. The history of their existence and publication record is equal to that of Urartian art in general, and their frantic plundering is another example of how the greed of collecting fuels the total destruction of archaeological knowledge.

In 1981b (175 ff., with bibliography and some challenged pieces given on p. 320; see also 1979: 11, 1, 2, 3) I summarized what little is known about the site of Giyimli, southeast of Van in Eastern Turkey, the alleged "chance" finds there, and the one salvage excavation conducted in 1972 by the Turkish archaeologist A. Erzen (*Belleten* 38, 1974: 191–213). I show here a photograph of one of these surely not ancient "Giyimli" pieces (Sotheby's December 8, 1975: no. 65), described as a bronze mirror (compare another so-called mirror, ibid. no. 53). Just look at the twisted fingers, the heads, accoutrements, clothing, and mountain pattern. It is not ancient Urartian. P 461

More publications, photographs and actual pieces have circulated; one wonders whether there are more than the ca. 2000 fragments alleged by various individuals to have been originally plundered.

I studied the publications – the allegedly scholarly works and the sales catalogues–of the strips and broken pieces of bronze with incised, scratched, and raised designs, and scenes of disparate iconography and motifs, including the seemingly ugly, the seemingly competent, and also what one usually assumes to be typical Urartian material. In most publications, all the stray fragments were assumed to have derived from Giyimli. At least one researcher claims to know how to isolate those fragmented pieces he knows came from Giyimli from those he knows came from other sites, inasmuch as sitting in Germany he also knows the locus of at least one other site for the bronzes. H.-J. Kellner ("Gedanken zu den Bronzenen Blechvotiven in Urartu," *AMI* 15, 1982: 81, 84) reports that the brother of the owner of certain pieces he has seen found them in a field near Malazikirt (see also his essay in Merhav 1991: 286 ff., a shortened version in English of the *AMI* article).

It soon became obvious that there were no criteria against which to judge the pieces, no realia for appeal. Erzen recovered only a handful of bronze fragments at Giyimli; only one preserved part of a human head (ibid.: fig. 33), which does resemble some of the heads on the plaques attributed to Giyimli. And three related fragments were excavated at Karmir Blur (Kellner in *AMI* 1982: 80, Abb. 1. 2–4), suggesting for these a late 7th century B.C. date.

A further obstacle to archaeological understanding is the publication record of the alleged Giyimli find: collectively it provides no assistance. Three articles by O. A. Taşyürek, in *Expedition* 19/4, 1977: 12–20; *Belleten* 42, 166, 1987: 221–238; *SMEA* LXXXIII, 22, 1980: 201–214, confirm the poverty of archaeological writing on the subject. The author assumes that every scrap he encounters in the bazaars or from confiscations and purchases is ancient and is from one site, and he arbitrarily assigns them a chronology based on a non-understanding of art history. He recognizes cultural influences on the plaques from Luristan, Sialk B, Phrygia, North Syria, the Caucasus, the Oxus treasure, the Hittites, even Sicily. To explain the Iranian influences, he tells us in a manner suggestive of archaeological fact that the Luristan bronzes confiscated by the authorities in eastern Turkey "are known to be found in the Urartian tombs in the

Van province...." (*SMEA* p. 212). What is *not* known to that writer is that no Luristan bronzes were ever excavated in Urartian tombs; the confiscated Luristan material was most probably smuggled into Turkey from modern Iran – as is opium, tea, radios, even matches, etc. – for ease of sale.[56] How could one argue by appeal to an authority that does not exist, that a crudely scratched scene or a raised dot design looks wrong, while some other piece looks "right"? All is reduced to subjectivity, even the acceptance – shared by me – that hundreds of the plaques on the market are probably genuine. The question of dating the apparently genuine plaques is also subjective, pure guessing – scholars argue whether they are votive objects dating from the Urartian period, or were manufactured in late Urartian, or post-Urartian periods. I realized I was at a loss and decided it would serve no purpose to go beyond the examples I already condemned in 1979: 11, 1–3, and 1981b: 320. But I am moved to note that I regret publishing 1981b, no. 149, and a plaque depicting a standing male. Even given the problems associated with the Giyimli group mentioned here, I now believe that it is difficult to accept this plaque as ancient. Note the beard, false and unusual, and the wrongly understood execution of the hat, eye, mouth, nose, neck, feet, etc. The Giyimli bronzes are a diverse and still growing collection; their use in archaeological research about ancient Urartu is very limited.

Miscellaneous Alleged Anatolian

1. Years ago the Louvre acquired (AO 7024; purchased in Kayseri) an ensemble consisting of addorsed caprids on whose back is a non-articulated humanoid bust from whose head directly springs an openwork vessel support (H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*: no. 1185; also S. Przeworski, *Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens*, Brill, 1939: 75, 117, 194, Taf. X111: 1). It has been considered Anatolian and first millennium B. C., but a laboratory examination to determine that it is not a pastiche is required.

I suggest there are similar problems with three other stands. One in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, listed by their owners as from Asia Minor, depicts a stag with a long plain rod on its back surmounted with an openwork vessel holder. Another, in this case given a Luristan label, is surely from the same (whether ancient or modern) factory (Nouveau Drouot, Sept. 24, 1981: no. 161): over a stag of the same form stands a long-cloaked male figure on whose head is a rod bearing the same form of vessel support. Finally (are there more out there?), there is an example in the Teheran Museum that depicts a long beaked male standing on a bull who functions as the rod, and also a vessel holder above his head: are these pastiches? See also Luristan Pastiches, above. P 462

2. Years ago a large number of dickite stone figures of animals, birds, and humans appeared on the market (viz. Kozloff 1981, no. 1 for a number of examples). Kozloff generously attributed them to "Anatolia or Iran, said to have been found north of Lake Van...late 4th millennium B.C." They are unique and I have no idea whether they are ancient or modern, or from which culture they may have derived.

Laboratory tests were made of the drilling techniques by A. J. Gwinnett and L. Gorelick (*MASCA Journal* 2, 3, 1982 88 ff.; *Materials Research Society Symposium Proceedings* vol. 267, 1992: 325 ff.). It was determined that two of those published by Kozloff have drillings consistent with ancient techniques; and that at least one example

of 50 in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is modern. I myself have seen some that I believe are surely copies of the original group that surfaced.

C. Mesopotamia

Early Dynastic-Sumerian

Because of the considerable diversity in the carving and execution skills among the large corpus of the excavated repertory, every researcher of unexcavated and alleged Sumerian art soon recognizes that there are few solid areas within which to maneuver for attaining decisions about the unexcavated. One need only study the many excavated statuettes and body fragments published viz. in *OIP* volumes 44 and 60, Parrot 1953, and *MDP* 13 1912: pl. 40: 7–8, to see at a glance the variety of forms and executions – some crude to our eyes – of ED works. Years ago my 1977b work was justly criticized for its lack of knowledge of Sumerian art, and for insufficiently citing the number of forgeries of this art (Strommenger 1976–77: 321). Since that time I have done my homework and realize that both my critic and I grossly understated the actual number of Sumerian forgeries in existence. While I remain wary, I have no hesitancy in listing a good number of questionable objects that I anticipate will be accepted as forgeries or problematic pieces in most cases. Too often the defenders have taken the facile way: since variety exists in the archaeological record, any unexcavated aberration encountered in a bazaar or museum is accepted on the spot as an indication of an ancient background. The forgers and dealers love this sophisticated perspective.

When I had doubts concerning a piece encountered, but without a fully compelling sense that I was examining a forgery, I did not include it here – but they too must be kept in abeyance.[57]

Colleagues have informed me of factories in Beirut and Kuwait manufacturing "Sumerian" sculpture. The former seems secure as many forgeries have surfaced in that city (see also Norick 1993: 45, and No. 18 below). I also know of a few forgeries of Early Dynastic Beterstatuetten floating around the bazaars, but having no photographs or good details, I do not discuss them; and I expect other students will add examples to the present listing. In other words, there are more examples of these forgeries than listed here. Passing beyond controversy and scholarly disagreements concerning the age of an unexcavated piece, it can be argued that inasmuch as archaeological excavation has provided a considerable corpus of Sumerian material available for study, few unexcavated examples (especially isolated heads) need/should be cited in studies of Sumerian art; and if cited, the recording should be parenthetical. The material below is stone, unless designated otherwise.

1. A statuette of a figure with sheep-wool skirt, British Museum 134300 (*AfO* 21, 1966: 124, Abb. 1) is challenged ("Echtheit zweifelhaft") by Braun-Holzinger 1977: 84.

2. Johansen 1978: 29, n. 29 correctly indicts a statuette in the Louvre AO 22194, published by A. Parrot *Tello* 1948: pl. X, from the de Clercq collection. Johansen tells us to look at the face and feet.

3, 4. Two standing *Beterstatuetten* in the Metropolitan Museum do not appear to be ancient:

– 50.112.1 – note the mouth, beard, and hands. P 463

– 49.165, dark stone (Wilkinson, *BMMA* Summer 1950: 15): the cloak is mechanically executed and the fold at the left arm is unique; the hands, musculature, head, facial expression say 1940s. P 464

5. A statuette last known to be in a Stockholm collection – it is quite un-Sumerian and is easy to recognize as not ancient. P 465

6. The upper half of an alabaster figure of a male holding a vessel, dealer. All is not well, all is bad – cf. *OIP* 60: pl. 31 B for hands holding a vessel. Over the years the fragment belonged to at least four separate dealers, in England and the United States. A statement that circulated with it claimed that it was "excavated in Iraq in the 1920s." P 466

7. A female statuette with a modern elderly female's face, once with a New York dealer. P 467

8. The same New York dealer once owned a male statuette that by long distance trade passed to a Frankfurt dealer who sold it in 1955 to the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt (1453). The piece bothers me and I think one must be cautious in accepting it – although I ultimately doubt it. It was published as ancient by R. Hauptmann, *Die sumerische Beterstatuette*, Liebieghaus Monographie no. 12 (1989), and earlier was mentioned and accepted by Braun-Holzinger (1977: 18, n. 105, 62, 83); neither is a sufficient publication presenting the difficulties. One of the problems is that there is an Akkadian language inscription overlying a Sumerian inscription on the shoulder and both authors mentioned above claim that the later (by 300 years) inscription indicates reuse and usurpation of an earlier work.

There are stylistic problems and Hauptmann avoids them; he merely cites excavated ED examples as background examples for the class. No good parallels for the statuette in fact exist: for the large and squared ears, the thick neck, bulging head at the rear, sloping feet, inarticulate grasped fingers, body proportion. We can never be sure that it is ancient and therefore it has no value to archaeology whatsoever. P 468

9. Although fragmented a headless statuette in the Burrell collection, Glasgow, is probably not ancient – its fragmentary nature is, I suggest, part of the vendor's deception (Peltenburg 1991: no. 23).

10. A statuette not even attempting to accurately copy "A Sumerian stone figure.... Early Dynastic Period," on sale at Sotheby's July 10. 1989, no. 61.

11. A bronze statuette that may have been made to duplicate a Sumerian figure; its publisher suggested it was either Elamite or Mesopotamian, Bomford collection (Moorey 1966: no. 227); surely it is a bad modern casting.

12. A small gold statuette of a bearded male made to look like an Early Dynastic figure and accepted as such – against all the stylistic details: eyes, beard, skirt, feet, podium, not to mention material; private collection in Germany (Moortgat-Correns 1989: 120, lower left). Given the quantity of excavated ED statuary available, there is no excuse for choosing this piece for discussion in a study of Sumerian works. P 469

13. A kneeling nude male figure, his hands bound at the back by snakes, the Stoclet collection. It was recognized to be a forgery by Frankfort (*JNES* VIII, 1949: 60), Parrot (*Syria* 1951, 57 ff.), and Porada (1992: 171 ff.), who also presented a defense of the authenticity of the man with the snakes statuette in Cincinnati (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 210).

14. In 1974 I received photographs of a life sized stone head with the caption "Sumerian king... found in Mesopotamia." The head is without argument an inexpertly made copy of the head of the statue dedicated by Puzur-Eshtar of Mari and his brother. The body was excavated at Babylon; the head was purchased from a dealer (Strommenger 1962: 83, pls. 152, 153), who would have had time to make this copy. P 470

15, 16. In 1985 I received from J. Riederer in Berlin a photograph of a life sized bronze head circulating in the bazaar – which I recognized immediately to be an exact copy of the stone head No. 14. He informed me that its composition was analyzed to be copper with no tin, and a high percentage of lead (5 to 15 %). P 471

In 1988 I was shown a photograph, again sent by J. Riederer, of another life sized bronze head, identical to the head that surfaced in 1985, No. 15, but with different breaks. This head was also circulating in Germany, and the test results indicated a high lead content and no tin. The full laboratory results were eventually published by Riederer (1991; Figs. 1, 2); the two heads were made from modern metal, experienced modern casting methods, have a very high concentration of lead, and the patina is false. Riederer believes the two heads were made in the same workshop as No. 22 below. Riederer gives no provenance for the heads; I assume they belong to a dealer (See also Riederer's *Echt und falsch*, Springer-Verlag 1994: 263 f., Abb. 33, wherein he again condemns as forgeries Nos. 15, 16 and 22 of this Catalogue).

Here is a forgery copying a forgery copying a forgery; a flourishing, imaginative, and successful industry is at work here. P 471

Other probable forgeries of Mari Early Dynastic material include the following:

17. In 1982 a poorly executed head of a bearded male copied from statuary excavated at Mari (Amiet 1980: especially nos. 282, 284, 295; Parrot 1953: fig. 11), was circulated on the market from Liechtenstein. A letter of authenticity written by a scholar known to authenticate anything that is presented before his eyes (see North Syrian, No. 31, below) accompanied the head. I have no knowledge of its post 1982 history – it is probably in a private collection.

18. In 1958 H. Seyrig wrote in a letter that a statuette, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 54–19 (*Handbook Nelson Gallery*: 11, left), was a forgery made in a factory of Mari objects

located in Beirut. He claimed there were similar and equally well made statuettes from the same factory on the market. The Nelson-Atkins museum accepts Seyrig's claim. I have no comment on this claim, other than to suggest that it is well made – except perhaps for the face – and if Seyrig is correct, this factory was quite good. P 472

19. A poorly executed (I suggest) statuette pulls me toward condemning it – the concave nose, the sharp triangular torso, bored nipple holes, unarticulated hands, thickness of the beard below the lip, eye angle, ear construction; is it the one circulating in New York and Virginia in 1984? P 473

I am also uneasy about a statuette in the Levy-White collection published by T. Kawami in *Glories of the Past*, ed. D. von Bothmer, New York, 1990: no, 21. Kawami compares it to statuettes from Mari but these references seem to work against the piece, especially when one examines the poorly executed hands and the mouth.

20. Another highly suspicious statuette sold as deriving from Mari is in the Berg collection, ex-Rabenou (*Man Came This Way* no. 4). Note the bottom of the garment, the feet and the head.

21. Some time ago I discovered in the Metropolitan Museum's Herzfeld files a cut-out of a published photograph of a *Betterstatuette* with hands clasped and one attenuated, one broken foot. Preserved in the photo was Abb. 2–4, and written alongside in Herzfeld's hand: "Meissner Privatbesitz" and "Fälschung." The execution of the eyes and feet seemed to justify Herzfeld's conclusion. Although I went through all the books by Meissner, I could not discover whence his photo derived. Finally, thanks to Claudia Suter, with whom I consulted, the answer was soon forthcoming. The statue was mentioned in Braun-Holzinger 1977: 86 "Besitzer nicht bekannt;" and the reference I sought turned out to be *Atlantis* 1 (1929): 318, Abb. 2; the statuette also appeared in *ILN* December 22, 1928: 1190, bottom. I was also able to trace it to Sotheby & Co., December 13, 1928, no. 37: "excavated at Bismaya," we are pleased to learn.

22. A bronze head with a hole in its head purchased by the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin; it was published as ancient by Amiet (1980: no. 389), Braun-Holzinger (1984: no. 48, 16 ff., Taf. 9, suggesting that the damage may have been a willing act in antiquity), and H. Born, a conservator in Berlin ("Die Bedeutung antiker Herstellungstechniken zur Beurteilung Fälschungs-verdächtiger Bronzen," in *Zerstörungsfreie Prüfung von Kunstwerken* Berlin 1987: 146–155). Braun-Holzinger's defense that it is ancient is perfunctory; and the Born paper, while intending to give the impression it is a scientific report, is actually an attempt – that fails – at stylistic and historical analysis. Born claims that the head was once part of a full statuette, cut up in antiquity, but he omits crucial investigation that one would expect, for example an intergranulation cross-section analysis. We do learn, however, that there is a false patina and that the head has a very high percentage of lead. Any doubts one may have had about the modern age of this piece is dispelled after reading this article: it leads one to an opinion other than the one intended.

Following its purchase by the Berlin Museum in 1986, Strommenger published

the head again, in 1991 (*ActaPrHistA* 23, 1991: 141 ff.) and in 1994 (as a résumé in *Handwerk u. Technologie im alten Orient*, ed. R. B. Wartke, Mainz: 125). She vigorously defended it against J. Riederer's lead alloy analysis and his challenge of the piece (Riederer 1991, and elsewhere). Riederer's report is significant, because high lead does not appear until sometime in the first millennium B.C. (a stylistic discussion was not presented by Strommenger, and her attempt at defense is leaden).

What cannot be evaded is that the actual evidence – not the evidence alleged – compels the conclusion that there can be no justification for the head to be published, exhibited, or cited as ancient, from the ED or any other ancient period. Leaving aside its composition, compare its features and execution to the excavated heads published in *OIP* 44, Pls. 40, 54–61.

The baffled reader will ponder, why all the bother, why the expenditure of energy and precious time to defend the head, and so excessively? The large number of excavated ED heads in existence linked with the aberrations of the lead-copper alloyed head, demands that the Berlin head cannot be accorded archaeological or art historical value (it's publication history does, of course, have value for the sociological history of museum behavior). Mounting a persistent defense is but another example of the museum generated model for achieving instant authenticity and knowledge about the antiquity one has purchased (see also Hacilar Nos. 13 and 14, above, and Sumerian Nos. 45 and 61 below).

A number of other isolated heads exist in private and museum collections and bazaar stalls. In many cases it is difficult to form an exact opinion about age, and no purpose would be served by mentioning them here. I suggest that at least the following few are not ancient.

23. Braun-Holzinger 1977: 75, doubted a turbaned head of a female, ex-Gallatin collection, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1970.600 (von Bothmer 1961: no. 23; *Asher-Greve 1985: 205, no. 54 said it neatly: "Fälschung!"). Compare it to a head from Tell Agrab, Amiet 1980: no. 275; also *OIP* 44: pls. 72, 73 and *OIP* 60: pls. 43–44.

24. Four heads in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, all alleged to be Sumerian (Peltenburg 1991): no. 25 looks like it was made to be just a head; no. 26 has no meaning; no. 27 is too corroded to identify as ancient or modern; no. 29 is possibly a forgery but is too corroded (?) to properly recognize any features.

25. A diorite (or steatite) head of a male who is meant to be Sumerian, first published in Parke-Bernet May 11–14, 1949, no. 84, then in *From the Lands of the Bible* no. 330, Reis collection.

26. A dark stone head of a female with staring eyes, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.18 (B. Meissner in *AfO* 5, 1928–29: 5, Taf. 111, 2; von Bothmer 1961: no. 24, called Akkadian in both publications). Meissner published the head along with a similar head purchased by the Louvre (Taf. III, 1). Does one copy the other, or are both wrong?

27. A small stone head of a female in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (49.25) is doubted by Braun-Holzinger 1977: 85, not by Asher-Greve 1985, 204, no. 540, Taf. XXVI. The hair/turban might be odd – compare *OIP* 44: pls. 74, 79, C; 82; 84, F; 85; 89, O; but the lips look correct. It remains open for discussion. P 475

28. Another stone head in the Metropolitan Museum (64.74.1) was donated by a dealer as a forgery; it seems to be a direct copy of a head from Mari (see Parrot 1953: fig. 13). It looks fairly well made, but for the carving of the oval eyes, the brows, and the mouth. P 475

29. A dark stone human head whose goggle eyes, not to mention the execution of the eyebrows, mouth and ears, suggest it is modern, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.P 476

30. A plain, rough textured head of a male with a thick mouth area is surely not ancient, dealer, *Mesopotamia: in the First Days*, F. Schultz Ancient Art, 1995: no. 16.

31. A crystal head in Luzern is not from ancient Mari, and is not ancient Near Eastern, pace the claims of U. Moortgat-Correns (*ZA* 20, 1961: 292 ff.); she actually provides but disregards information that condemns the piece, and the Mari parallels submitted are not parallels; see *Sammlung E. u. M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern* Kunsthaus Zürich, 1964: no. 251, "Vermutlich aus Mari."

32. In the same Kofler-Truniger collection and Zürich catalogue is a lapis lazuli head, no. 250 (dated differently in the text and the caption), also published as ancient by U. Moortgat-Correns (*ZA* 58, 1967: 299 ff., and in 1989: 106 – where it stands out as an unexcavated piece). As a parallel she cites one of the same Mari examples as those given for No. 31 above, the statuette of King LAMgi-Mari. The latter has differently (and better) rendered hair, chignon, ears, head band, and beard – but the same broken nose and face profile, perhaps indicating that the Mari head may have been the model for the Luzern example. Although Spycket 1981: 89 f. fig. 32 also accepts the head as ancient, she presents no compelling argument that it is an ancient sculpture.

33. It is not difficult to recognize as modern a large head once in the Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia, but subsequently passed back into the bazaar, where it is now circulating. P 477

34. I do not find it easy to determine if a number of stray isolated male heads are ancient – actually, they are not worth wondering about and could be ignored: a male head in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (G. M. A. Hanfmann in *Archaeology* 1954: 224, pl. 37, 3–4), a weathered (?) "priest" offered for sale in Sotheby, London, July 13, 1970: no. 23, and a dark stone head in Leiden – known to me from a post card – whose smile seems too cynical.

35. A fragment of the upper left corner of a votive wall plaque depicting a king holding a heavy knobbed mace in his left hand, sitting on a chair with straight and animal legs, Eisenberg sales catalogue, *Art of the Ancient World*, 1992: no. 407. No excavated

votive plaque to my knowledge represents a left-handed male holding a similar object–a rare example exists of the use of the left hand in a mirror image banquet scene (see the plaques collected conveniently by J. Boese, *Altmesopotamische Weihplatten*, Berlin 1971: Taf. IX: 2).

36. Another forgery of a votive wall plaque depicts a seated man receiving a figure in the upper right corner; dealer, *Mesopotamia: in the First Days* F. Schultz Ancient Art, 1995: no. 17: The execution and concept is a total failure: see the tectonic arrangement of the scene, the broken border of the preserved upper level, which depicts a standing, not a seated figure, the style and postures of the seated and approaching figures (hair, clothing, heads, beards, feather), the left handedness of the seated figure. Boese (see No. 35 just above) is cited by the vendor but with no specific figure reference: because there is none to cite.

37. A small (11 cm.) rough, reddish stone carved on one side into a stele-like object with a beardless figure, long hair falling over a thick neck and shoulders, hands grasped, and wearing a heavy necklace and bracelet. There is no parallel in form or style, although the maker was thinking Sumerian, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.22. P 478

38. A dark stone fragment may have been recarved in recent times. Cuneiform is preserved at the lower right section, and an unconnected female head projects from the mass; dealer. P 479

39. A light stone bowl with a single bull in relief, surely intended to be Sumerian, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.21 (von Bothmer 1961: no. 21). P 478

40. A stone bowl with carved bulls in procession, some mass of "wheat" over their backs; the carving is crude, the bulls' faces appear to be ugly men: it is surely a copy of a bowl excavated at Ur, C. L. Woolley, *UR* IV, pl. 35, lower left; *Ancient Art From Collections in New York and Connecticut*, Newberger Museum, Purchase, New York, 1983, no. 1. P 480

41. Another bowl with bulls in relief, also rosettes, and a bull head handle, made of dark stone, ex-Ternbach (*From the Lands of the Bible* no. 303; *The First Civilization: The Legacy of Sumer*, Austin, Texas, 1975: no. 214; Merhav 1981: no. 15), has very little to recommend it as ancient (and I am doubtful about Merhav 1981: no. 13, a stone bowl – it may just be worn).

42. And yet another bowl, this one made of a polished black stone with cow-like bulls in procession, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem. P 480

43, 44. Two lapis lazuli small discs carved with Early Dynastic-like scenes, inscribed with the same Akkadian inscription, "Rimush, king of Kish"; one is in New York City (Rosen Collection), the other in Jerusalem (Bible Lands Museum). I published both discs in the R. M. Boehmer Festschrift (1995a), discussing their bazaar origins and scholarly acceptance of them as major cultural documents which inform modern schol-

arship about their find spots, information on ancient heirlooms, recarving strategies, provincial artist activity, troop movements, booty taken, movements of artifacts in antiquity, etc. – notwithstanding that neither disc was excavated nor exhibits evidence it was manufactured in the ancient world. 2P 481

45. Berlin dealer. In the same Boehmer Festschrift is published an article by W. Nagel and E. Strommenger, "Sechzig Jahre Forschung zur frühdynastischen Bildkunst und ein neues Denkmal des Urdynastikums," 455–468, and illustrated in plates just below and to the side of the two lapis lazuli discs of Nos. 43 and 44 here: Taf. 34, 35. The "new" Denkmal is a purchased, non-excavated, gold, damaged metal vessel, considered by its purchasers to be without doubt dated early in the ED period (see also G.M. Bellelli *IranAntiq* (XXIV) 1989:7ff.).

Although I accept the fact here that I am physically distant from the object and cannot reach a firm decision regarding antiquity – the photographs do not satisfy and autopsy is required – the defense of its antiquity by its purchasers generated a déjà vue experience for me: here again was the deus ex machina Museum Ritual recited without self-consciousness, the defense against the aberrant evidence – which the authors themselves recognize. Parallels brought forth are superficial, and solely formal, and a close, disinterested investigation of style plays little role in this system of art historical analysis (viz. the parallels cited as comparanda for the kilt and the rosette do not relate to those on the vessel). Anomalies are reported – "Ein besonderes Problem stellt der 'Stiermensch' dar." Indeed; in fact his physiognomy (examine the head) does not fit into known scenes or iconography. In the ritually required authoritative voice, the authors proclaim the object ancient: "Trotz aller Schwierigkeiten [sic!], die uns unser Blechbeschlag bereitet, ist er gewiss keine Fälschung." Gewiss?

I do not claim that the vessel is a forgery; I do claim that it has not been demonstrated that it is gewiss ancient. It follows accordingly – for curatorial opinions are not to be the final determination concerning what is an ancient artifact – that the vessel gewiss cannot be invoked in archaeological studies of ED art and iconography (Whatever was the rationale involved in purchasing this object – I suggest institutional and personal prestige – gewiss it cannot have been to obtain knowledge of the Sumerians).

46. Possibly meant to be a rein ring of a stag on a base, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.23. The patina was false, and there was no intergranular corrosion (* Muscarella 1977b: no. 211, ill. 3).

47. A dagger, the blade made of gold, the hilt of crystal, and sold with a group of objects examined and passed by "a group of world-renowned specialists and scholars..." and by "the University of Namur," Gallerie Koller, Zürich (advertised in *Auction* November 15, 1982; Galerie Koller Zürich, November 15, 1982, no. 2).

48, 49. A necklace with "five tripartite pendants," consisting of gold and lapis lazuli elements, inexplicably, called Mesopotamian, 3rd millennium – a land and era it never saw (although there may be genuine elements in the necklace's construction). It was published in a brochure announcing an exhibition, T. S. Kawami, "Selections from the Jill Sackler Collection of Ancient Near Eastern Jewellery," Royal Academy of Arts,

1987, no. 1 on the Preface page and over, where it is favorably compared to the Ur material.

No. 8 in this same brochure is another necklace also labeled Mesopotamian, third millennium B.C. – which is meaningless, as the lapis and gold spheres could belong to any culture, ancient or modern (the exhibition was canceled).

50. A fragment of an alleged lapis lazuli and gold bull published with the important information that "it was found at ancient Ur...", Berg collection, *Man Came This Way* no. 3 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 212).

51. A lapis lazuli female head plaque (?); she smiles and wears a fillet, Gallery Mikazuki Catalogue, Japan 1977, no. 19 (*Muscarella 1979: 11).

52. One of the most ambitious, but failed, forgeries I have encountered is a gold hollow head/mask offered to museums in 1966, as deriving from Iran – to satisfy those who would see the stylistic problems as reflecting the work of ancient provincials. The head was said to belong to a member of the Iranian royal family – to insinuate intrigue and to encourage a prestige sale. The forger combined features from two well-known masterpieces, the Meskalamdug gold helmet from Ur (beard curls, headband), and the bronze royal head from Nineveh (i.e. Amiet 1980: nos. 45, 363), and added his own embellishments. The piece has disappeared. 2P 482

53. A stone lump claimed without shame to be a "late Sumerian seated female figure, Euphrates region," Eisenberg sales catalogue December 1962: no. 48.

54. A fragment of a foundation figurine in the Burrell collection does not seriously want us to believe it is ancient (Peltenburg 1991: no. 30).

55. Strommenger (1960: 35, note 279) says that a stone bust of a Lugalkisalsi type figure in Oberlin is "wohl eine Fälschung." I have no opinion (1988a: 311, note 3), but it need not be consulted in serious discussion of ED sculpture.

56. Also in the Burrell collection, a seated female holding a cup and a child is not ancient – an issue raised but without reason rejected by Peltenburg (1991: no. 39).

57. We should ignore the terracotta female statuettes of Tell Halaf form offered in Sotheby's June 13, 1996, no. 259, and Christie's July 3, 1996, no. 507; the Tell Halaf excavations publications have the bona fide ancient examples.

58. Equally to be ignored are the alleged early terracotta female statuettes published in the dealer's catalogue *Idols*, Ariadne Galleries, New York, 1989: nos. 59–61.

59. A terracotta plaque depicting a deity smiting a foe does not convince one it is ancient, Hotel Drouot November 7, 1977: no. 148 (and I doubt if all the other terracottas illustrated in the same photograph are ancient; the photographs are poor).

60. I am sure we can ignore the 9.2 cm. high statuette listed in Christie's, London, November 25, 1997: no. 186 because of many anomalies in the head, clothing, and size.

61. In a recent exhibition and catalogue edited by E. Klengel, *Mit Sieben Siegeln versehen*, Berlin 1977, color photograph 10 and 11, two small copper figures from the J. Rosen collection were published as Early Dynastic artifacts. One is a Hero mastering two human-headed bisons; the other depicts a Hero wrestling with a lion. In *Antike Welt* 28, 5, 1977: 448 f., R. M. Boehmer, "Antik oder Nicht?" examines the two groups and in a brilliant and model – but one could also say in an old fashioned knowledge-based – analysis demonstrates that the two groups are modern forgeries, both copied from photographs of seals (see also Marlik No. 22, above) – the Hero mastering bisons also copies a hammered gold ED group in the Louvre, and both exhibit mixtures of ED and early Akkadian characteristics and details. Such sculptures also do not appear in the ED or Akkadian period and, as Boehmer notes, they are crudely executed, badly copying their models.

Of interest to students concerned with how archaeological knowledge is shared or not shared is the fact that the editor of the Berlin catalogue, upon hearing that the article was to be published, notified the journal that Boehmer had to obtain the permission to publish the photographs of the indicted objects. Eventually permission was given (by whom? Klengel, the Rosen Collection?) with the provision that the same issue of the journal would publish a counter-article provided by the Curator of the Rosen Collection. Among other things, the article would contain information referring to a metal analysis, which would speak to the authenticity of the pieces. The curator of the Rosen Collection was sent a copy of the Boehmer article. The promised counter-article never arrived by the time of the publication dead-line, and the Boehmer article was published – without the photographs, as permission to use them was denied: a wonderful example of the Forgery Culture at work and the Museum Ritual invoked.

62. A stone vessel offered for sale in Sotheby's New York June 12, 1993, no. 221 ("from a New York private collection") has in relief two lions attacking two bulls from behind, all supported on a tapering scalloped base. The vessel is clearly copied from an example excavated at Uruk (Strommenger 1962, pls. 26, 27). The bulls on the New York vessel have flat horns; the lions' heads are immobile, their eyes stare into space, and their tails stiffly project upward; the base is very narrow, and there is unused space left above the scene; the upper part of the vessel is conveniently broken away. All these features differ significantly from the Uruk vessel, indicating that the copying occurred in recent times.

63. A similarly shaped vessel also with a tapering scalloped base, here with only bulls in procession, was offered for sale by a London dealer in 1979. The wheat-like tails over the backs of the bulls are like No. 40.

Intercultural Style Artifacts

We shall never know where the many non-excavated examples of chlorite artifacts, referred to for convenience as Intercultural Style, were actually recovered, and I discuss

them in the Early Dynastic section because most were probably manufactured during that period. They were also manufactured in modern times, as the following examples indicate. One modern group comprising what is usually called weights, was recently published by me alongside their ancient models from the excavated corpus: "Intercultural Style 'Weights'," *BullAsia Inst* 7, 1993: 144 ff., 153:

1. Levy-White collection, ibid. 146, 151, no. 4, fig. 8a, b. One side has confronting panthers sharing one head in the round; the other has two felines in the same condition. P 483

2. Gluck collection, Japan, ibid. 149, 151, no. 7, fig. 11a, and b. A bird of prey attacking two snakes on one side, a double row of the hut motif on the other. P 484

3. Texas collection, ibid. 149, 151, no. 10, fig. 13. Intertwined snakes in the round.P 485

4. I am uncertain about another example in the Levy-White collection, ibid. 146, 151, no. 3, fig. 7a, b. An ED-type man touching or feeding felines (or dogs?) on one side, bird of prey and snakes on the other.

(Just before going to press I came across S. Winkelmann, "Gedanken zur Herkunft und Verbreitung iranischer und mittelasiatischer "Gewichte"," *MDOG* 129, 1997: 187–224. On pages 196 ff., 200, this scholar agrees with the assessments I made in my 1993 paper that the "weights" Nos. 1–4 here, are probably forgeries).

5. Another "weight" was subsequently published in Christies December 7, 1994, no. 181, decorated on one side only, which is unique, with a bird of prey and snakes identical in form to the just mentioned Levy-White piece.[58]

6. Rosen collection (1988). A "weight" with a bird of prey and snake motif executed by a machine in cartoon, outline form.

7. Shumei collection (T. Kawami, *The Shumei Family Collection* no. 3). I find it difficult to understand and appreciate the nature of the design of the tree and its trunk, the intended identity of the two different heraldic animals, each with a distinct beaked snout (called lions), and the forced attempt of its publisher to explain the different "artificial rendering of the lions manes." There are no parallels for this alleged Intercultural Style vessel; it is most probably modern, but the vessel may be ancient. 2P 486

8. The iconography on a stone vessel fragment in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1980.71) has no parallels and in fact suggests no ancient sense: an ED type man, whose waist is a bull-head (!) and whose feet apparent claws, grapples with an apparent snake that is at the same time held by an upside-down dog-like creature (called a lion: its head is very close to that of the snake); another figure stands on a hut motif. To the point, both in iconography and style there are deviations from what is expected – from what is known; we have no positive feelings. An alleged Sumerian inscription exists on the vessel which leads its most recent publisher, W. Kelly Simpson, to conclude perceptively that the vessel he purchased from a Swiss dealer derived from ancient Eridu (*A Table of Offerings*, ed. E. Brovarsky, Boston, 1987: 84 f.).

The vessel had been published previously by P. Amiet who was impressed by it, knowing as he did – because the Swiss dealer told him – that it derived from southeastern Iran (i. e. "Antiquités du Désert de Lut – II," *RA* 70. 1976: 6–8; also *L'Age des échanges inter-iraniens*, Paris, 1986: 124, 136, 169, no. 73): choose your own "archaeological" provenience, Simpson's or Amiet's. Amiet presented formal (but weak) parallels for the human figure, but not stylistic parallels (maybe because they do not exist: cf. this figure to Amiet 1980, fig. 269, which may be the present vessel's model). Amiet in addition shares with us his solution to an archaeological/historical problem, an old chestnut that involves certifying objects that reflect a special style and not-quite-right inscription, and which are known absolutely to have been "found" in a distant land (a problem similar to that of Sumerian Nos. 43, 44 above). After reporting that on this Iranian-made artifact one of the Sumerian signs is unique (a fact confirmed to me by a Sumerologist), Amiet invokes the Bazaar-Museum Ritual solution to such problems: the inscription was ordered by a Sumerian living far from home and executed (but we already anticipated this) by a scribe who "était un provincial." The Provincial Craftsman, who seems always to have lived and worked in ancient Iran, once more solves an archaeological problem.

If the object is without stylistic parallels, and its inscription has an anomaly, it should follow that the two problems do not add up to a right, and we have no authority to recognize it as ancient. D. Collon also accepts it as ancient in *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 5.1, 1986: 37 f., fig. 5. We agree with her that the creature with the bull "is clearly a mythological figure."

9–12. P. Amiet has shared with us his and his colleagues' purchase for the Louvre of a number of what he knows are ancient carved chlorite antiquities that derived from, he also knows, ancient sites "en provenance d'Iran oriental." They are assembled in *AMI* 19, 1986, 12 ff. Taf. 1, 2 surely represents a crude attempt to carve a volute design (a vessel purchased in 1899); in *AncPakistan*, 1964,: 53, 68, pl. I: 10, F. A. Durrani says it came from Susa; Taf. 2, 2 is a mixed design of imbrications divided by a hatched zone, tectonically wrong. Taf. 4, 2 is a failed attempt to sculpt in the round a panther; note the non-head, and the poorly drilled holes for inlay. Taf. 4, 3, 4 is an inept, to Amiet, "inachevé", sculpture of a serpent in the round . For each orpheline a genuine example is cited as a parallel: but never substantively, for in fact, not one of the Louvre's unexcavated pieces has a parallel in form or style with the excavated examples.

13, 14. Two more objects in the Louvre published by Amiet (*La Revue du Louvre* 5/6, 1988: 361 ff.) generate a strong gut reaction against them. One is a unique construction of two pairs of back-to-back foreshortened snakes (?) serving as base for a vase (367, fig. 16). Amiet cites excavated vessel stands from Shahdad in southeastern Iran, but none have snake bases, and the Louvre example is fundamentally different – note the truncated base of the vessel, and the snakes are badly executed.

The second object is a vessel with poorly carved back to back crenellation designs. It surely was made by a provincial craftsman (365: fig. 11) – but whether in antiquity or modern times is the problem to be resolved, which signifies that it cannot be cited as an ancient production.

15. A small curved vessel with two confronting felines framing an unidentified object; at the rear is a poor excuse for a palm tree. In fact the whole is very poorly executed and unconvincing; Los Angeles County Art Museum M.76.97.902, ex-Heeramaneck.

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16. A fragment of a chlorite vessel on sale at Christies, London, November 25, 1997: no. 178 depicts a figure wearing a kilt usually associated with the so-called Narbenmänner (see Elam, above). He stands on the heads of two felines while grasping two snakes and holding his hands with thumbs up at his waist. Next to him is a Unikum, a male wearing the same kilt and who stands on the head and shoulders of a beak-less bird of prey at the same time mastering what is described as scorpions. I find no parallels for the scene or for the execution of the body parts. The surface looks good in the photograph, but intentional stressing could account for this feature. The piece should be approached with caution.

17. A bowl depicting a standing, dwarf feline battling a snake whose impossibly twisted body is decorated with a herring bone pattern (*The Ancient Orient Museum* 1978, no. 48).

18. With or without autopsy I believe it is difficult to achieve a secure understanding about the authenticity of a growing number of Intercultural Style antiquities surfacing in the market. Whether they are ancient or not, we may never know – and therefore they have no archaeological value:

a. Ishiguro 1976: nos. 89, 90. No 90, the two rows of scorpions do seem to show a natural carving of the form one sees on other examples of this motif.

b. Sotheby's Parke Bernet sales catalogue May 20, 1982, no. 27.

c. Years ago a German dealer offered for sale a small vase with an attenuated upright panther (?) wrestling with an upright snake; neither the iconography nor the execution is convincing. Compare the excavated examples of this motif published in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1975: no. 76a, and *Artibus Asiae* XXXIII, 1971: pl. VII, no. 20.

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d. Two intertwined snakes forming a column, Hotel Drouot October 10/11, 1988, no. C – this cannot be ancient, but mimics the "weight" snakes; see also no. E, scorpions; also no. G, lozenges.

e. What can one conclude about Gluck 1977, p. 30 – continuous rows of guilloches and scorpions (in a royal collection)?

f. A vessel in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has what seems to be erratically executed patterns, *The First Civilization: The Legacy of Sumer*, Austin Texas, 1975: no. 165.

I am not including material alleged to derive from Afghanistan ("Bactrian") in this study but I cannot avoid discussing a few objects among the many hundreds that are surfacing in some quantity on the market. In the Shumei catalogue cited in No. 7 above, J. Aruz indirectly suggests that the head of catalogue no. 4 does not belong to the seated female figure supposedly from Afghanistan; the head is indeed modern – it is the head of a

mannequin, not merely a plundered stray attached to a convenient body – an opinion shared by P. Meyers in the same catalogue, p. 172. Query: if the head was recognized to be modern, why did the museum authorities allow it to be left in place in the publication photograph and in the exhibition? And why was the modern head not mentioned as such on the label in the exhibition case?

The figure itself is a problem: its body is composed of two separate pieces, the top unit's flat base is merely placed over the flat top of the lower, unusual projecting, unit – there is no joining mechanism. This technique and the body form, I believe, are unique – but is accepted by Meyers (ibid.) as an ancient composition (a scientific observation?). I am not convinced either way and suggest reserve – that is, not citing the piece without a warning.

In the same catalogue it is admitted that bulls have been recently added to the rim of a gold vessel attributed to Afghanistan, no. 7, see pp. 20, 174; the label in the exhibition, however, did not mention this addition.

Three other examples of chlorite ladies do not convince one of their ancient age. One is published in the dealer's catalogue *Idols*, Ariadne Galleries, New York. 1989: no. 127 – at the very least the head is modern; another is no. 128. In the Hotel Drouot October 10, 1988, no. A, is a standing elderly lady with a wrinkled, narrow neck who is clothed in a hitherto unknown hatched garment. The Expert A.-M. Kevorkian correctly describes the figure as "extrêmement rare et d'un superbe modernisme...." concerning which attribution I can do no better.

Gudea Statues

Fleming Johansen (1978) attempted to demonstrate that the majority of the unexcavated statues and heads of Gudea in collections are modern creations. For the corpus of excavated and unexcavated examples see in addition to Johansen, Strommenger (*RLA* 1957–71, "Gudea," 680–687, and Colbow 1987).

Working from the excavated examples, Johansen uses stylistic analyses of the hands, hat curl patterning, face details, feet, etc., comparisons of sizes, type of stone, position of inscriptions, and placements of damage, to make his determinations. Of all the unexcavated pieces, he accepts as genuine (passim, 40) only two fragments in the British Museum, the body, but not the head, of a statue in Cleveland, a statue in the Harvard Semitic Museum (which he denies is Gudea), and a head in Boston. He considers four standing statues, one seated, eight heads, a total of 13 pieces, to be forgeries; and two standing, one seated, three heads – five – as doubtful, impossible for him to evaluate.

Johansen has been rebutted by several scholars: by Hansen (1988) in his defense of perhaps the most controversial piece of the corpus, the Stoclet statuette, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts; by Eva Møller (1980), who defends as ancient the examples in Detroit, Copenhagen, and two in Paris (the "Flowing Vase" piece and the Ur-Ningirsu statue); and by Colbow (1987, especially pp. 76–89), who in a vigorous and detailed analysis also defends the statues accepted by Møller. All three scholars disagree with a number of stylistic challenges raised by Johansen; some are not relevant, but others are quite relevant, especially with regard to noting parallels in ancient art not comprehended by Johansen.

A point was reached when I admitted defeat. I realized that but for one or two heads, I could make no firm, non-hesitant, conclusions, and that my negative judgments about the age of one major statue, that in Detroit, conflicted with the linguistic arguments of other scholars. Concerning this statue, how does one confront Johansen's good (to me at least) stylistic arguments that the work does not betray an ancient history, against B. Alster's conclusion (in Johansen 1978: 49–55) that the Detroit inscription is ancient and unique, and therefore the statue is of course ancient (I know another Sumerologist who thought it possible that a skilled Assyriologist and a good sculptor could have made the piece but this claim is an opinion). If indeed the statue must be ancient, I think it fair to note here that my (and others) stylistic judgements against the piece demonstrate the ultimate subjectivity involved in forgery determination for this group.

Colbow (85 ff.) also defends the Detroit statue, as well as most of the other examples condemned by Johansen: but, inadvertently or not, hedging, inasmuch as she concludes that they "wahrscheinlich [sic] echt sind." Probably good? Is this to be sufficient evidence for acceptance into the corpus of ancient creations? Both Colbow (88 f.) and Alster (57 f.) independently agree with Johansen (40) that the Metropolitan Museum's seated Gudea is/may be a forgery – others do not see a problem: subjectivity is at play on both sides.[59]

Yet another statue that Johansen rejects (24, 31, pl. 121: he was unaware of its present provenance) is a headless statue in Leiden (1929/6.1). G. P. F. van den Boorn (1983: 21, fig. 13; idem 1989) interpreted the piece otherwise, considering it to be a post-Gudea "provincial" (the provincial artisan is always available and loyal when problems need to be resolved immediately) sculpture, early second millennium B. C. His arguments are good Museum Ritual, a mixture of self-defensive pleading (note the discussion of the statue's hand position) and art historical analysis. His doubts that a forger would have manufactured such a statue, and his claim that it originally derived "from Eshnunna" (thereby boldly challenging its caption in Sotheby & Co., December 13, 1928: no. 36 "discovered at Tel Lo") and thence subsequently "taken to Susa as booty by Middle Elamite kings," do not inspire confidence in his observations about an unexcavated piece first revealed to the world in a 1928 London auction. I do not know if the Leiden statue is a forgery, it may not be modern, but wish to note again the subjectivity involved in Gudea discussions.[60]

No one has challenged Johansen's indictments of the many Gudea isolated heads in various collections: it is probable that a number are modern – but I am reluctant except for a few examples to express yet more opinions pro or con. Archaeology possesses a neat solution to the dilemma, one that satisfies its proper needs, if not those of museum personnel and collectors. There is no defeat after all. The solution is the very same recognized for other classes of material consisting of excavated and unexcavated artifacts: there are two categories of Gudea statues, one excavated, one unexcavated. They will be discussed separately, never collectively, for there is no one corpus.

1. The one certain modern piece in the unexcavated corpus is the head gifted to Jerusalem (*Muscarella 1977b, no. 206; Johansen pls. 105–108); the head shouts its modern machine manufacture, which no other example in the corpus accomplishes with the same pitch. 2P 489

2. There is another, I believe not well known, apparent head of Gudea. Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia, 71.23.2378, that seems not manifestly ancient. P 490

3. Strommenger 1960: 82, note 502, says a statuette in Brussels (G. Contenau, Manuel II, fig. 557) "ist wohl eine Falschüng," copied from the Berlin Ur-Ningirsu statue; I cannot disagree.

4. I know only from a dealer's photograph a stone beaker that in all formal details of decoration is the very same as the Ningizzida beaker from Tello: A. Parrot, *Tello*, Paris 1948, pl. XXI. My eyes see the unexcavated example as a poorly executed copy of the latter. Its present whereabouts remain unknown.

5. Two problem pieces from the Ur III period, which follows immediately that of Gudea. Both are canephore, basket carrier figures, and if genuine would date to the time of Ur-Nammu and Shulgi, early kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, late 3rd millennium B.C.

One in the Virginia Museum, Richmond (*Ancient Art in Virginia Museums*, Richmond 1973: no. 2) seems more crude than expected, especially in the execution of the head; the lower part of the body seems too thin and straight. I do not think it is ancient, although it bears a Shulgi inscription. The other on sale at Sotheby's November 7, 1977, no. 80 also seems clumsy. Laboratory analyses of both figurines are needed.

(I cannot determine anything about the bronze male, no. 79 in this same Sotheby catalogue, where it is called Sumerian).

Babylonian

1. A stone statuette purchased in Jerusalem as Babylonian, but with no features that place it anywhere in the ancient world, private collection. P 491

2. Four fragmentary clay heads purchased in the early 1920s and now in the Ashmolean Museum were TL tested by P.R.S. Moorey and determined to be modern (in *Beschreiben und Deuten*, Festschrift für R. Mayer-Opificius, ed. by M. Dietrich et al., 1994: 201–212).

3. Bronze statuette of a "mint condition" warrior "from the second Babylonian Period," Berg collection (*Man Came This Way* no. 11; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 213).

4. Several stone heads in the round, all broken at the neck area, seem to be copies of the Susa head, called "Hammurabi," in the Louvre (Strommenger 1962: 149). All exhibit good workmanship but the details – eyebrows, eyes and eye outline, beard curls, mustache, width suggest to me a possible modern creation: these heads are difficult to judge with ease.

a. *Treasures of the Orient* no. 108.

b. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (*Handbook Nelson Gallery*: 14; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 207).

c. An example once on the Paris art market.

d. Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia, 71.2379. This head seems to be a copy of "Hammurabi" and the Berlin Ur-Ningirsu head (Strommenger 1962: pl. 137). P 492

5. A black stone kudurru, at one time in the hands of a Paris dealer, but its present whereabouts are unknown; I know it from photographs of the top, decorated, section. The piece is a copy – not accurately or expertly executed – of the Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe kudurru in the British Museum (L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum*, 1912, I: 42 ff., II: pls. XLIII-LII).

6. A forgery of a Babylonian terracotta plaque with an erotic scene, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem. The tectonic arrangement of the bodies, not to mention their execution, suggests that this plaque depicts potential, not real sex. P 493

7. A typical Babylonian sexual scene was carved in the 19th century AD on the side of an Achaemenian stamp seal, Metropolitan Museum of Art 93.17.17; H. H. von der Osten, *Art Bulletin* 13, 1931: 232, 234, no. 14b. P 493

8. A Babylonian terracotta bed with an untypical banquet scene in relief, Hotel Drouot November 7, 1977: no. 150.

9, 10, 11. A group of two, probably three, terracotta plaques depicting badly executed forgeries of ancient Old Babylonian sexual activity from the Hadad Collection are illustrated in Christie's New York, December 17, 1998: nos. 150 – the female holds a child – and 151. In their sexual arrangement and style, they are manifestly not ancient. No. 152 seems to be corroded, but what is extant also does not look as if Babylonians are having sex. (No. 148, a bronze ensemble of a copulating couple, prone, is called ancient Near Eastern. I don't know if it is genuine or not, but it seems not to be from the ancient Near East.)

Assyrian

Forgeries of Assyrian artifacts have been with us for more than a century in fact, as Ménant 1887 (figs. 3–5, 8–10; his nos. 1–4 seem to be genre Mesopotamian forgeries), and Hilprecht (1895: 131) have demonstrated. These early examples are stone bas-reliefs, prisms, cylinders, gems, seals, and sculpture, which today look absurd. Below is a list of forgeries recently flowing from the bazaar; I do not record every example:

1. A stone sculpture of a seated figure with legs drawn up, wearing a fez, his beard resting on the flat platform of his chest; known since the 1920s, dealer, E. Filla collection, Prague (*Strommenger 1970: 27 f., Abb. 14).

2. "A Modern 'Assyrian' Bronze" reported by *IFAR* 7, no. 8, 1986: 4, with photos of a modern type of sand-cast hollow and soldered figurine, meant to be a deity. Its owner claimed it "was discovered fifty years ago on his grandfather's property in southeastern Turkey," another example of an ignorant peasant tilling his garden and making wonderful discoveries.

3. A bronze torso of a "God," with a low hat bearing horns (Hori 1983: 47, no. 27).

4. In the same Hori volume, no. 29, is a statuette of a seated (?) male whose head, clothing and feet do not indicate that the work is ancient.

5. A bronze "Figure of a Deity," Sotheby's November 24, 1986, no. 25; the face, feet, and clothing are awkward enough to raise doubts.

6. In the same Sotheby's sales catalogue, no. 159, are two bronze neo-Assyrian figures: one, unillustrated, but based on the description (an Assyrian holding his beard), seems not ancient; the other, not ancient is called a "male deity."

7. Almost unworthy of receiving a separate number here is a terrible statuette of an "Assyrian...priest," recorded for us in Sotheby Parke Bernet May 16, 1980: no. 114. How did the auction house staff arrive at this attribution?

8. A Beirut dealer first brought a bronze statuette to a museum's attention in 1955. It resurfaced again in Teheran in 1964, where its honest, knowledgeable owner and vendor announced that it had been found at "Ayvan near Gilan near Kirmanshah and Iraqi frontier." This bazaarist was offering what he knew scholars desired, an assyrianizing work made by a provincial Iranian craftsman. The fact that this statuette was offered in Teheran guarantees to many scholars and collectors an Iranian provenience, and we all know that the Assyrians penetrated Iran often. P 494

9. With glaring eyes and clenched fists this bronze figure is demonstrating his fury at the inexpert carving of his face, beard, hat, hair, etc., Leff collection. P 494

10. A bronze statuette in the British Museum (132962) of "An Assyrian God," this one with a flabby belly and no horns; it is correctly described as "unusual" (by R. D. Barnett in the *BMQ* XXVI, 3–4, 1963, pl. XL a, b. In 1974, J. Börker-Klähn (*OudMed* LV: 126) thought the statuette to be genuine; and Spycket 1981: 376 f., note 76 agreed – to her it has the correct posture and clothing, and she suggested Urartian paintings as a parallel (Altintepe). I can see no reasons for accepting the piece either as ancient Assyrian or from another ancient Near Eastern culture (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 214; *Braun-Holzinger: 1984, no. 339, 97.ff. agrees).

11. Braun-Holzinger 1984: no. 340, 98 f., mentions another statuette in the British Museum (135280), which she says is very similar to No. 10 just above, which she also considers a forgery. It remains unpublished, perhaps for a good reason.

a. Braun-Holzinger (1984: no. 341, 99, note 83) is unsure about the age and background of a bronze seated figure now in Jerusalem, published by B. Schlossmann in Muscarella 1981b: 138, no. 98.

b. I am unable to judge an Assyrian-like statuette in Leiden, published by Börker-Klähn (1974, above, No. 10): 125 ff., Taf. XXIII, no. A 1951/2.4), and Braun-Holzinger (1984: no. 344, 100 f.). Börker-Klähn called attention to the clumsy (inexpert?) manner in the execution of the beard, hair, flat head, and although she raised the issue of forgery, she decided in its favor (more or less: "Ich habe demnach keine ernsthaften [sic] Bedenken gegen die...Figur...."). Two problems exist: the uncertain features; and the author's favorable comparison to the British Museum example discussed above, No. 10: not good evidence for acceptance. Another autopsy is needed. Braun-Holzinger seems to accept the piece.

c. The ivory statuette in the Cincinnati Art Museum (Porada 1965: pl. 35; Markoe 1993: no. 35) should be tested for nitrogen and carbon. It is one of the many objects placed by modern scholars in Iran because it isn't quite Assyrian in style, and scholars will do anything to find a decent, even if provincial, lodging for a homeless, not quite what is expected object.

12. A nondescript lump of a statuette seems to represent a male figure holding his hands, called by its vendor an Assyrian priest, Sotheby Parke Bernet May 16, 1980, no. 114.

Two well-known amber statuettes carved in an Assyrian manner should be acknowledged as aberrations; they are ambiguous as Assyrian art, and are most probably modern works. Whether perceived with suspicion, condemned instantly, or defended as recarving an original work, the two objects cannot objectively be considered ancient artifacts, as evidence of the ancient use of exotic material.

13. In the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 38.1396, carved in the form of a standing, bare-headed royal figure with hands held at the chest, and with a strange, unique, geometrically decorated gold breastplate, on which his long beard rests; published by A.T. Olmstead in the museum's bulletin (*BMFA* XXXVI, 1938: 78 ff.). He believed it to be a portrait of Ashurnasirpal II, and the gold breastplate was considered to be an ancient example of a priestly emblem. In *Orientalia* 28 (1959): 208–212, G. Garbini also accepted its 9th century date, even while correctly noting a number of not-quite Assyrian style features: dress, breastplate (called a pectoral), the expressive look, eyebrow ridge, all features which he recognized as "new features unknown to Assyrian art." Garbini, however, disregarded these observations and the correct reading of the message; he also denied a challenge to the statuette from A. Parrot. Somehow he knew that the piece is ancient, and he found (irrelevant) comparanda (Mitannian art) to arrive at a canonical bazaar archaeological conclusion, that the statue was made either by an Assyrian influenced by western Anatolian models, or by an Anatolian working with Assyrian models. (This tortuous rationalization alone is sufficient cause to realize that something is wrong). Compare the Boston amber with a genuine statue of a 9th century Assyrian king in the British Museum (Strommenger 1962: figs. 196–197; idem 1970, Taf. 1); note the

qualitative differences in the mustache, eye outline and eyebrows, top head hair, side hair, dress, and hands. Ghirshman (1964a: fig. 360) thought the statuette may have been Urartian, reflecting his awareness that, although ancient, it is not quite Assyrian. The gold breastplate is surely a modern addition, but I argue, added to a modern statuette.

The Museum's curator, W. Kelly Simpson, attested (*BSA* 69, 1974: 169) that "the statuette is in fact original but has been re-carved so that the details are essentially modern." This re-carving is accepted by Strommenger (1970: 27; also by U. Magen, *Assyrische Königsdarstellungen...* Mainz 1986: 41 f., Taf. 6, 5; she is unaware of the ex-Borowski example, below No.14). But could this "recarving" actually be evidence of a forger's original work? And assuming that recarving occurred, precisely what was re-carved: an Assyrian statuette, or a modern lump of amber? How is one able to identify the former? Simpson inadvertently gives the game away, but without realizing it: if the statuette is an ancient sculpture recarved into a modern visage, it is no longer an ancient Assyrian statuette, it is a modern creation (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 215; Weidner in *AfO* 20, 1963: 205, n. 1 also doubted the piece but his view was dismissed by Strommenger 1970: 27, n. 35; for a fine discussion why the piece is modern, see Spycket 1981: 367 f.).

The statuette left the bazaar with an exotic tale proudly recorded in its maiden publication by G. C. Williamson (*Apollo* 24, 1936: 234 f.). Williamson neglected to explain how he came to know the information he retailed, let alone whether it was true, but the tale's intrigue seduced a western purchaser of orientalism! The statuette, we are informed, was found "in (about) 1875" by a "Turkish labourer" while digging for stone on the bank of the Tigris (a variation of the peasant-digging-in-the-garden topos); he sold it to a Cairo (sic) dealer, who sold it to Omar Pascha/a.k.a. Michael Latas, a convert to Islam and a Turkish officer, who "presented it" to a Russian professor, who passed it on, for it came into the possession of a Marchese Bernabo; how it got from this nobleman (another familiar topos) to the Boston Museum two years later is not revealed. And note that E. Weidner (ibid.) claimed that a European museum rejected the piece before it went to Boston, because its authenticity was doubted.

14. Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, amber statuette can also not be accepted as ancient (*From the Lands of the Bible* no. 369; Strommenger 1970: 28 – dated it to Adadnirari III or Tiglath-Pileser III; Westenholz 1996: 151). It is less sharply carved than the Boston example – note especially the lack of articulation of the hands, face, crown, feet area – and is therefore less easy to analyze macroscopically. Spycket (1980: 381) noted the difficulty in understanding this piece, and left the forgery question open. Aside from the lack-of-style issues, sufficient reasons for hesitancy about the piece (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 216), there is no evidence that the Lebanese amber used in the carving was known in antiquity. C. Beck reported on this in Muscarella 1979: 4: no. 216, and the Appendix, pp. 15–17, and doubted the antiquity of the statuette. P 495

15. A rock crystal bowl in the Cincinnati Art Museum (Kantor 1967; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 142; Markoe 1993: 79 f., no. 39). Kantor and Markoe, among others, make formal iconographical parallels with the animal-hunt motif carved on this vessel, but were unable to find parallels for the vessel's shape; equally they were unable to recover ancient parallels for the mechanically executed carvings – compare it to well-made

cylinder seal carvings. I see not a single element of style, detail, or execution that relates this vessel to either Assyrian or Achaemenian culture.

Kantor studied the bowl from the a priori perspective that it had been recovered in Iran – because the dealer who sold it said it came from there. This unquestioned acceptance allowed her to propose that it "could well have reached Persia" (in the 8th, 7th, 6th century B. C.?) as booty. From this unanchored assumption a significant cultural conclusion was obtained, the vessel was a precursor of Achaemenian shapes (page 2989), a view previously expressed by Culican (1965: 126; for other discovered-in-the bazaar precursors of Achaemenian vessel forms, see Luristan Pastiches, Nos. 1–3, above). Probably on the basis of style, Markoe attributed the vessel to Iraq, Assyrian 8th–7th century B.C.

Even if the conclusion about lack of authenticity is challenged, what remains to be considered is the bazaar archaeology methodology employed to trace its ancient history: the dealer is accepted as an archaeologist, his stall (in the United States) is an Iranian site, and the scholar accordingly feels at ease to unravel the history of a vessel sitting in a museum vitrine.

There was at least one apparent dissent: A. Oliver (1973: 34, n. 11) apparently challenged the bowl by citing it only in a footnote. There remains a loud silence to the question: "why is this bowl ancient?" P 496

16. A rare and unexpected solecism by H. Frankfort (we can now say that if Frankfort did it, why pick on me?) was his publication (*JNES* V, 1946: 155 f. pl. II) of a bronze bowl manifestly incised in modern times with a non-ancient iconography: a man on horseback, actually depicted astride the horse, and with the shortest legs in ancient art, has a spear bearer behind him and a squatting foe in front, Oriental Institute, Chicago. Frankfort saw the bowl as a provincial assyrianizing work made in Iran – because he believed the story, not the object; so did Moorey 1967: 88, note 70.

Calmeyer (*1973: 115, note 93) reported a "verdächtigen assyrisierenden Schale" in Baghdad, which he compared to this example, thereby obliquely doubting it too. P 497

17. A vase (material?) in the Yale Babylonian Collection, ex-Nies collection, depicts in relief a seated bearded deity receiving a king (J. B. Nies, C. E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, New Haven 1920: 54 f., pl. LXX; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, N.Y. 1923: fig. 159). Yale has a large collection of forgeries of tablets, seals, and bric-a-brac purchased in the early years of the century.

18. A silver vase, ex-Heeramaneck (Los Angeles County Art Museum M76.174.1), with a relief scene depicting a staring Assyrian-style bowman shooting at a generic Near Eastern lion, both on a flat mountain pattern. P 498

19. A bronze bowl in the Bröckelschen collection (Calmeyer 1964: 50 f., Abb. 8, no. 107) has an incised scene unparalleled in Assyrian art, but to which it clearly relates: a frieze of motley warriors, one with a square shield, one carrying a square and a spiked shield, and a classical example of a misunderstood motif, an anomaly: one figure casually carrying a parasol over his shoulder, and another carrying a parasol held down behind a human-yoked wagon/chariot holding a seated figure. Parasols are always royal

prerogatives in Assyrian (and Achaemenian) art, and are never depicted casually carried, isolated, as on this frieze. Calmeyer (48) concluded that the figure in the wagon could not be a king – but why then the presence of the parasol? Note in this context Calmeyer's correct interpretation (in "Die Leere Wagen," *AMI* 7, 1974: 59) that an empty chariot depicted on a relief of Senacherib is identified as a royal chariot because an attendant carries a parasol at its side (and upright!).

The acceptance of the vessel's scene is posited merely on its existence. And following this reasoning, we are expected to revise what we thought we knew about parasol iconography and ideology (not to mention shield types) in Assyrian or – to play the Great Game – assyrianizing Iranian culture. I think we should ignore this scene and concentrate on an excavated Assyrian style scene on a vessel excavated in Luristan, Vanden Berghe 1977: 60 f.; idem. 1983: figs. 53, 58, 59: 19.

20. A fragmentary alabaster relief depicting part of a nude male with arms outstretched and bound, in the act of being flayed, Wellesley College. It came to the college either in 1951 (as P. Albenda, " An Assyrian Relief...in Wellesley College," *JNES* 29, 3, 1970: 145) or in 1883 (as E. and C. C. Vermeule, "Antiquities at Wellesley," *Archaeology* 25, 4, 1972: 278 f.). Albenda compared the college fragment to the Lachish reliefs from the palace of Sennacherib, from where the fragment would have derived, and cogently pointed out a number of stylistic differences between the two. She concluded that the fragment is a modern work: note for example the different renditions of the figure's arms and hands, the manner of executing the mountain pattern, the excessive ribbing and lack of a beard – noteworthy, as Albenda reported (150), and here the unnatural appearing erasure of the man's hair.

On the other hand, another authority of Assyrian reliefs informs me that given the wide range of the kinds of foreigners represented, the beard absence might not be relevant and the relief is probably genuine. The point remains, however, that all is not necessarily well and it would be prudent to go elsewhere to study cruel flaying depictions. (A resolution that might satisfy all would occur if the college sent exact measurements and a stone sample fragment to the British Museum for comparison with the ancient reliefs; the ancient examples are made of mosul marble).

21, 22, 23. A small group of Lamashtu plaques are probably not ancient. Aside from a non-figurative example, with a recently copied inscription in the Rosen collection (see W. Farber, "Dämon ohne Stammbaum..." in *Essays in Ancient Civilisation Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, eds. A. Leonard, jr. et al., Chicago 1989: 97 f., fig. 17), there is an example in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1975.341 (*Farber ibid. 99 ff., pl. 13a, b), copied from an example excavated at Zincirli, ibid. pl. 13c, d. In Farber's numbering system of the known Lamashtu plaques, this example is 46F (F for forgery).

Another stone example in Boston, 1985.103 (see *A Table of Offerings*, ed. E. Brovarski, Boston, 1987: 96 f.: "Northwestern Iran") has a crudely sketched Lamashtu – the crudeness is the reason, I suggest, for the Iranian attribution! Farber's (ibid. 96) discussion suggests there may be a problem – but he tends to accept the piece as possibly ancient. But it may also not be ancient – and should be listed in Farber's list of Lamashtus either as No. 68? or 68F.

A stone example in Brussels has a crudely incised Lamashtu scene, called a forgery by me in *1988a: 242, n. 1, also by Farber, *ibid. 97.

There is considerable literature concerning the authenticity of the so-called Arslan Tash tablets/amulets, which were purchased at Arslan Tash. They have crudely carved Lamashtu scenes and a Semitic inscription, which several scholars have condemned as modern. Although crude, the scenes are not per se necessarily to be suspected. In their most recent publication by J. van Dijk, "The Authenticity of the Arslan Tash Amulets," *Iraq*, LIV, 1992: 65-68, they are claimed as ancient. This opinion could be tentatively accepted.

24. My attention was caught by a soft stone amulet seemingly made in the form of a Lamashtu plaque and with a suspension loop. It is decorated on one side with a prone, clothed, female above whom stands a figure wielding a man-sized dagger, also, a man riding a horse near a dog (?), and on the other side a warrior, etc. (E. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* vol. V, 25 f., note 1, 146: S 2882, Taf. 9: B). I was puzzled, for I thought the scene could not be ancient – but here it was in an excavation report. However, a reading of the text revealed that it was *not* excavated but was acquired as a gift from a neighbor, who "said it came from" Gerdschin, 7 km. distant from Zincirli.

von Luschan thought the plaque dated to about 3000 B.C., but allowed that it could be 1000 or more years later; Andrae thought it fitted into a 1300–800 B.C. chronology, and suggested that it was related to the Lamashtu plaques. The latter interpretation – with an incorrect Zincirli provenience – was accepted by H. Klengel in *MIO* VII (1963): 25, note 5 "aus Zincirli stammt," and by Amiet in *Aula Orientalis* 1, 1983: 109, "trouvée à Senjirli" (neither scholar read the text!).

Given the actual history of the plaque's derivation, and its unique iconography, it cannot be regarded as a bona fide ancient artifact; I don't think that the forger (if I am correct) had Lamashtu iconography in mind, for it is not represented; but he knew a gift horse would not always be looked at carefully.[61]

25. A crescent-shaped bronze plaque, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, has a crudely incised composite scene that copies Assyrian art freely and without understanding: a king seated at a bent-forward chair, drinking, people attacking him from behind and an archer shooting at his front. The plaque was sold in a crushed mass, which was restored – another example of how forgers damage material to insinuate that the offered object is indeed ancient. 2P 499, 500

26. A disc looped for suspension and decorated with a very inexpertly scratched winged Assur symbol, bronze, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem 1346, Westenholz 1996: 187, fig. 5.

27. A relief depicting a stunted royal figure carrying a drooping lotus, bone, Toledo Art Museum 54.25. P 501

28. A fragment of an Assyrian-like deity with a three-horned hat – the horns decorated with zig-zags, poorly rendered hair and beard, eyes and mouth, gilt ivory, City Art Museum of St. Louis, Missouri 33.1924 (*Bulletin of The City Art Museum of St. Louis*

X/3, 1925: 36 f.; E. Porada in *Archaeology* 6/4, 1953: 208 ff., fig. 1 dated it to the time of Sargon II; *P. Collini called it a forgery in *Paragone* 81, 1956: 58; *The St. Louis Art Museum Handbook* 1975: 28). The present museum authorities recognize the piece to be a forgery. P 502

29. A fragmentary bust of an apparently royal figure in the round, B. Heller collection, ivory (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 217 – the reference there should read: Baer, Indictor 1975: 242, Assyrian c); see also N. Baer, T. Jochsberger, N. Indictor, "Chemical Investigations on Ancient Near Eastern Archaeological Ivory Artifacts..." in *Archaeological Chemistry* II 1978: 143 ff., Table V, second line from bottom, Figure 1, tested to be ca. 600 years old. I wonder if this fragment may actually be medieval in date – but the beard and headband seem to indicate that the carver was imitating an Assyrian work, which was how the piece was sold.

30. A blackened fragment depicting a misunderstood rendering of what is meant to be a figure facing right with long hair and a top knot, a non-Assyrian mustache and curl, beard, clothing – depicted as seen from the front, ivory, Burchard collection, Switzerland.

31. A small relief fragment depicting the head of a king, ivory, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1952.50. Non-Assyrian execution is evident at the top and rear hair, beard, lower part of face, hair band, eyebrow, ear and earring. P 503

32. A massive bust (stone?) of a figure with a very massive and long beard that covers the width of his chest, thin, incised mustache, waves – not hair curls – at his forehead, and a fez hat with a top point. It could have been meant to be a generic Near Eastern forgery, private collection, New York.

33. A stone plaque with an Assyrian style king holding a feline in one arm like the large apotropaic figure from Khorsabad (Louvre), but here in a small model, and with added cuneiform, Ecole Biblique, Jerusalem (**Fakes and Forgeries*: 107).

34. A solid bronze statuette representing what seems to be a bare-headed Assyrian charioteer holding now missing reins, ex-Baker collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.25 (von Bothmer 1961: no. 33). In routine examination it was determined that the patina was false, consisting of organic materials. Consequently, a sample was taken from which was determined a presence of 11.5 % zinc, which is quite high for this period. High zinc content – excess of 10 % – exists in the 8th century B. C. at Gordion (A. Steinberg in R. S. Young et al., *Three Great Early Tumuli*, Philadelphia, 1981: 286 ff.) where three fibulae tested for more than 10 % zinc; for low inclusions of zinc in Luristan see Muscarella 1988a: 45, no. 43, and 125, note 1, no. 194; for practical absence of zinc in an Assyrian or Babylonian statuette, see ibid. 351, note 1, no. 474. Thus, the piece is legitimately suspected, and is possibly modern.

A very similar statuette of a male in the same position as the present example is in the Louvre AO 20117 (A. Parrot, *Syria*, XXV, 3/4, 1958: 185 ff., pl. XVI). This figure wears a decorated kilt and a pointed helmet. Although he too looks Assyrian, Parrot calls him a Cypriote, and dates the statuette to the 5th-4th centuries B.C. It is difficult to

believe that the two bronzes derive from a different time (if the Louvre piece were to be analyzed in the laboratory, we might know if it were the model for the present example). P 504

35. A statuette representing what is meant to be an Assyrian holding before him a tablet with some design on the outer surface; seen on the art market, 1995. Compare Ménant 1887: no. 5, fig. 8 for earlier examples of tablet bearers.

36. A statuette called an Assyrian deity, with a dunce hat and badly tailored garment, in all a badly made piece, and astutely compared to ex-Bomford, Iran General, Sculpture No. 18, above, Christies July 2, 1982, no. 74.

37. A stone relief in the neo-neo-Assyrian manner depicting a winged Assur above two bulls at the left and two backward-turning felines at the right – the whole a crude copy of Assyrian art, Burrell collection (*Early Civilisations in the Burrell Collection* no.: 11 – but not published in Peltenburg 1991 – perhaps telling us the piece was recognized to be modern).

38. A small stone relief badly copied from an Assyrian relief, a figure has one hand raised, the other holding a loose cord, Christies June 14, 1996, no. 173 (the estimated price is quite small for a genuine Assyrian relief).

39. In the summer of 1996 while working at the Urartian site of Ayanis, north of Van, I was shown by Van Museum officials an 18 cm. high stone rounded on one side and with a niche on the other; it had been smuggled from Iraq and was offered for sale. In the niche was represented an Assyrian king facing right, covered from the waist down with cuneiform. The piece is a copy of a royal stele represented in art from the time of the Balawat gates to that of Ashurbanipal. The entire facial, head and sandal details are incorrectly drawn, and the king's pointing finger is misunderstood (yes, by a provincial) as if it were a projecting parasol handle. And, as two cuneiformists noted, the inscription is copied from a second millennium B. C. Babylonian kudurru. P 504

40. I do not do seals, but I cannot resist calling attention to a modern seal offered as ancient in Sotheby's July 10, 1989, no. 45 – in two zones are depicted battle scenes adapted from Assyrian wall reliefs. I recently discovered that the seal was published by E. Bleibtreu, "Festungsanlagen auf neuassyrischen Rollsiegeln und Siegelabrollungen," in *Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients*, ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, Münster 1994: 10, no. 4. Bleibtreu notes the irregularities, that no parallels exist for several scenes and forms ("Dafür ist m. W. kein Beispiel bekannt." "...für einige Details keine Parallen zu den Wandreliefs" exist), but she refrains from sharing with us her reasons for publishing the seal. If she thinks the seal is a forgery, why not say so? (For another example of a forgery of an Assyrian seal with depictions of a battle copied from reliefs, see Norick 1993: 65, no. 12).

41. An "Assyrian style" figure engraved on a small silver plaque, Christies, December 11, 1996, no. 95: the engraving has absolutely nothing to do with the ancient Near East,

let alone Assyria, and was made by a beginning modern apprentice. Sold also with this plaque is another that alleges to depict Shamash; mercifully, it is not illustrated (which omission suggests it may be worse in execution than the illustrated example).

42. Recently we were graced with a number of Unikums in Assyrian iconography presented in a richly appointed volume by Born and Seidl 1995. If I am correct in recognizing that they are indeed Unikums, most probably modern Unikums that can not answer the question: why are you ancient, we have then a blunder and a reminder that personal translation in archaeological studies continues, business as usual.

On a bronze conical helmet with multiple curved raised feline heads (surely of Urartian form, but cf. p. 11) are engraved two alleged Assyrian scenes, the one a compact composition which is placed centrally above the other a narrative frieze; A. Guttmann collection (Abb. 1–22, 25, 97–102, Taf. II, III). The upper scene is depicted prominently on the front face framed by the bands. If executed in antiquity it would represent a major and exciting addition to our knowledge of ancient royal iconography, precisely what its publishers expect us to believe. With ease I believe otherwise, and suggest that scholars resist accepting this dazzling gift, and recognize that it is a transparent, modern creation, transmogrified into an antiquity by the methodology of bazaar archaeology (it exists, ergo it is real, it is ancient, it is valuable, it is published). But having its epiphany in Germany, it is ancient Near Eastern, even when it lacks ancient iconographical, formal or stylistic parallels, has no ancient spirit, and mixes 9th and 8th century, misunderstood, elements.

The scene depicts below a sun disc a bare-headed figure facing a male deity who holds forward what looks like an axe with tassels, while behind him a female deity holds a fez/crown over his head; the trio is flanked by four-winged griffins holding a bucket and cone – fertilizing? The authors, in a straightforward secure manner know that the scene is ancient, for reasons given above. Therefore, no comment or explanation is required to justify the interpretation (29 ff.) that the composition depicts the very moment of the crowning of an Assyrian Crown Prince from the time of Ashurnasirpal II or Shalmaneser III (47 – we are to understand that we are witnessing the crowning of one of them). The male deity is surely Assur, who is holding the royal diadem (with appropriate tassels dangling) for the new king; the presiding deity, to whom the king turns his back, is of course Ishtar – who appears here in a newly purchased dress for the occasion, and it is she who crowns the king. Note for contrast the only two published examples of excavated Assyrian helmets that have a scene at the front face (Dezsö and Curtis 1991: 107 ff., figs. 16, 18–20, 122 ff., fig. 21. For ancient depictions of Ishtar see fig. 2a-c): the helmets are iron and the scene is added as a bronze inlay.

Contrary to the claim (130 ff.) that the engraving quality is fine (which observation leads to the bonus anthropological conclusion that the artisan of the central scene was either a young man or one who had the aid of a lens), my eyes perceive a different quality (n.b. the drawing of Abb. 22 is sanitized, made better than the original: cf. it to Taf. III). My eyes see (from the excellent photographs) something else, that the execution is crude and unskilled throughout. Such poor workmanship, I suggest, would not be encountered in a monumental royal representation this work alleges to be; neither an ancient Assyrian nor his provincial non-Assyrian colleague would ever submit such work to his benefactor.

Further, the garments of the deities, which strangely are almost the same for the two, are not paralleled elsewhere and seem to combine 9th and 8th century features; what the authors call a plaited counterweight or an archaic element "ohne Funktion" (29) on the male deity (see also the female) is surely a misunderstanding of a forger; body parts – thin arms, muscular legs, which on the female are joined to a narrow ankle, and thin feet, are not expected characteristics; the object held by the male deity looks like a poorly executed axe, certainly not like a diadem as is alleged (30); the "king" holds a small, non-recognizable – because badly executed – curved object in his right hand that is attached to a wrongly executed (also noted by the authors: 29) arm; unclear, meaningless and non-aligned elements project from various areas of the female deity's body, which are interpreted to be crossed quivers with stars at their ends; the crown actually brushes against the sun disc. Collectively, these elements allow the authors to conclude that the coronation is taking place in Ishtar's temple at Assur (30).

We do not have to look far to find a model for the composition, although it is not mentioned by the authors even as a parallel: a cylinder seal of Assur-beli-uṣur (Strommenger 1962: pl. 190, bottom–also, middle right) depicting the deities Adad on a bull and Ishtar flanking a bare-headed figure placed below a sun disc (compare Adad's axe with the one drawn on the Guttmann helmet). Of course there is no coronation, but the seal's iconography was a model for the helmet scene.

The griffins' bodies and clothing, their respective wings, hair, between-the-legs tassels, legs, and hand placements are poorly executed and they are not matched or symmetrical. Why four wings, not the expected two (as P. Albenda suggested to me)? The authors point out (32 f.) a "Versehen" in the drawing of a shoulder shawl; they are correct.

Successful forgers keep up with newly developing ideologies and modern needs; our forger was well read and successful – he got a sale and a prime, expensive publication – a fine addition to his portfolio. He knew what the present authors did not, that having a female crown and thereby empower an Assyrian male king is precisely what some modern gender-minded scholars (not only radical feminists) yearn for. And here is the evidence, an Unikum, an iconography supplied not by the slow-working excavation process, but by the quick witted, suppliers-in-good-faith bazaar! Nowhere is it addressed that there exists no evidence in literature or in representations to indicate that a female deity crowned the Assyrian king, while Assur, the chief deity of the land, stood by manly: never mind, for the lack of parallels in art and literature is turned into a positive. Let it be noted that although it is the authors' translation of the scene that it is a coronation, I see no reason to object. But even were a more viable interpretation to be presented, the scene remains an Unikum: and a Unikum derived from the bazaar, not from an excavation.

The second, engraved frieze scene below runs around the base. It depicts the Assyrian king receiving his officials and tribute bearers. What is immediately obvious (but ignored) is that the artisan who incised the coronation scene was not the same one who incised the frieze (readily confirmed by a perusal of the excellent photographs).

The authors are aware here that units of the frieze are unique (43) or peculiar (47) – put another way, unprecedented and unexpected: half a figure emerging from a tent, the Assyrian king's fez lacking its upper point, an armed Assyrian officer prostrating himself before the king.[62] In addition, how are we expected to confront a tribute bearer carrying a spear (not a large arrow!) and a bow together, another carrying a goose/duck,

the multi-decoration and positions of the round shields, the incorrectly drawn swords, an isolated human head resting on the ground (for kicking around?), and a fortress flanked by palm-tree gardens. For these, the authors vouchsafe no parallels, for none exists (W. Kleiss in *AMI* 15, 1982: 53 ff., "Darstellungen Urartäischer Architektur," has assembled a corpus of representations of fortress-city walls, derived from excavations and the bazaar; none is like the above).

What is required is disinterested technical analysis to determine if I am correct; if ancient, corrosion should exist within all the engraved cuttings, and not be cut through by the decoration. Also to be determined in this analysis is whether there are technical indications that the engravings were not made by the same hand as I suggest.

The helmet may have been incised in the same or neighboring and flourishing factory that worked on turning simple and plain Urartian surfaces into Urartian iconographies, see Urartu above Nos. 11–24, especially the "Urartian" helmets Nos. 17 and 19 in Karlsruhe. (For a different opinion about Born and Seidl 1995 see Örhan Tunca, *BibOr* LV, 3–4, 1998: 518, who believes every object published there is ancient and that it is "une étude de qualité remarquable.") 3P 505, 506

43. Another assumed Assyrian scene engraved on the same helmet form, also from the A. Guttmann collection, is gifted to us (ibid.: 38 f., Taf. IV, V). Only poor photographs are supplied, so it might be premature to condemn, or, n. b., accept, the scene merely on the basis of publication. But again a clue is recognized and abandoned by the authors: here the iconography of heraldic kings facing across an alleged mountain (an incised triangle!) placed under a sun disc is, correctly, called "neu" (48); add that the execution does not provide evidence that an ancient artisan's work is before us. I see this scene as a modern creation, but will await better photographs, and more important, await analysis of the corrosion and incisions history. In the meantime we will not cite the scene.

44. Born and Seidl present still another similar helmet with an engraved scene (48 f., Abb. 40, this one in the Ligabue collection). It was first published by S. Salvadori, "Un Elmo assiro figurato proveniente dal Luristan," *Oriens Antiquus* XIV, 1975: 255–264, figs. 1,2, pls. XXXVI-XXXVIII, a title that has the virtue of precisely expressing all that is wrong with our discipline. We get both the culture and the provenience, courtesy of the collaboration of a serious Venetian collector and a serious scholar; Dezsö and Curtis 1991: 122, 124 accept both the antiquity of the scene and support the false provenience by repeating it.

There are two scenes: in the center are heraldic kings with beardless attendants and a poor excuse for a central tree (see also Urartu above, No. 19) set under a sun disc: the execution is especially crude: merely observe the hands and faces – and no feet. The subsidiary scene depicts Assyrian (?!) dignitaries wandering with no place to go; some wave to each other.

Although this helmet is published by several authors for reasons not explained (but asserted) as Assyrian, the work of no ancient Assyrian or non-Assyrian, provincial artisan exists as a parallel, and no ancient artisan could have executed this work, for he would have been deported (unlike his modern counterpart who was financially well awarded, and who achieved a glorious publication to place in his portfolio). For the

iconographical models of the central scene see Canby 1971: pl. XIX; Strommenger 1962: pl. 191. P 507

45. Years ago I saw a stone vessel with Assyrian-style trees carved in relief and with several lion head protomes around its rim. I know of no parallels and suspect it is not ancient. P 507

46. I have no idea which culture produced the small gold and lapis lazuli tortoise listed in Christie's, London, November 25, 1997, no. 170. But surely the engraving at its base of winged (?) heraldic creatures with duck-headed tails who confront a tree, all enclosed in a poor excuse for a guilloche, is not Assyrian as claimed, or, I think, ancient.

47. A "stamp seal" in the form of a frog has cut in its base rampant heraldic caprids flanking a tree; it is assigned to the Middle Assyrian period, Ternbach collection (*From the Lands of the Bible*: no. 413). The frog is strange and the caprids and tree are badly executed, and the piece cannot be placed anywhere in the ancient Near East. The scene at least is not ancient.

D. North Syria

1. A rectangular, narrow stone kohl container has Hittite form scenes added to both sides of an original, plain artifact, ex-Kofler collection (*O. White Muscarella, "The Metamorphoses of a Stone Cosmetic Container," in *Studies in Honor of N. Özgüç*, Ankara 1993: 435–438; *idem, 1995c: 1 f. Fig. 1; here the North Syrian origin and background of these kohl vessels is documented).[63] P 508

Another characteristic North Syrian first millennium artifact is a circular pyxis made from stone or ivory. Although a good number of stone pyxides have been excavated, very few have been published. The largest corpus consists of 45 pyxides and eleven isolated lids excavated in the Amuq in the 1930s, but they remain unpublished (except for one example, K. Sams, *Porticus* III, 1980: 8, fig. 8; see Muscarella 1995c: 6, notes 2, 5 for details): note that not one example from this excavated corpus has a figured scene carved on its walls. R. D. Barnett (*A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, London 1957: 45, note 11) records an unpublished fragment from Kuyunjik, in Baghdad, which he says has a carved hunting scene (for carved ivory examples see Barnett, ibid. 63 ff., 190 ff.; O. White Muscarella, *A Catalogue of the Ivories from Hasanlu*, University Museum, 1980: 120 ff., 193 ff.). Of the published stone examples there are the two fragments excavated at Carchemish, both with apparent hunt scenes carved on the vessel walls (*Carchemish* II, 1921, pl. 28, 3, 4). Two other excavated examples do not have such carvings, those from Tanjara and Tell Denit (S. Shaath, "Three New Steatite Pyxides from Northern Syria..." in *Insight Through Images*, ed. M. K. Buccellati, 1986: 237 ff., pls. 56–57). The pyxis in Buffalo, formerly in the Herzfeld collection, published by Sams, op. cit., also by Orthmann 1971: Taf 70, is, I believe ancient. Given the few stone examples known to have carved scenes, and the fragmentary remains of the Carchemish pieces, it is sometimes difficult to determine the age of an unexcavated carved pyxis. I share my conclusions below that forgers embellish plundered plain vessels.

2. The plain, circular stone pyxis is probably ancient, but has been absurdly and inexpertly embellished in modern times with a busy scene depicting banquet, hunt, and offering events, Cleveland Museum 73.19 (Kozloff 1974: 14 ff., figs. 1–5; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 219). P 509

3. Another possibly ancient and plain circular stone pyxis later embellished with a scene of an animal hunt is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts 62.961, gift of Robert Hecht. Athanassiou (1977: no. 97) knows it came from Tanjara, and blithely claims that there are no forgeries among the stone objects he encountered in his research (32 f.); for some of the problems with this research, see Muscarella 1995c: 6, note 1. I was told that the piece was removed years ago from exhibit in the museum. A second stone pyxis, apparently preserving its lid, exists in Boston (Kozloff 1974: 17, fig, 11–13).

4. Again the same shape and probable antiquity, and recent embellishment, here with very busy events: banqueting, hunting, animals walking, also two X shaped units, dealer (Athanassiou 1977: no. 98, pl. 168 – of course from Tanjara).

5. A fragment depicting a man with an animal (Athanassiou 1977: no. 102, pl. 175, again from Tanjara).

6. A fragmented pyxis lid with a feline attacking a stag and apparently a suckling fawn (suckling a stag? Athanassiou 1977: no. 101, pl. 174).

7. A circular stone pyxis with lid; a procession of Assyrian-like figures with upright arms approach two heraldic figures flanking a winged disc, and two fish-men who flank a winged disc over a gate motif; the lid has a rosette, but why continue. All is wrong and painfully so: yet the vessel was purchased from a Beirut dealer by a New York dealer in 1962; the latter thought it a forgery and returned it; it was then sold again for it turned up in a Swiss dealer's shop.

8. An example purchased by the Aleppo Museum and published in a poor photograph– but visible enough to raise doubts: the lion body and stance, the warrior, and the X shaped unit, also seen on No. 4 above (S. Shaath, ibid. in No. 4, above: pl. 58). This pyxis was mentioned by Orthmann (1971: 163, note 3) in a footnote with other examples rather than in the text, suggesting that he too thought it was not ancient.

9. An ivory circular pyxis depicting two heraldic confronting bulls separated by a winged disc, claimed by its seller to be from Arslan Tash, London dealer, 1980s.

10. Also from the same provenance and alleged provenience, Arslan Tash, is an ivory vase decorated with pendant palmettes alternating with a stylized branch ("tree") flanked with two long buds.

11. The same, here a copy of a woman at the window motif, but her mouth is open in a grin – not a smile – and her eyes, hair, the single scene frame, and the balustrade are wrong (see for this motif C. E. Suter, "Die Frau am Fenster....," in *Jahr. der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Würtemberg* 1992: 7–28).

12. There are also examples of stone pyxides that seem to have been embellished more modestly, with incised geometric patterns, copying those on excavated examples, viz. Athanassiou 1977, nos. 90, 94, pls. 160, 164–166.

Along with kohl containers and pyxides lion/hand bowls are also typical productions of North Syrian first millennium workshops. To date, approximately 132 examples are recorded from excavations, of which about 90 were recovered from North Syrian sites, the others as exports elsewhere.[64] Seventy-five of these derive from three sites in the Amuq, excavated in the 1930s, but only two examples have been published (!) – and until all are made available, it is not possible to know the range of skill and execution of the workshops. Enough information is available to suggest that the range did vary considerably. Some of the excavated bowls are exquisite in execution, i.e. one of the two published examples (from Çatal Hüyük, *Handbook of the Oriental Institute*, 1935: 38, fig. 32), while others are not, i.e. the second published example, (also from Çatal Hüyük, in the Megiddo volume *OIP* XXVI: 19, fig. 4); other examples from the Amuq

in the Antakya Museum confirm the range of skills involved. Also compare the pattern on the base of an example in the American University in Beirut (62.4; Athanassiou 1977, no. 5, pl. 12), with the base of an example excavated at Hazor (Vols. III-IV, 1961, pl. CCCLXI: 2), to see that both are crudely executed.

That the forgers have not neglected this category of artifact is indicated by the examples listed here (pace the claims of Athanassiou 1977: 32 f., cited above, who instructs us that "experts and connoisseurs," including himself, found no forgeries among the material he encountered and published). I have been able to recognize over 30 examples that are either forgeries or at the least raise doubts about their age. Some remain unpublished or have not yet been autopsied by me (work in progress). Thus, the list presented here is not complete; I hope to publish a more complete list in the future (see also my too short report in Muscarella 1977b: 190 f., note 97 = Merhav 1981: no. 37, ex-Ternbach collection).

13. A lion bowl with a nude female at the base whose head projects above the rim, Cleveland Museum of Art 71.265 (Kozloff 1973; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 234; Athanassiou 1977: 115 ff., 155 f., no. 62). A made-up modern object with no parallels in the corpus. P 510

14. A lion bowl of the same form, here the female head does not project from the rim, the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation (autopsy courtesy of Mrs. Jill Sackler).

15. Another lion bowl of the same form, with a female body at the base; here the female head and three human heads project from the rim, Israel Antiquities Authority, where it is listed as a forgery. 2P 511

16. A lion bowl with a central rosette and bushes at the base and three animal heads projecting at the front rim. Cincinnati Art Museum, ex-B. Silberstein collection (Daniel Walker, *Ancient Art in Cincinnati Collections*, an exhibition held in March-April 1980: no. 137). The Cincinnati Museum curator recognizes this piece to be a forgery. P 512

17. An example in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 63.276; the palmette on the base caused difficulty for the forger. The bowl has been removed from the museum's exhibition (Athanassiou 1977: no. 10, pl. 17).

18. Seattle Art Museum, *Annual Report Seattle Art Museum* 1963: 31, fig. 15. The lion head, nose and legs are very close to other examples that bother me, including one that was shown to me as an example recently made in Beirut.

19. A bowl in a private (Basel?) collection has a misunderstood lion protome and palmette base pattern, and is I think not ancient (Athanassiou 1977: no. 58, pls. 119–121).

Other problem examples for me include the following pieces: Athanassiou 1977: nos. 10, 12, 15, 33, 36, 38, 54, 58, 65, 67; Muscarella 1981b: nos. 234, 235 (with warnings given there). There are also a number of problem pieces in the Kofler collection, and at least two in the Jonathan Rosen collection.

20. A form probably inspired by the lion bowls is a bowl with a lion head spout at its base, American University in Beirut 64.6 (Stucky 1971: 17 f., Abb. 4; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 236).

21. Also possibly inspired and related to lion bowls is a pedestalled vessel with two lion protomes and two loop handles above the rim, ex-Schimmel collection (in Muscarella 1974a: no. 118; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 237; *Thou Shalt Have no Other Gods Before Me*, Jewish Museum, New York, 1964: no. 139). P 513

22. In 1977 a small, model double lion base of typical North Syrian form was offered for sale to an American museum. It is a copy of the Tell Taynat, full sized lion base (see *Handbook of the Oriental Institute*, 1935: 38, fig. 33; also Orthmann 1971: Taf. 39,44, 52, 62, 63, 64). Another small scale example of a double lion base was published in a poor photo by S. Przeworski in *ESA* X, 1936: 122, fig. 40, in Copenhagen. 2P 514

23. A small reclining black stone lion with no character or style – except for its winsome tilted head – was assigned to the late Hittite period, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Hoffmann 1973: 216).

24. A stone stele attributed to north Syria depicts a male with a projection at his chin, seemingly a very long beard, seated by a table that stands next to a smaller table that is next to a male figure; the tables bear some objects, the figures carry other objects, all obscure, Borowski (H. Genge in *ZA* 71, 1982: 274–279, Abb. 1). Genge compares the relief to No. 25 just below, his Abb. 3.

For a 19th century forgery of a North Syrian relief see Hilprecht 1894, Taf. II, III and Unger 1957: 7, present provenance unknown.

25. A stone stele depicting two seated, figures facing and toasting each other across a table, Copenhagen (H. Genge, *Nordsyrisch-südanatolische Reliefs*, Copenhagen 1979: 123, no. 12, Abb. 119: known locally as the "Kopenhagener Marasch stele," and here attributed, we are not surprised to read, to "Assyrianische Provinzialkunst;" the same also in *ZA* 71, 1982: 277, "eine provinzial-assyrische Arbeit (syrischer hand? [How about a Beirut hand?]"). Note the heads, hair, beards, and hands, to realize just how provincial it really is.

26. A stele of a female (?) seated on the tip of the legs of a stool, holding a cup that is placed just below a sun disc, and facing a fancy table that overlaps her feet and which is laden with food, also a pet bird, Louvre (*Supp. Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, no. 1382, March 1984: 1, no. 2).

27. A royal figure with feathered (?) crown sucks a liquid from a very thick curved straw attached to a floating jar, while she/he sits on a chair that rests on a feline; the figure's feet rest on a cushion above the feline; behind the seated figure floats a small person who touches, or leans on, the chair for support (*Treasure of the Orient* no. 113).

28. Probably made by a beginning carver in the same or related modern factory that made the above is a stele depicting in a totally misunderstanding manner (execution, style, iconography) a winged female with a cubist rendering of the head, body, arms, vagina and legs, and the twisted legs of the floating figure, and note the sun and moon; Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem. P 515

29. A stele depicting a seated figure, apparently bearded, drinking from a vessel and facing a table and a servant, all crudely and hesitantly drawn, Gluck (*The World of Persian Pottery* no. 175).

30. A stele in an Israel collection, recognized as a forgery (**Fakes and Forgeries* no. 9), depicts a singular seated figure whose feet rest on a floating cushion and who has two rubber arms.

31. A stele with two panels, the upper depicting a seated figure facing a table and resting on a modern design footstool; a small man floats in the air above a smaller figure who has to stretch to place an object on an unbalanced table, and who tries to avoid a small, also modern designed, table behind him; below is a man leading a horse. A dealer circulated the stele with a letter from a scholar who authenticates any object presented to him. In his letter this scholar cites the Borowski stele, here No. 24, as a parallel, and counsels that it is merely taste – thereby excluding knowledge – that determines whether the present stele is to be called Neo-Hittite, Aramaic, or, we are not surprised to be advised, provincial Assyrian. P 516

32. Perhaps in a neighboring small factory in Beirut was made the terracotta figurine in The Pomerance Collection: no. 12 (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 240).

33. A bronze head of a beardless figure, with caprid horns supported by struts (or animal ears?), twisted lips, African face, saucer ears; and to Athanassiou (1977: 280 f., 287, no. 191, pls. 253–54) a "remarkable" example "of the Tanjara finds," (he knows it, however, from a private collection), and a "valuable addition" to two "Dieu-Ibex" figures – see R. D. Barnett in *Syria* XLIII, 2, 1966: 259 ff. The piece in fact has no affinity with the latter group; what the forger had in mind eludes me.

34. There must be a great number of modern copies of terracotta figurines of those types assigned to North Syrian sites and dated to the third and second millennium B. C. I gave up on attempts to determine which of so many odd examples deserved special attention as possibly modern creations and give here references only to those that appear conveniently in one dealer's catalogue, *Idols*, Ariadne Galleries, New York. 1989: nos. 62 (brand new) – 87, 89.

E. Phoenician, Syrian, Levant

Perhaps more sensitivity to the forgery problem has been demonstrated for bronze figurines/statuettes alleged by many to have derived from the general Levant region than that for any other set of Near Eastern artifacts. Many hundreds have actually been excavated at many sites (some 1700 from Byblos alone), but scholars early in this century became aware of modern local factories in the area mass-producing them. A number of studies of these statuettes have made it easier to analyze the mass and to recognize the many and various types in existence. These studies have also made scholars more aware of the large (how large still remains basically unknown) quantity of forgeries and aftercasts manufactured since the 19th century and housed in many collections. For studies of the statuettes and associated forgery and provenience problems see Collon 1972; Seeden 1978 and 1980; Spycket 1981: 267–286; Moorey and Fleming 1984; Schorsch 1994; Muscarella 1988a: 361, note 4, also for earlier bibliography; Negbi 1976 is to be read with caution – it is innocent about forgeries.

I see no special value in listing here the approximately 50 forgeries/doubtful figurines listed by Seeden, those in the Ashmolean Museum recorded by Moorey and Fleming, plus those listed by me in 1977b (nos. 241–247) and 1988a; one can consult them independently.[65] It is easy to manufacture figurines, and the countless examples prove this. Every auction and dealer catalogue, and most catalogues of museum and private collections display alleged Phoenician or Syrian statuettes. Why cite or study them in the first place (of course there are exceptions) when many hundreds exist from the excavated earth? I will not mention all examples from the bazaars, but rather briefly note a few problems and examples hitherto not published or discussed. Following the figurines are other examples of forgeries from this general area.

1. Schorsch 1994 is the latest attempt to sort out problems of authenticity concerning a large group (more than 20) of statuettes known as the "Lebanese Mountain" figures; she argues on the basis of scientific analyses that some challenged examples in this group are in fact ancient; Seeden 1980: condemned nos. 13, 13 bis, 16F, 22F, 23F. Schorsch (117) for example rejects Seeden's 22F (Berlin 3153) as a forgery, even though it has the anomaly of fringes on both sides of the kilt. I reserve judgement.

Schorsch leaves only three statuettes in the forgery category, those known as the "1908 Group," which are accepted by all scholars as modern (they are housed in the Metropolitan Museum, 25.96, Copenhagen, and Yale University (see photo): Bossert 1951: fig. 590; H. Seyrig in *Syria* 30, 1953 (an important study of the class): 26 f., note 1); she believes that the ancient Berlin 3153 was the model for these three (117). For a positive laboratory analysis of the British Museum example see Jones 1990: no. 321.

P 517

2. A seated deity between two bulls all set together on a flat base, dealer. P 518

3. A horned deity between two horned sphinxes, dealer. P 519

4, 5. A dealer who knew them to be forgeries made in Damascus donated two small statuettes in the Metropolitan Museum (64.74.2, 3). One is a standing figure; the other is a family of deities standing on animals. 2P 520

6. A male and female, offered for sale in 1961. P 521

7. Other family groups are a problem, all the more so when it is recognized that not one of the known examples (Seeden records 15) was excavated! An ambitious example, ex-Pomerance collection, with four figures of different sizes, was first challenged by Seeden but then barely accepted (1980: 17, no. 38).

Seeden (16) suggests that her nos. 28 and 29 "may be forgeries." The former seems to depict a man walking his pussycat; the latter, in the Ashmolean Museum, was left standing as genuine by Moorey and Fleming 1984: 83, no. 6, mainly because of its high copper content.

On the other hand, some seem more obviously modern: Seeden does not mention the extended family in the Leff collection offered in Sotheby Parke Bernet November 20/21, 1975, no. 44, which I think is modern (*Muscarella 1988a: no. 245). Also to be doubted with ease is an odd couple offered for sale in Bonhams December 12, 1995: no. 106.

8. In 1988a (361, note 4) I noted that a seated figure in the Jerusalem Museum was a gross forgery, a copy of an example in the Louvre (Negbi 1976: no. 1644, the copy is no. 1646 – accepted as ancient by Negbi). I suggest here that the ex-Pomerance seated figure (*The Pomerance Collection* no. 14) is also to be considered a probable copy of the Louvre example.

9, 10. Other possible copies of this posture are examples in the Pitcairn collection, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (see photo); and an example recognized as modern by the Burrell collection, Glasgow (*Peltenburg 1991 no. 125). P 522

11, 12. Two figures of smiting deities in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, were considered to be suspicious, if not readily detectable as forgeries, by Collon (in Muscarella 1981b: nos. 219, 220); see Negbi 1976: in her no. 1387 entry, and Seeden 1980: 120, note 12, who also doubt no. 220.

13. Two similar male figures with arms extended and both broken away at the waist are discussed by Seeden (1978: 16; and 1980). Her 1980, no. 57, former Reber collection, now Geneva, is considered to be ancient; but she notes for no. 61, Metropolitan Museum of Art 32.18.4, that "some doubt as to authenticity" is raised. Not mentioned are her reasons, which could be that no. 61 might be a copy of no. 57, as noted in Muscarella 1988a: no. 489. Both torsos are unexcavated, as are all the other available examples with similar head forms.

14. Arthur H. Cohen collection (*Thou Shalt Have no Other Gods Before Me*, Jewish Museum, New York, 1964: no. 131; Collon 1972: 126, fig. 8, no. 1). I know of several other forgeries of the same type in the bazaar (viz. *Okayama Municipal Museum* 1979, no. 138). P 523

15. It was probably not an ancient casting flaw, but inadequate modern, provincial workmanship that produced the hesitating smiting figure offered in Sotheby Parke Bernet May 16, 1980, no. 112.

16, 17. Probably a forgery is a bronze statuette in the Burrell collection, Glasgow, 28.64, which represents a striking deity wearing a cylindrical and horned headdress. Peltenburg (1991: no. 126) raised doubts about its authenticity, then evaded them (one reason is that the fists are perforated, which to him is not what a forger would do). The piece is suspicious – and has no archaeological value.

There is another forgery in the Burrell collection, this one copied from an example in the Louvre, which has the same hat as 28.64; it is accepted by Peltenburg to be a forgery (142 f., no. 118 – because of *Seeden 1978, 22 ff., pl. VIII, and idem 1980: 34, note 21).

18. A very inexpertly made seated female vaguely suggesting an Egyptian figure, but described as from the "Ancient Near East...Levantine." It is said to be "The Property of the California Museum of Ancient Art," Bonhams December 12, 1995, no. 154.

19. A "superbe statuette" of a "Divinité" with a gaping mouth and a skewed beard, placed loosely in Syria or Anatolia, 17th century B.C., Hotel Drouot March 20, 1996, no. 277.

20. From the same Paris catalogue, no. 278, is a statuette of a beardless figure with an unconvincing garment and physiognomy; an in-house expert compares it to the Lebanese Mountain figures and dates it to the 17th century B.C.

21, 22, 23. Three stone "idols" with beaked heads and flat heads are unique and modern: one published by Bossert 1951: nos. 425–426 is in the Bremen Museum; a second, very close to the Bremen example, is in Hamburg, and a third was owned by H. Seyrig. The Bremen example had been published years earlier by A. Moortgat as a Hurrian artifact (in *ZA* 41, 1933: 209 ff., Abb. 1, 2). It was later challenged by H. Seyrig in his review of Bossert 1951 (*Gnomon* 24, 1952: 190); he reported that the Bremen (wrongly there called Hamburg) example was made in a forger's shop in Beirut. H.-G. Buchholz published all three examples in *AA* 1963, 2: 122 ff., noting that all are modern forgeries; he also reported that Seyrig notified him of the third example, which he had himself seen being manufactured. The forger's model was a clay example like Bossert's no. 115, a type usually associated with Cyprus (*Muscarella 1977b: no. 239; the dealer's piece mentioned there is the Hamburg example; see photo). P 523

24. Also odd from an ancient perspective is a "stylized idol" of stone in *The Pomerance Collection* no. 13, which must have been made in a factory in the neighborhood of the one that made Nos. 21–23 above.

25. A silver "figure of a goddess," "Syro-Hittite.... an earth goddess...." who has crescent shaped legs, a strange head and body, and who is from the modern Near East, Seattle Art Museum (*Archaeology* 17, 4, 1964: 267).

26. A bronze plate attempting to be a Phoenician vessel, decorated in an outer zone with felines and sphinxes wearing what is intended to be a "Phoenician apron," two inner zones with parading animals and vultures, and a female face in profile at the center, once floating in the bazaar, later offered for sale by Sotheby's June 8, 1994: no. 258. P 524

27. A gold plate first recorded in 1956, then offered in the United States in 1961, depicts an archer charioteer shooting at two bulls running one behind the other. It is a very poorly executed imitation of the famous Ras Shamra gold vessel (viz. Amiet 1980: fig. 509).

28. Alleged to derive "probably from Ras Shamra" is an inexpertly sculpted stone stele of an apparent banquet scene, but described as a seated figure before an eagle's nest, Sotheby Parke Bernet May 16, 1980: no. 142.

29. I still find no reason for accepting as genuine a headless seated stone figure in Cleveland (Kozloff 1974: figs. 19–22; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 233). Both I and S. Mazzoni (in *Studi Eblaiti* III, 5–8, 1980: 79–98) see a formal parallel with a seated and similarly damaged figure from Ebla. Because of this similarity, Mazzoni defends the Cleveland piece as genuine; so does Spycket 1981: 262 f. I suggest, however, that there are differences between the two pieces, and they are not insignificant; further, the damage on the Cleveland example is too similar to that of the excavated statue: which the latter in any event and argument aside, is the only Ebla example to be cited when discussing Ebla statues.

30, 31. In 1981b I noted that two seemingly genuine objects had recently been embellished with decoration, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem: no. 237, fragments of a silver vessel has heraldic griffins/peacocks/vultures and sphinxes incised; no. 265 has heraldic griffins and hand-holding men incised on an ivory fan or fly-whisk handle. P 525

32. A basalt stele "found in Syria, Aramean, 900-800 B.C.," depicts a male wielding in his left hand an object over his head, a spear in his right hand and bearing two daggers (?), Seattle Art Museum Pls. 11.28, gift of Fouad Alouf, a dealer in Beirut (Seattle Art Museum *Annual Report* 1967: fig. 9 – why is it ancient? why was it given – and accepted – as a gift?). Reading W. Culican's discussion on the stele (*Levant* X, 1978: 161 f., pls. XXIV, XXVa) produces more questions than answers, inasmuch as he admits finding no parallels (but wrongly cites Carchemish). Its poor state of preservation speaks in its favor, nothing else.

33. In *Syria* 41, 1964, "Assiettes mycéniennes," 240–250, A. Parrot published a series of eleven elaborately decorated gold plates of slightly different diameters (varying around 17 cm.), dispersed in museums, private collections, and dealers' shops; he asserted they all derived as a hoard from a site on the Lebanese coast (one unpublished source claims

all surfaced in an a dealer's shop in the Hotel St. George in Beirut). Each example has repoussé decoration, some of interlocking swastikas, others of a vermicelli pattern (an apt term employed by Parrot); most also have base patterns formed as spirals and rosettes, or just rosettes. We are not surprised to learn that the eleven examples were accepted without reservation by Parrot as both genuine and as found together in a convenient hoard (a twelfth sample from the same group in Beirut is plain). The vessels are mentioned here because Parrot thought they might be 2nd millennium B.C. Phoenician vessels, related to Aegean-Mycenaean metalwork; others see them as Mycenaean works.

Parrot numbered and illustrated the eleven as follows: Nos. 1 and 2 are in the Louvre; 3 and 4 are in the Beirut Museum; 5 is in the Metropolitan Museum (see Photo); 6 is in Seattle; 7 belonged to the United States dealer Stendahl; 8 is in a Swiss collection (a dealer); 9 is in Stuttgart, Oppenländer collection; 10 is in Stockholm, Kempe collection; 11 belonged to the dealer du Puytison – and was later sold (1967) to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (*Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum*, 1973: no. 73).

V. Hankey (*BSA* 67, 1967: 116 f., pl. 26 a, b; Hackens and Winkes 1983: 37 f.) next discussed the Beirut Museum vessels, nos. 3 and 4, casually suggesting possible formal Aegean parallels for the decoration. She concluded that "if they are genuine" they are important, and to be dated ca. 1400 B. C. (but she denies to some extent their archaeological value regarding provenience). Later, H.-G. Buchholz (*ActaPrHistA* 1, 1970: 127; Hackens and Winkes 1983: 38 f.) made it clear that he thought the Louvre examples, nos. 1, 2 were not ancient; and still later (*AA* 1974, 3: 434 f.) he seemed to charge the whole corpus published by Parrot as modern, correctly noting that there were no stylistic parallels anywhere for the vessels. The argument surfaced again when Hackens and R. Winkes (1983: 36 ff.) published nos. 11 (Virginia) and, I think, no. 10 (Kempe? but not identified: the owner requested strict confidentiality), with an added note discussing the problems raised by Hankey and Buchholz. The editors first defend the antiquity of the vessels (but inadequately) – we don't know much about Bronze Age archaeology in Lebanon; a hoard of these vessels is not uncommon; the damage on the Beirut examples is an example of the plunderers' activities; but they also quote and accept Buccholz' position that the last word is yet to be said and show that doubts are not arbitrary.

In addition to these examples, another was offered for sale in Galerie Koller Zürich, November 15, 1982, no. 4 (the sales pitch of course cites Parrot's scholarly research); this example does not appear to be one of the private examples published, and seems therefore to be an additional local, Beirut, production. It has a 12-petal central rosette with raised dots – no. 8 has an 8-petal rosette with dots. Still another example, also seemingly an additional piece in the (growing) corpus is an example offered for sale in the United States in 1978. It has an enclosed 8-petal rosette.

My conclusions: first, the Metropolitan Museum's example (60.17, no. 5) has cadmium, which is a modern addition and does not occur in natural gold (the vessel appeared in print only once since it was acquired in 1960: Wilkinson in *BMMA* Oct. 1960: 38 – which says something about curatorial opinion; see photo here).[66] Note also that the swastikas on this piece are poorly executed; the appropriate damage is there to demonstrate old age. The central motif of a rosette surrounded by spirals is the same as that of the Louvre vermicelli, no. 2, Beirut, no. 4, and Seattle, no. 6 (in *Archaeology* 17, 4, 1964: 269 the vessel is called a Syrian disk). Of the three examples we ask – is any one

of them manifestly/probably/viably ancient? I hear silence.

It is possible that one example in Beirut (no. 3) *may* be ancient because its swastika and central rosette look as if made by an unhesitant hand. No. 4, the other Beirut example, has a strange loosely structured vermicelli pattern, but one certainly not so unorganized and seemingly meaningless as nos. 2 (Louvre 21379), and nos. 9, 10 and 11 (Oppenländer, Kempe, Virginia). Thus, one is doubtful in this case (no. 4), but the last four mentioned (nos. 2, 9–11), I suggest, are modern creations.

Nos. 7 and 8 (Stendahl, Geneva: see drawing from photo here – if the photo, which was in Israel in the 1970s, is its photo) and Koller are related to Beirut, no. 3: they are copies of each other – or of no. 3 alone. As for no. 1 (Louvre 21115; see also Amiet 1980: fig. 510), I also see a modern hand at work – it is not easy to follow the swastika pattern without concentration. This conclusion may be considered to be as subjective as saying the vessel is ancient, except that the latter position has no evidence to support its subjectivity: and this is not a children's game; 0% always equals 0%. The Swiss dealer's example (see photo) cannot be singled out as anything other than belonging to the same factory corpus as the others.

We are back with Buchholz, and it is worth repeating his correct (but ignored by the vessels' owners) claim that stylistic parallels do not exist – which is not merely an *ex silentio* argument in these cases. Maybe one, or maybe not even one, of the thirteen decorated vessels is ancient. What archaeologists know as real knowledge in this unfortunate but not unusual situation, is that even were one or more to be ancient, we do not know it: and not one example has a particle of value for history and archaeology.[67]

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34. Since the Parrot corpus of the gold plates first surfaced, another vessel shape, made of gold in the very same Lebanese factory, has appeared in the bazaars, labeled Phoenician: I remain unsure whether there was only one, or at least two or more, examples. The one illustrated here surfaced in Munich in 1964. It is a cup rather than a plate, but is decorated with the familiar swastika pattern with requisite punched dots, and an eight-petalled rosette with a circle-patterned interior.

In the 1990s an example exactly the same as this one in all details, shape and decoration, ex- collection of Burton Y. Berry, was offered for sale in Switzerland. Based on photographs, the rim of the latter seems more distressed than the 1964 example; its diameter is 23 cm., height 6 cm., and it is said to weigh 160. 5 gr. but I do not know details for the 1964 example. In any event, there are at least one, and very probably, two examples of this manifestly modern form in the modern world. P 527

35. It is probable that the incised procession of bulls and felines on a vessel once on sale in Teheran was recently added, pace Culican (1970: fig. 5). It was probably copied from models such as Culican's pl. VIII and fig. 2.

36. I have no knowledge and background to forgeries of biblical material. They are not germane to the present study, but I cannot refrain from noting an egregious example that neatly discloses both how an object manifestly created in modern times to be sold to a targeted audience, is touted (Jerusalem, Moussaieff collection), and once sold gets spectacular publicity as it impinges on modern culture: on the cover of *Biblical Archae-*

ology Review of May/June 1996 (22,3). Here given full-page support that commands our attention to a major religious icon, is an enlarged photograph of a small onyx plaque (1 inch ht.) depicting in intaglio "The Binding of Isaac": a figure holds a dagger over the head of a child, while a tethered goat awaits its fate; floating in the heavens, Chagall/Ben Zion-like, is an altar along with God's hand, and stars. On the reverse (p. 31) are Aramaic letters that no one can read because it consists of "meaningless sequences." This revealing evidence did not deter its publisher (H. Shanks), nor suggest to him the message easily read: keep away from me.

The forgers' guild must be pleased with the success of this gem, front-page publication and all; but the rest of us will think of the many innocent lay (and scholarly!) readers who will believe it.

F. Sasanian

I will not discuss Sasanian forgeries at length because I have no secure knowledge of the art and artifacts of that period, which political and cultural control extended over a vast geographical area, not just Iran. There exists very little, or no, information about the geographical proveniences of the presumably genuine, plundered Sasanian artifacts first encountered in western bazaars, a fact that does not prevent publication by the "it is said" crowd that many surface (were plundered) in Iran (viz. Grabar 1967, below); the Iran provenience provides instant gratification to museum collectors and curators. Undoubtedly at least from the 1950s scores of Sasánian style gold and, more common, silver, vessels of different forms surfaced in many bazaars and were sold to many museums and collectors. Even with limited knowledge I have no problem identifying many of them as recently made forgeries (the Cincinnati Art Museum, ex-Kevorkian collection,[68] Foroughi collection, the Los Angeles Museum of Art (ex-Heeramaneck), and the Chrysler Art Museum each have a considerable number of Sasanian forgeries in their possession; other museums have one or more examples). Nevertheless, a meaningful publication on this modern corpus should be accomplished only by someone who is informed about Sasanian art and iconography, familiar with the provenances and proveniences of all the material, the dealer-derived and the bona fide excavated, and knowledgeable about forgeries. I suspect that the number of Sasanian forgeries in existence may exceed that produced for any other specific ancient Near Eastern culture; forgeries of stamp seals are, I am informed, also vast in number.

Against this situation – but no one will be surprised – Sasanian forgeries are barely discussed with regard to style and technique in the literature (for an early reference, see Ménant 1887: 7 ff.); there is a cursory statement by O. Grabar in a catalogue of an exhibition of (alleged) Sasanian silver in Michigan (*Sasanian Silver*, University of Michigan 1967: 27), that there is "an astounding increase in [Sasanian] silver objects found in Iran itself," for which alleged archaeological claim he gave no source, for none exists. Grabar also offered his belief that among the "several hundred silver objects...whose origin is claimed to be Iran," there is a possibility that "a proportion...consists of contemporary forgeries or, at the very least...extremely doubtful items." This general statement will puzzle the more than casual reader when encountering the photographs published in the catalogue itself. A perusal by this non-specialist reveals that a "proportion" of the so-called Sasanian silver objects illustrated there appears to be post-Sasanian, modern artifacts. Put another way, they reveal no evidence that they are ancient: I suggest this includes nos. 26 (Nelson-Atkins Museum); 27 (St. Louis Art Museum); 29, 40? (Seattle Art Museum); 30, 31, 47 (Cincinnati Art Museum; note that nos. 14 and 19 in Cincinnati are considered by the curator G. Markoe (personal communication) to be forgeries or at least suspicious); 17?, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39?, 60–62 (Los Angeles Art Museum, ex-Heeramaneck); for no. 50, the Metropolitan Museum silver royal head, see note 70 below.

In P. O. Harper and P. Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period*, I, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981, there is one specific reference to "a large number" of forgeries, and the fact is given that plates made of a double shell may not be genuine (148). But

not one example of a forgery is cited – which suggests, given the general claim – a deliberate withholding of information.

Gunter and Jett 1988: 230 f., 236 ff., nos. 45, 47, published as forgeries in the Freer Gallery a silver bowl and a king's bust. A dealer, J. Gluck (1977: 132 f.), published as modern a recently made Sasanian-style dish made in Iran.

Brief, but welcome data on Sasanian forgeries are presented in Cohon 1996: 7 ff. Cohon presents information about forgers' misunderstandings of ancient manufacturing techniques, and publishes photographs of some of the Sasanian forgeries housed in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Dumbarton Oaks, St. Louis Art Museum, Freer Gallery of Art, Copenhagen Museum, and the Cincinnati Art Museum (7 ff., pls. 1–3, 11, 12, 16–19 – some are among those cited above (not as modern) in the Grabar 1967 catalogue). Cohon is correct to note that a number of Sasanian forgeries seem to have been made by the same "artist" (I would say factory), as a perusal of the modern corpus readily reveals.

Cohon also calls attention to the fraudulent report of A. U. Pope in the *ILN* of Feb. 11, 1950: 206 f., who alleged that a major find of Sasanian vessels had been "unearthed" (a mellifluous archaeological sounding verb) in the south Caspian area of northwestern Iran. But in an earlier eulogy to one of the plates mentioned by Pope (Nelson-Atkins), R. Ghirshman (*Artibus Asiae* 1947: 91 ff., pl. 1) had claimed it derived from Baku, and he assigned it to the Caucasus. Again the ubiquitous inquiring scholar asks: what provenience am I to believe? I suggest that the finds were unearthed in a modern factory, the provenience of which was probably in Teheran or further south (unfortunately, these forgeries and their *ILN* forged provenience were republished in part by L. Vanden Berghe, in his *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Brill, 1959: 6, pl. 5).

Concerning the Nelson-Atkins forgery, Cohon, almost disingenuously, states that the museum "had been brilliantly set up" but it was really quite easy, not a brilliant act, to con a museum director (Cohon does not mention the name of the individual who set them, and other museums, up).[69]

Forgers of Sasanian material copy all ancient and imagined artifacts attributed to that culture; they also copied from each other's work the same technical misunderstandings, viz. double-shell vessels. Curators, functioning typically for the class, thought they were doing a professional job when they authenticated material they were purchasing by examining purchased objects acquired by other curators. One instructive example is D. Shepherd's report in the *Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology*, I, Teheran 1972: 326–352. Studying only unexcavated plates, and comparing one to another, she was able to publish (figs. 37–40) the plates in the Freer Gallery, Nelson-Atkins, one in Cleveland (above), and another in a private collection as Sasanian: they are all forgeries authenticated by reference to forgeries.

I illustrate here a few examples to document some of the ancient forms being created today – silver plates, bowls, ewers, beakers, animal-headed vessels, and sculpture; all the examples illustrated, except the Lady and the King on horses, which at one time were in an Israel bazaar, and the small lapis lazuli bust of a king (dealer), were once in the Chrysler Art Museum, Virginia C. G. Sloan catalogue Nov.30-December 2 1979: nos. 1969, 1984, 1985.[70]

And, finally, that the modern, post-Sasanian manufacturers take themselves seriously is manifested by an advertisement (undated) published years ago for a sale held in

Australia. Here a rock crystal Sasanian head made by an apprentice was being sold for $ 1,000,000. 11P 528–535

NOTES

1 Why do archaeologists cite forgeries in their comparanda lists? C. Burney in *The Ancient Near East* (Ithaca 1977): 164, Pl. 26 cited the Cincinnati vessel as an artifact from Marlik, ignoring the corpus of excavated examples at his disposal (see also note 32 below). See also Moskova in Achaemenian Plates with Medallion, No. 2 below, and Mellaart in Hacilar, Nos., 60, 61. Many archaeologists consider only pottery and sherds worthy of study – but nevertheless feel competent to discuss or use as comparanda any artifact encountered.

2 The attribution Amlash (a town in Gilan, east of Marlik) is not to an excavated site and therefore has no archaeological value. Iranian archaeologists referred to Amlash as an area where they excavated cemeteries (A. Samedi in *Arts Asiatiques* VI, 1959: 187 ff.) but it primarily was known as a market town for selling material plundered in the area at large, thus basically it is a dealers' term. Not unexpectedly, "Amlash" was quickly adapted by scholars, who used it as a convenient attribution for stray material – and also as a cultural adjective: "Amlash Art, Amlash culture." The Amlash pioneer Ghirshman (1960: 550 f.) proclaimed that "Amlash" was not only the source of both "goblets in gold and silver, silver cups," etc., which he claimed were related to Luristan material of the 9th to 7th centuries B.C., but that it also yielded Achaemenian and Sasanian objects (see Pope 1968: A/6). This archaeologizing is further complicated – but also elucidated – by the fact that many of the objects Ghirshman cited are forgeries (note that Ghirshman in 1976 (28) astutely mentions forgeries of Amlash terracottas).

If scholars refer to the dealer-site Amlash as an archaeological site, we can not condemn the catalogue entry of a collector: *Man Came This Way* no. 16, a terracotta zebu in the P. Berg Collection: "Recent excavations near ... Amlash ... just south of the Caspian Sea, have produced a variety of extraordinary examples of the potter's skill... . Here is one of the striking bulls found in the area." Yes, striking it is, but it never saw the Caspian Sea.

Sept Mille 14 ff., and *Kunstschätze* 43 ff., also use the term "Amlash" for both ancient and modern artifacts. The Marlik term came into use not long after the 1961 excavations, as in *Trésors*: 94, 104 ff., but the old Amlash usage is continued in the same catalogue: 95 ff. See also *Exposition d'Art Amlach* Brussels (1965) with glowing essays on the Amlash culture by a scholar and a dealer instructing us that "Les objects exposés furent excavés par des paysans du lieu... ." while cultivating their gardens and reading Candide. Ghirshman (1964a: 30 ff.) devoted a whole chapter to "Amlash," where his figs.32-49 include at least three forgeries.

In *7000 Years*: 16, E. Porada challenged the Amlash term but it occurs nevertheless in the catalogue's entries; see also her 1965: 90 ff., used with quote marks. Calmeyer (1969: 30) used the "Amlash" with its quote marks; and Moorey (1971:3, 8) said it precisely and correctly, that Amlash was "a commercial [dealers] designation," and "a commercial entrepot." In 1974 it was still used – *Ceramica di Amlash*, Museo Nationazale d'Arte orientale, Roma, text by R. Biscione.

3 For the distribution and chronology of this shape see Muscarella 1988: 377, no. 496; see also Schmidt et al. 1989: pl. 124. It is my tentative opinion that many, but apparently not all, decorative scenes present on istikhans have been added in modern times; note that only plain examples have ever been excavated.

4 The launderers succeeded; scholars were fascinated by the exhibitions, some proclaiming it in print. Aside from Ghirshman's 1961a and 1962b self-serving articles (in the former at least 10 of the 17 artifacts he gushed over are forgeries), Goldman (1964a: 327) jubilantly demonstrated his adeptness in the Museum Ritual by welcoming the new dispensation whereby ancient Iranian art was no longer "relegated to the archaeological report": he knew the Museum Ritual by heart. K. Jettmar (1967: 223) noted that forgeries of Achaemenian art exist (to him only in United States collections) and then stated that "...the splendid Exhibition of Iranian Art which toured many European cities showed much genuine material....". "Much" implies not entirely, yet Jettmar did not cite which specific Achaemenian-style exhibition material was ancient and not ancient, and he said nothing about forgeries of other ancient Iranian cultural material published there. Another unrealistic description of the Paris exhibition and catalogue occurs in Genito (1986: 21). He asserts that it remains "a practically unchanged reference point for historians in this [Iranian] field." This unfortunate claim (from an archaeologist) makes sense only if the reference is recognition of the irreparable damage done to Iranian archaeology. The exhibition traveled to Essen, Zürich, Belgium, and the United States. This last exhibition and its catalogue had few forgeries and included more excavated material than all the others; an earlier exhibition in Milan

(1956) also illustrated few forgeries of proveniences and artifacts – because "Ziwiye" (infra) was just beginning to develop and because R. Ghirshman played no role, so far as I can discover, in the Italian exhibition and catalogue. Genito also noted that the Paris exhibition achieved "great international acclaim." Iranian history and archaeology are still paying for that acclaim.

5 I once witnessed a member of the Iranian royal family show museum curators a Sasanian forgery in his collection; it was obliquely being offered for sale.

6 Another "X" occurs in the Hotel Drouot sales of September 26, 1980, there a collector with a number of pieces that find themselves in this catalogue. I often have wondered what kind of objects would be offered for sale in the Hotel Drouot bazaar if there were no state licensed "Experts" (prominently noted in each of their sales catalogues) to authenticate them.

7 At one time the Devray Collection was housed in the Israel Museum but subsequently was returned to its owner.

8 When discussing Achaemenian techniques in twisting or grooving torques and bracelets, Pfrommer (1990: 98, note 635) cites Walser 1966: Taf. 35, a relief from Persepolis. But rather than examining additional examples from the site, he refers to the present example – unparalleled on the Persepolis reliefs. A good supply of realia exists, but scholars prefer to cite the unknown.

9 For additional, but incomplete, evidence of Ghirshman's experience with events he never could have observed, see Achaemenian Animal Sculpture Nos. 1–4 with accompanying notes, below; and *Artibus Asiae* 27 (1964–65): 49 ff., a forgery of provenience, repeated by Merhav 1981: 65.

10 No armies caused more damage to tombs, mounds and artifacts than modern plunderers, their sponsors, and pay masters. In the context of the "sans aucun doubte" revelations, one wonders whether it was Alexander himself who ordered the stone objects to be covered with earth to save them for posterity. (I have often wondered how P. Amandry, usually an astute judge of Near Eastern material, could have allowed himself to become involved in publishing a number of forgeries as genuine).

11 In the first publications of the Metropolitan and Teheran daggers (*ILN* April 16, 1955: 699, upper left; *ILN* July 21, 1956: 107, center) they are given proveniences as "from Hamadan," and "probably from Hamadan," respectively. See Muscarella 1980: 33.

12 I mentioned these as if they were separate sets of the same kind of object in Muscarella 1979: 8, no. 9. Judging only from an examination of the photographs, it seems certain there is but one set.

13 Some of these vessels lack a pouring hole at the chest; however, it serves no special purpose in this study to separate those with and without holes. I think animal-headed vessel is an adequate designation for this class of object, although the presence or absence of a pouring hole should be noted.

Additional gold and silver animal-headed vessels of alleged Achaemenian style are known to me. They exist in private collections, and I am aware of them through personal communications or from a sketch. At least two of these (known from sketches), a cat, a bull, both right angled horn shapes, seem to be forgeries, but not having more information I can only record their existence in a footnote.

14 A genuine protome of this form could be made of two halves, as are the examples from Borovo, Filippokva, and the Seven Brothers tomb (Minns 1913: 211, fig. 110); also the unexcavated, but ancient, silver example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.30a, b (ex-Schimmel: Muscarella 1974a: no. 155). However, the excavated example from Kul Olba (Minns 1913: 196 f., fig. 90) seems to have its ram protome made in one piece with no hole; as does the silver Bashkorostan example mentioned above. Other unexcavated but genuine protomes are made either in one piece or two halves. Hence, the one-piece technique of the Cincinnati head cannot as such be a determining factor in a discussion of forgeries.

Formal parallels between the Cincinnati bull protome and the forepart depiction on stone bull capitals are irrelevant and cannot authenticate the former, as assumed by Goldman 1964: 334, Culican 1965: 248 f., and Koch 1992: 185 (yet another misuse of form and style; see also below note 19). Goldman (1964a: 334) further observed that the Cincinnati vessel demonstrates "the new wind that swept Iranian art in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C." He was correct about this new wind, wrong about its locus and chronology.

In the most recent publication Markoe (1993: 81, fig. 42) states that the existence of the stone capitals are relevant in determining its date. He also claimed that animal-headed vessels are known from "frequent depictions on the Persepolis reliefs" but no example is depicted on the reliefs or elsewhere in Achaemenian art (but see the examples represented as manufactured in the Tomb of Petosiris in Egypt: Muscarella 1980: fig. 5). For a discussion of the vessels on the Persepolis reliefs see P. Calmeyer, "Die Gefässe auf den Gabenbringer-Reliefs in Persepolis," *AMI* 26 (1993): 147–160.

15 It has never been published how the museum acquired the vessel, but it was probably purchased from or donated by a dealer: in its first publication *ILN* July 21, 1956: 107 (anonymous), it is listed among the museum's "recent acquisitions," whose "provenance ...is not exactly (sic) known," but which is "believed" to be Hamadan. A purchased object of this apparent importance in the Teheran Museum is worthy of consideration. If the vessel had been plundered (and was therefore ancient), it would have

been taken out of Iran to be sold in Europe or the United States for a very high price. Obviously, the provenance itself does not indicate a forgery, but is circumstantial evidence in that direction.

16 For the record, the Metropolitan Museum gold lion headed vessel, 54.3.3, was formed from seven raised sheets of gold joined and sealed by a gold hard solder, and 44 rows of fine, hand twisted, apparently non-drawn wire (estimated in 1955 – but not confirmed) to consist of a total of 45 meters in length. Its style doesn't shock and it is probably ancient (Meyers 1988: 13–15, figs. 8–10) – with all the caveats associated with "probably."

17 Note also the other amphora silver vessel – clearly ancient – once in the Pomerance collection (no. 59 in his catalogue). I was told by Pomerance (who was not a liar) that the vessel without the handles was purchased from a dealer who gave Iraq as its source; sometime later he discovered the handles in the possession of another dealer known to specialize in material plundered from Iraq; the handles neatly joined the vessel.

The Pomerance vessel was not mentioned in Amandry 1959b, although other vessels published in 1958b were included. Amandry 1959b is a fine study, but marred by the author's acceptance of dealers' proveniences.

While the majority of the animals forming genuine Achaemenian amphora handles face backwards – those on the reliefs included – some do not; the facing position of the bulls cannot be used as a dating criterion.

18 The authors cite Muscarella 1977b in their list of published references alongside those who accepted the pair as genuine, and not stating that in this publication I called the pair a forgery, and years ago, verbally indicted it and others in the Freer collection to Museum authorities.

19 This method – an unawareness of the distinction between iconographical and formal features, and style – is not unique in art historical studies, In a number of cases Rehm accepts as ancient objects I consider to be forgeries – because they reflect formal attributes: which is precisely what forgers copy; see Muscarella 1995b.

20 The alleged provenience is reported as "indiquée par le vendeur," a surprising and rare identification of exactly who "said" or "purported" an unexcavated object's provenience. Ghirshman used the term "fortuites" to describe events that everyone who thinks knows to be either organized plundering or cover for a forgery. This mis-speaking functions solely to promote and protect the dissimulations of dealers, collectors, and scholar fellow travelers that unexcavated objects are recovered by accident, by simple, innocent peasants digging foundations or tilling their gardens (infra) – the truth behind this lie is given by one who knows much about dissimulation, Hoving 1993.

21 Abka'i-Khavari's text and drawing are clearly identical to the Kevorkian silver vessel, but in his note 99 and Z9 reference on p. 134, he mistakenly lists it as the bronze example in the Eisenberg shop, Decorated Plates No. 1, below. Z8 is the plate illustrated on p. 136 as Z9.

22 Rehm's art historical defense of the antiquity of this vessel deserves repeating: "Die Darstellung und Ausarbreitung des Innenmotives stimmen in allen Punkten mit dem charakteristisch achamenidischen Stil...überein, so dass dieses Objekt eventuell doch als antik anzusehen ist."

23 The same motif of back to back felines is on a bowl listed in the Median section, below, No. 3. Called Median by ambitious scholars, this is clearly the forger's attempt to create an Achaemenian work; his crudeness was rewarded.

24 The article is valuable for it addresses a group of long-suspected material – but it is ultimately unsatisfactory: its focus is limited because it ignores the archaeological core of the problem it discusses.

It misunderstands the position I presented on the limited value of these vessels: "doubts [by me] were cast on the authenticity of these bowls...." (149). Even where my position is correctly quoted (151: 1977b: 180, no. 116: "Inasmuch as not a single example of these types [the Artaxerxes vessels and other examples] has ever been excavated...it is difficult to come down strongly on either side of the forgery-genuine question"), its message is not comprehended (and the new and important information published by P. R. S. Moorey eleven years after my charge is brought forth as a counter claim). Unmentioned is that in the same paragraph I "urged that a special study be made of this material."

Curtis et al. (and Moorey) conducted a special study enabling scholars to conclude that the four Artaxerxes vessels are probably genuine. However, the sense and thrust of the article seem to be unaware of its own accomplishment. The study should have been perceived and presented not solely as a victory against alleged condemnations of the vessels, but as a collaborative response to the basic problem confronting archaeological research: how to relate to unexcavated material unparalleled in excavations.

Why did the British Museum submit to vigorous laboratory examination the ex-Adam silver bowl they purchased? If it were known to be obviously genuine in the first place, the examination would have been unnecessary. Precisely because this was not known, the examination was required. In short, the authors indeed agreed with the abeyant position suggested, but were unaware of the intellectual implications of their testing. The inscription is discussed on pp. 150 f. and judged ancient, but to my knowledge, no scholar has actually refuted Schaeder's charge that it is defective.

25 There is a griffin fore part published in *Ancient Art in American Private Collections* no. 100, bronze, J. Lionberger Davis collection; very little information is given if the object is the forepart of a vessel, or of something else, or indeed if ancient.

26 In his review of Muscarella 1988, in *ZA* 85, 1995: 161, P. Calmeyer raises doubts about the ibex head protome in the Metropolitan Museum, Muscarella 1988, no. 325. It would be arrogant of me to declare it ancient as a fiat, although I did think it so; I suggest accepting it with the understanding that it suffers from the doubt any unexcavated artifact merits.

27 Is *Trésors* no. 641, pl. 53, which in 1977, no. 125 I cited as suspicious, a forgery? I cannot assert either way, but this uncertainty should prevent citing the piece as an Achaemenian bracelet. Kozloff 1981: no. 29, could easily have been made yesterday.

28 The example in the Guennol A. B. Martin collection appears genuine. Two torques in the Shumei collection warrant autopsy before an evaluation can be made.

29 The forger's attempt to create an Achaemenian artifact fails – fails everywhere but in the bazaar. It is possible that the objects were meant to be sold as modern copies of ancient art until the jeweler realized he could increase his profits, and satisfy more customers and scholars by pronouncing them ancient artifacts, no doubt "recently discovered."

Rehm 1992: 194, note 206, rejects my 1977b charge that the ensemble is a modern creation. Knowing only the Louvre example, she sees it as a work of high "Kunstfertigkeit." Were the hyperbole correct, forgers can also be skillful; and skill (correctly interpreted!) is only one component to be considered in determining the ancient or modern origin of a stray (and here triplets!) offered in the bazaar. As a perusal of the present catalogue demonstrates, it is dangerous to underestimate a forger's ability to fool customers and scholars.

30 An important discovery of artifacts from a tomb in Khuzistan published by A. Alizadeh, "A Tomb of the Neo-Elamite Period at Arjan, near Behbahan," *AMI* 18 (1985): 49-73 may be 7th century B.C., as claimed by M. R. Boehmer in *ZA* 79 (1989): 143; also Muscarella 1995b: 63, note 8.

A recent publication, Igor R. Pitschikjan, *Oxus-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel*, Akademie Verlag (1992): 72 ff., also pp. 42 ff., vigorously discounts my conclusions that the recovery of the so-called Oxus treasure housed in the British Museum cannot be treated as an archaeological find/hoard (Muscarella 1980: 26; 1987: 113, note 14), and that there is as yet no indication that Median art is recognized in the archaeological record (Muscarella 1987; 1995b). Several interwoven animadversions are forcefully presented by Pitschikjan: that the "Oxus" artifacts did derive from one site (esp. pp. 80, 95); that he has identified the site; and that stylistic analyses of many scholars irrefutably establish that the well known gold sheath from this find is of Median date.

The author refuses to acknowledge the difference between the certainty of excavated artifacts and the uncertainty of disparate, stray, orphaned objects collected over years and in different market places. The identity of the alleged find spot of the British Museum material conveniently happens to be a temple Pitschikjan himself has excavated, called Takht-i Sangin. Presented as an archaeological reality, the assertion surpasses the evidence and floats unanchored. Pitschikjan is also unaware both of the archaeological/art historical recognition problem for non-canonical Achaemenian period material possibly manufactured in the periphery, and the problem of determining what is a late 7th or an early/mid 6th century work of Iranian art.

It gets worse as may be examined in Pitschikjan's latest publication "Rebirth of the Oxus Treasure....," *Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia* 4/4, 1997: 306-383. Not only does he believe he has excavated the original site of the "Oxus" treasure, he now claims that he has located thousands of more artifacts deriving from this treasure – in Japan, in the Shumei collection. I will not waste time repeating the embarrassing fairy tales he tells us (no doubt originating from a dealer) that allows him to reconstitute a now larger "Oxus treasure" for the first time ever, or repeat his romance that a family searched (we know how!) for over a century before finding what their ancestor had hidden. How the material got to Japan is not important to him.

Pitschikjan, moreover, uses a simple mathematical formula to determine that Median art exists: the majority opinion wins. Inasmuch as five (actually six) important scholars disagree with my isolated opinion, the issue is settled, review is unnecessary, the discussion ends. He acclaims (against much evidence to the contrary) the art historical knowledge and perception ("profund kunsthistorischen Kenntnisse") and "Grosse Mühe" of these scholars who have given us Median art; he contrasts their knowledge against my "vollkommen unhaltbare" views; he even advises me to abandon my arguments and listen to theirs (see pp. 78, 79, note 61, 95, note 70; in this last note the author distinguishes himself by "Fehlerhaftigkeit," claiming I got the (alleged) date of the Oxus "find" wrong – but see page 26 of my 1980 paper). Again I repeat that there is no evidence that a unified, single Oxus find occurred. Nor need one necessarily accept any object that scholars place in the find as having an immediate pre-Achaemenian date of manufacture. The "Oxus" sheath cannot be teased out of its probable Achaemenian date, or asserted to be Median by personal desire or limited and selective art

historical analysis, or by ad hominem comments. Genito 1986 (not mentioned by Pitschikjan) also discusses the lack of recognizable Median art. In a recent article P. Bernard, "Le Temple du Dieu Oxus a Takht-i Sangin....," *Studia Iranica* 23 (1994): 81–112, argues (pp. 101 ff.) against Pitschikjan's temple having been the Treasure locus, but substitutes another, nearby, temple in its stead. He thus accepts the unity of the Oxus find, and merely shifts the find spot (especially 103, 106). And H. Koch in *AMI* 26 (1993): 175, tends to concur with Pitschikjan's Oxus Treasure conclusions.

31 A group of scholars vetted this vessel in 1955 on behalf of the Cincinnati Art Museum. A truly great Near Eastern archaeologist said that he liked the cup but was initially concerned about the uniqueness of the handles. But then this anomaly indicated to him its genuine nature, for he could not conceive that a forger could create something so unique, as they copy familiar motifs (he was probably influenced by Pope 1939: 188 who proclaimed the False Canon that Iranian forgers always work from models, thus if no model is found, the dealer's object is ancient). Two other scholars, one a Near Eastern archaeologist, the other an art historian, believed that there could be no doubt about the vessel's authenticity; a classical archaeologist also concluded it was authentic. The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, June 24, 1956, p. 38, with a headline "Rated Authentic By Experts," reported that the scholars thought the vessel was one of the two "finest pieces of ancient Persian gold now known. This superb cup...is said [like a good scholar, the reporter did not ask, by whom?] to have been found at Hamadan...."

32 Kantor cited six vessels as later parallels of the earlier excavated form: not one of these was excavated, and of these, the two mentioned in my text, and another, Achaemenian Amphorae with Animal Handles, No. 4 above, are forgeries. Excavated material, including the Persepolis reliefs, were ignored in favor of the unexcavated.

33 At least two other scholars have cited the head as ancient, as Achaemenian, not Median: (C. Nylander, *Ionians at Pasargadae*, 121, note 315; D. Stronach in *JourAsiatique* 1972: 246, note 16. Aside from M. C. Root, (noted in my 1987, note 60), H. Luschey in *Kunst, Kultur u. Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit u. ihr Fortleben*, ed. H. Koch et al., 193:194, note 11, recognized the head to be a modern creation. The head was not published by Amiet 1980.

The studies of this head, along with those on Zurvan, below, should be mandatory reading for students – as examples of exactly what is wrong with the discipline and those who claim the right to instruct.

34 See Muscarella 1977a for background. It is argued that the scholarly community does not know what was or was not plundered (whether at one time or over a period of time, as dealers have claimed) from a bona fide site near the village of Ziwiye (197 ff.), or from the site of Qaplantu (210 f.).

35 Goldman 1989 is a transparent defense of his and other scholars' previous publications (viz. his 1974–77 paper that appeared close in time to my 1977a paper) of finds "from Ziwiye," and to defend to the end the right to say anything one wishes in archaeological discourse. To accomplish this, he writes as if no challenge to the alleged Ziwiye provenience exists, and he continues to know what comprised "the original cache." In one sentence (11) the word forgeries is mentioned (the first time the F word was ever used by the author in his writings), but he cites no examples, or says anything about his and other scholars' acceptance of forgeries as ancient artifacts from Ziwiye. Although he avoids Muscarella 1977a in these discussions (it is listed in the bibliography), he obliquely refers to an unnamed work as "an animadversion" and "needless asperity" (3, 5) – but he is not reluctant to present as if original certain conclusions first articulated in my paper, ideas that never in any form appeared in his earlier writings.

In Rehm 1992 we again have a conflating of the excavated and unexcavated, the genuine and the forgeries, all accorded without distinction the same egalitarian cultural value, all accepted as members of one homogeneous, extended archaeological family (see Muscarella 1995b). Mazzoni (1977) also accepts Ziwiye as a find spot for many objects – rejecting an incipient awareness of problems associated with dealer's proveniences (151, 195, 197). She too publishes as genuine Ziwiye objects a number indicted here: Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 17-21, 23 (pp. 82, 141, 197, 258, 259, see Tav. XXVIII, L 3, XXIX, N 1, XXX, L 7, XXXI-XXXII, L 4, 5, 8).

Hrouda 1983 cites the 1977a paper in footnotes but implicitly rejects the issues it raises; he accepts a Ziwiye provenience and discusses objects as problems of chronology.

For R. Ghirshman's *Tombe princiére de Ziwiyé*" (Paris, 1979), see the reviews of W. Nagel in *Gnomon* 53 (1981): 91 ff.; P.R.S. Moorey in *JNES* 41 (1982) 308 ff.; and M. van Loon in *BibOr* XLII, 1/2 (1985): 200 ff.; also Muscarella 1988a: 349, note 2.

36 A.U. Pope, also "knew" what derived from Iran, and at specific sites (see also note 38 below). He could assert without evidence that an inscribed vessel he published in *ILN* October 29, 1932: 667, fig. 7 "was found in Luristan...." To thwart wrongheaded opinions, he vigorously denied the possibility of an origin in Iraq, citing customs controls and market places. All of this is inaccurate and self serving. Two years later Legrain (8, 19, no. 61) wrote that Pope told him "your bowl came from Piravend...," (which is not in Luristan – as Pope knew: *ILN* 10/22/32: 613); also (3) that Pope sold the bowl in 1930.

This was two years before Pope published it in the *ILN*: where neither his role as the vendor nor the Philadelphia provenance was mentioned (nor did Legrain mention the *ILN* publication). Such is the methodology of an owner-dealer concerning antiquities he sells (see note 38).

As late as 1995 scholars still cannot give up Luristan/Iran as an archaeological provenience for all the disparate inscribed material attributed there by dealers (Curtis: 15, and Calmeyer: 36, both in Curtis 1995). They admit all were "illegally excavated" (an oxymoron), and that they do not know the site proveniences – but they do "know" the sites are in western Iran. Not perceived here is that they could have been plundered in Iraq, or in Elam, where Mesopotamian material has been excavated. (Why do scholars insist we believe that they know the source of the inscribed bronzes?).

The archaeological literature overflows with forgeries of proveniences; I give just three examples. With a straight face P. Amiet in *La Revue du Louvre* XXIII: 222 f., shares his discovery of an artifact that reached Luristan by sea – he knows it was not by land – from India in the Akkadian period: the evidence is a purchased seal (Foroughi; it probably reached an Iran bazaar by a truck). E. Gubel (*Berytus* XXXI, 1983: 151 ff., informs us that a Luristan axe was brought to Phoenicia by Tiglath-Pileser I. And for information about a Sumerian caravan entering Luristan, the evidence purchased in Switzerland, see Muscarella 1988a: 120, note 6–right side (and idem 1995a for another gem).

37 In 1977b: 171, note 73 I reported that few excavated decorated sheet metal objects and disc pins were known. More have since been published from Surkh Dum: Muscarella 1981: nos. 1–4; Schmidt et al. 1989: pls. 193–214. Although some examples of the Zurvan group have been assigned to Surkh Dum, not a single excavated representation relates to the Zurvan iconography; on Surkh Dum as the designated find spot of a number of forgeries recorded here see, viz. Ghirshman 1964a: 52; Shepherd 1966:42 who knew that "there can be little doubt that" the Cleveland disc pin (Related Zurvan No. 1, below) came from Surkh Dum. This bald, arrogant, but not unique, claim explicitly defines one of the chief problems I address in this work.

38 She did not reveal how she knew that the plaque came from Luristan: nor did she reveal that she and her husband A.U. Pope owned the plaque (they sold it to the Cincinnati Museum in 1957). And she did not reveal that in 1954 and 1955 Pope had attempted to sell it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art as an artifact from Surkh Dum, citing his wife's 1955 publication as an enticement. In 1957 Ackerman published the piece again, appropriately in the Cincinnati Museum's *Bulletin* (1957: 4, fig. 4); her ownership of the piece was not mentioned (see above note 36).

Pope also sold the extraordinary bronze quiver to the Metropolitan Museum in 1941 (Muscarella 1988a: 192 ff.), which was the model for a number of forgeries – including the silver plaque Pope sold to Cincinnati (below; in Pope's ostensible clarification of forgery articles the use of models to create forgeries is noted: 1939: 188 f., 1968: A/8). Before selling it, Pope-Ackerman published the quiver in the *ILN* (March 1, 1941: 293, fig. 8; see Muscarella 1988: 201 for the publication history). It was in fact in their possession since 1939, when they wrote to a United States museum, recommending its purchase. Ackerman in 1940: 115, P, claimed the quiver belonged to Rabenou: who then was the owner in 1939? Did Pope-Ackerman purchase it from Rabenou in 1941 or were they partners from the beginning?

Pope neatly manipulated the *ILN* – for in reality the quiver (and other objects he owned) was being advertised for sale. Here and elsewhere he successfully turned the *ILN* into a sales catalogue, an antiquity dealers' laundry (see also Muscarella 1980: 34, note 23). Functioning in the guise of a disinterested scholar/archaeologist, he (sometimes co-written with his wife) camouflaged his primary function as an antiquity dealer: in *ILN* Sept. 13, 1930: 444, Pope is listed as "Adviser in Art to the Persian Government, and Director of the International Exhibition of Persian Art (also September 6, 1930: 444); in May 6, 1939: 790, Pope is identified as known "for his discoveries of ancient Iranian bronzes;" in March 1, 1941: 292, he is listed as Director of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, and refers to his "good archaeological material;" here also the ILN editor juxtaposes comments on the Institute's excavations at Surkh Dum with the objects Pope is presenting.

Explicit admission that Pope-Ackerman owned antiquities – but not that they were advertising them for sale – exists in their allegedly scholarly publications: see the Ackerman-Pope credits in *SPA* I: figs. 38, 65, 71, and *SPA* IV, pls. 10, 33, 41, 59, 60, 62, 74, 111, 124, 192, 255, 256. They accomplished the same in the exhibitions they sponsored: see the listing in Ackerman 1940, especially page I, opposite 562; also the *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*, London 1931: pp. 2, 3, 8, 12, 16, 17 (note that other artifacts illustrated in these works were sold by them: also see *ILN* Sept. 6, 1931: 388 ff.). Legrain 1943: 3 reports that Pope sold antiquities to the University Museum; see also Muscarella 1979: 5 f., no. 1; note 36 above, and the Stead letter, below.

Relevant here is that in 1968: A/4 f., Pope cited his wife, not identified as such (but as "Dr. Ackerman"), as an objective authority on forgery matters. As I noted in 1979: 5 f., Pope's 1935 and 1968 "forgery" articles must be evaluated for what they are, dissimulations by a dealer. (Pope surely wrote the 1968 paper to dismiss those who recognized that the Andarz Nama manuscript he sold

was a forgery). In many personal and sales letters and in all scholarly papers, Pope referred to "Dr." Ackerman – never acknowledging a relationship; and he allowed others to address him as "Dr." Pope, although he never earned a Ph.D. degree: another example of dissimulation (whether or not he and Ackerman were officially married is irrelevant: they considered themselves man and wife).

In a letter to me (1982) Rexford Stead (who was collaborating on a biography of Pope but died before finishing it) wrote:"Personal knowledge has me reasonably confident that he [Pope] made direct sales (or may have made commissions on sales by dealers) to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Cincinnati Art Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg, and others." See Introduction, note 2; also my forthcoming Festschrift article for Ezat Negahban.

39 See the references in Muscarella 1977b: 171, nos. 1–8, and note 73; 1979: 3, nos. 2–5. I will mention a few more, which do not exhaust the list: for No. 1 see J. Börker-Klähn in RLA 1957–1971, "Granatapfel": 622, who confusingly informs us on the one hand that Zurvan No. 1 depicts Zurvan bestowing life on the twins Ahriman and Ahuramazda, and on the other that "Die Echtheit der Platte ist bestreitbar" (we must assume from its inclusion in her report that she does not doubt its antiquity); Lukonin 1986: 16 sees the scene as "Zurvan und die 'Zwillinge' mit anbetenden Magiern;" see also Genito 1986: 24 f., fig. 5.

Several other references to the Ghirshman-designated Zurvan group sadly reveal how these forgeries have been insinuated into religious history. Brentjes 1967: 46, Taf. 26, notes that No. 1 "bringt eine für die spätere iranische Religionsgeschichte wesentliche Szene." Rempis (1972: 323) used the Zurvan group and Ghirshman's conclusions as evidence for the early chronology of Zoroastrianism; and Hinnels (1985: 71 ff.) illustrated Nos. 1 and 3 below in his essay on Zurvanism. The implication achieved is that if this heresy – or alternate theology – is documented for the early first millennium B.C., orthodox Zoroastrianism can chronologically be situated – to Ghirshman (1964a: 52) Zurvanism existed earlier. See also another religious interpretation based on forged iconography, Decorated Nipple Beakers, No. 1, below.

In 1995 I read a paper written for a Columbia University seminar by Karen Rubinson in 1969 suggesting that the Zurvan group (five examples known to her) were modern works.

40 A small group of sheet metal objects have depictions of a figure astride a bull, cow, or horse: none are ancient artifacts. The forgers copied one from the other: for examples see Zurvan No. 2, Disc Pins No. 8, Tondoi No. 3 and 4.

41 I have omitted from the present list items that I considered to be suspicious in 1977b, nos. 19, 20, 22, and 25; see also Muscarella 1981: 335, note 54; ibid., 1988a: 125, notes 2, 3: simply because I find them confusing (as the referenced works will demonstrate) and not possible to control – but maybe it doesn't matter anymore: the real issue is how archaeology employs unexcavated material. Also note that Moorey 1981: 76 ff., refers to a number of pins in Los Angeles whose authenticity he doubts – but which he never illustrates; a number of these have been recognized by me and are recorded. There seem to be many forgeries of disc pins in Los Angeles.

I am still puzzled by a disc that I challenged in 1977b: no. 24 (from *Ancient Art in American Private Collections* no. 97, pl. XXVII; *Muscarella 1977b: no. 24), a bovine-headed creature with breasts uses a dagger to slay a reclining feline while holding its tongue. The disc is attributed to "Suk (sic) Dum," which is arbitrary: could the scene actually belong to another culture? Or is the scene a clever forger's creation?

Another illustration is in *BibOr* 1993, 1/2: 240, where M. van Loon has doubts about MMA 39.96.4 (Muscarella 1988a: no. 312). A disc pin depicts two rampant animals and a head. Reexamination of this fragile pin, especially in context with an excavated example from Surkh Dum recently published (Schmidt et al. 1989: pl. 213), leaves me with ambivalent feelings.

42 But what do we conclude about *Trésors* Cat. 44, fig. 30, or Calmeyer 1973: fig. 142 (now see Nouveau Drouot September 26, 1980, no. 207), which I doubted in 1977c: 79? Both examples have a stylized bucranium, and the former piece looks viable; as does Godard 1962: pls. 21 (whether a tondo or not), and 23.

43 In different contexts a mirror image of two griffins facing across something other than the tree is possible: e. g. the heraldic figures in Collon 1987: no. 866; also at the gate at Sakçagözü in North Syria, one facing figure holds the "sponge" in its left, the other in its right hand (Orthmann 1971: 531, Plan 8, Taf. 49, 50, A/2, A/10). The same right hand ideology obtains in Urartu, and on many examples. Note that published mirror images of wall paintings at Altintepe and Erebuni are modern reconstructions: see for example, Merhav 1991: 309, fig. 5, and compare this to ibid. 220, no.22. See also P. Albenda, "Symmetry in the Art of the Assyrian Empire," in *La circulation des biens...* XXXVIIIe RAI, Paris 1992: 300; and fig. 3, an Assyrian relief depicting two genii in mirror image above two fertilizing griffins in rotational positions: documenting the right hand ideology for the latter.

44 This vessel is mentioned in Muscarella 1977b: 158, note 22 – my notes show the dealer bought the vessel for $ 80.00, not $ 60.00 as noted there.

45 An Egyptian blue nipple beaker from 9th century Hasanlu (*BMMA* 25, 3, 1966: 133, fig. 30), while without a narrative scene, has a guilloche and tongue design like those on the beakers. Also excavated at Hasanlu are two classic bronze nipple beakers (70–571, 70–572), one with a visible guilloche at its rim, and both with tongue and rosette at the base. The bodies were very corroded and there was disagreement among the staff whether or not figurative decoration existed (Muscarella 1974b: 243). A request that the vessels be x-rayed and cleaned in Teheran is yet to be accomplished.

46 Among the unexcavated examples, one finds nipple beakers with guilloche and tongue patterns at rim and base, and a base rosette – but a plain body, viz. Calmeyer 1973: 83, O 1, O 2, O 3, O 4; see also 175, Abb. 130; Moorey 1971: no. 515, fig. 23; Amiet 1976: no. 84: these examples indicate that "blanks" were available for modern embellishment.

46 In 1977b: 169, note 68 I quoted and supported Potratz's views against those of Calmeyer 1969: 139, on the problem of recognizing forgeries, a position I still hold. I repeat Potratz' words (minus the typographical errors in the 1977b citation), a necessity that sadly signifies little has changed in over 30 years, a generation of recent scholarship: 1963: 131 – "Ein besonderes Kapitel bilden in der Luristankunst die Fälschungen, und es ist viel zu wenig bekannt, in wie grosser Zahl es sie gibt. Der Hang zur bildnerischen Hybris bei den altluristanischen Bronzegiessern hat die neuzeitlichen Fälschern das Geschäft erleichtert, weil man praktisch jede Deformation unter den Luristanbronzen zu erwarten geneigt ist." Also p. 145: "Wie bei allen anderen kunstgeschichtlichen Sparten besteht auch bei Sammlern der Luristania der begreifliche Ehrgeiz, möglichst Nova oder Rara zu ergattern, um – wie man meint – die eigne Sammlung über den Durchschnitt herauszuheben. Das schafft dann die Anfälligkeit für Falsifikate, denn wie vermöchte der einzelne ohne exakte Informationsmöglichkeit zu entscheiden, ob es sich bei einem Stück um eine kostbare Singularität oder nur um eine phantasievolle Fälschung handelt."

47 In "Fibulae and Chronology, Marlik and Assur," *JFA* 11, 1984: 413-419, I published a fibula from Tomb 36 that had just been revealed in Negahban 1983: 90. It was demonstrated that this single artifact expanded the chronological range of the Marlik culture considerably, extending it into the late 8th (earliest)-7th centuries B.C. I did not then know of the two horse pieces from Tomb 53 – a still unknown and unpublished tomb – but note now that their presence dynamically reinforces the fact of a late chronology for some of the Marlik tombs–and the culture that deposited them.

48 In *AfO* XXV (1974–77): 143 ff., figs. 1–8, B. S. Schlossman publishes both beakers discussed here. She argues (143) that they are "from the same ancient Near Eastern workshop" and that (160) they were made (because of the dealers' claims) in a border Iranian region (between Mesopotamia and Luristan) around 1850 B.C., under the influence of Babylonian, Anatolian, Iranian, and Syrian workshops and iconography: is this true?

49 The problem began with Vanden Berghe's (1964: 1) misguided acceptance that the collection was indeed unique – because they had "été achetés sur place" at Khurvin. But Vanden Berghe gives no evidence: who purchased the material at Khurvin – a dealer, the Malekis? And how does he know this to be true? Vanden Berghe noted that dealers claim Khurvin as the source of material he knows derived from other sites – but he drew no similar conclusions about the Maleki collection.

In fact, only a few plain bronzes were excavated in the 14 graves opened by Vanden Berghe: four plain bracelets, eight simple pins, two needles, one plain band ring, two loop earrings, one dagger, and one arrow head; it is instructive to compare this simple collection with the material claimed for the site by scholars.

50 Offered for sale in 1973 (ex-Ephron, Hartman Auction Studios, Inc. December 5-8, no. 393), a "Parthian" helmet with separately applied units that suggest they are foundations, bitumen or otherwise, for the same figures and bird ornamenting a helmet in the Metropolitan Museum (Muscarella 1988a: 323 ff.). The helmet was made in the same manner as the roundels and probably also derived from Elam. The Ephron helmet is either a complete forgery or a very poorly tampered-with original helmet (?).

51 In his review of *Bronze and Iron* (1988a) in *BibOr* 1/2, 1993: 240-247, M. Van Loon creates a list of things I am supposed to have said or not said, and confronts or disagrees with these straw facts (such as – p. 240 – that "Forgeries play a less important part in this book than in Muscarella's previous writings." – but only to someone who has not read "this book"). Here is a relevant example: on p. 241 I am chided for my "tentative acceptance" of the Dorak find. This interpretation distorts the intention of my commentary there on Dorak (397 f., note 5), which says at the beginning "Without challenging Mellaart's original published claims [in *ILN*] and accepting – *with the proverbial caveat, for the sake of argument* [added emphasis] that he saw the objects drawn...." Then follows what is mentioned in the text here, an archaeological critique of the alleged find.

52 An unfortunate discussion and complete acceptance of the alleged finds and reconstructions is the review of *The Goddess from Anatolia* in *The Review of Archaeology*, Fall 1990: 1–5 by Marija Gimbutas. Gimbutas accepts everything presented regarding the finds ("rescued" paintings), reconstructions,

continuity of neolithic religious motifs, etc. as "treasures for the religious historian." See Lamberg-Karlovsky's comments in *The Review of Archaeology* Spring 1992: 38 f.

53 If the conclusions reached here concerning the published "finds" from Hacilar, Dorak, Çatal Hüyük (and Beldibi below) are correct, that they do not exist in the real world, then the appropriate word to describe the events is salting, the salting of forgeries. For discussion of salting a site see de Pradenne 1932: 459, 481 f., 590; and also pp. 588 ff., 591 f., 603 f., 619 f., on salting forgeries; Unger 1957: 6; Reith 1970, 62, 82 ff., passim; Moorey 1971: 143; Calmeyer 1969: 145 f. B. Parker in *Iraq* XI, 1949, no. 132, mentions a seal from Megiddo "Strat. E," but then challenges its authenticity – without recording if she believes it was salted at the site. For an example of an accusation that an archaeologist salted his own site with forgeries to arrive at important historical conclusions about the early history of American Indians, see the case of "The Mystery of Sandia Cave," by Douglas Preston in *The New Yorker*, June 12, 1995: 66–83. This article together with the Çatal Hüyük literature should be read by students and others concerned about archaeology and the nature of its methodologies – and its weaknesses. (I note but am not able to discuss the complex, terrifying, problem concerning the charges of salting brought against H. Schliemann in much recent literature – see for recent discussion and full bibliography D. Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, New York, 1995).

54 I give but a few examples of Fundkomplex assemblages created from dealers' inventories, and which forgeries of provenience are utilized to produce archaeological knowledge. Each is a wonderful, canonical example to be included in that continuously being written text, *The Handbook of Bazaar Archaeology*:

In his article "Ein datierter Silberfund aus Urartu," *Anadolu* XIX, 1980: 57 ff.., J.-H. Kellner excitedly reveled that he uncovered in the bazaar of Munich the "frühesten, datierten Fundkomplex aus Urartu" (65), consisting of ten silver vessels. Several were inscribed with the royal Urartian names Ishpuini and Menua, and also Inushpa, Ishpuini's grandson. There was no doubt allowed by Kellner but that all came from one hoard, most probably from the tomb of Inushpa, located at Liç, near Patnos, where plundering has occurred. Moreover, he concluded that other objects, these bronze (66), also being sold in Munich must also have derived from this very tomb (like a good cautious archaeologist Kellner does allow that the Fundort could have been a temple or dedicatory hoard, p. 67). This Munich-bazaar tomb secondarily excavated by a museum curator now has been given an historical life of its own: for, one of the foremost Urartian scholars, M. Salvini, in his important book, *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer* (158), uses the same words as Kellner to present the same conclusions about Inushpa's tomb Fundkomplex in Munich, and its alleged original Fundort.

Kellner (1980: 206) also heard of a *Sammelfund* of Urartian helmets and – again – published this information as if it were a site report. Knowing precisely what constituted this find from one site in Urartu, he is in the enviable position of being able to inform us just what stray Munich helmets are Urartian, precisely because they were from this one hoard from Urartu (210, 211).

Gropp (1981: 97 ff.) reports Kellner's fiat that a large group (72 objects) he purchased ("nicht teuer") derives in fact from "ein geschlossener Fundkomplex." This observation from the foremost authority on hoards plundered in Turkey is presented as the archaeological evidence we are commanded to accept. The author then proceeds with his study of the finds from one hoard, which allows certain apparent problems to be easily eliminated. To explain the presence of vessels and belt fragments in this otherwise unified complex of horse/chariot fittings, Gropp archaeologically interprets the Munich objects as probably deriving not from a tomb, but deposited across time in a Depotfund in a temple or palace. Realizing that a pair of horsebits (106; pl. 11 b) do not seem to belong to such a hoard, he concludes that it must either have been an ancient replacement, or have been introduced by the dealer. That this last possibility is a non sequitur to his Fundkomplex claim, that it obviates it, is not an issue for this scholar – but it is for us.

Maass (1987) also knows that a disparate group of bronzes on loan to the Karlsruhe museum is a collection from one find. This leads him to wonder how an Assyrian decoration (to his eyes, see below No. 19) can appear on an Urartian helmet in this closed Urartian group (67). He makes it all clear: the decoration was made by an Assyrian, and came to be in an Urartian find as the result of a gift or booty, or from the possession of a turncoat (!).

All this nonsense flourishes (and is allowed to be published) because its proponents know nothing about archaeology or about the market place they cultivate. They all earnestly expect us to believe that the plunderers who tear up a site with bulldozers or dynamite a tomb scrupulously maintain an archaeological professionalism that keeps all closed hoards together. We the readers are expected not to be aware of the niceties of plundering, about local partnerships, contracts and feuds about division of the plunder, different methods, personnel and routes employed to smuggle the material out of Turkey, different market strategies, etc. (Numismatists also love to publish and defend the integrity of a "hoard" from site X in western Turkey, which information was obtained in the antiquities shop of a Swiss, London, Paris, etc. dealer).

55 There is yet another problem before us: is this helmet form Assyrian or Urartian? Kellner (1980: 212) said it was without doubt Urartian. Maass (1991: 68) and Calmeyer (in Merhav 1991: 123) inform us that the form was used both by Urartians and Assyrians – because of the alleged Assyrian iconography on the present helmet, and the existence of a plain example in Mainz that allegedly has an inscription of Ishpuini (Vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1983: no. 24). Dezsö and Curtis 1991 (114 ff.) take the same position citing and treating as one phenomenon hitherto unpublished excavated helmets from Nimrud and examples that do not derive from "a properly controlled archaeological excavation" (a museum-speak circumlocution to describe a plundering activity). But the question arises: why would the Assyrians and Urartians wear to battle the same helmet form? I do not think that was the case and suggest the form is probably Assyrian. The only excavated examples are known from Assyria.

None of those who publish the Ishpuini inscription inform us where it is placed on the helmet, who read it, and whether anyone has attempted to determine if it was inscribed in antiquity. Let us also recall, that not a single example of this helmet form appears in any ancient representation (Dezsó and Curtis treat the form as if it were but one example of a crested helmet and attempt to give us parallels, all of which are too general and none of which satisfies).

56 Nor were Urartian bronzes discovered in tombs in the south Caspian area as Ghirshman (in *Artibus Asiae* 27, 1964–65: 49–60) wants us to believe – found there, he again *knows*, "fortuitement par les paysans." He also knows that they were probably pillaged from an Urartian site–at different times and brought back to the Caspian (49, 57 f., 60); Merhav 1991: 65 followed Ghirshman loyally. Ghirshman was taken to task on this forgery of a provenience by G. Gropp in *IranAntiq* XVI, 1981: 95, n. 1: but see note 54 above.

In 1990 I was shown in a Van jewelry shop a characteristic Hasanlu bronze lion pin (see Muscarella 1988a: 42 ff.). I was enthusiastically informed that it came from an Urartian tomb to the north. I suggest that this pin came from across the Zagros to be sold – Hasanlu is close to the Kili-Shin pass. Local inhabitants in Anatolia, Iran, and Iraq have been crossing the Zagros in this area for thousands of years, as anyone working in western Iran and eastern Turkey knows.

Note that the Ankara and Van museums have Giyimli-like plaques with labels claiming they came from Agri, north of Van.

After I wrote what appears in the text about Iranian material coming into Turkey from Iran, I was informed by a Turkish colleague that years ago Turkish police intercepted an Iranian accompanied by donkeys laden with bags of antiquities, crossing the Zagros into Turkey. The antiquities were taken to the Van Museum, from where most were returned to Iran. My colleague believed that among the material were forgeries.

57 Just to mention a few examples: a standing male ED form *Beter* figure without legs once (still?) in the Borowski (*not* the LABM in Jerusalem), holding a vessel. Someone knowledgeable told me it was a forgery; I myself do not know. A smooth, austere ED form, with contemplative face and kissing hands, Christies sales catalogue, April 28, 1964, no. 3; later offered for sale at Drouot Richlieu, May 4, 1990. My instincts challenge it, but that is not sufficient.

Also, what does one do with a number of dark stone heads in the Louvre, viz. A. Parrot, *Syria* XXIV, 1957: pl. XVI, a head of a "jeune homme," precisely stated, but how young?

Is the female statuette in Munich ancient (A. Spycket et al., *Eine Frühdynastiche Frauen-Statuette in der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München*, Munich 1990)? I am not sure but I tend to doubt it: the carving and proportions of her hair, face and garment – especially the rear knot and the fleece pattern – leave one not fully satisfied, despite the alleged excavated parallels cited; in fact, good parallels (other than formal) are missing. The authors are especially concerned to counter any threat of forgery – does this indicate some doubts?

58 There is another fragmented "weight" in the Rosen collection that bothers me – but I remain uncertain: a bird of prey and snakes motif on one side, bisons and hut design on the other. This weight was accompanied with a letter signed by a scholar who authenticates anything placed before him.

59 If the Metropolitan Museum's Gudea is a forgery, the sculptor was one of the most accomplished forgers I have encountered. This piece should get continuous attention, but I do not see any evidence that it is a forgery.

60 In 1989, note 14 van den Boorn wrote that Strommenger 1960: 83, note 517 also suggested the Susa booty story; she did not. He does note (187) that in its publication by F. M. Th. Böhl, "Zwei sumerische Neuerwerbungen...," *OudhMeded* X, 1929: 89 ff., figs. 14–16, the statue was attributed to Telloh, but he neglects to explain why he elected the Eshnunna-Susa provenience. I don't think it worth while to go beyond noting here that the stone "ED" like head published by Böhl in the same article may or may not be ancient – although I am not positive about it.

There is a hidden gem in this article, one that illuminates for us life within the culture under review in this study. On pages 185–187 van den Boorn records the layered history of the statues' life in the bazaar and the sales activities of a dealer, E. S. David (who made up proveniences continuously). We

are educated about the use of false names and faked sales, information that sheds some light on lies told by sellers of antiquities – in this case, supplied with still another lie (not an inappropriate or rude word in the context), that the statue originally derived from Eshnunna, but was found in Susa (query: are dealers' lies in any sense worse than scholarly ones?).

61 Someone should undertake an investigation of the actual salting of objects into sites being excavated, which Unger 1957–71: 6 discussed. He is aware that the *bakshish* system led to workers turning in objects they themselves had manufactured, giving examples from Nippur, Babylon, and Tello.

62 I was puzzled by the armed prostrated figure that the authors inform us is "ein bewaffneter assyrischer Offizier, und nicht ein entwaffneter Besiegter, vor dem König..," and which figure they correctly recognize to be peculiar (47). Thanks to Megan Cifarelli I was able to find Strommenger 1962: pl. 204, which depicts a helmeted (generic Assyrian form) but unarmed figure prostrated before Ashurnasirpal II; he may be an Assyrian or a non-Assyrian. Pauline Albenda turned up for me R. D. Barnett, *The Sculpture of Tiglath-Pileser III* (London, 1962): 135, a scene depicting an armed (a sword) apparently non-Assyrian (note his helmet) figure prostrated before the king. This still leaves unparalleled the present example of an armed figure, dressed and helmeted like an Assyrian, prostrated before the king.

63 I attempted in 1995c to give a corpus of all excavated and unexcavated examples of this category of artifact. P. Albenda reminded me that I missed one excavated example, from Khorsabad, decorated with sphinxes and human figures: P. Albenda, *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria*, Paris, 1986: pl. 152.

64 The literature is large and varied, see my "The Third Lion Bowl from Hasanlu," *Expedition* 10, 2, 1974: 25–30; idem, *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran* University Museum, 1980: 192 f.; R. Merhav in the *IEJ* 1980: 91–106; Francesca Tesei and I are preparing a monograph on these bowls.

65 For the list of forgeries in Seeden 1980 see Muscarella 1988a: 361, note 4 – but omit the references to her 102–105, substitute 101, plus three copied pairs, and 103 and 103A.

66 Note that in Hackens and Winkes 1983: 220 G. Demortier rejects the idea that the presence of cadmium signifies a modern addition. This position repeats what he has often said in several previous publications. But note the unfortunate fact that he never demonstrates that he examined bona fide ancient gold – i.e. excavated examples: rather he has examined what he innocently calls "gold jewelry *presented as antique*" (emphasis added); and in *Archaeometry*, 29,2, 1987: 277 he tells us that he is analyzing objects "présumés non modernes," and which derive from dealers, collectors, and museums (none was checked for its excavation background). In *Archaeometry* 34, 2, 1992: 305 he informs us that he has analyzed material selected by archaeologists – who are unnamed, and the alleged archaeological material he tested, unknown. He repeats that the material is "expected to be genuine" but not why this is so. This evidence indicates that Demortier has not worked with excavated artifacts – recognized (but expressed too obliquely) by N. D. Meeks and P. T. Craddock in their response at the back of the 1992 paper (p. 309; see also their paper in *Archaeometry* 33, 1, 1991: 95–107). The message here is loud and clear: scientists can behave exactly like other scholars, not knowing one datum from the other.

67 I wonder whether anyone would defend as ancient the gold dish illustrated in L. von Matt, *Ancient Crete*, N.Y. 1968, no. 171, top? And the gold strip, no. 171, below?

68 The Kevorkian examples (along with other modern artifacts) have recently been sold as modern (i.e. revealed to be modern by the Kevorkian trustees): see *Sotheby's* November 24, 1986: nos. 295–297; May 29, 1987: no. 322; November 24–25, 1987: nos. 402–405; June 15, 1988: nos. 419–422; December 2, 1988: nos. 451, 455, 456).

69 Cohon also fails to mention an important ingredient in the matter at hand, the self-centered innocence of curators and collectors who lament that they were "set up." Indeed, but they do not reveal the whole picture, that *they* thought they were setting up the Iranian government and world history by purchasing material they believed to be plundered, stolen, and smuggled art.

70 One of the objects I illustrate (see also the Sloan catalogue, no. 1985) is a poor copy of the Metropolitan Museum's well-known silver bust of a Sasanian king (65.126; P. O. Harper, *BMMA*, November 1966: 136–151). I have no opinion about the age of the Metropolitan's head; to a non-specialist it "looks good". But for the record, I know of four scholars knowledgeable in Sasanian art who believe it is a forgery: they cite the hair curls and mustache, the lack of a rear diadem tie, the crown, and general style; there is also a stare (but subtle to me). Maybe it is about time that a disinterested laboratory examination be accomplished.

For other forgeries of Sasanian forms that are ex-Chrysler Art Museum, see the Sloan catalogue mentioned above, nos. 1968–1972, 1974, 1975, 1980, 1984, 1985a.

One also trusts that the Israel Museum will not accept the terribly obvious forgery of a Sasanian dish promised to it as a gift: *Promised Gifts*, Israel Museum Catalog no. 260, Spring 1985, collection of Sara and Yaacov Salomon.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Catalogue and Special Studies Abbreviations

A Decade of Collecting	*A Decade of Collecting*, Los Angeles County Art Museum, Los Angeles, 1975
Abegg Stiftung	*Abegg Stiftung Bern in Riggisberg*, Bern, 1968
Ancient Art	*Ancient Art in American Private Collections*, Fogg Art Museum, 1954
Ancient Bronzes	*Ancient Bronzes: A Selection from the Hackett Collection*, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, 1964
Bronzes de la Perse	Bach collection
Bronzes iraniens	*Bronzes iraniens Collection J. Paul Barbier*, Geneva, 1970
Das Tier	*Das Tier in der Kunst Irans*, Stuttgart, 1972
Fakes and Forgeries	*Fakes and Forgeries from Collections in Israel*, Tel Aviv, 1989
Fundort unbekannt	*Raubgrabungen zerstören das archäologische Erbe: Eine Dokmentation*, Munich 1993
From the Lands of the Bible	*From the Lands of the Bible Art: and Artifacts*, New York, 1968
Handbook Nelson Gallery	*Handbook Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum*, Kansas City, 1973
Kunstschätze	*Kunstschätze aus Iran*, Kunsthaus, Zürich, 1962
l'Art iranien	*l'Art iranien dans les Collections Belges*, Brussels, 1971
Man Came This Way	*Man Came This Way: Objects from the Phil Berg Collection*, Los Angeles County Art Museum, 1971
Marseilles	*Musée Borély Marseilles Arts de l'ancien Iran*, Marseilles, 1975
Sept Milles	*Sept Milles Ans d'Art en Iran*, Petit Palais, Paris, 1961–62
7000 Years	*7000 Years of Iranian Art*, Smithsonian Institute, 1964–65
Shumei Family Collection	*Ancient Art from the Shumei Family Collection*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996
The Art of the Achaemenians	*The Art of the Achaemenians Parthians and Sasanians*, Reza Abbas Cultural Arts Centre, Teheran, 1977
The Arts of Old Persia	*The Arts of Old Persia*, Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, 1951
The Pomerance Collection	*The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art*, Brooklyn Museum, 1966
The World of Persian Pottery	*The World of Persian Pottery: Gluck Collection*, Tokyo, 1980
Traci	*Traci: Arte e Cultura nelle Terre di Bulgari*, Milan, 1989

Treasures of Persian Art	*Treasures of Persian Art*, J. B. Speed Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, 1966
Treasures of the Orient	*Treasures of the Orient*, Middle East Cultural Center, Tokyo, 1979
Trésors	*Trésors de l'ancien Iran*, Musée Rath, Geneva, 1966

Series and Periodicals

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
ActaPrHistA	Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Language and Literature
AMI	Archäologische Mittelungen aus Iran
AnatStud	Anatolian Studies
BagdMitt	Baghdader Mittelungen
BibOR	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BICS	Bulletin Institute of Classical Studies, University of London
BJV	Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BullAncOrMuseum	Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum Tokyo
BullAsiaInst	Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BMFA	Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
BMMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
IET	Israel Exploration Journal
ILN	The Illustrated London News
IranAntiq	Iranica Antiqua
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JbHambKuSamml	Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlung
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archälogischen Instituts
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JourAsiat	Journal Asiatique
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
MIO	Mitteileungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitungen
OudhMeded	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-anatolici
SPA	A Survey of Persian Art, A. H. Pope ed.

ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

PLATES*

* Drawings by Mikko Kriek, Amsterdam

Fig. 1: Base of Marlik gold vessel Fig. 3 (see Marlik/Amlash, Gold and Silver Vessel no. 7)

Fig. 2: Marlik gold vessel (see Marlik/Amlash, Gold and Silver Vessels no. 14)

Fig. 3: Marlik gold vessel (see Marlik/Amlash, Gold and Silver Vessels no. 10)

Fig. 4: Gold hilt on Chertomlyk sword (see Achaemenian Art, Animal Sculpture no. 11)

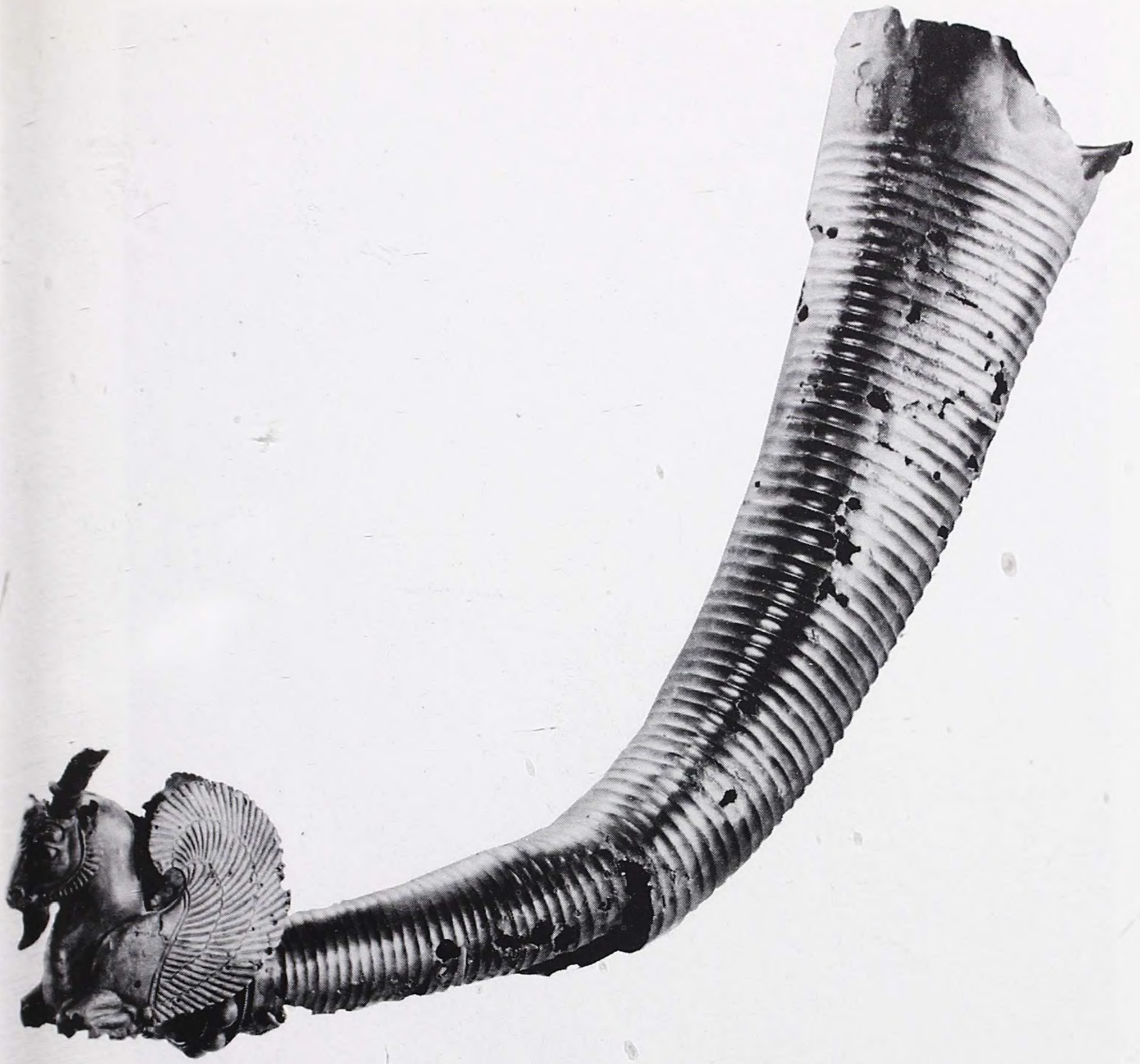


Fig. 5: Silver rhyton, Seven Brothers (see Achaemenian Art, Animal Headed Vessels no. 20)

Fig. 6: Persepolis relief (see Achaemenian Art, Amphorae with Animal Handles no. 1)

Fig. 7: Gold discs (see Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu no. 19-23)

Fig. 8: Silver ram headed vessel (see Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu no. 43)

Fig. 9: Bronze quiver (see Luristan, The Zurvan group, introduction and no. 1; Luristan, Quivers no. 2). Drawing by Elisabeth Simpson

Fig. 10: Bronze discs, Ashmolean Museum (see Luristan, Objects related to the Zurvan Group, end)

Fig. 11: Bronze bowl, Motropolitan Museum of Art (see Iran General no. 9)

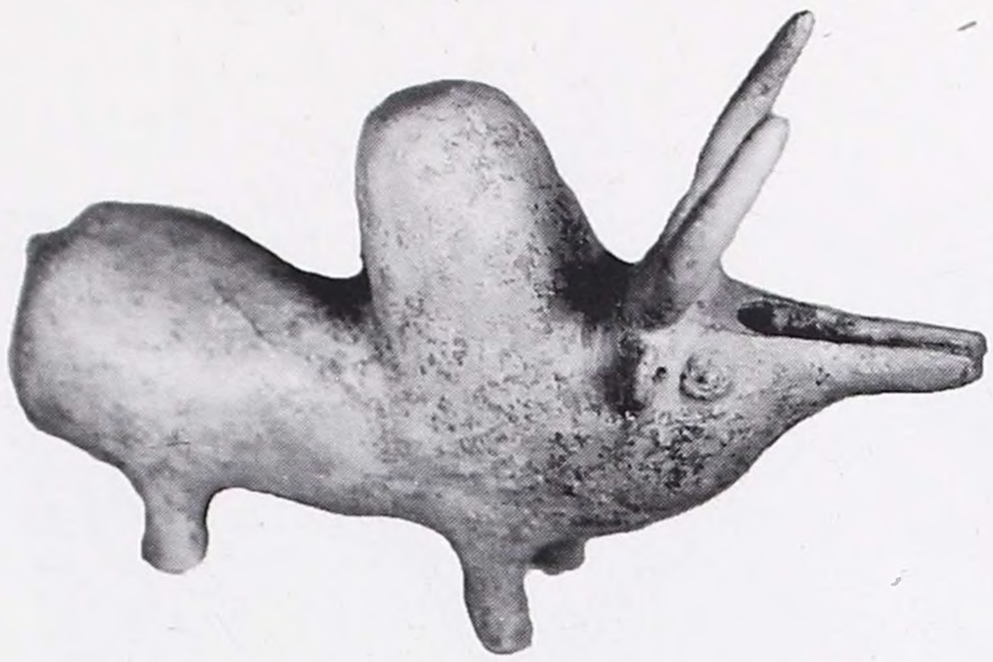
Fig. 12: Bitumen roundel, Metropolitan Museum of Art (see Elamite Art no. 2)

Fig. 13: Modern Hacilar-style Vessel, Metropolitan Museum of Art (see Hacilar, Introduction)

Fig. 14: Modern Hacilar-style Vessels, Ashmolean Museum (see Hacilar, Introduction)

Fig. 15: Excavated Hacilar figurine (see Hacilar, Introduction)

Fig. 16: Hacilar seated female (see Hacilar no. 25)



Marlik/Amlash p.31 - Ceramic Zebu, ex Chrysler Museum

Stag, University Museum

Human Figurine, dealer

Bronze Stag Figurine

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 1

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 2

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 3

Marlik/Amlash

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 5

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 6

Gold and Silver Vessels 15

Gold and Silver Vessels 9

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 10

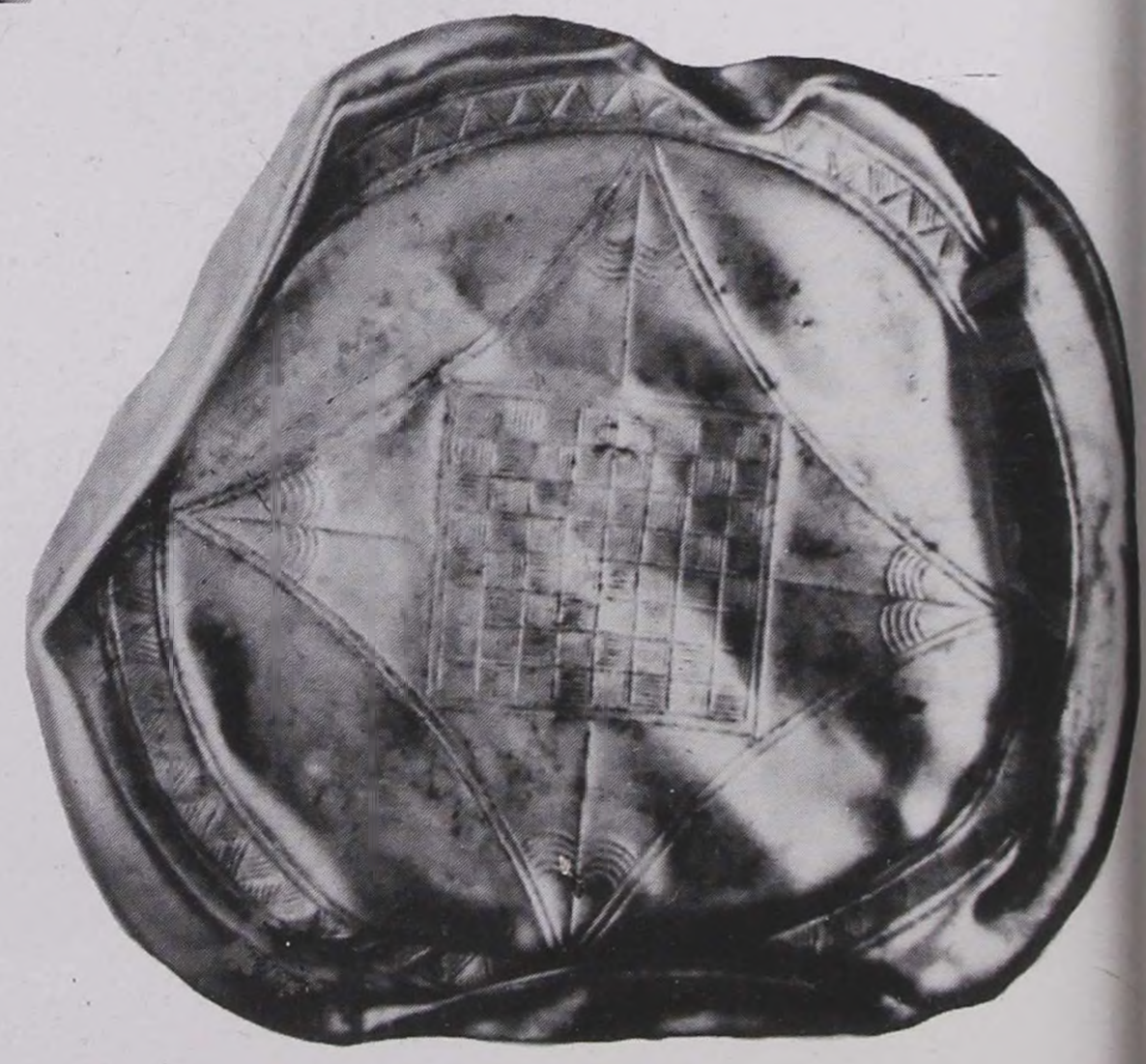
Gold and Silver Vessels 11

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 12

Marlik/Amlash

Marlik/Amlash



Gold and Silver Vessels 14

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 16

Gold and Silver Vessels 17

Gold and Silver Vessels 18

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 19

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 31

Gold and Silver Vessels 32

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 41

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 43

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 45

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 46

Marlik/Amlash

Marlik/Amlash

Marlik/Amlash

Gold and Silver Vessels 56

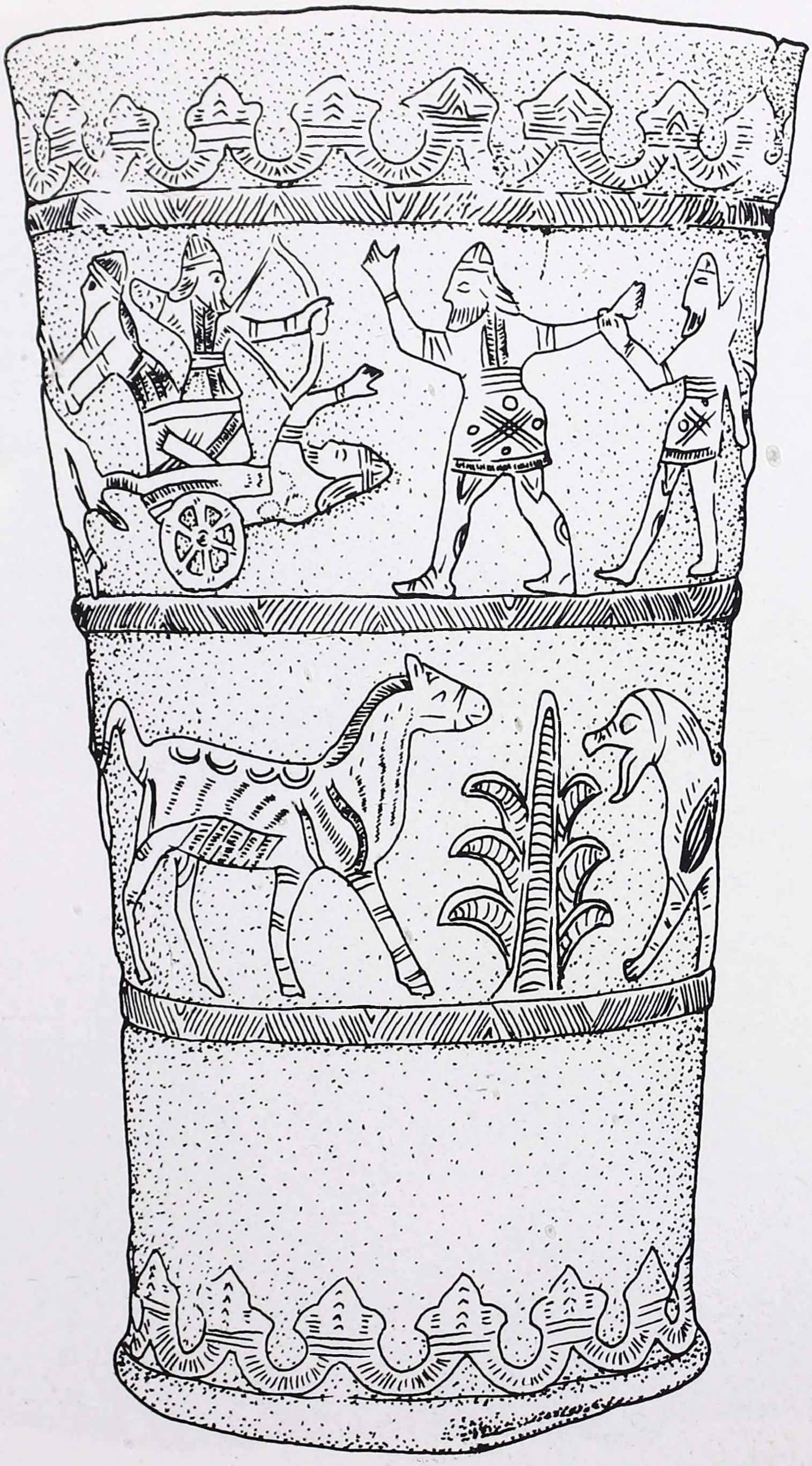
Gold and Silver Vessels 57

Gold and Silver Vessels 62

Gold and Silver Vessels 63c

Marlik/Amlash

Non-vessels 1



Hasanlu 1

Northwestern Iran

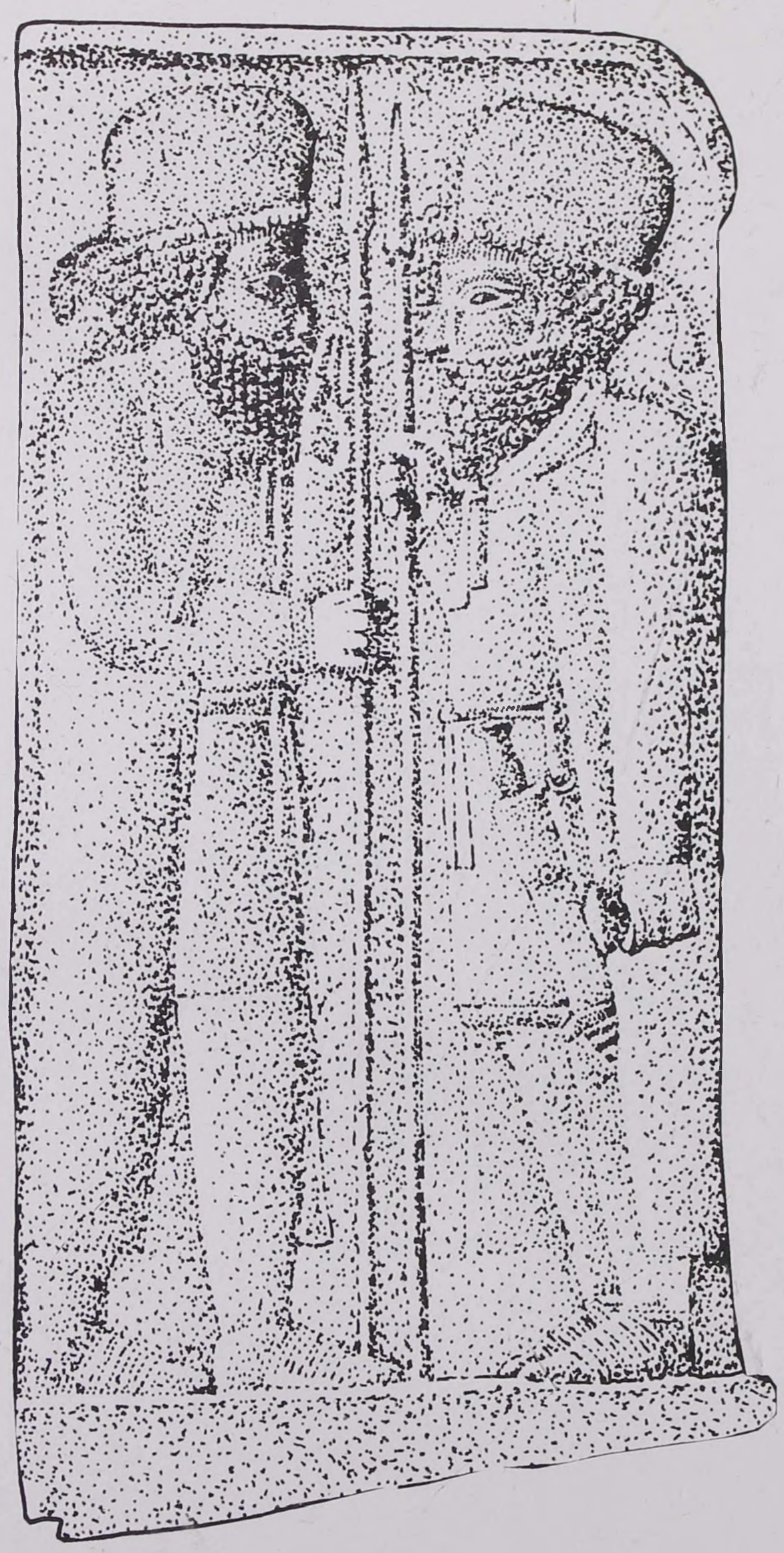
Reliefs 1

Reliefs 1

Reliefs 1

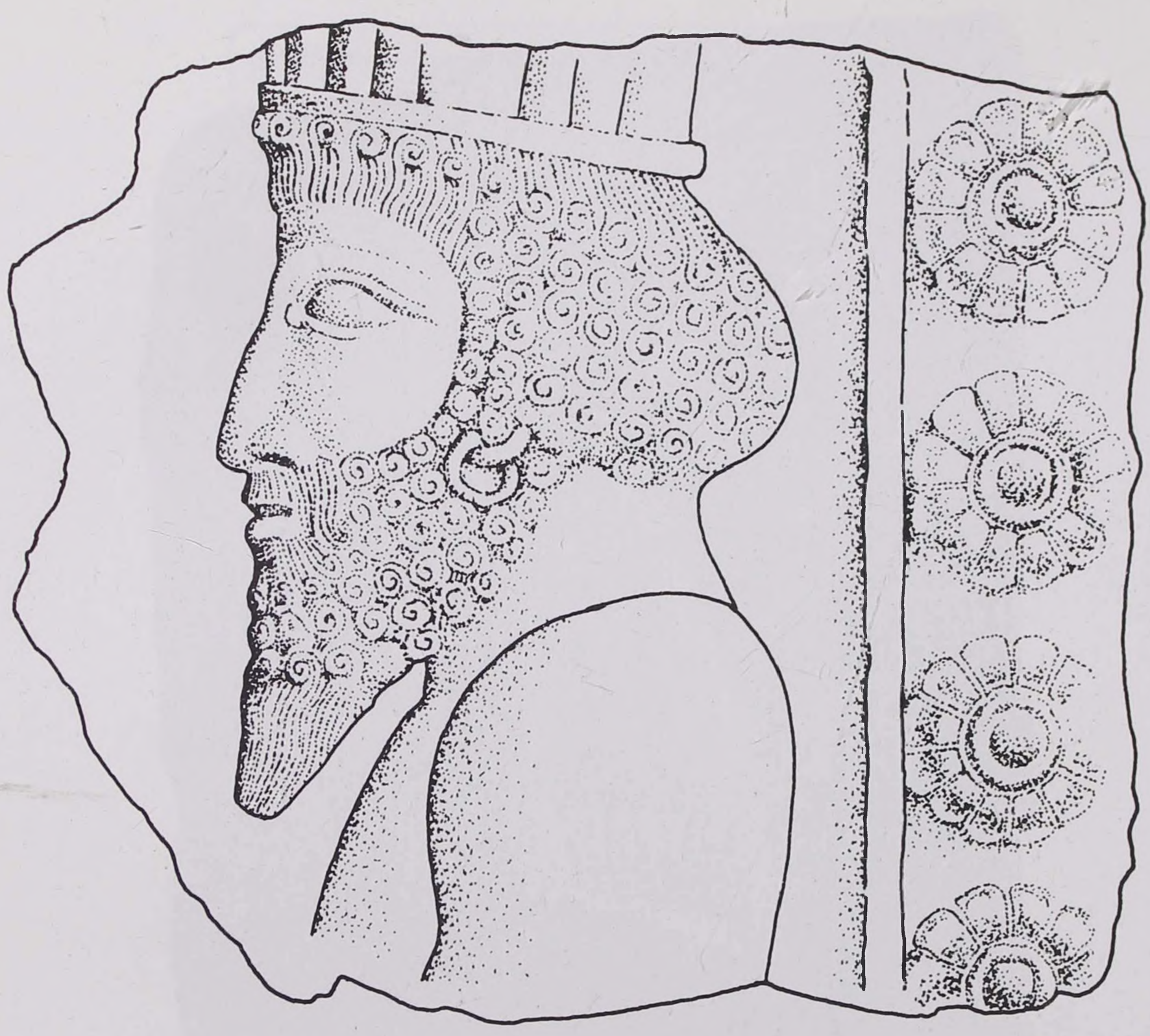
Reliefs 2

Reliefs 6



Reliefs 7

Reliefs 9



Reliefs 10

Reliefs 11

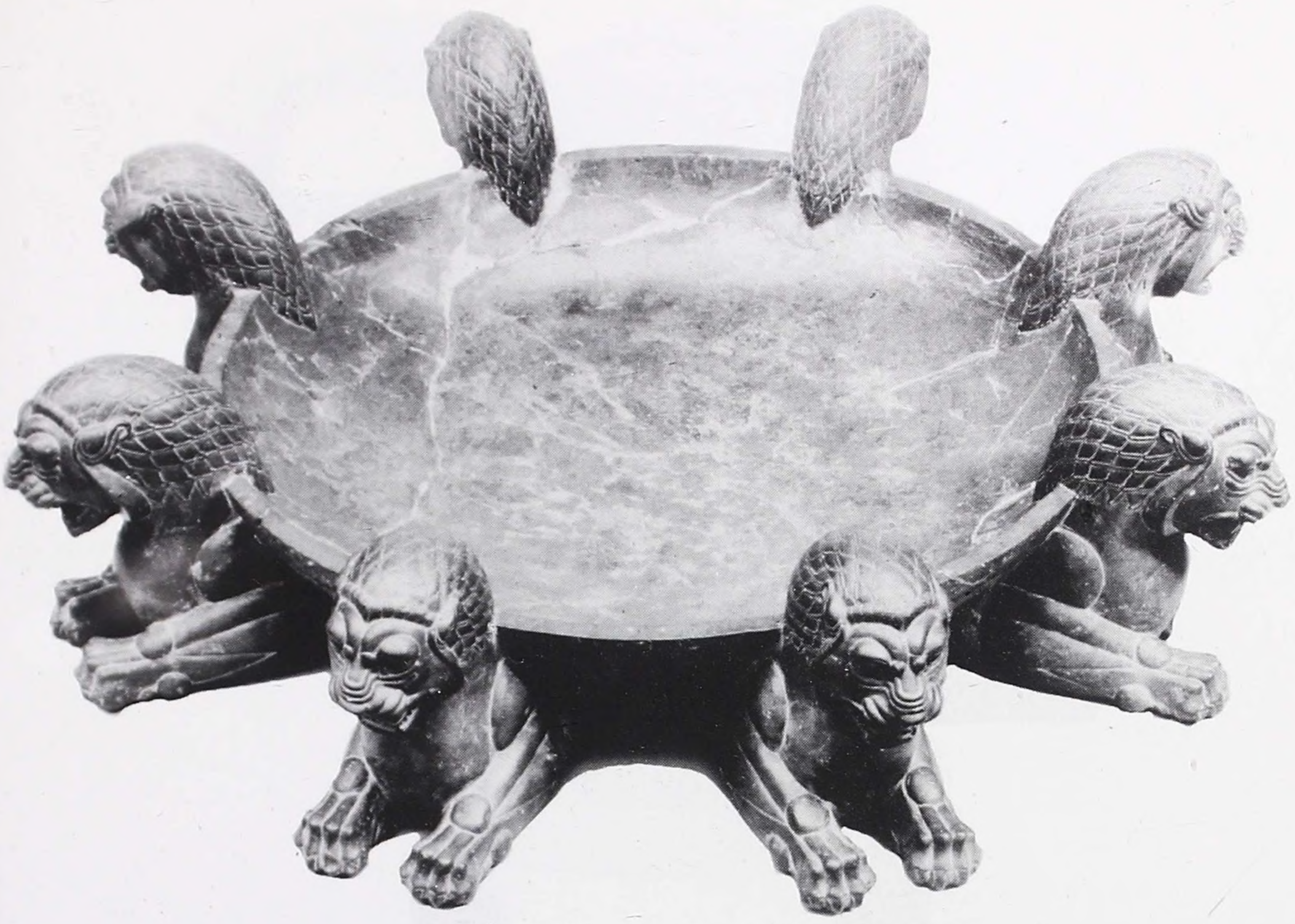
Human Sculpture 1

Human Sculpture 3

Human Sculpture 4

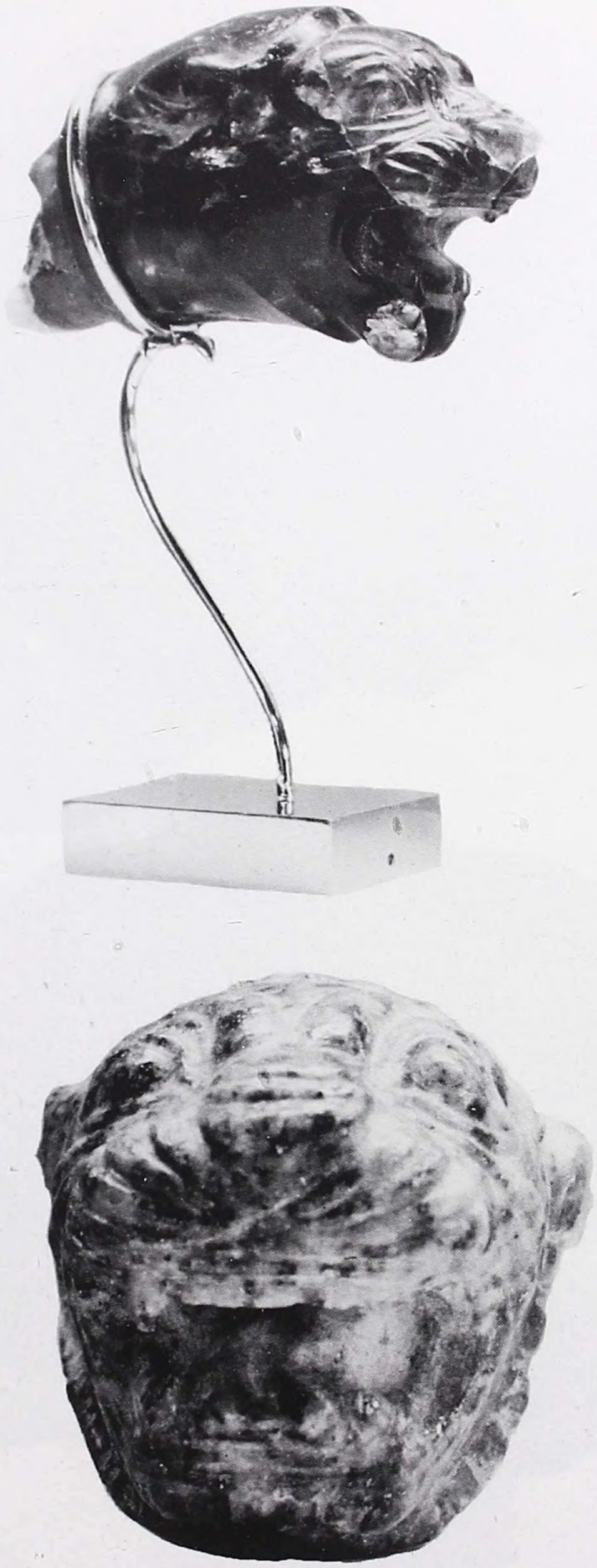
Human Sculpture 5

Human Sculpture 6, 9



Animal Sculpture 1

Animal Sculpture 3,4

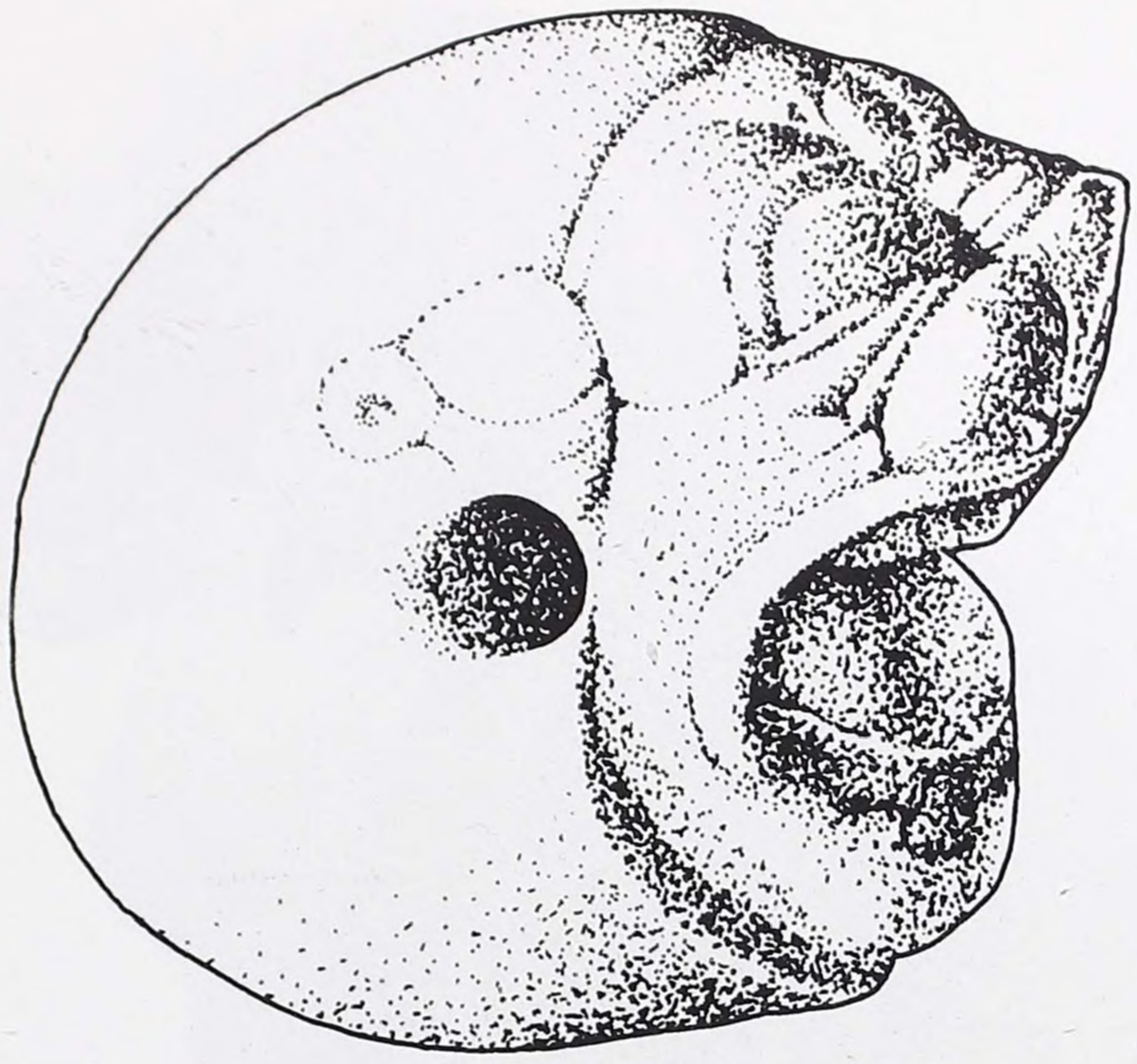


Animal Sculpture 6,7

Animal Sculpture 8,9

Animal Sculpture 10,11

Animal Sculpture 13



Animal Sculpture 14,15

Animal Sculpture 22

Animal Sculpture 23

Animal Headed Vessels 1

Animal Headed Vessels 2

Animal Headed Vessels 3

Animal Headed Vessels 4

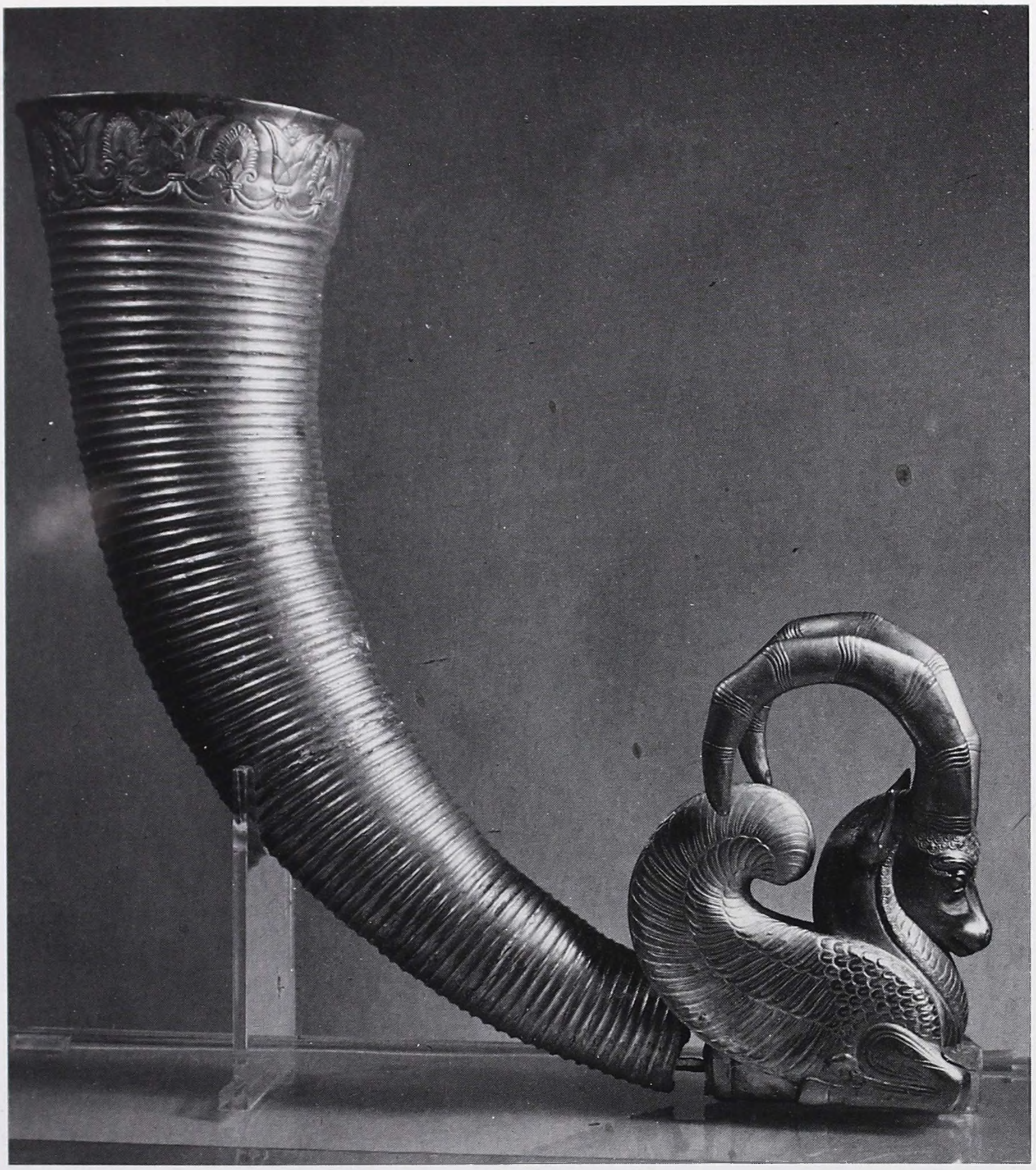
Animal Headed Vessels 10

Animal Headed Vessels 11, 12

Animal Headed Vessels 14, 15

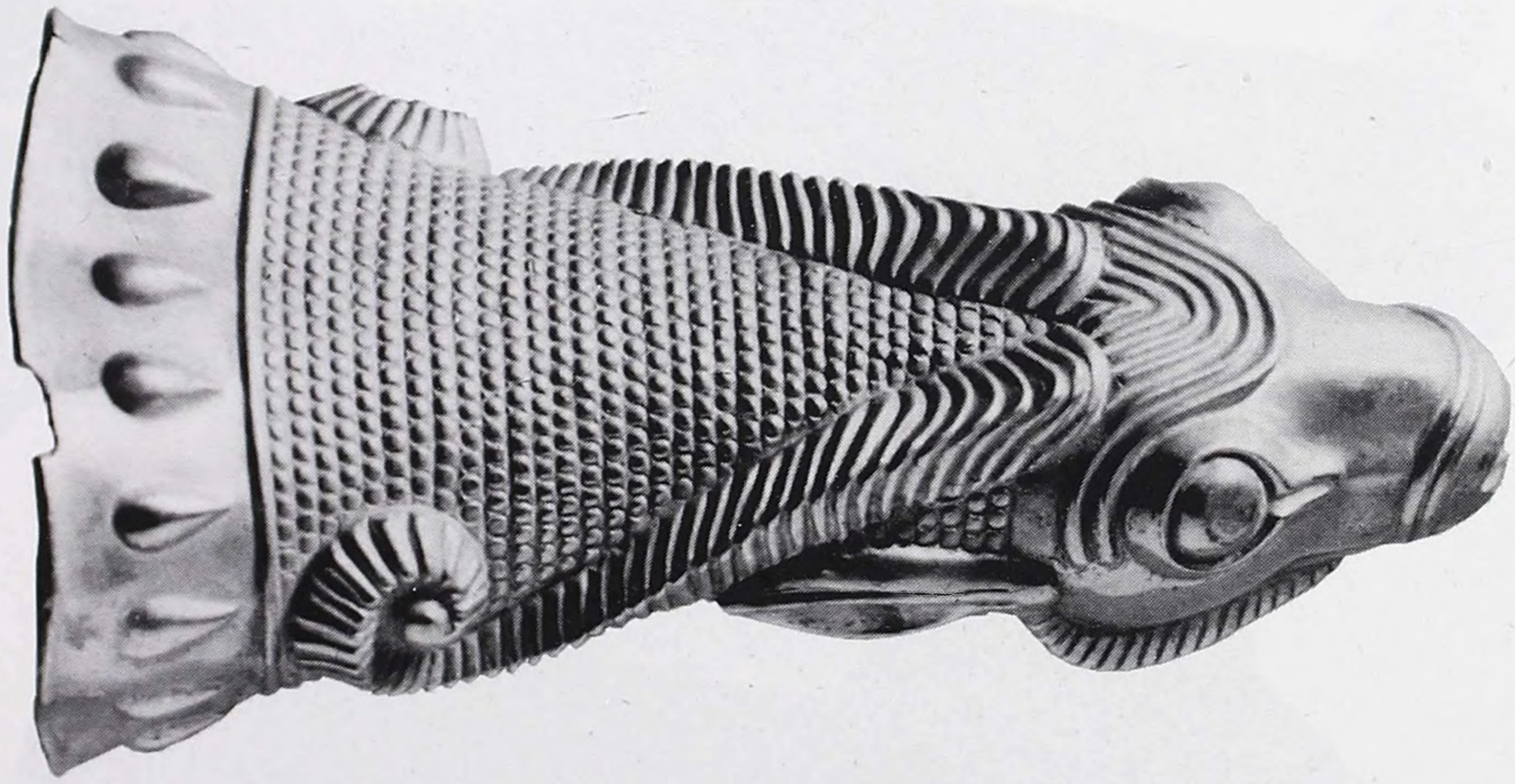
Animal Headed Vessels 18, 19

Animal Headed Vessels 20

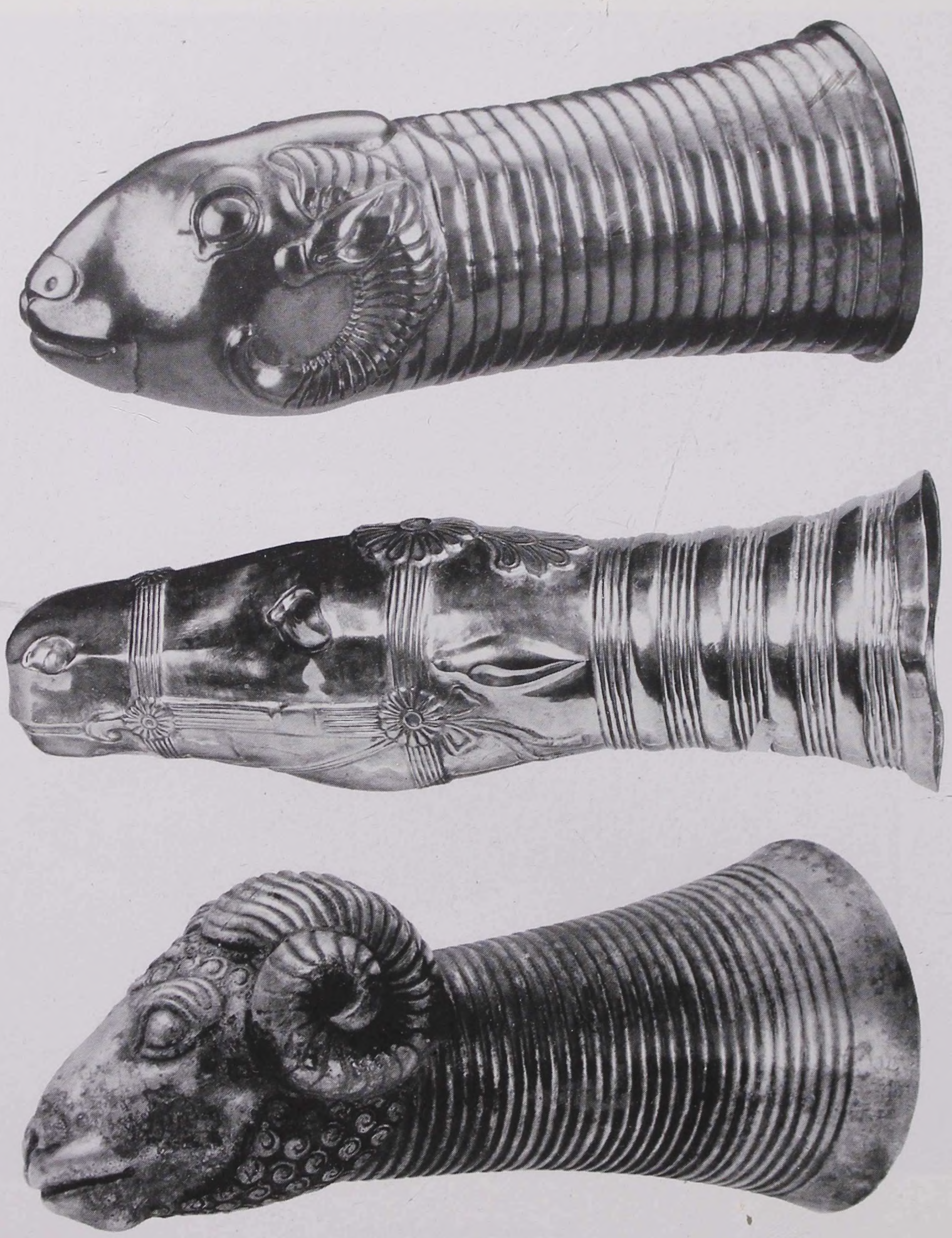


Animal Headed Vessels 21

Animal Headed Vessels 22



Animal Headed Vessels 23, 25



Animal Headed Vessels 27, 28, 29

Amphorae with Animal Handles 1

Amphorae with Animal Handles 2

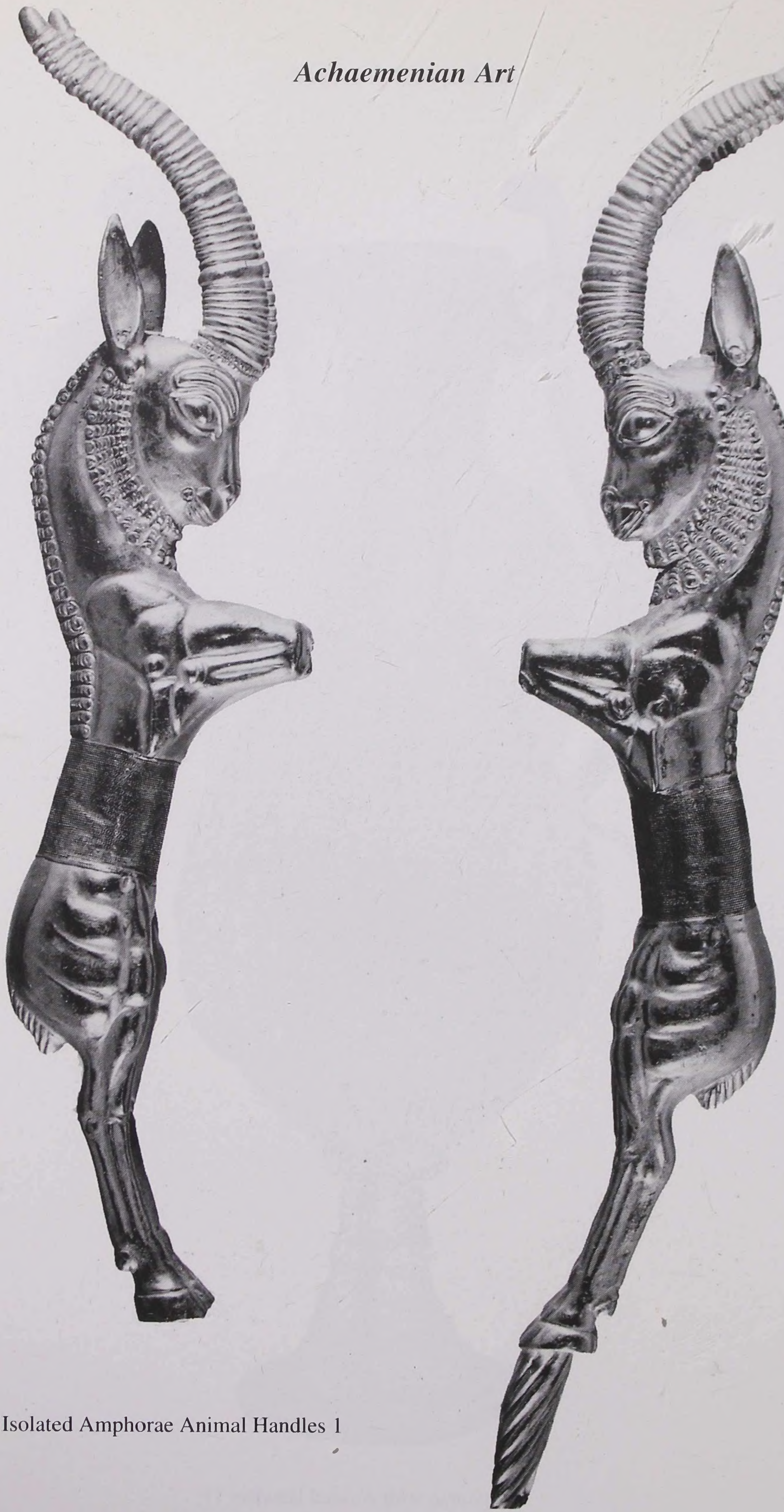
Amphorae with Animal Handles 3

Amphorae with Animal Handles 6

Amphorae with Animal Handles 7

Amphorae with Animal Handles 9

Amphorae with Animal Handles 11



Isolated Amphorae Animal Handles 1

Isolated Amphorae Animal Handles 2

Isolated Amphorae Animal Handles 4

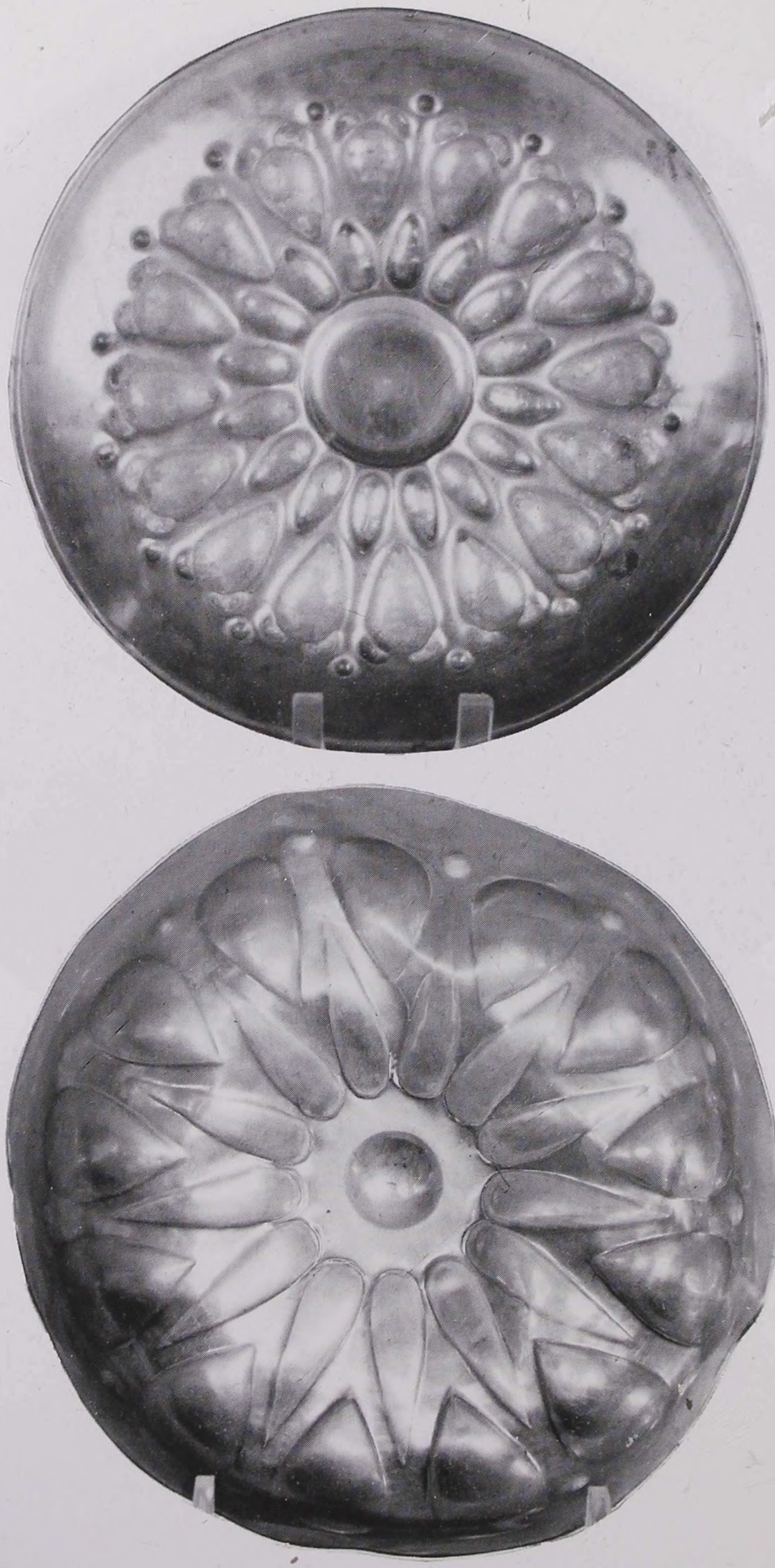
Plates with Decorated Central Medallion 1

Plates with Decorated Central Medallion 8, 9

Plates with Decorated Central Medallion 10, 11

Decorated Plates 4

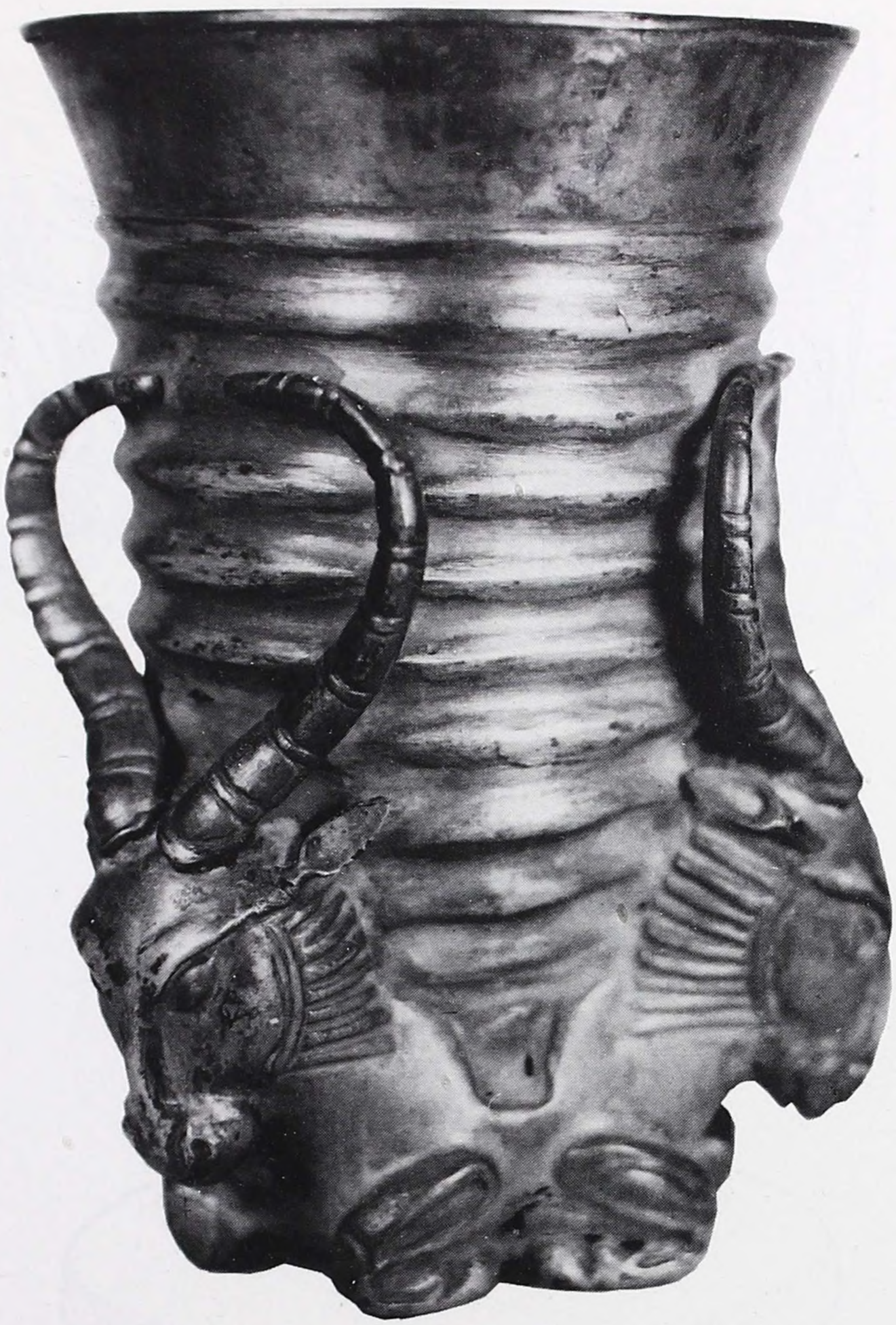
Decorated Plates 5



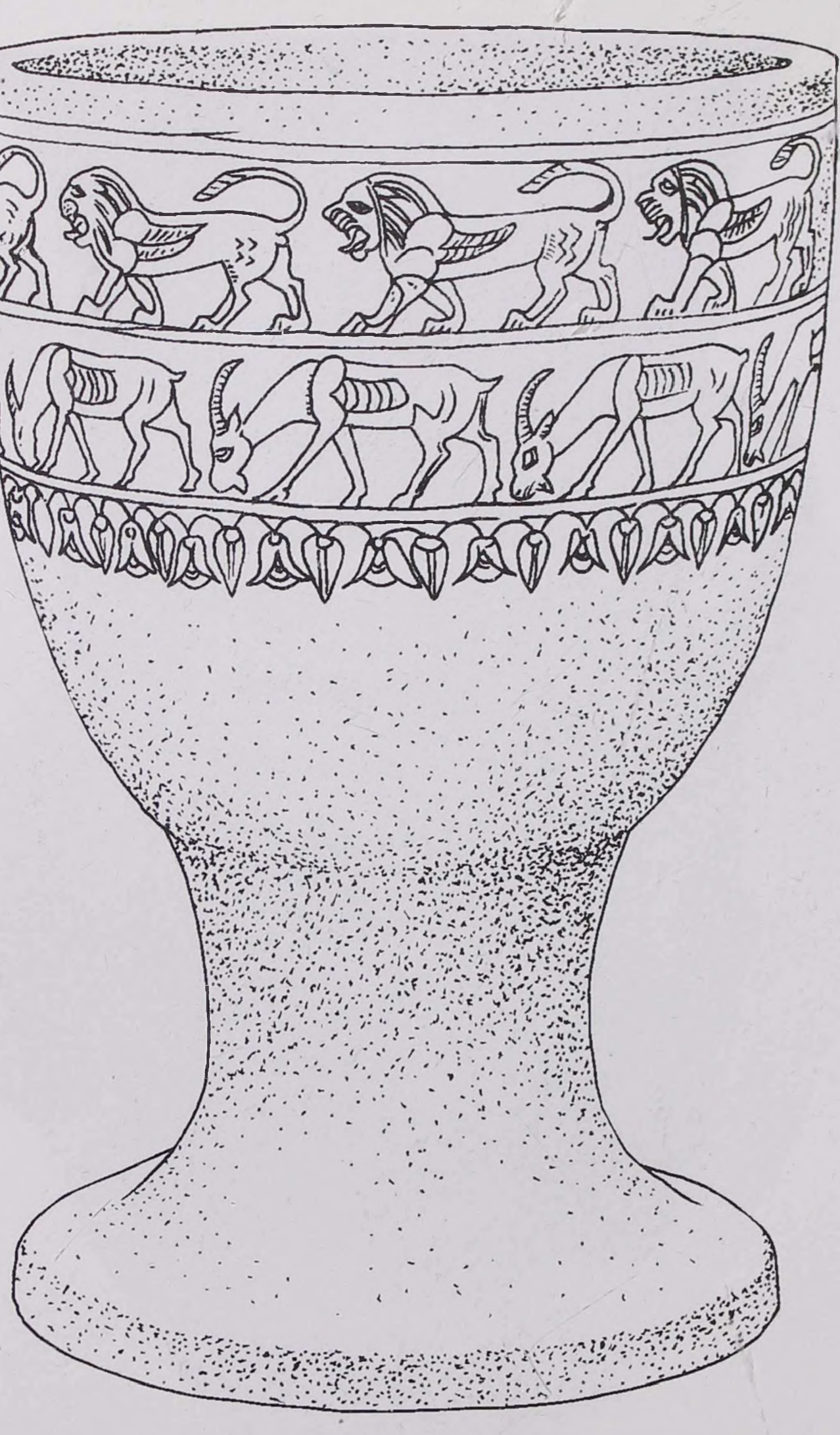
Decorated Plates 6, 7

Vessels 4

Vessels 5

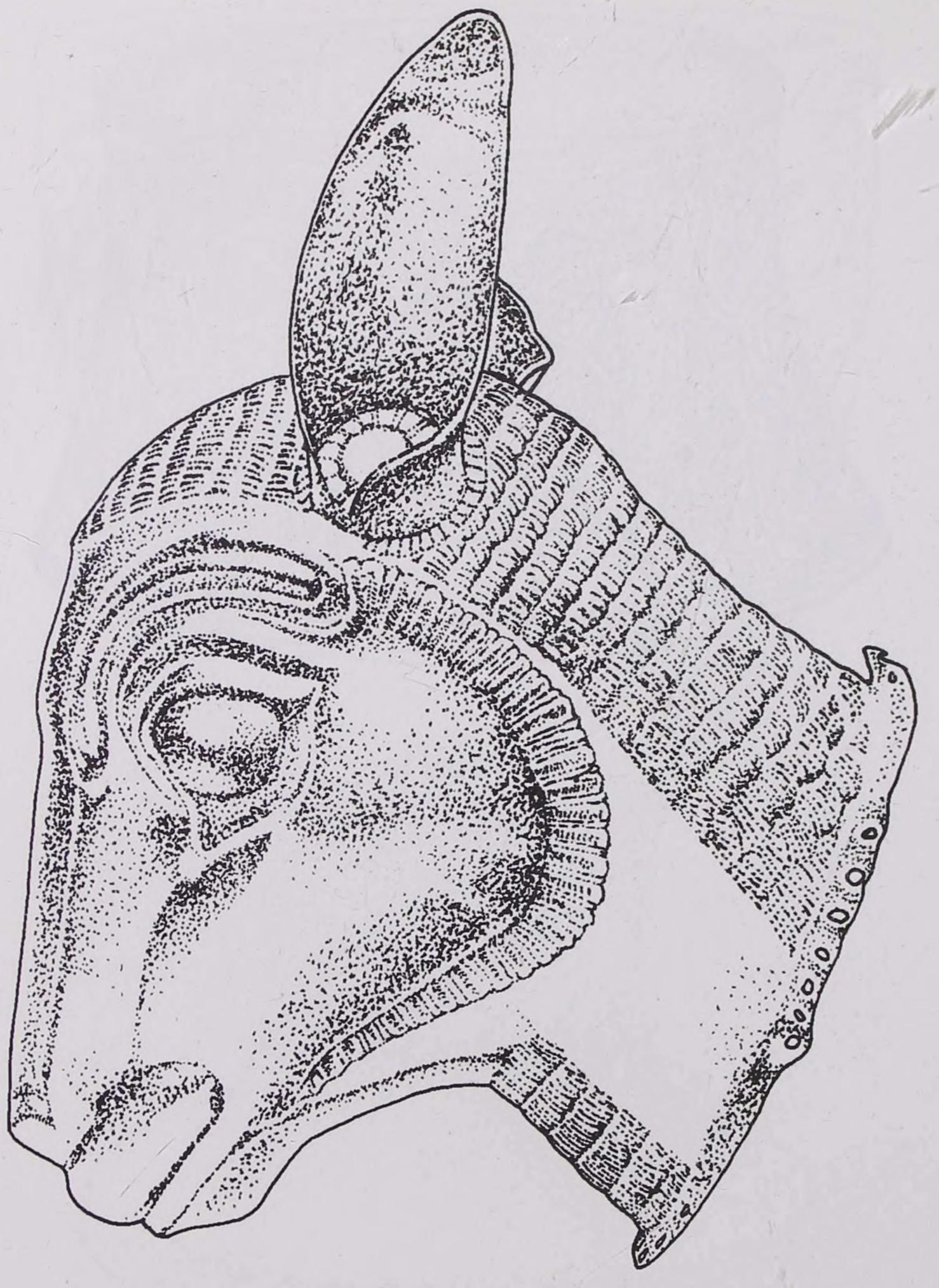


Vessels 6



Vessels 9

Vessels 10

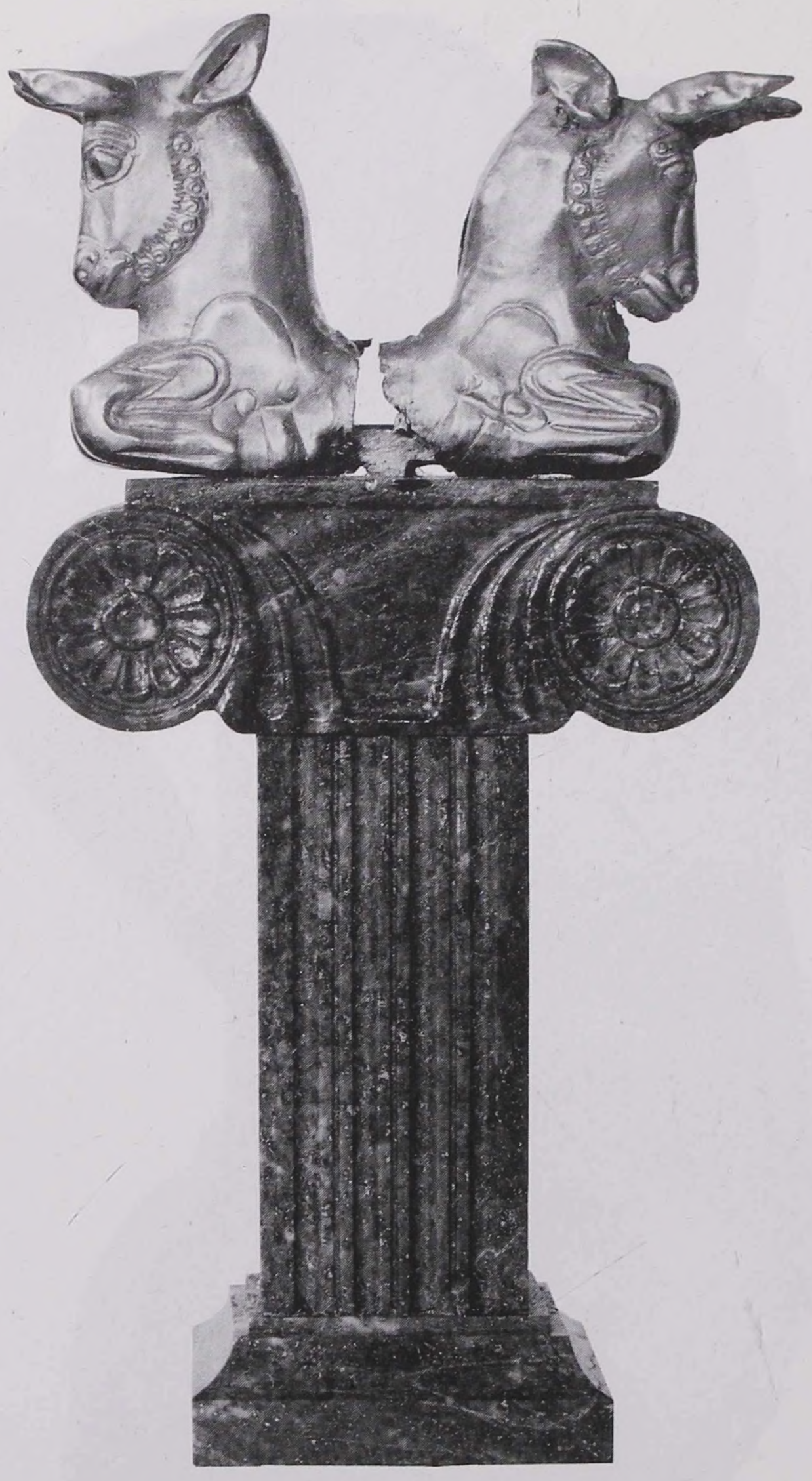


Animal Head Protomes 1

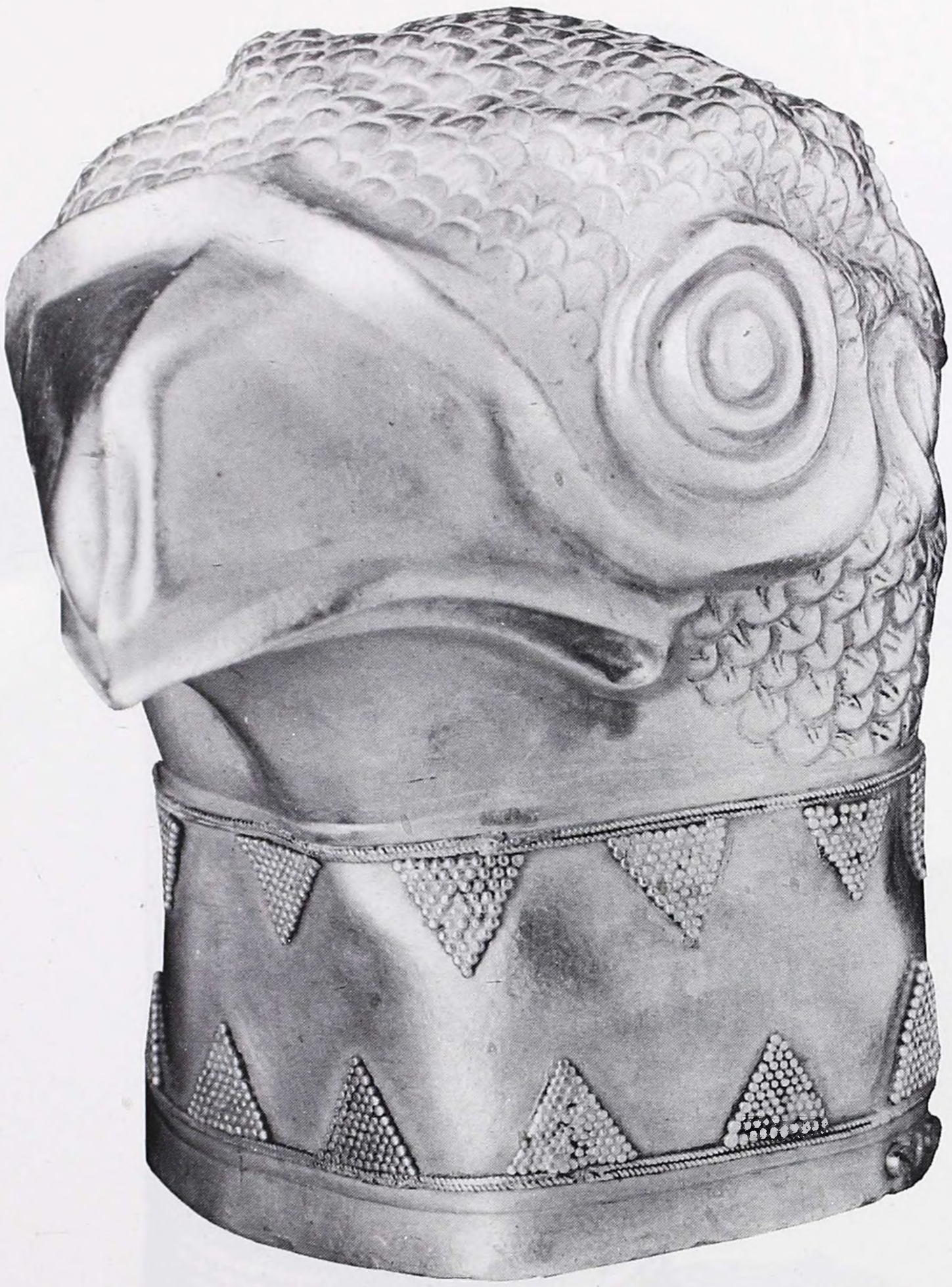
Animal Head Protomes 2

Animal Head Protomes 6, 8

Animal Head Protomes 9

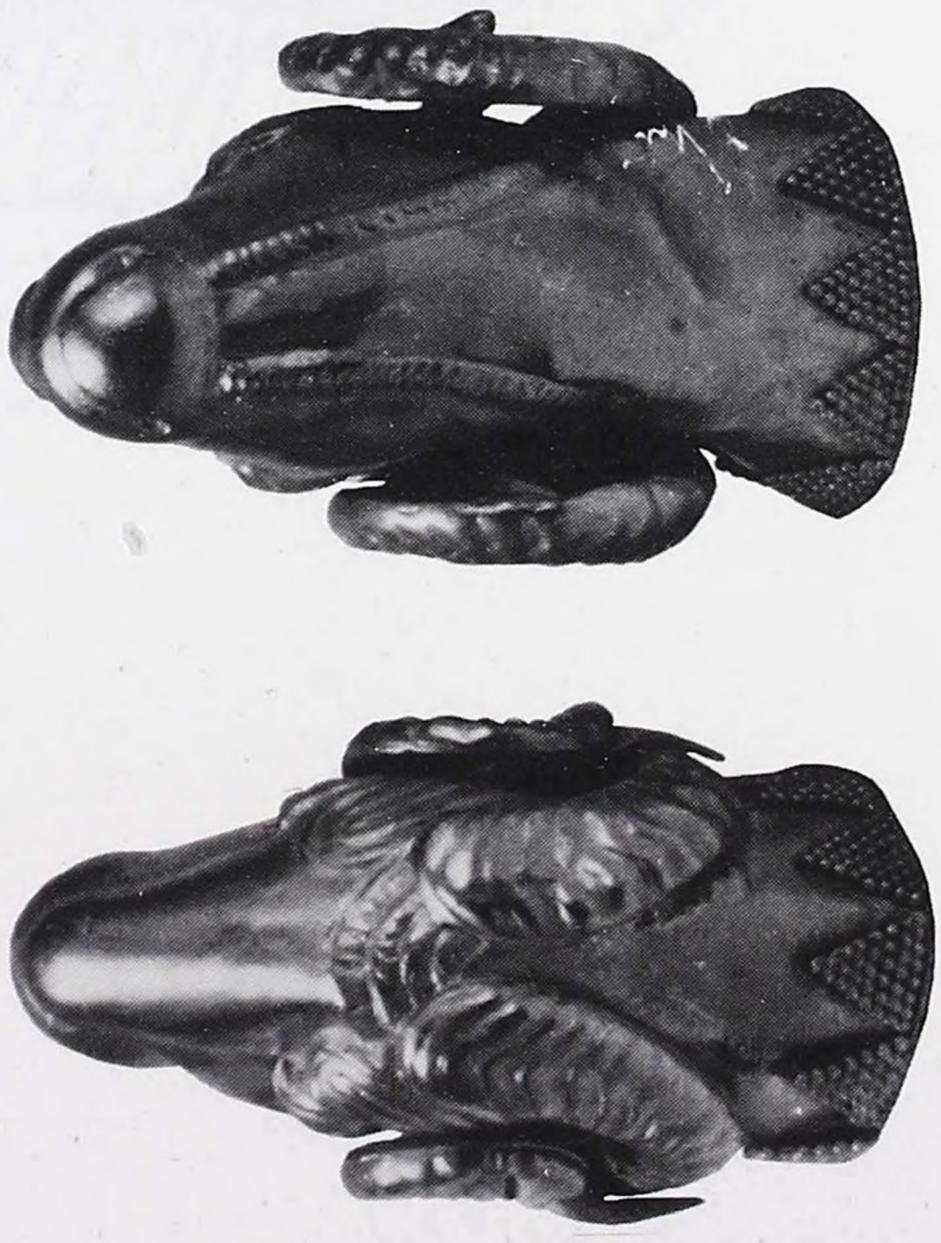


Animal Head Protomes 11

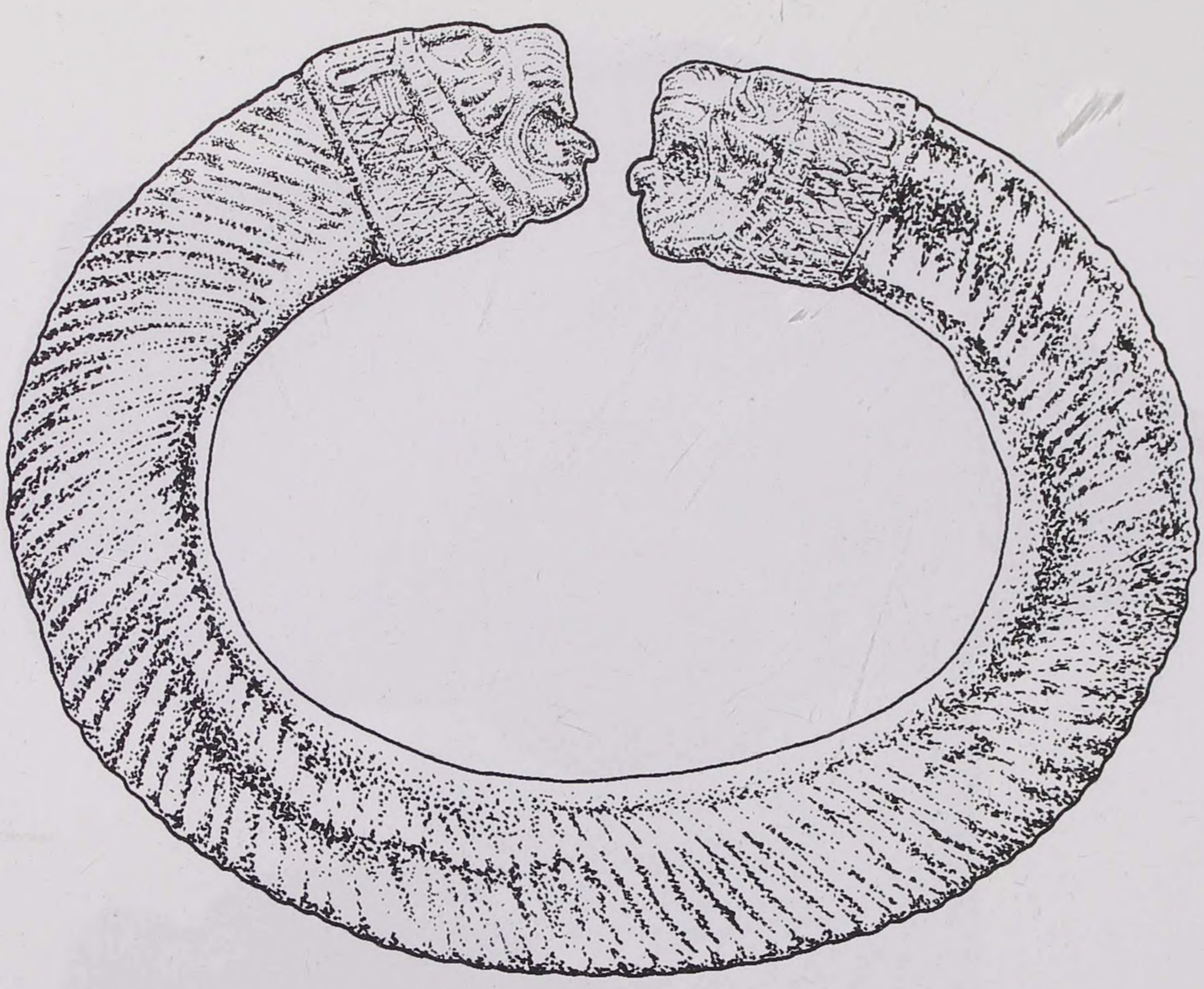


Animal Head Protomes 12

Animal Head Protomes 13

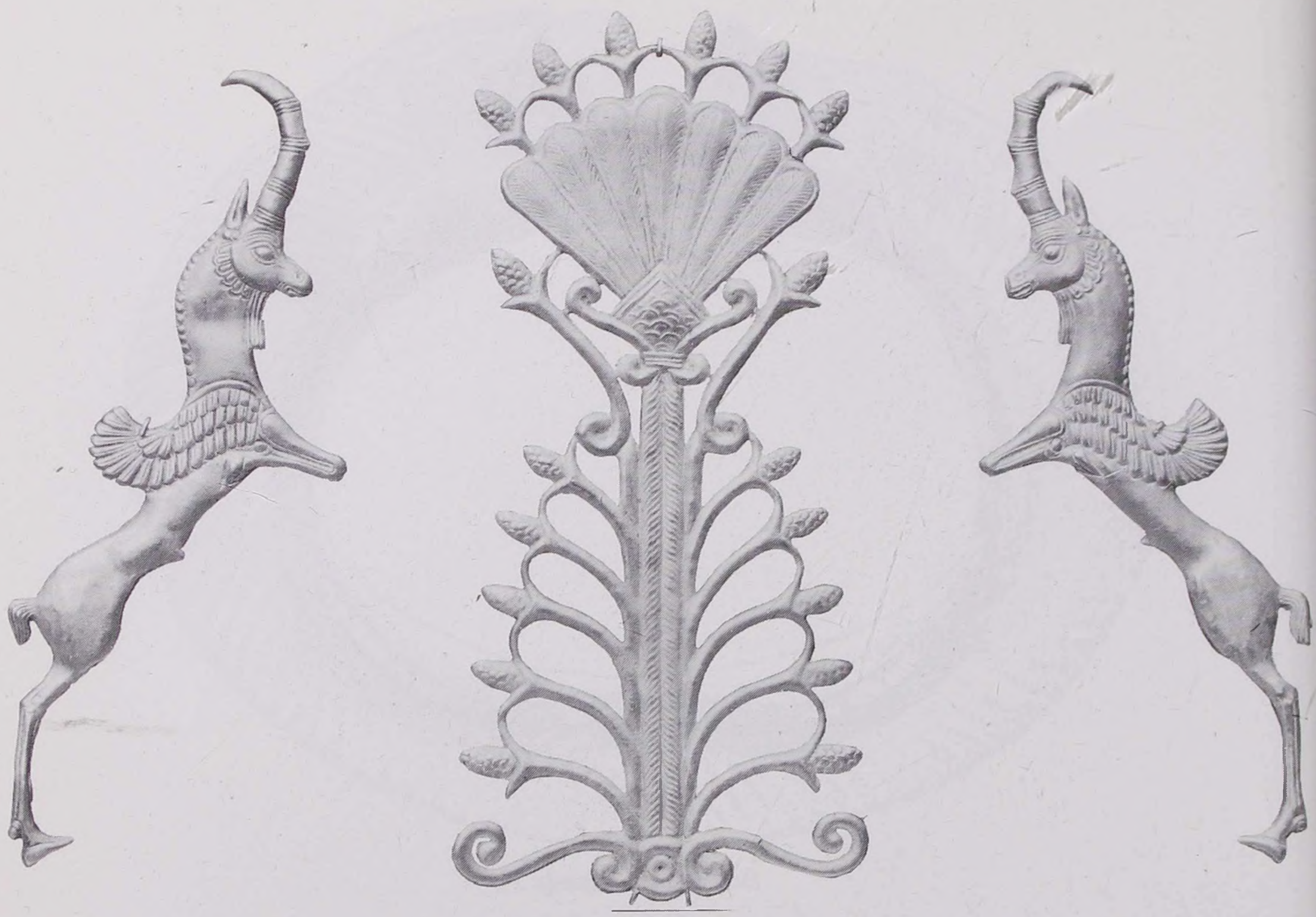


Socketed Animal Headed Finials 6, 7, 8



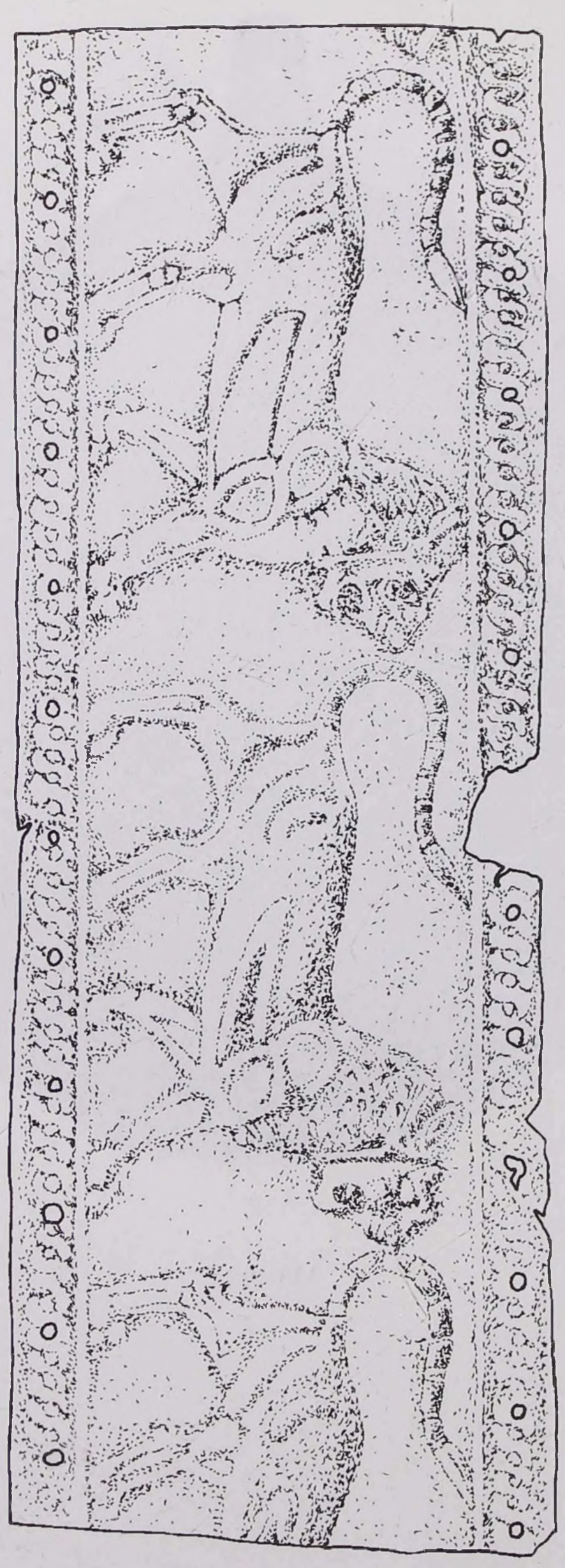
Bracelets, Armrings 3

Bracelets, Armrings 21



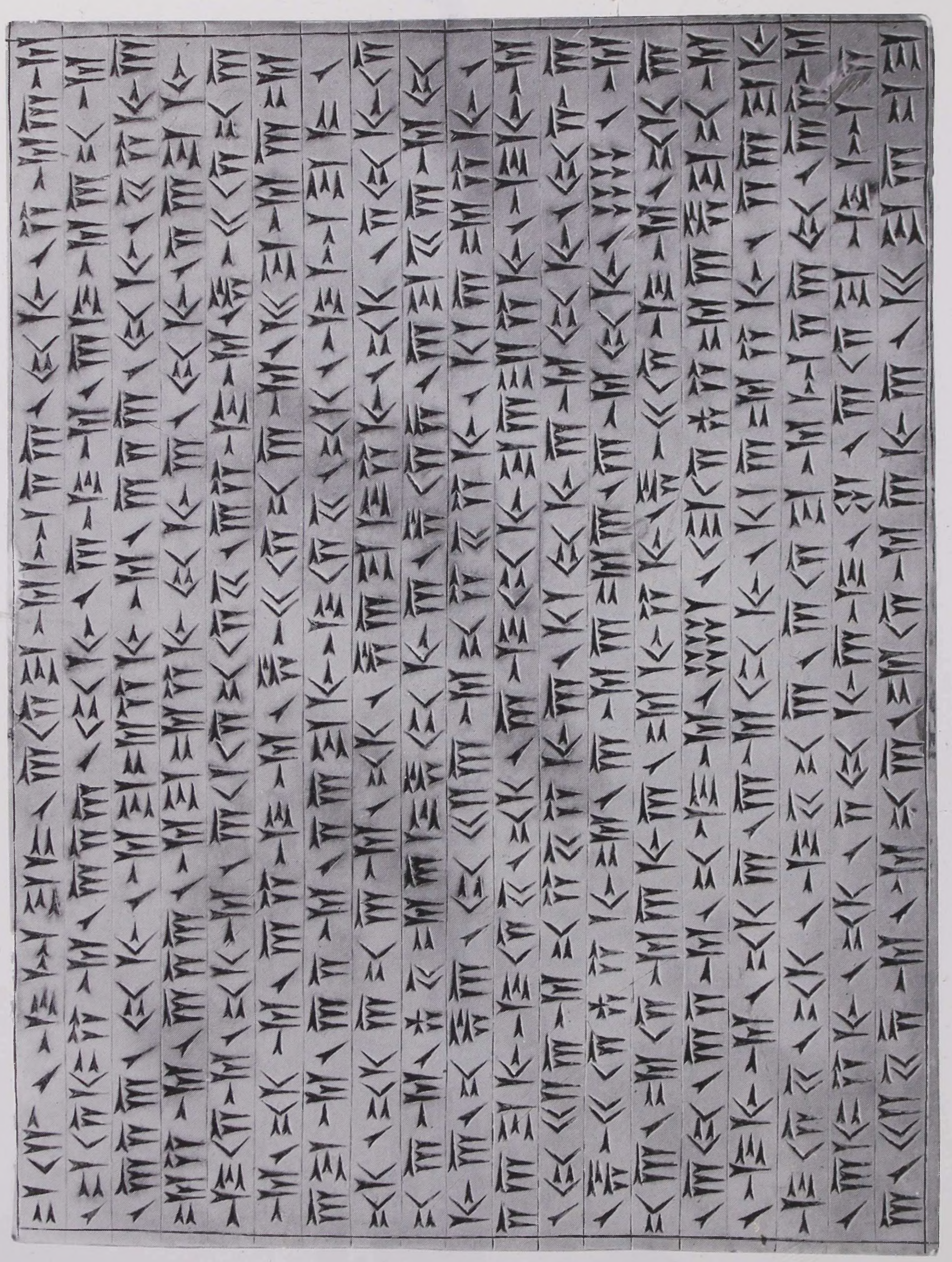
Appliqués, Bracteates 1, 2, 3

Mirrors 2



Miscellaneous Objects 1

Miscellaneous Objects 13



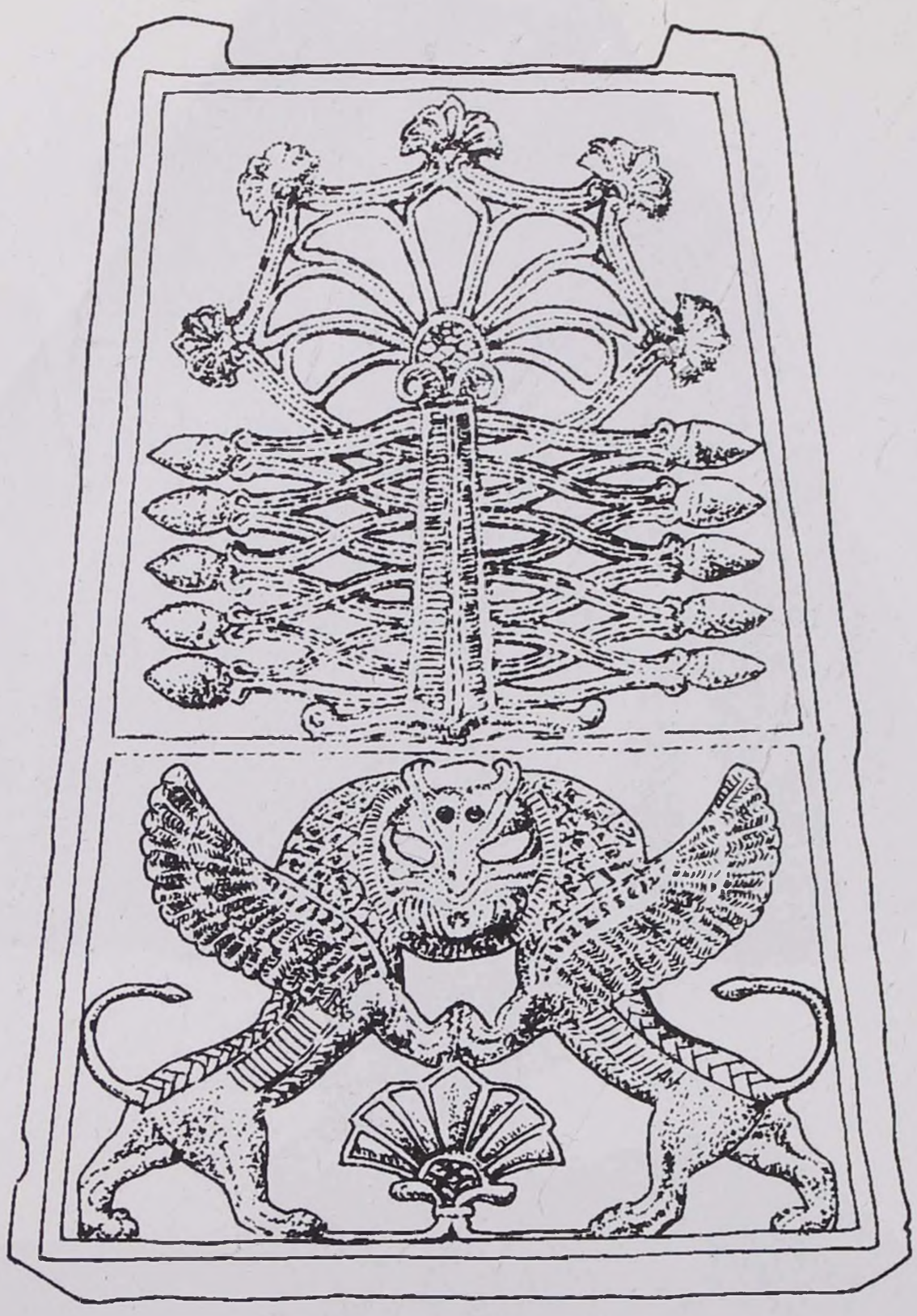
Miscellaneous Objects 17

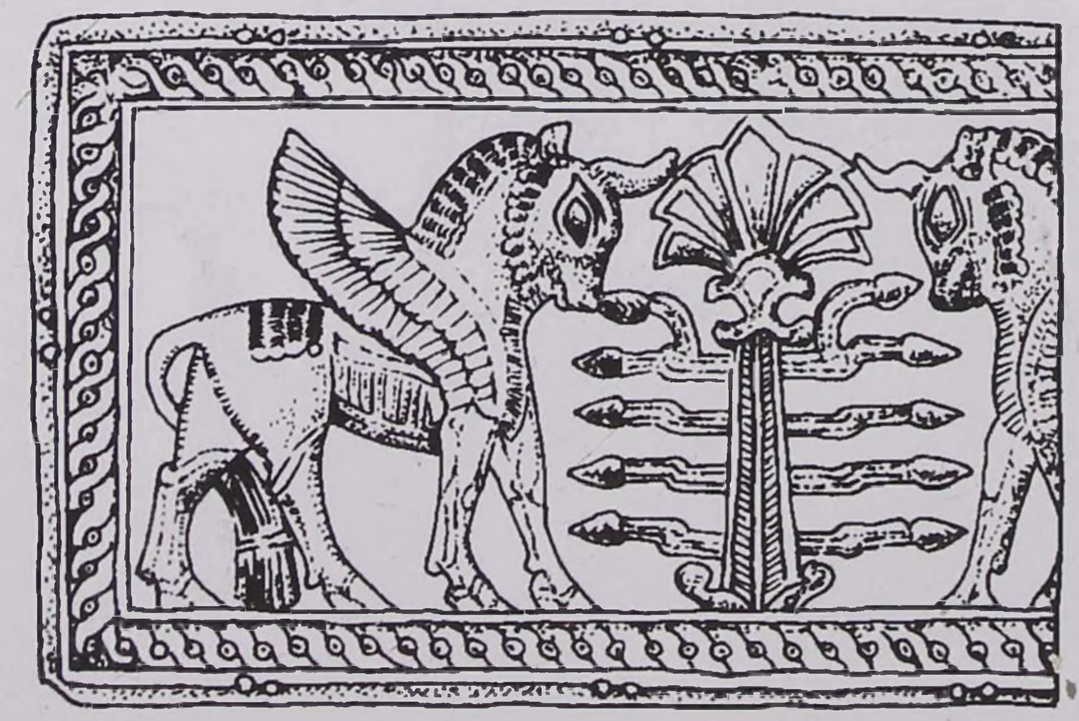
Median Art 1

Median Art 2

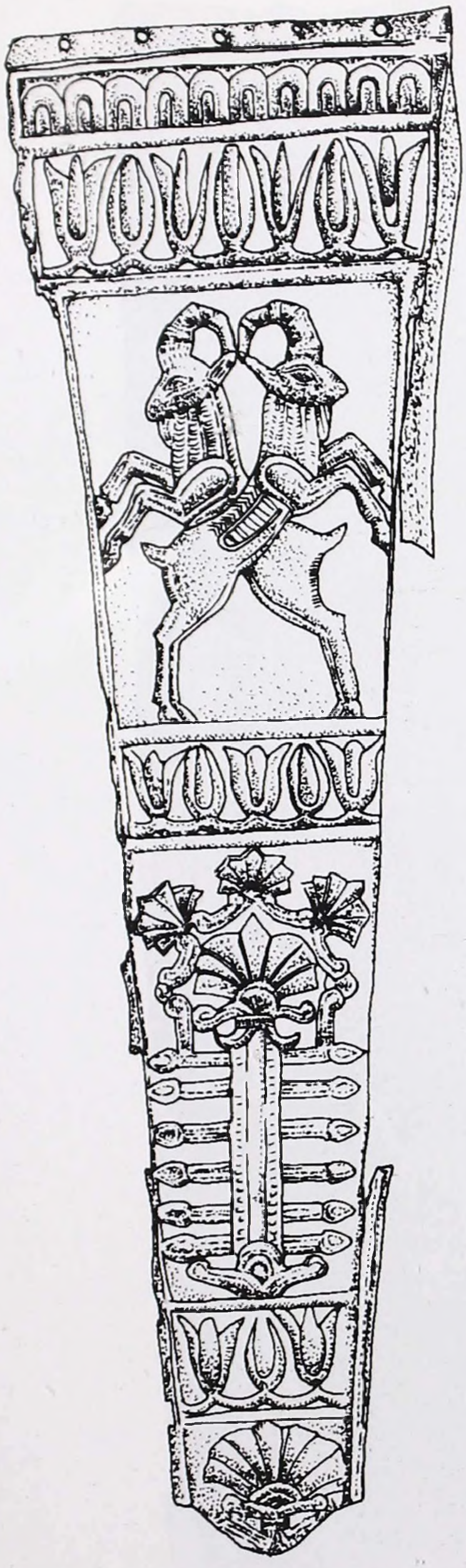
Median Art 3

Median Art 5

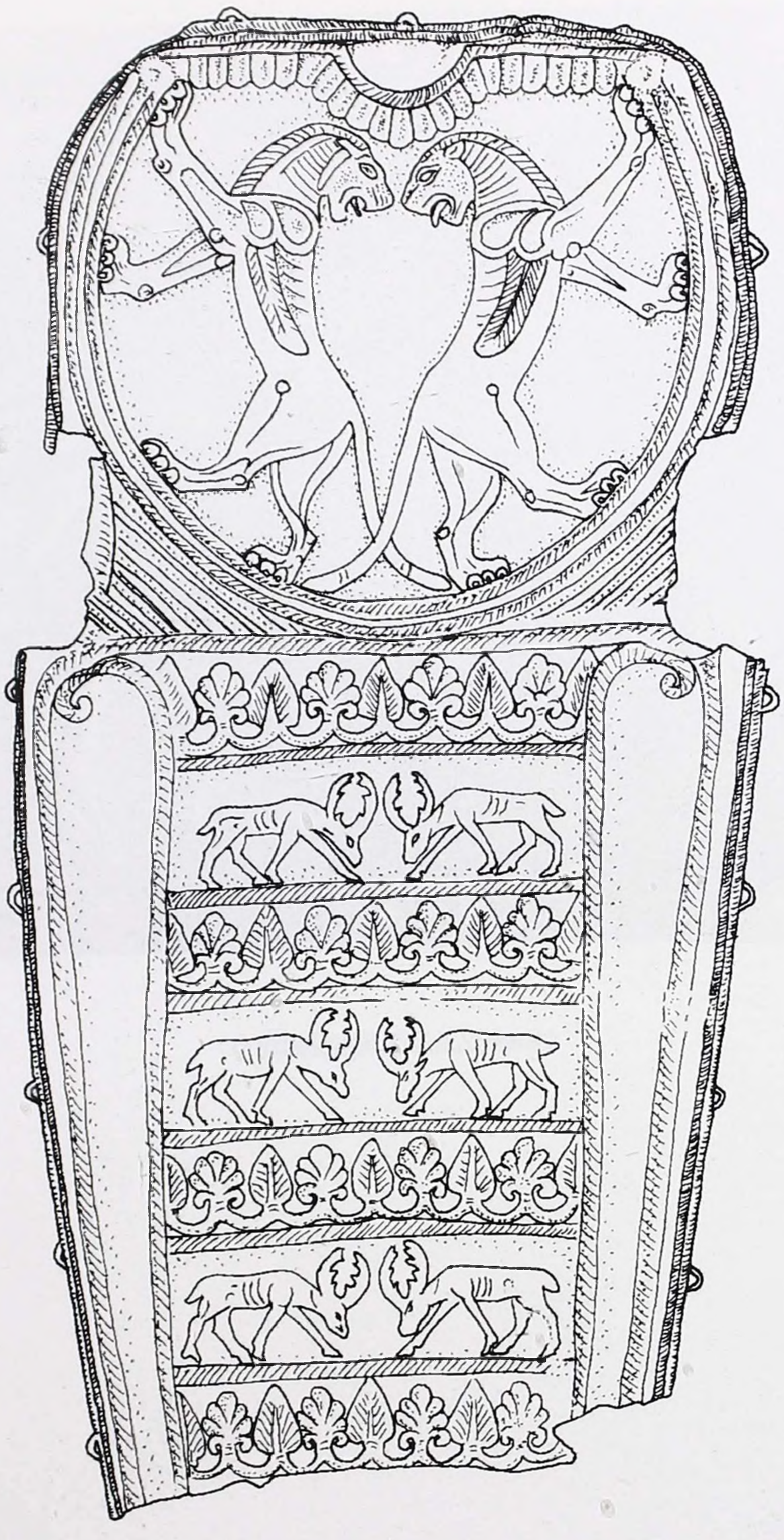




Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 1, 2



Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 4

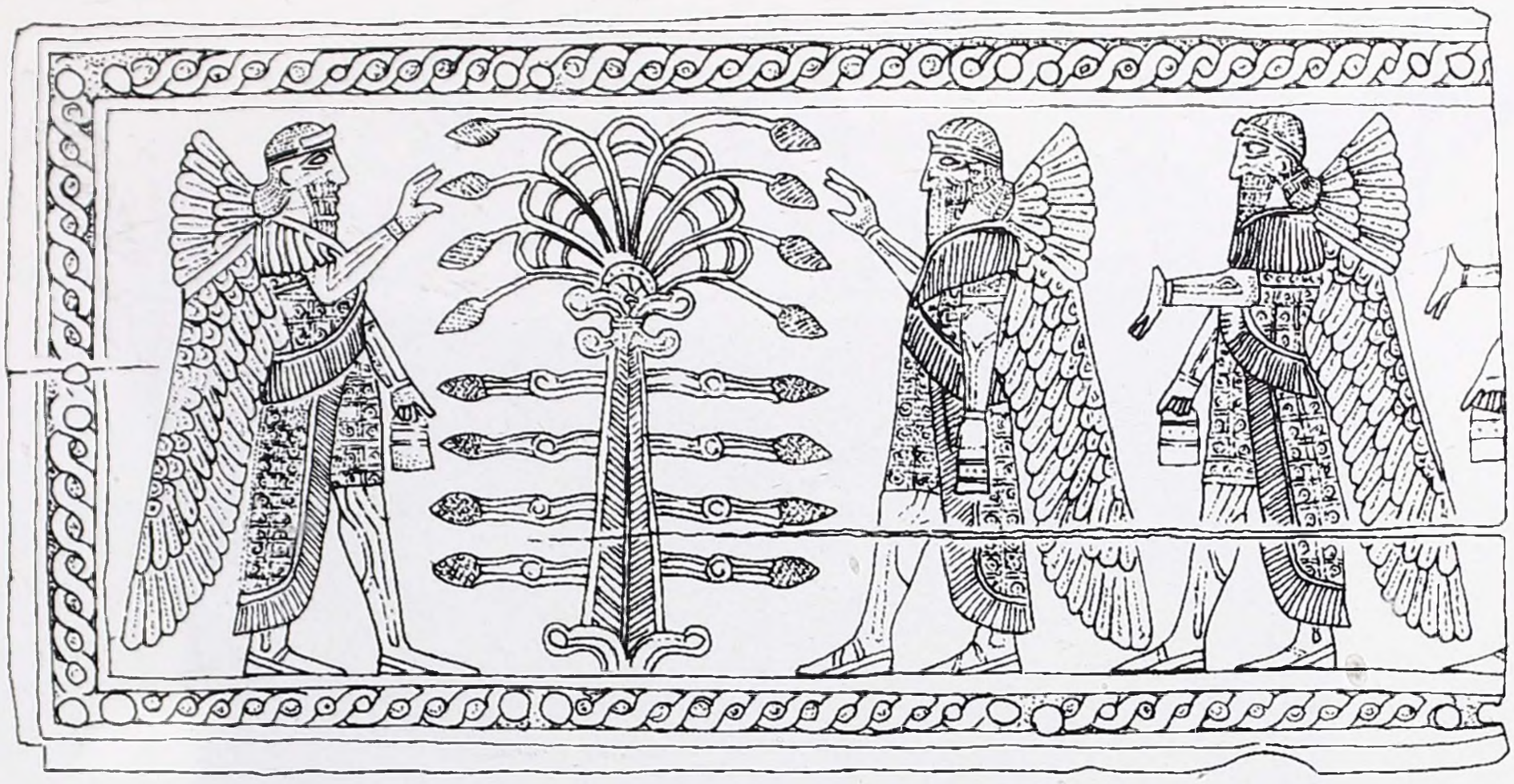


Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 5

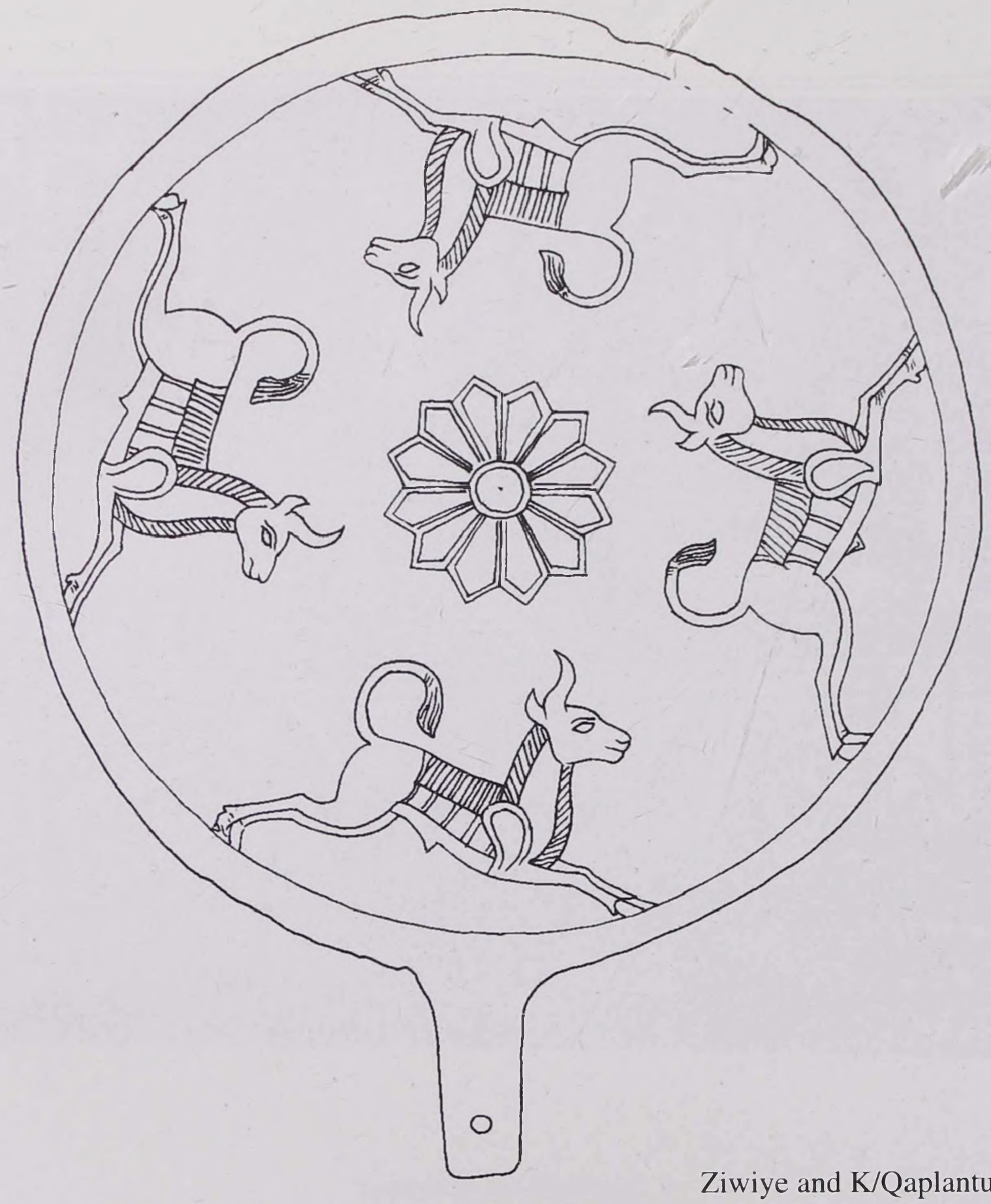
Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 6

Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 7

Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 9



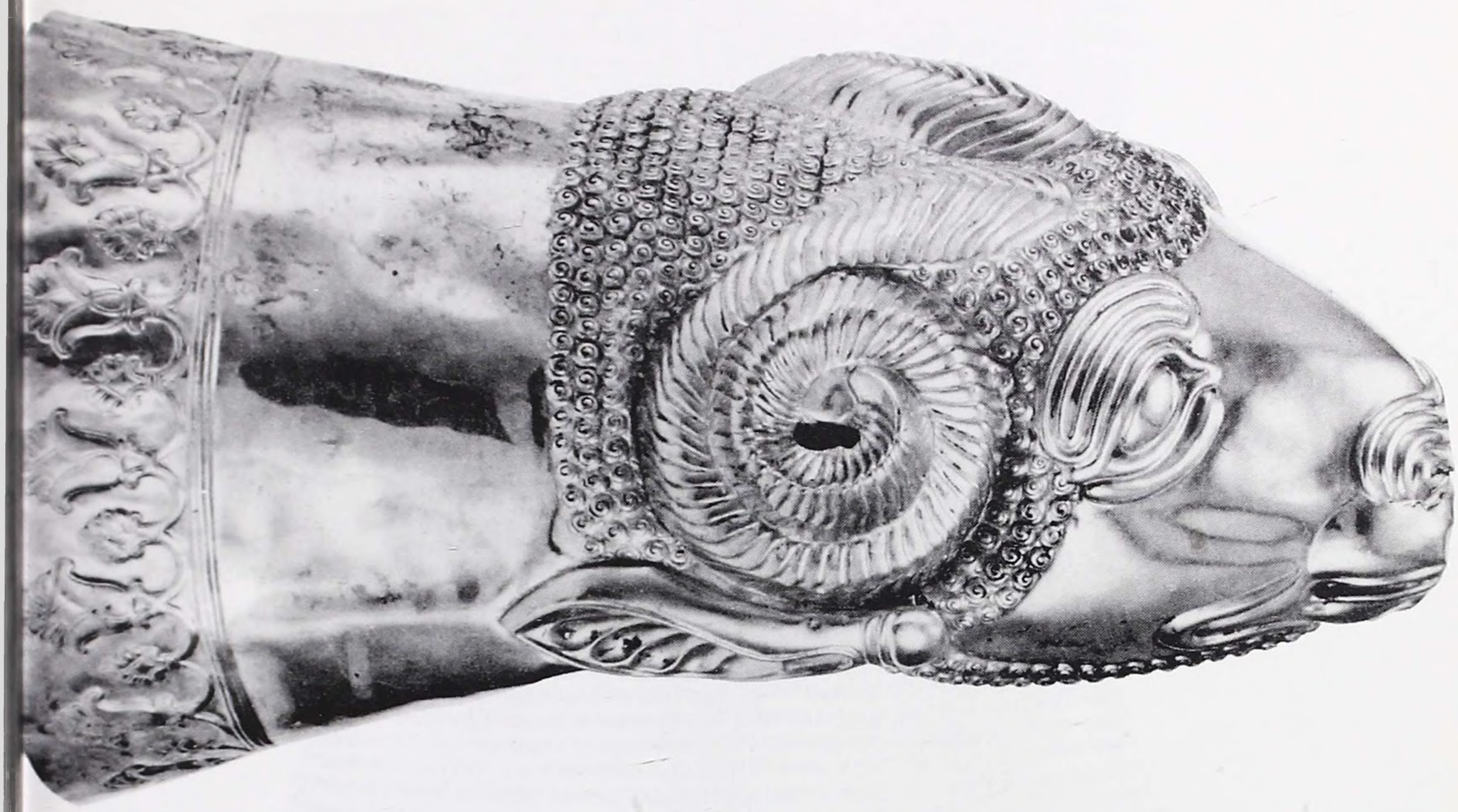
Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 16



Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 18, 19

Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 25

Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 26, 27



Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 34, 37

Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 38

Ziwiye and K/Qaplantu 40, 41

The Zurvan Group 1

The Zurvan Group 2

The Zurvan Group 3

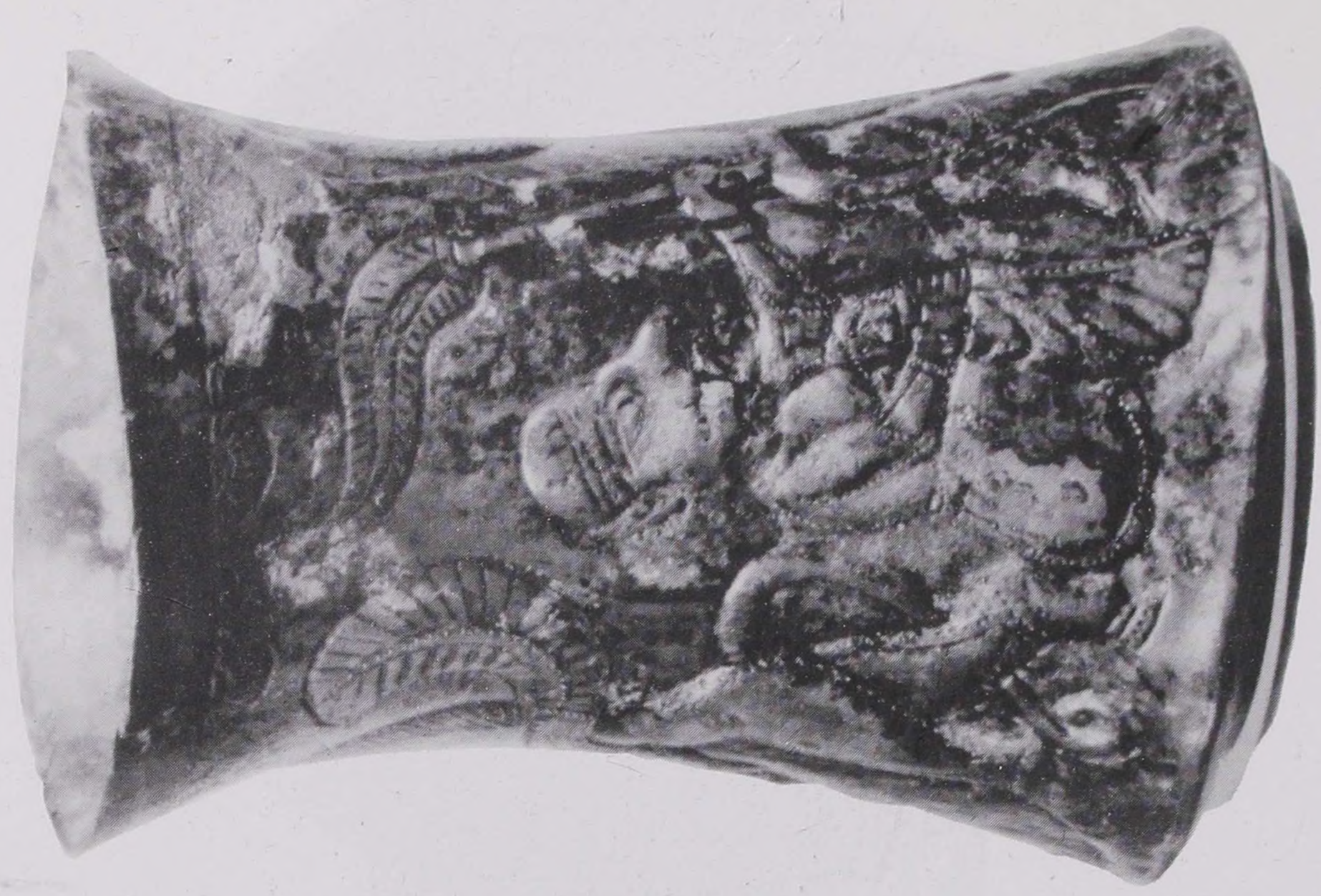
The Zurvan Group 4

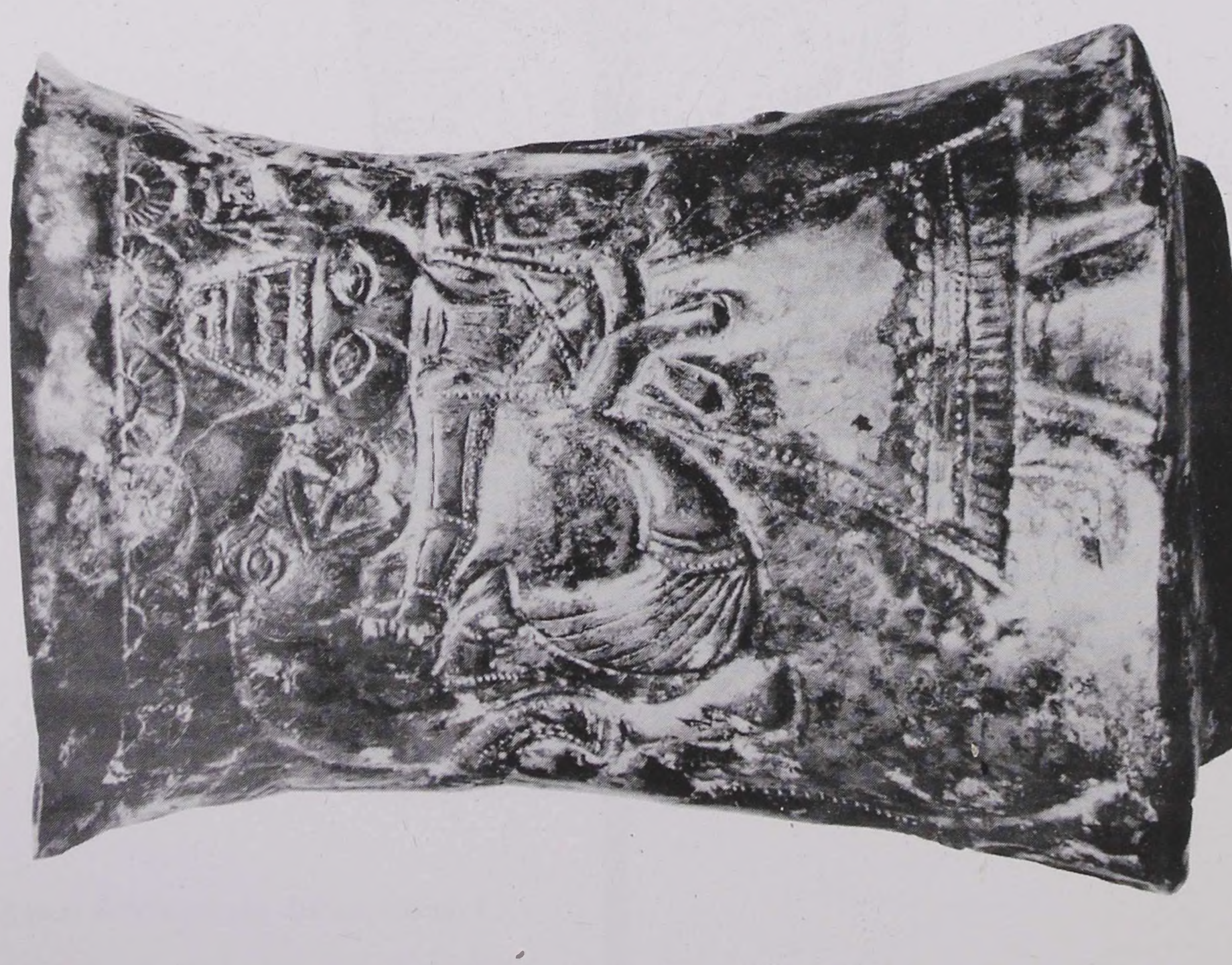
The Zurvan Group 5

The Zurvan Group 6

Objects Related to the Zurvan Group 1

Objects Related to the Zurvan Group 3





Objects Related to the Zurvan Group 4

Disc Pins 1-5

Disc Pins 8

Disc Pins 10

Disc Pins 19

Disc Pins 27

Tondoi 1

Luristan

Tondoi 10

Strips and Belts 1

Strips and Belts 4

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 1

Luristan

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 2

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 9

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 11, 12, 13

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 14

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 15

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 16

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 24

Embellished Vessels and Other Objects 26

Pastiches 1

Pastiches 2

Pastiches 16

Pastiches 26

Luristan

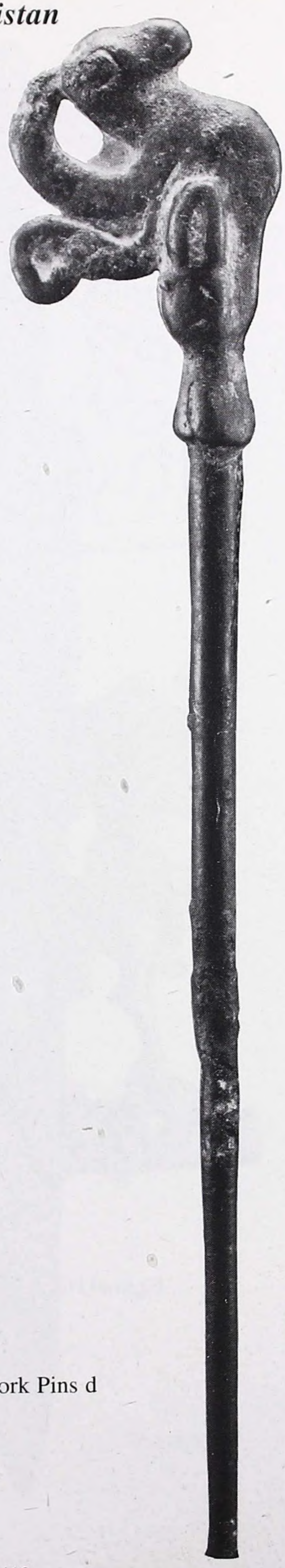
Pastiches 29

Decorated Nipple Beakers 6

Luristan

Decorated Nipple Beakers 11

Luristan



Openwork Pins d

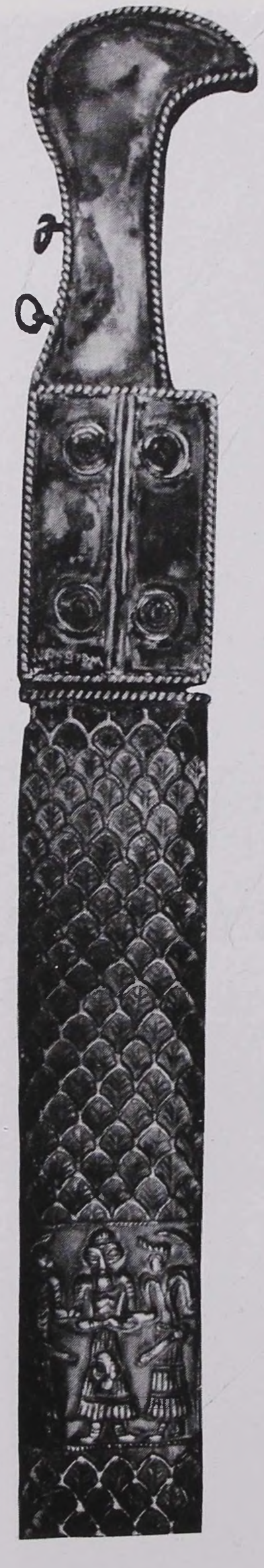
Figured Horse Cheekpieces 5, 7

Luristan

Weapons 14

Quivers 2

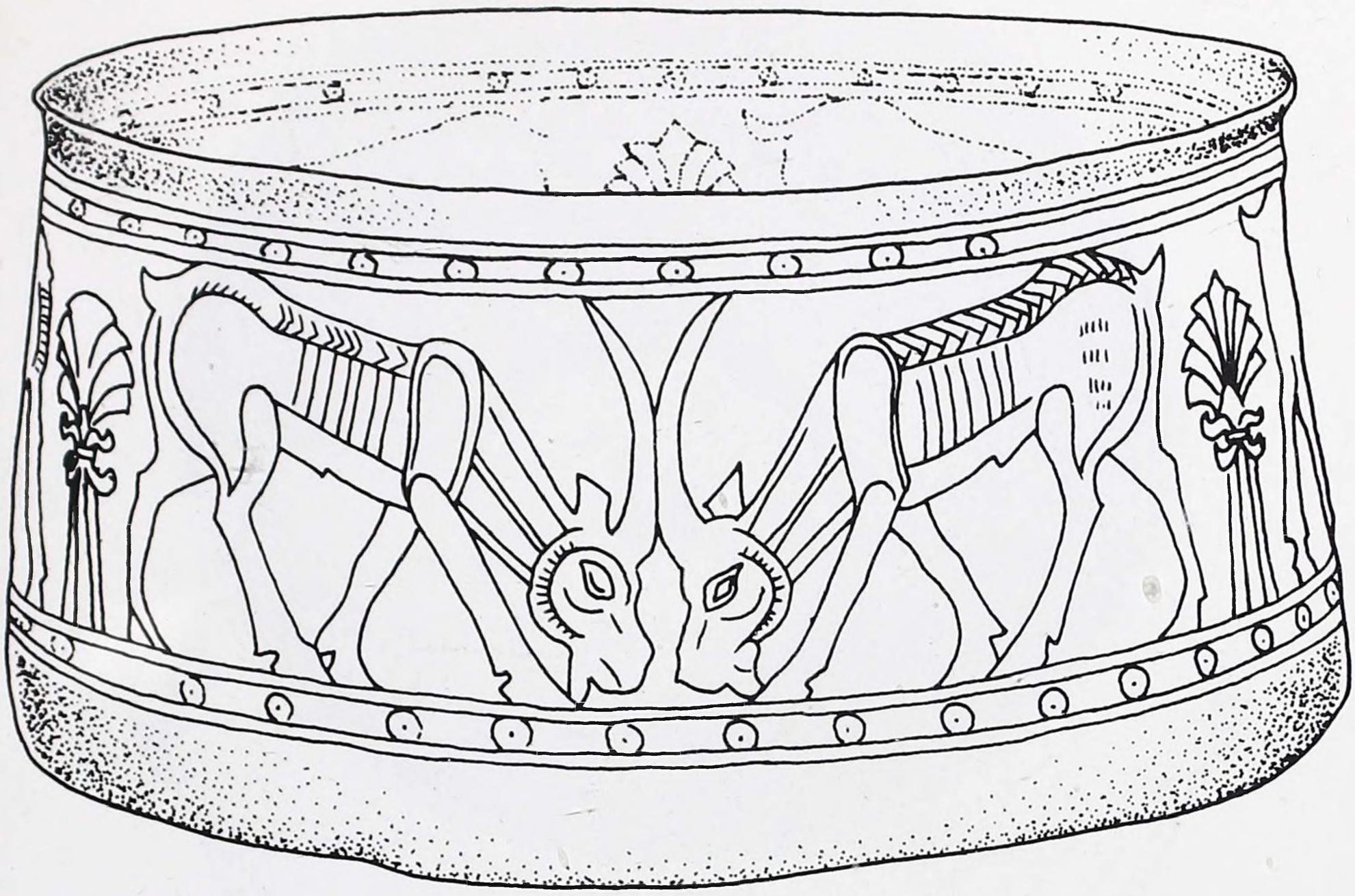
Quivers 4



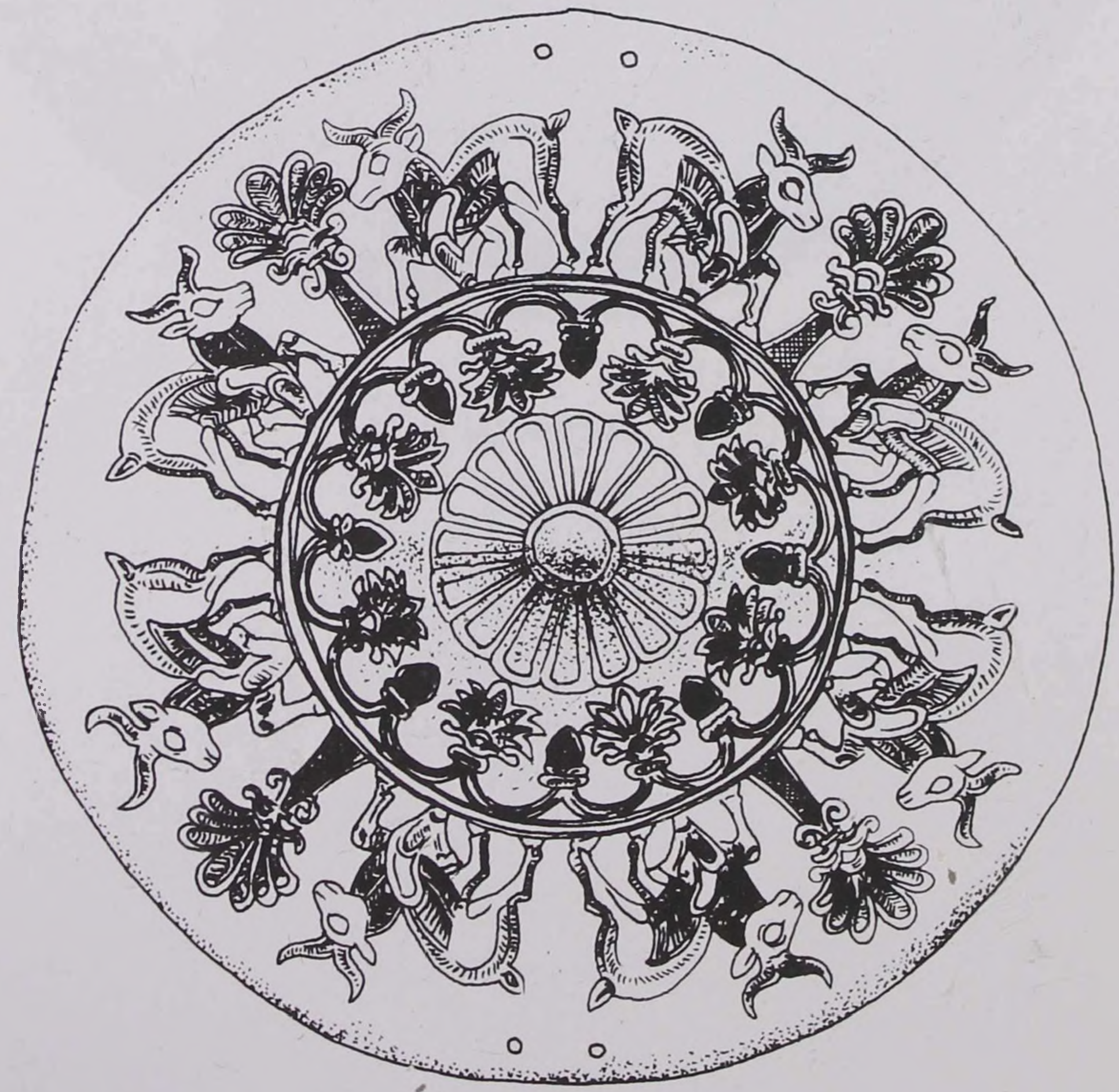
Quivers 5

Quivers 6, 11

Iran General 1

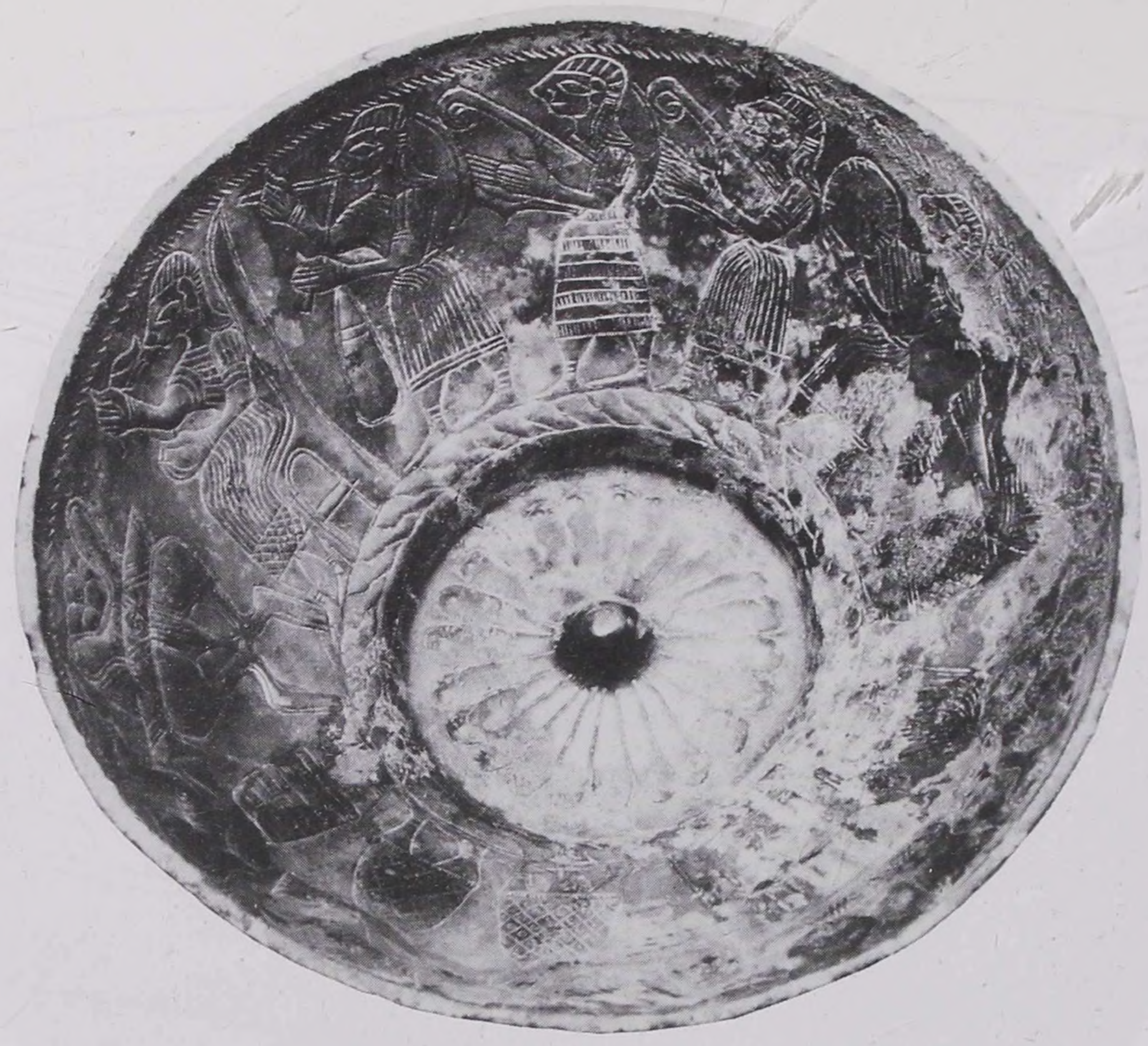


Iran General 4



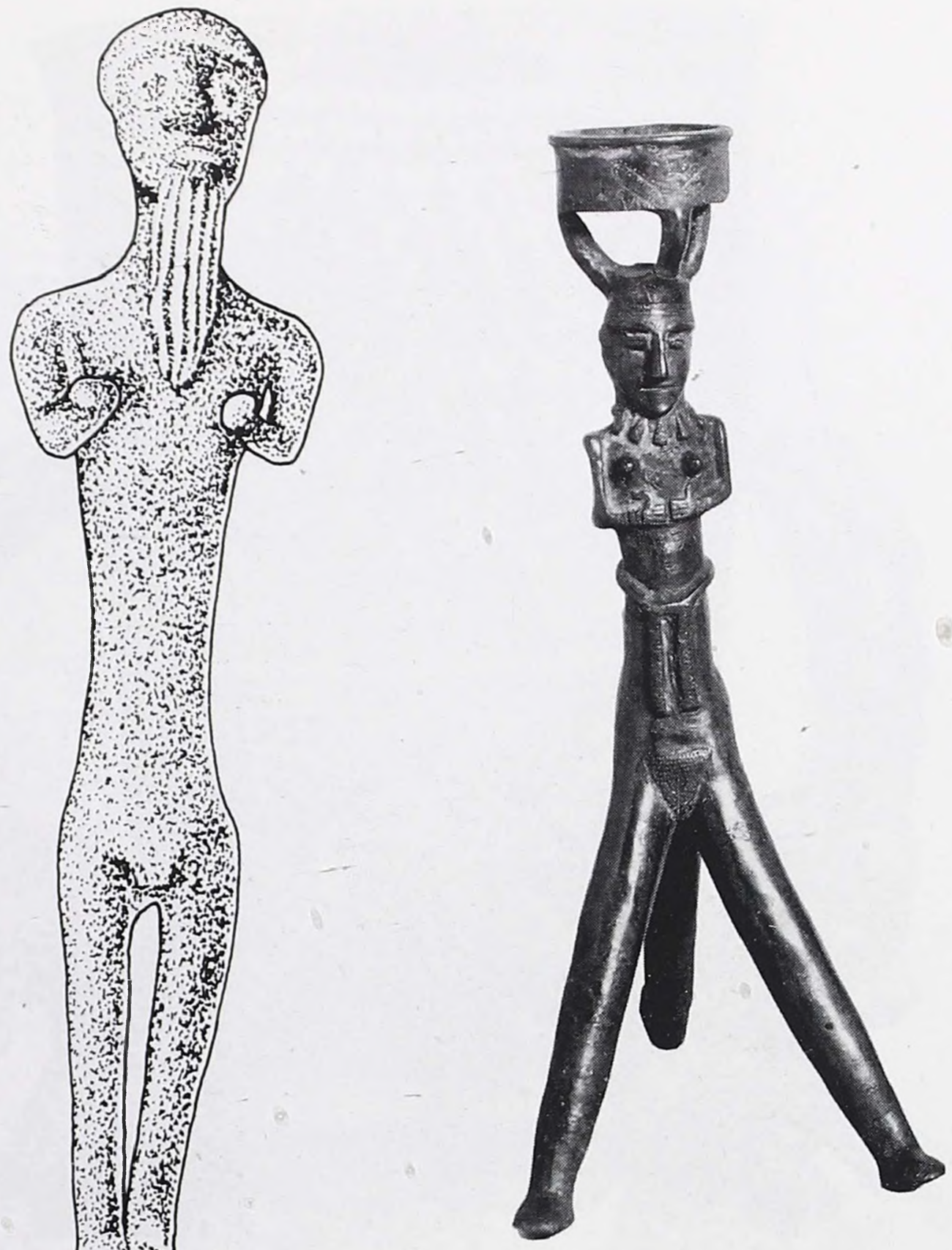
Iran General 9, 13

Iran, Genaral



Iran General 14, 15

Iran, Sculpture 11

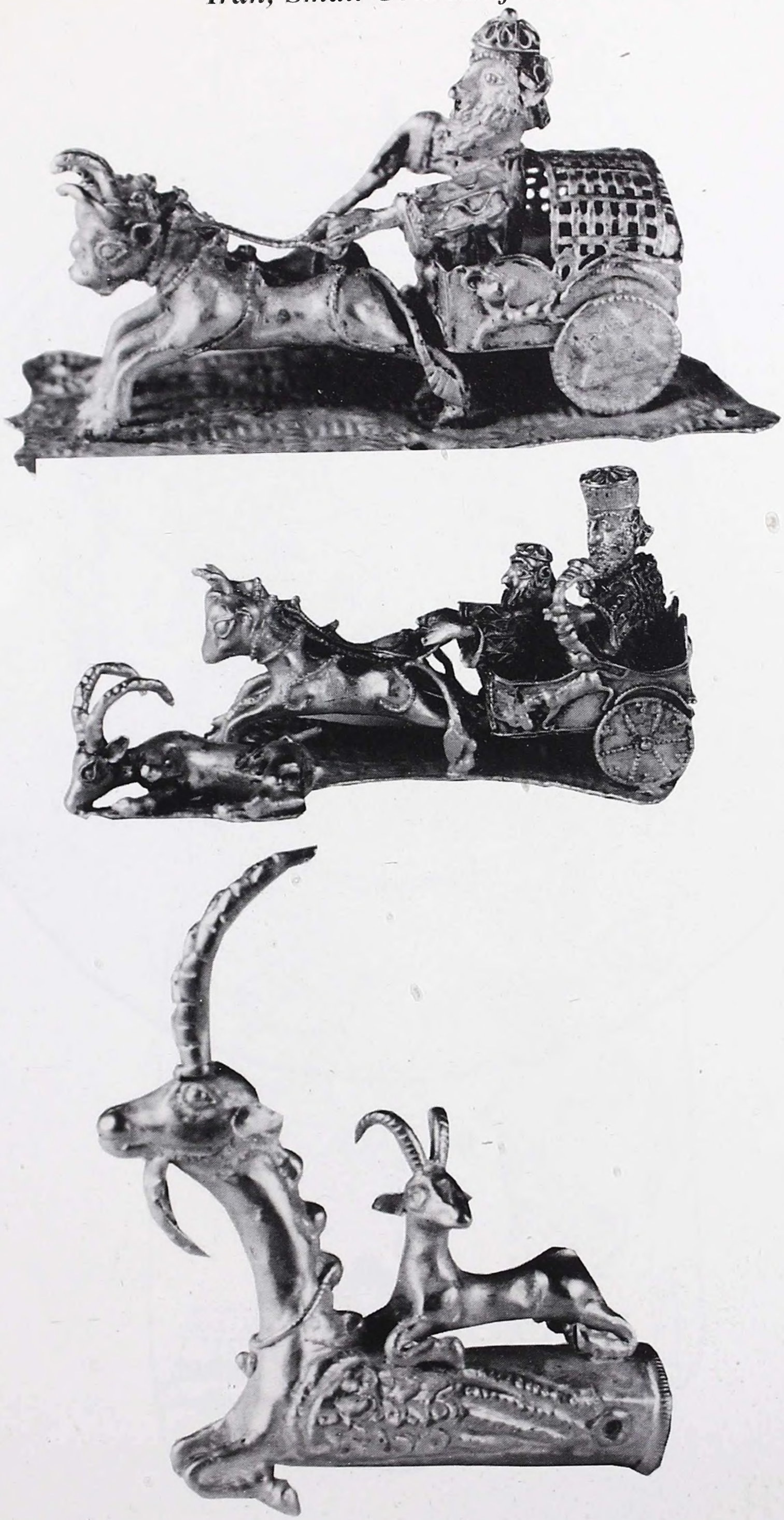


Iran, Sculpture 14, 24

Iran, Small Gold Artifacts 1

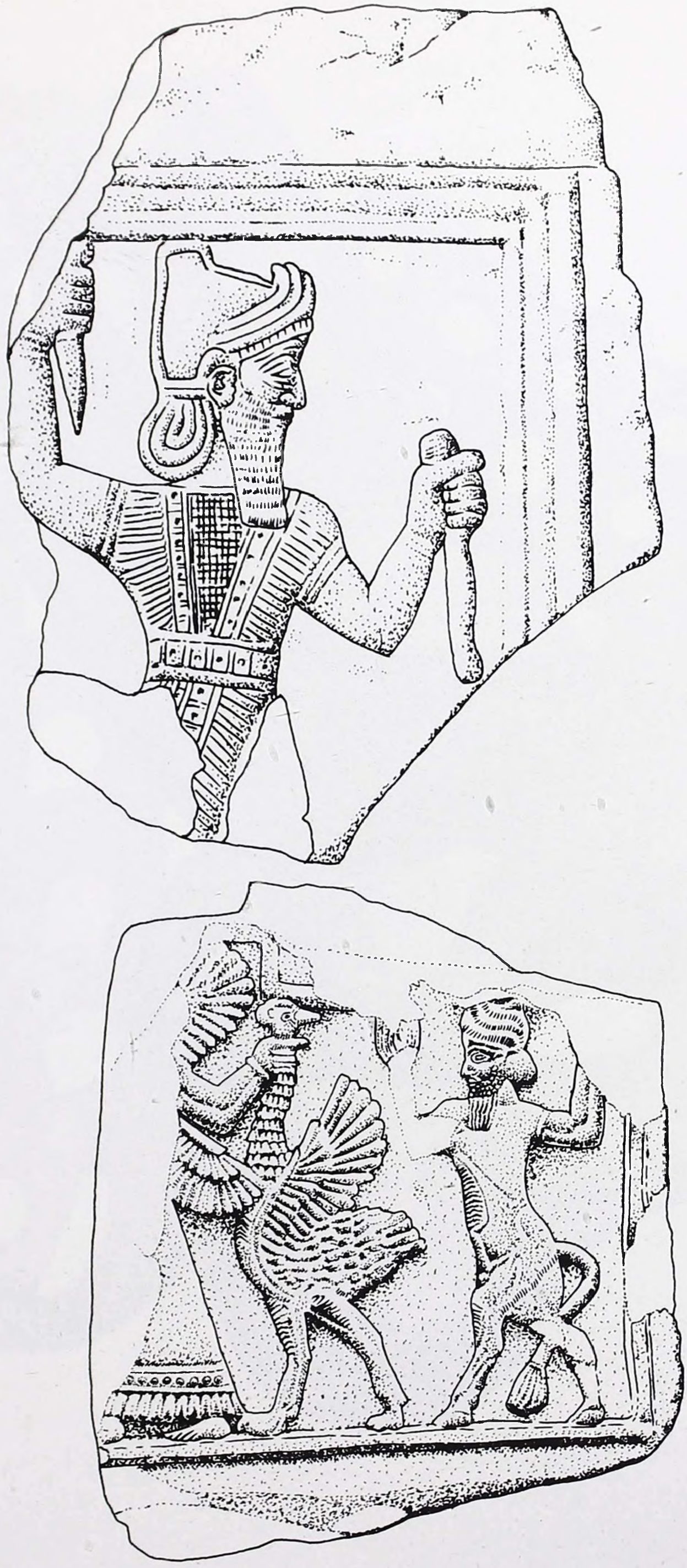
Iran, Small Gold Artifacts 2

Iran, Small Gold Artifacts 3



Iran, Small Gold Artifacts 5, 6, 7

Elamite Art 3



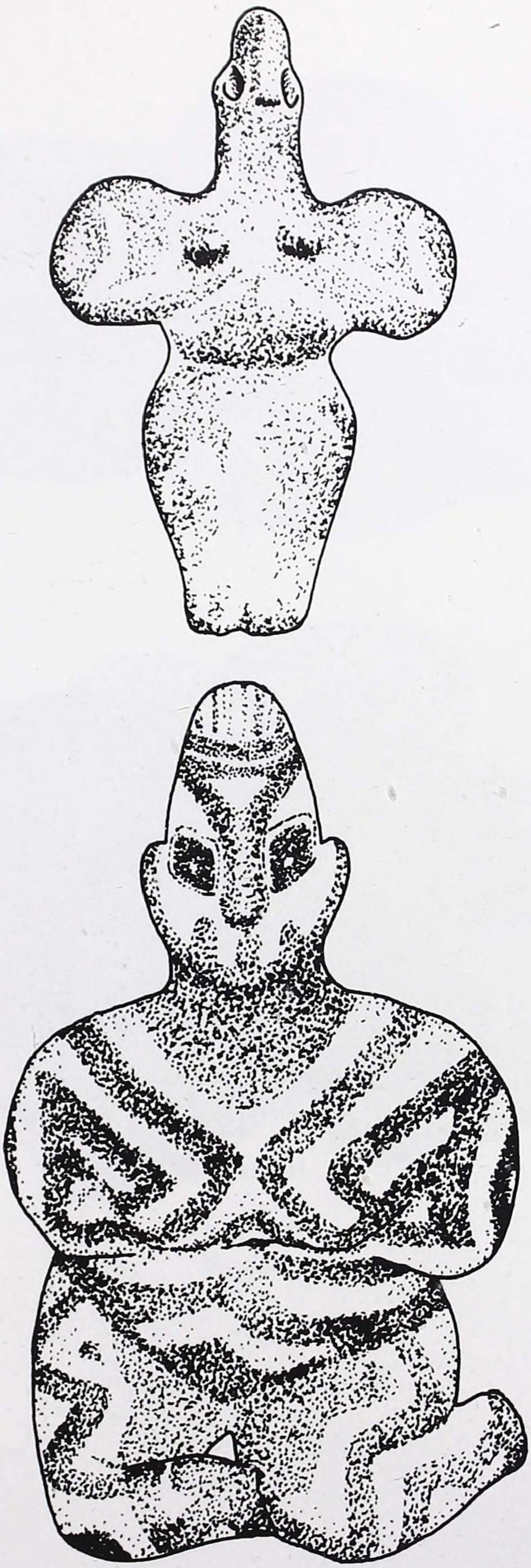
Elamite Art 7, 8

Scythian 1

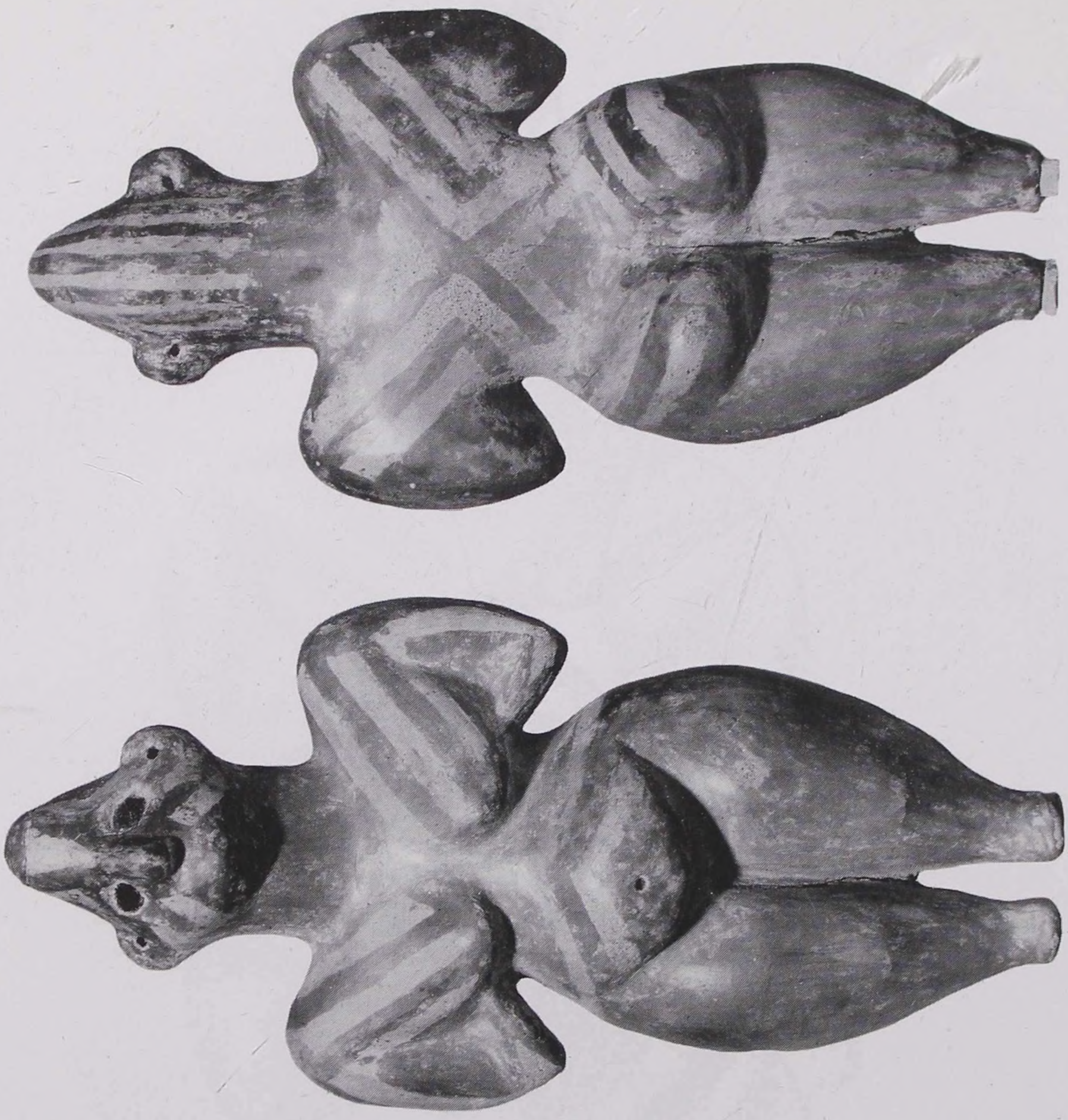
Scythian

Scythian 2

Hacilar 1



Hacilar 2, 3



Hacilar 6

Hacilar 7, 8

Hacilar

Hacilar 13

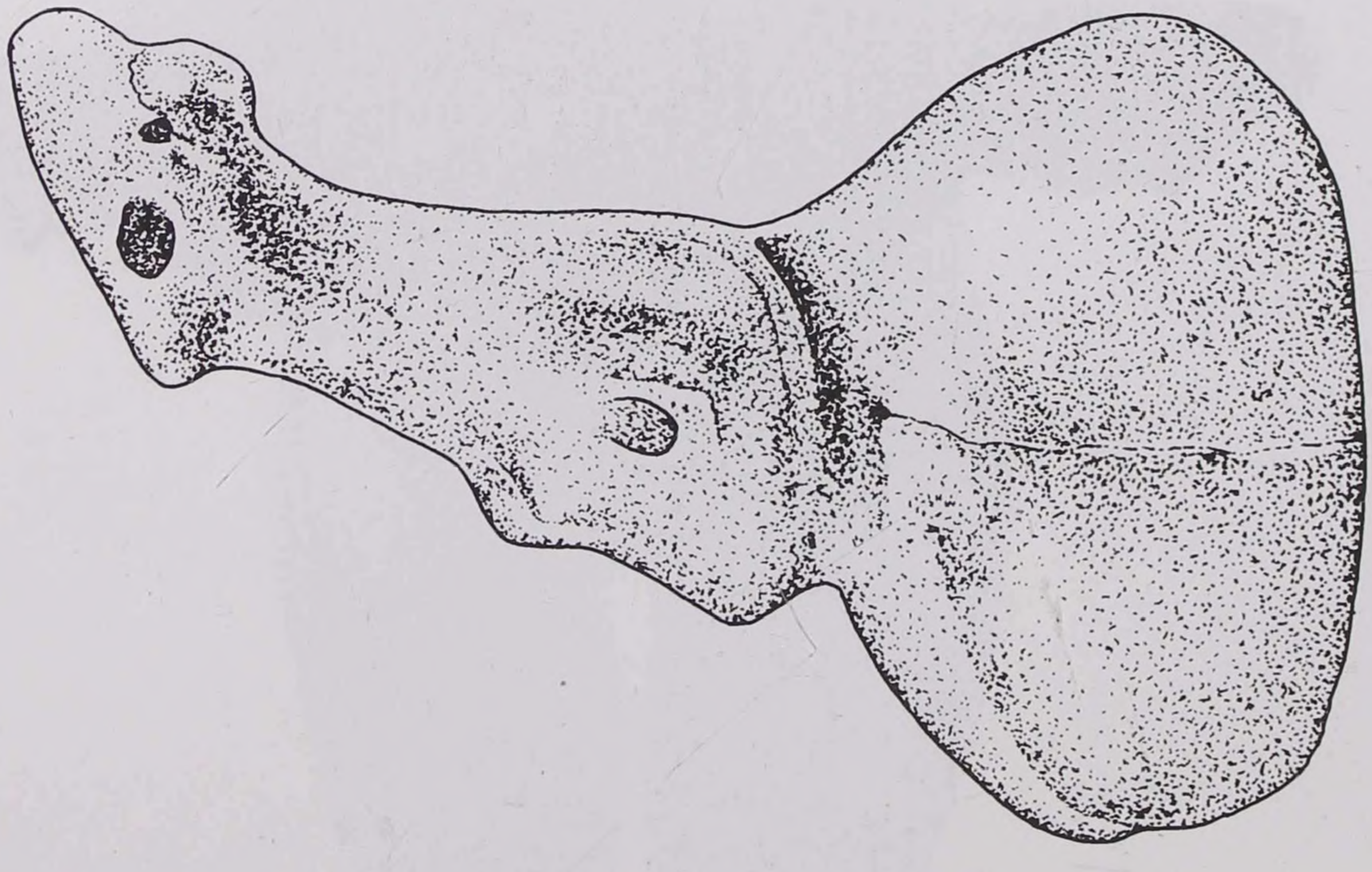
Hacilar 14

Hacilar 13

Hacilar 14

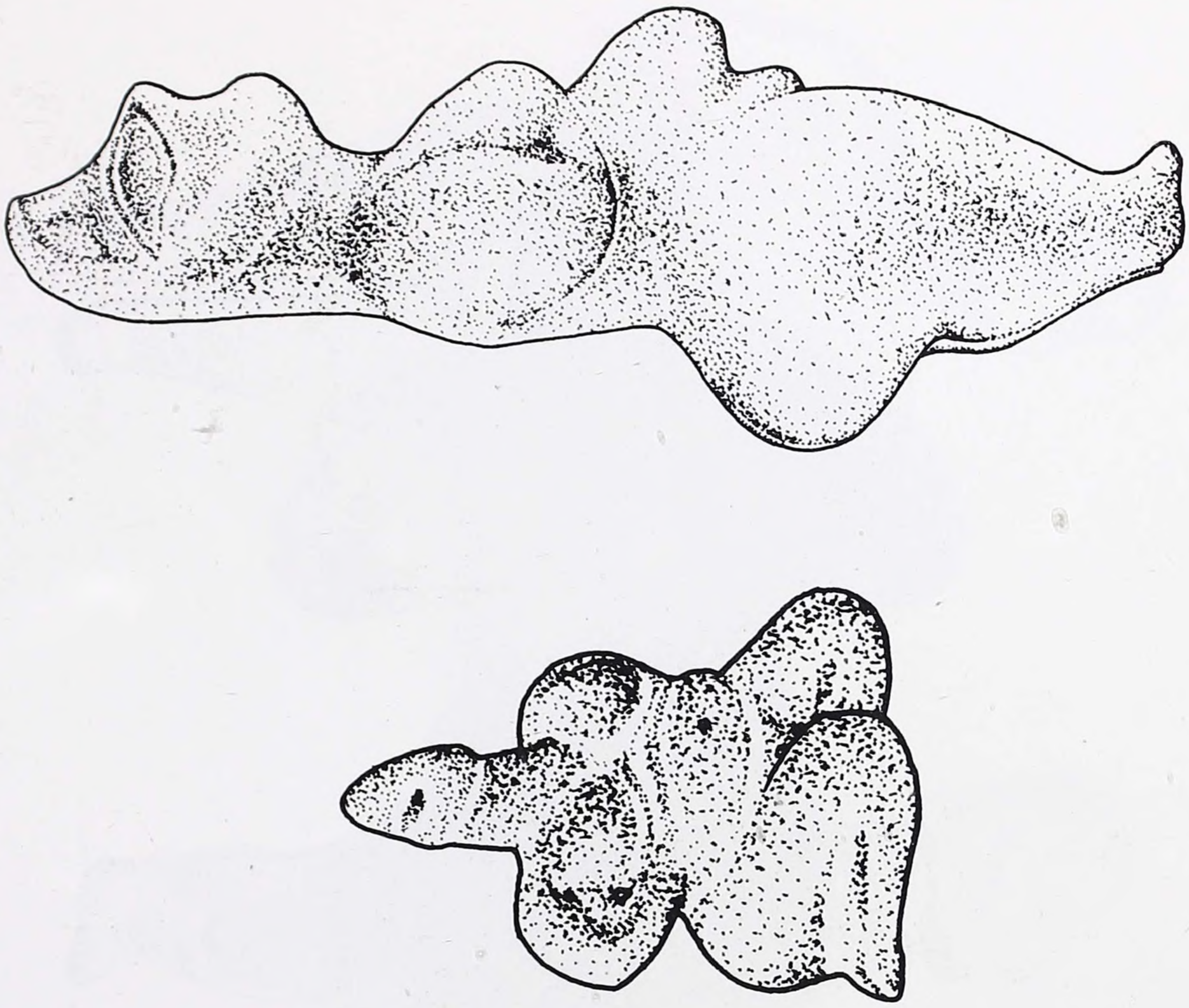
Hacilar 13

Hacilar 14

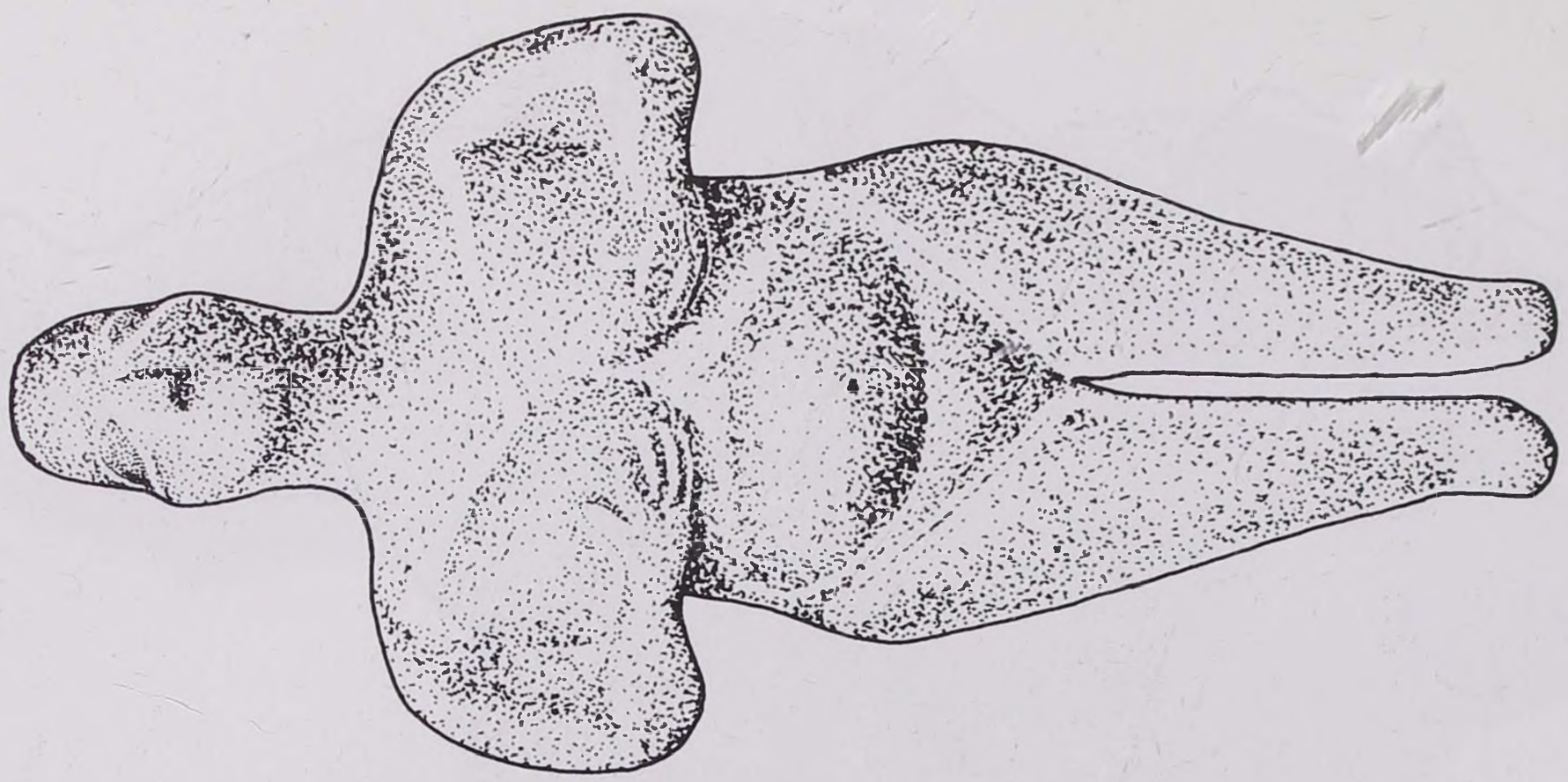


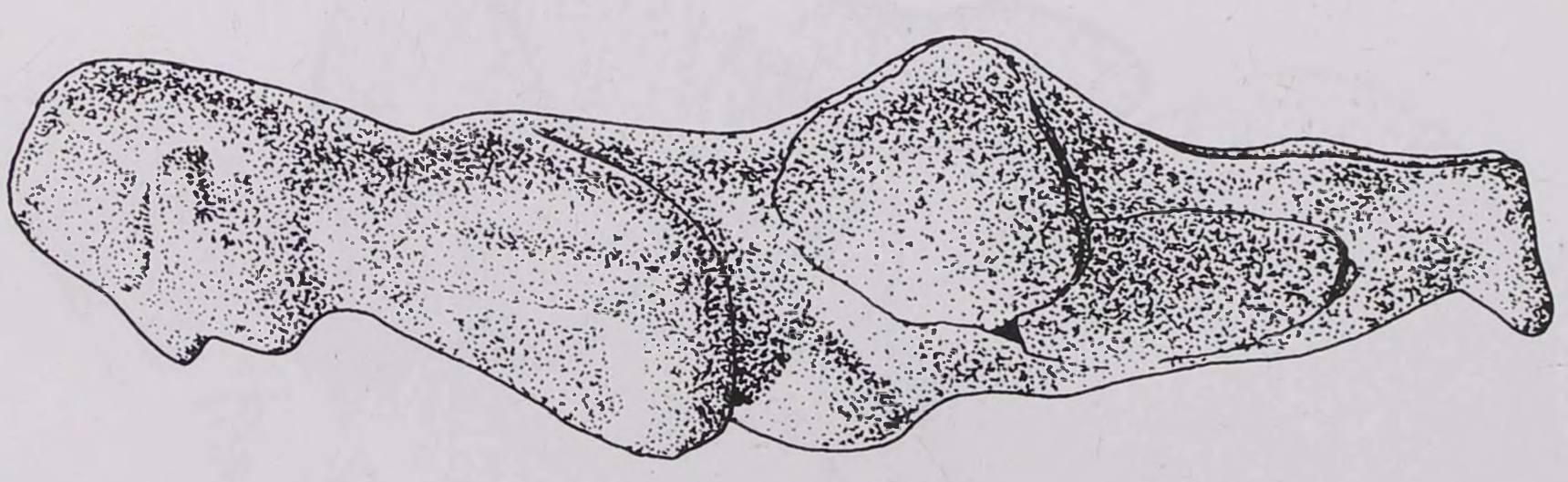
Hacilar 31, 32

Hacilar



Hacilar 33, 35



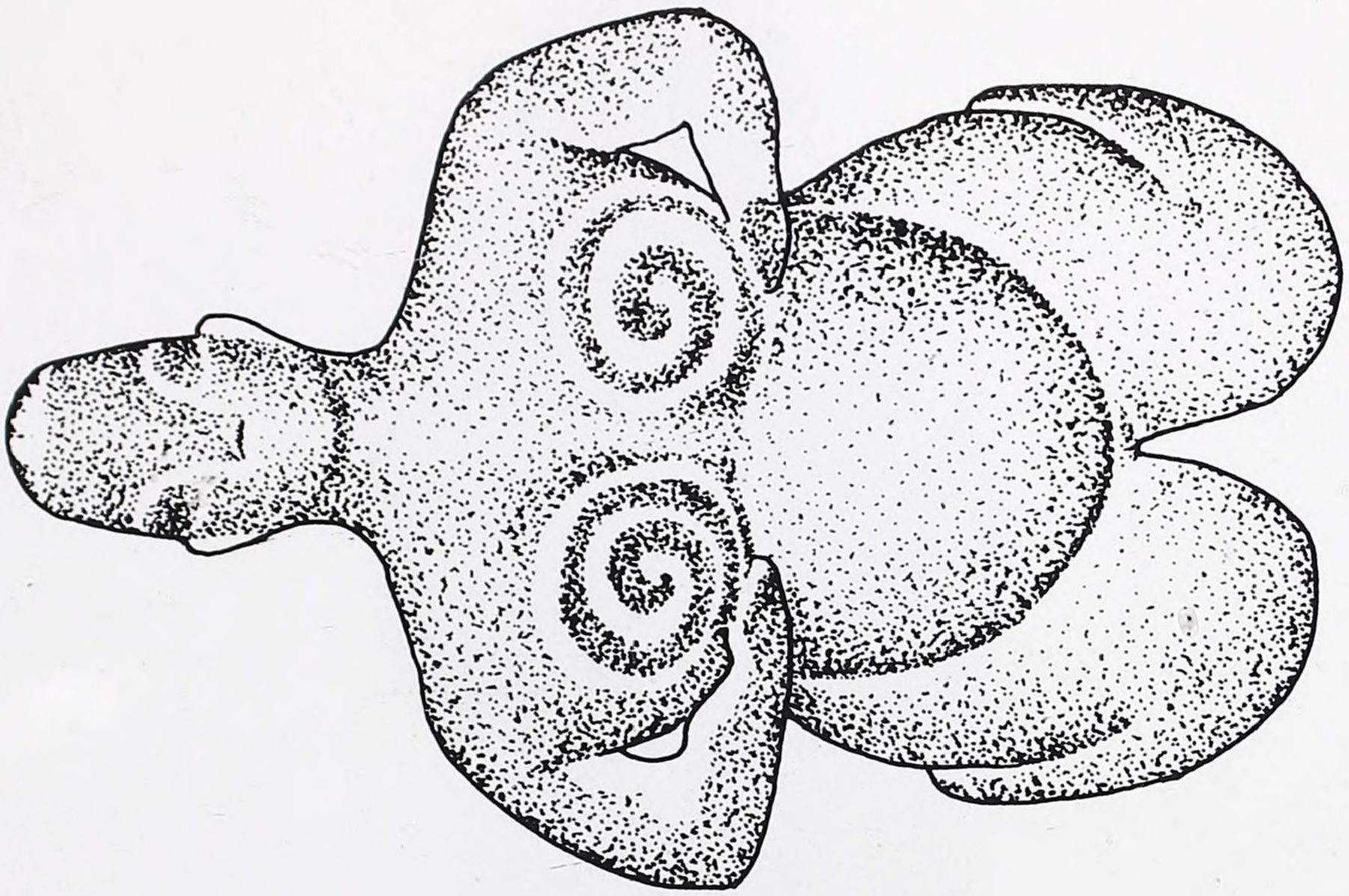


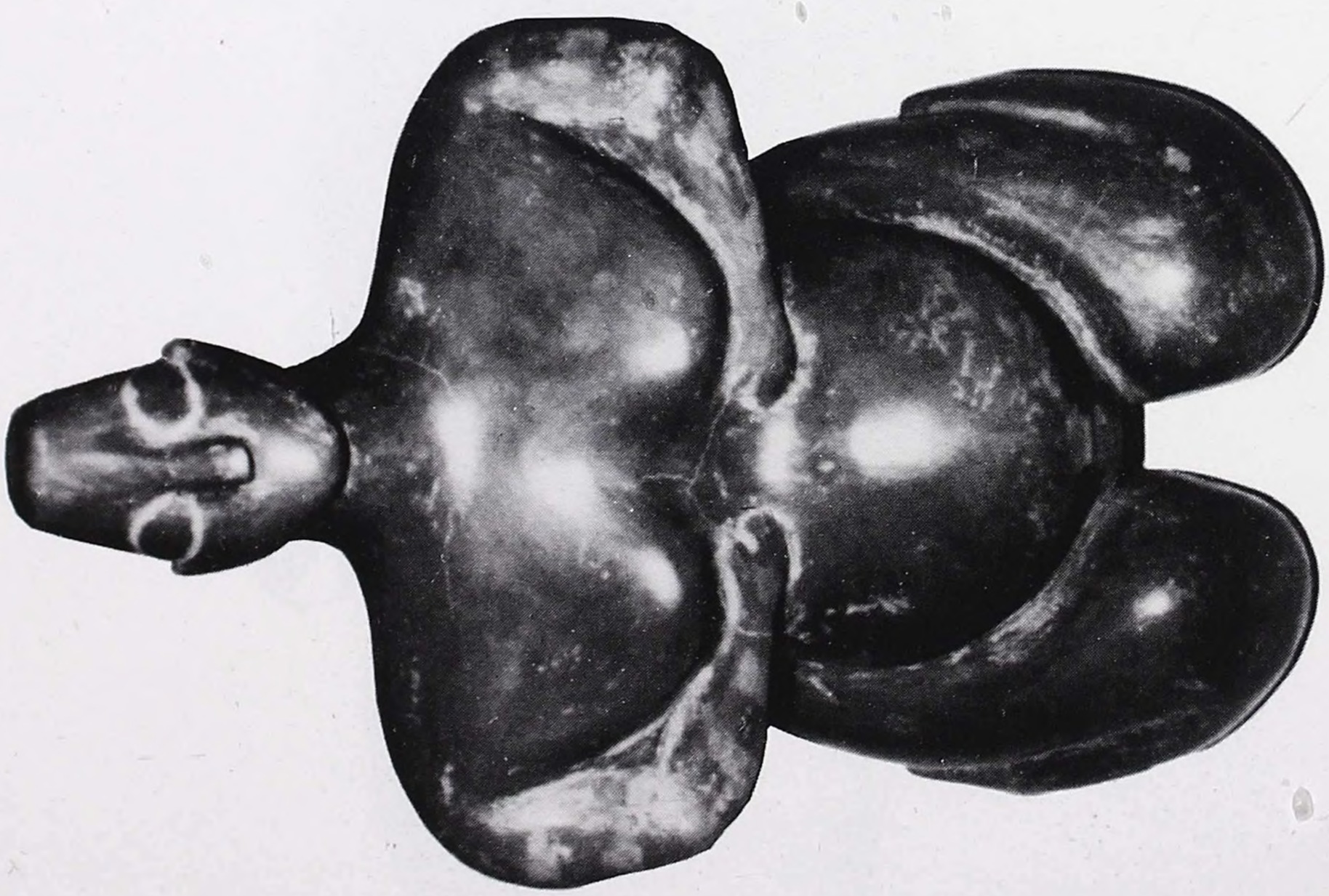
Hacilar 36

Hacilar 37

Hacilar

Hacilar 38

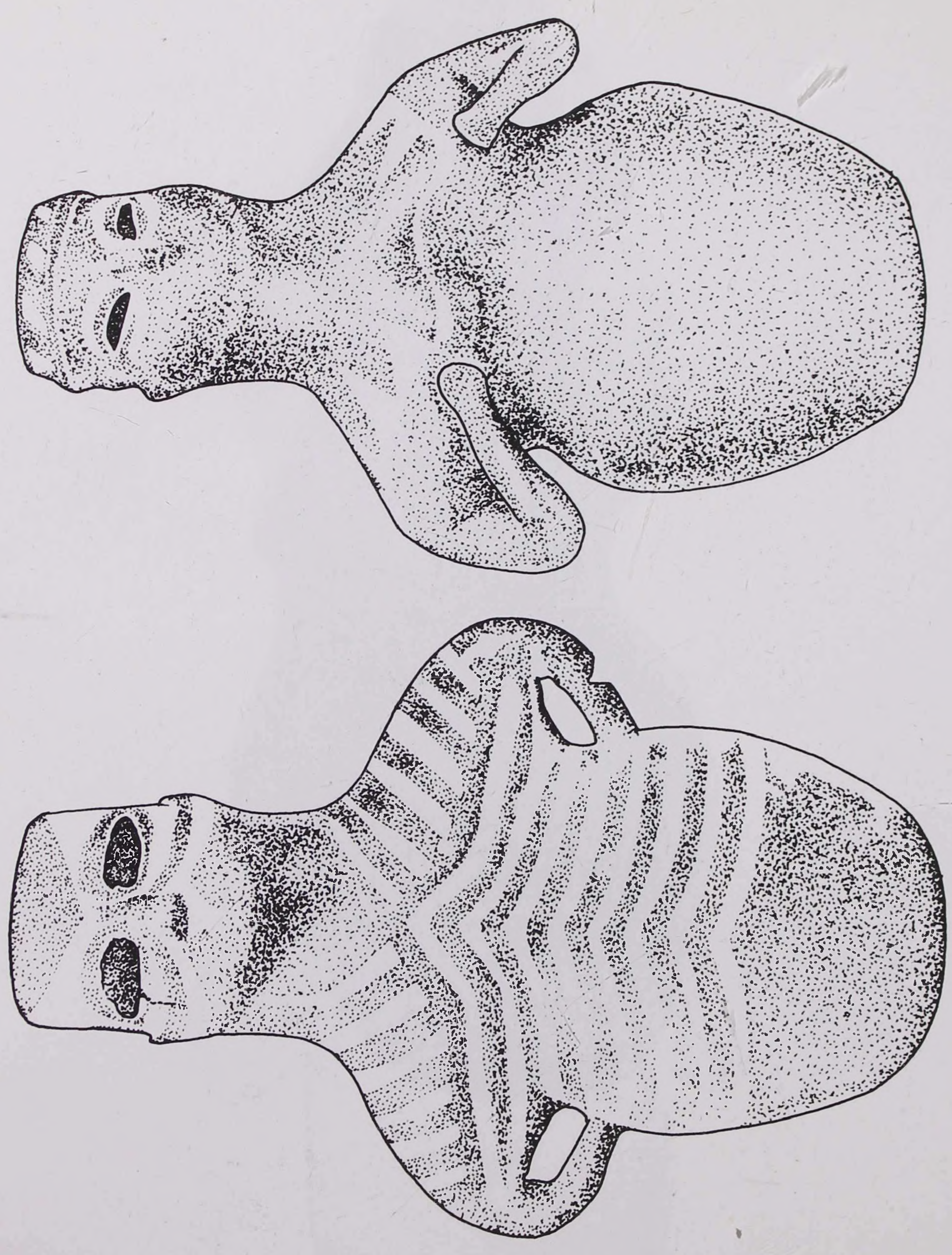




Hacilar 40, 41

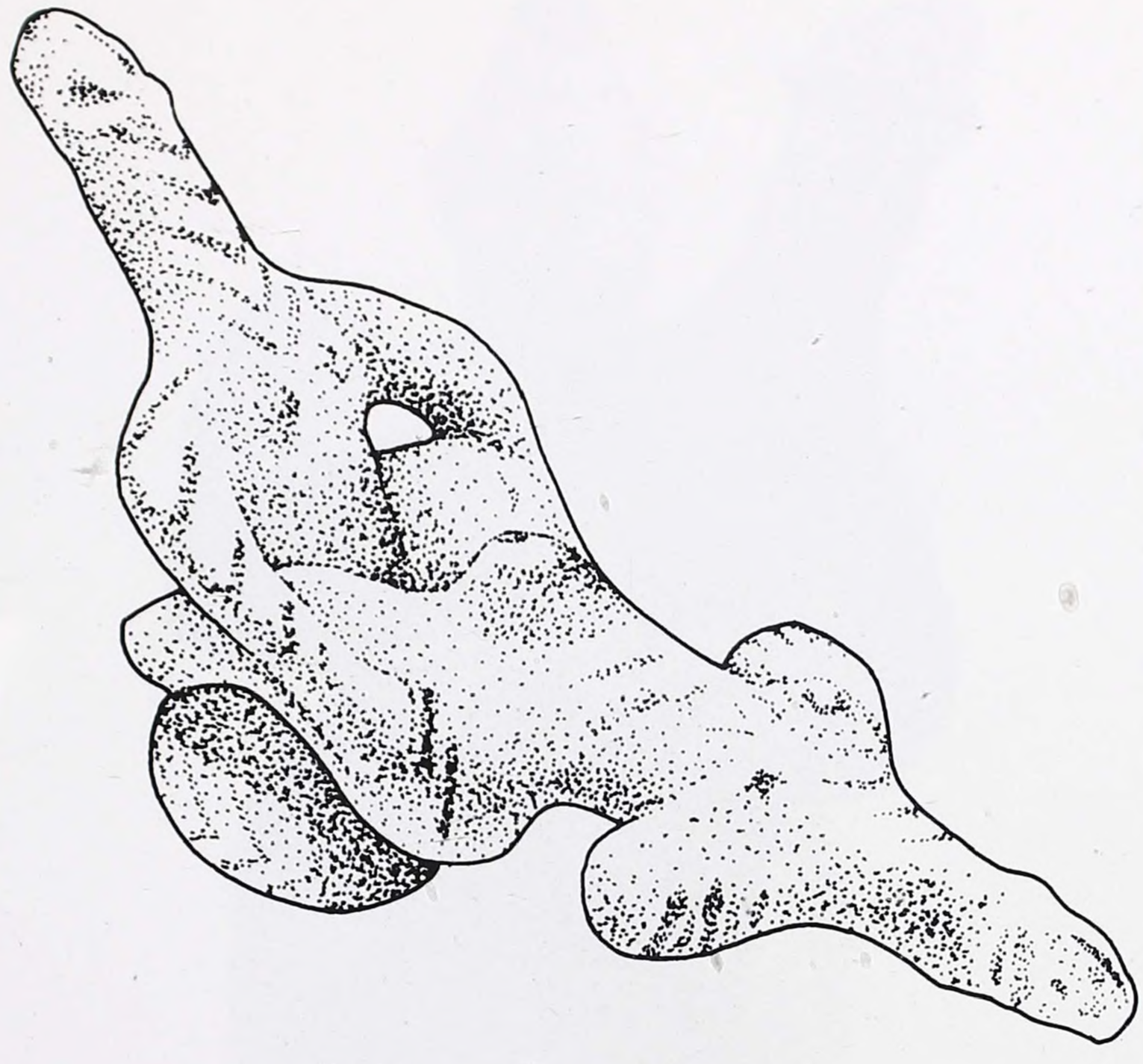
Hacilar 45, 54

Hacilar 55



Hacilar 56, 57

Hacilar



Hacilar 58

Hacilar 59

Hacilar 65

Hacilar 66

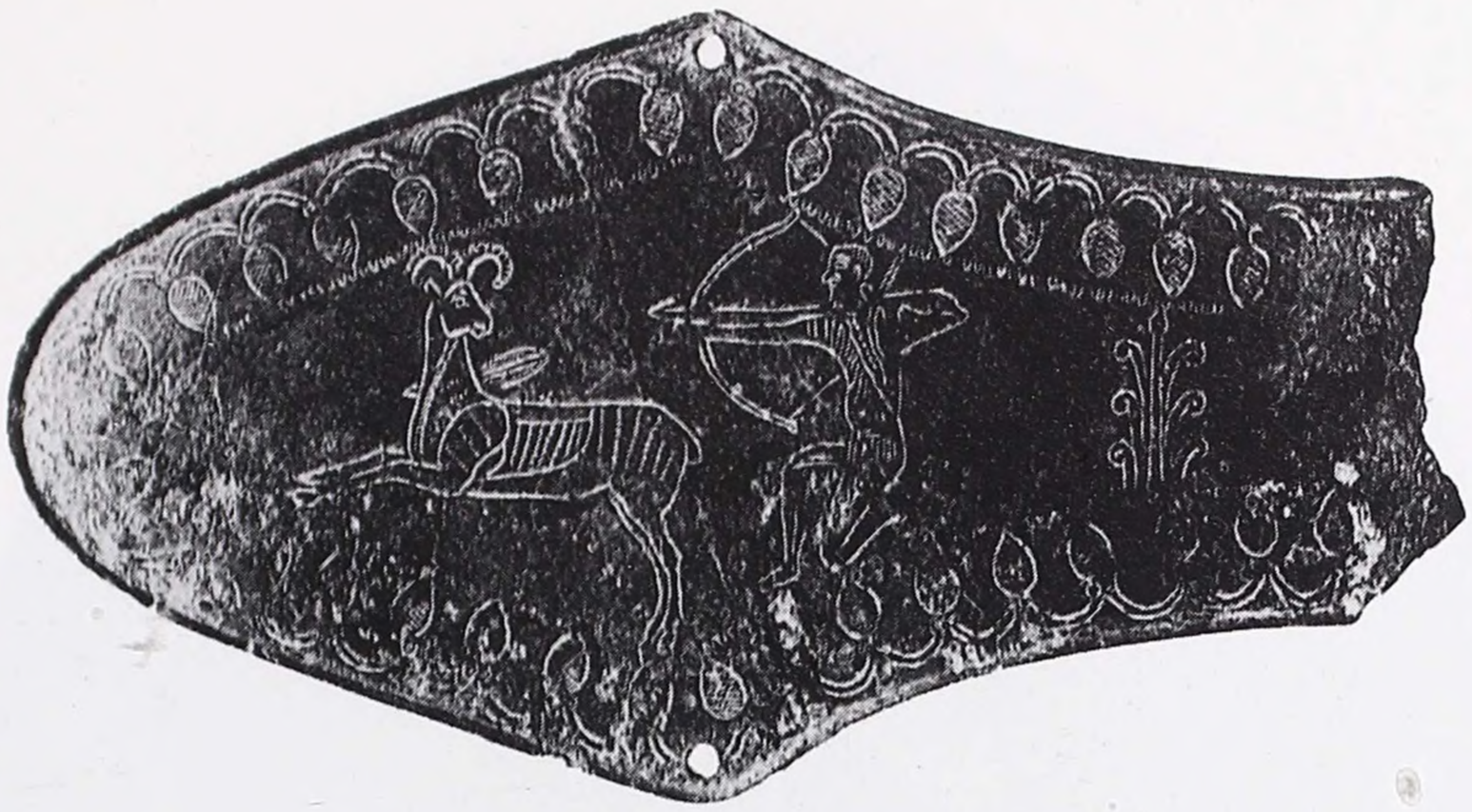
Hacilar

Hacilar 67

Hittite 6

Hittite 6

Urartian 11, 12



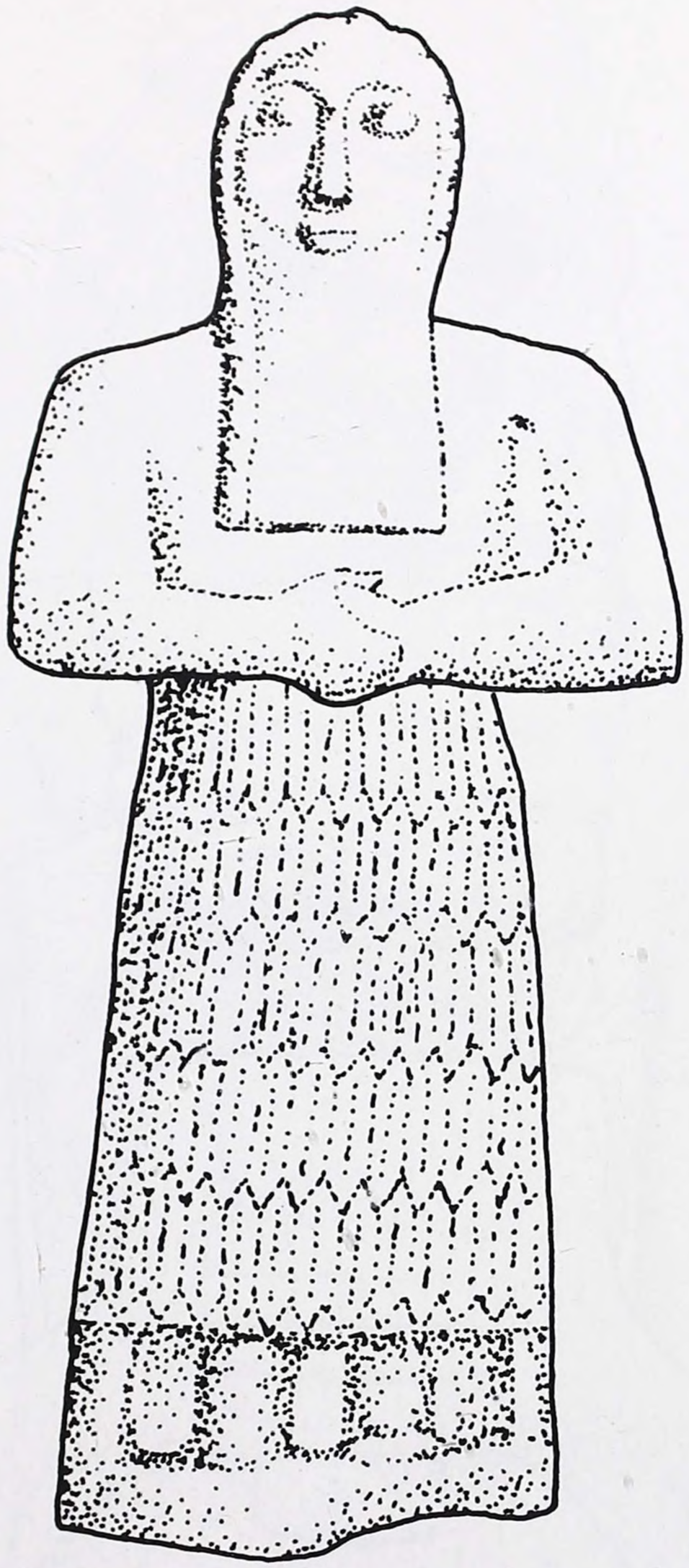
Urartian 16

Giyimli Plaques

Miscellaneous Alleged Anatolian 1

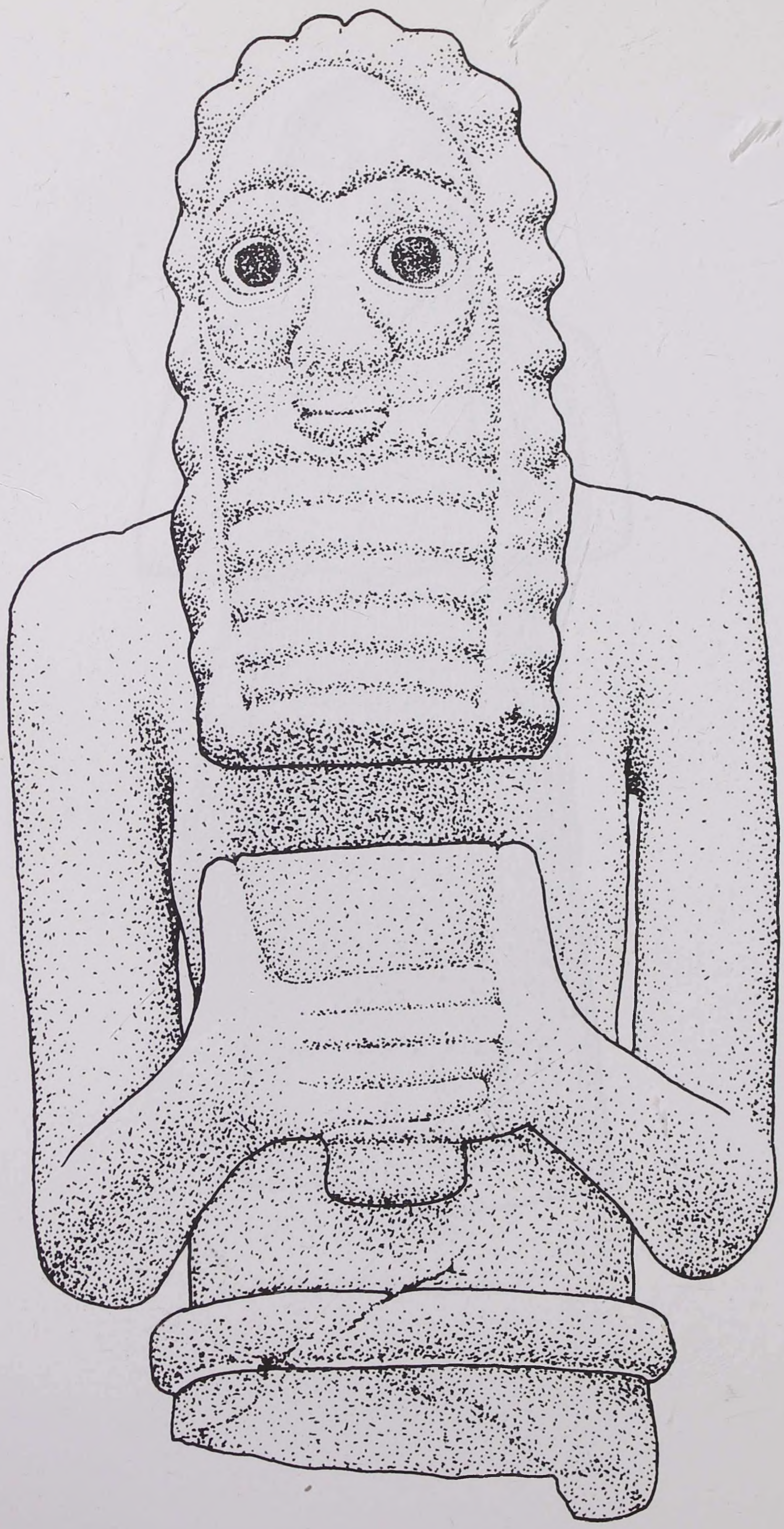
Early Dynastic Sumerian 3

Early Dynastic Sumerian 4



Early Dynastic Sumerian 5

Early Dynastic Sumerian



Early Dynastic Sumerian 6

Early Dynastic Sumerian 7

Early Dynastic Sumerian

Early Dynastic Sumerian 8

Early Dynastic Sumerian 12

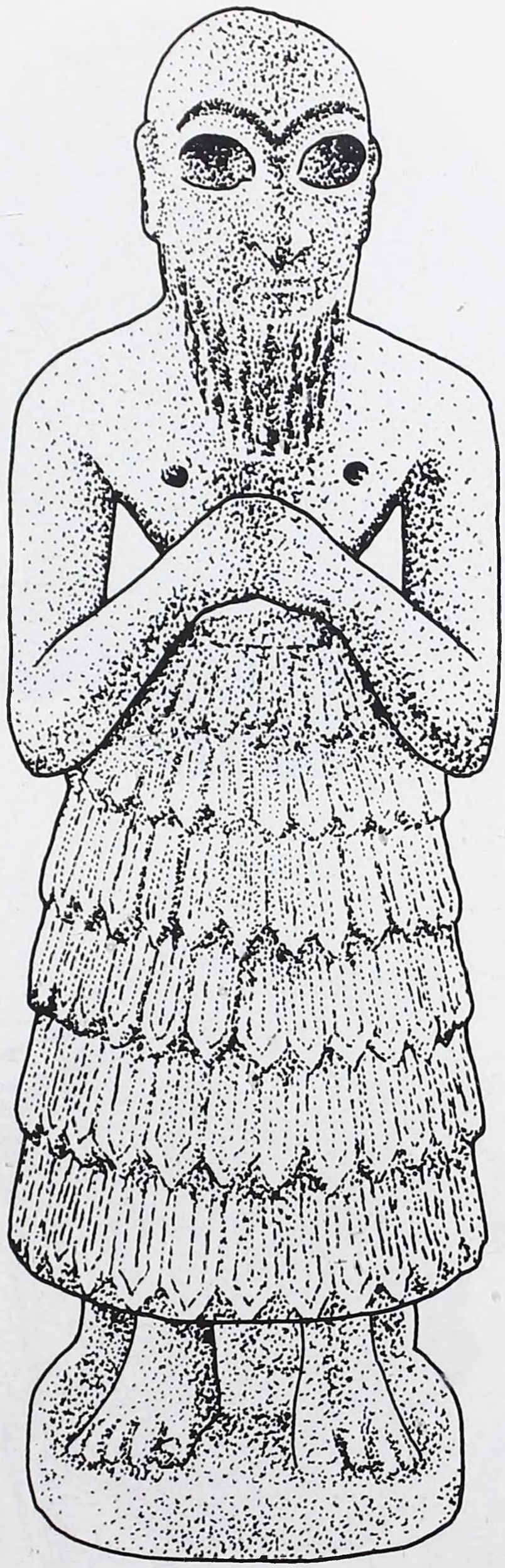
Early Dynastic Sumerian

Early Dynastic Sumerian 14

Early Dynastic Sumerian 15, 16

Early Dynastic Sumerian

Early Dynastic Sumerian 18



Early Dynastic Sumerian 19

Early Dynastic Sumerian 22, 26

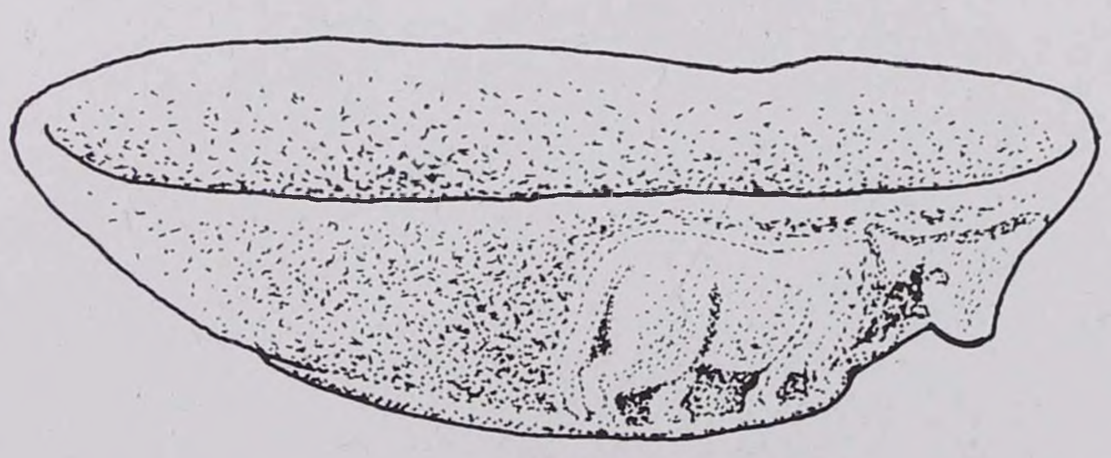
Early Dynastic Sumerian 27, 28

Early Dynastic Sumerian 29

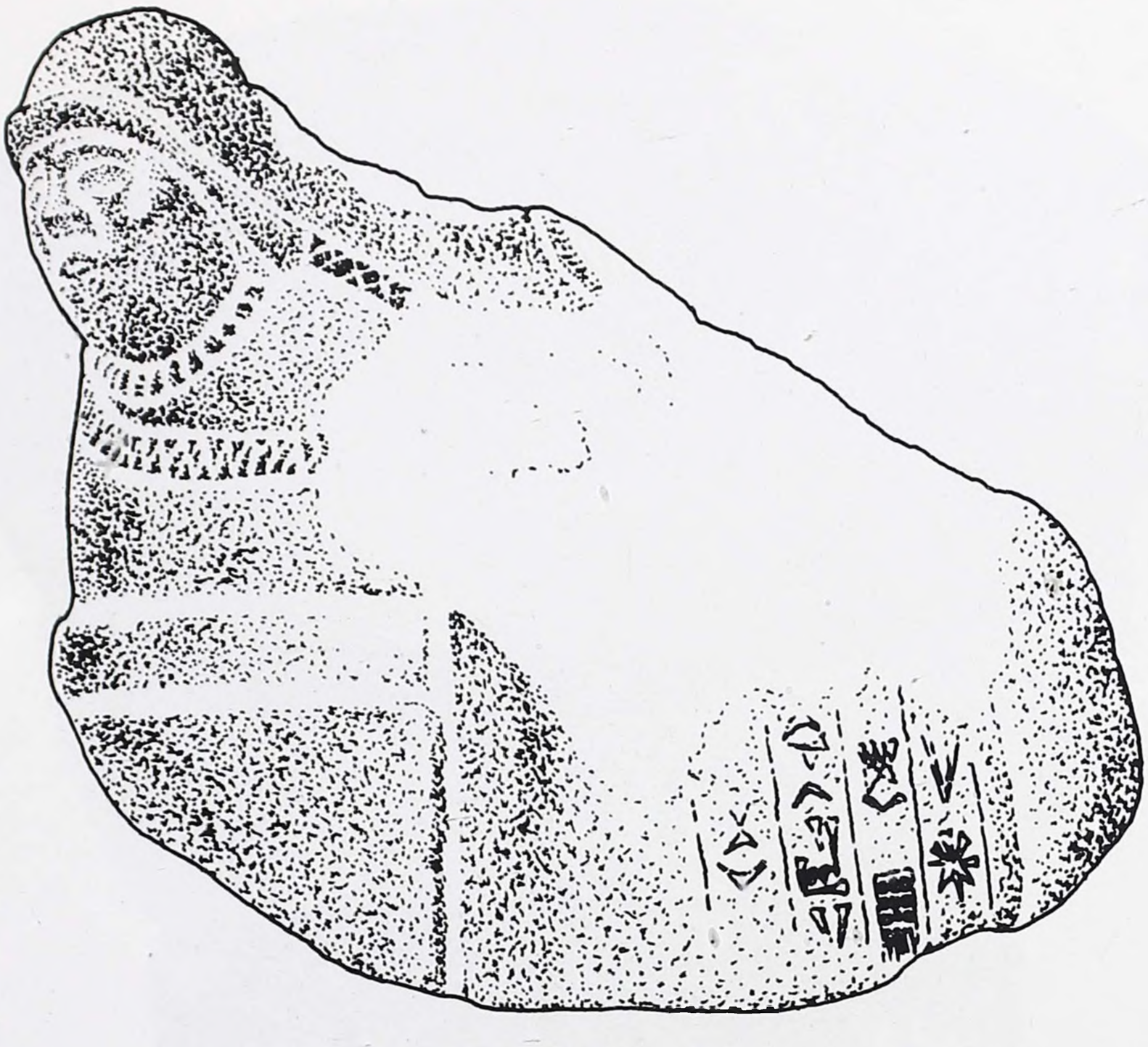
Early Dynastic Sumerian

Early Dynastic Sumerian 33

Early Dynastic Sumerian



Early Dynastic Sumerian 37, 39



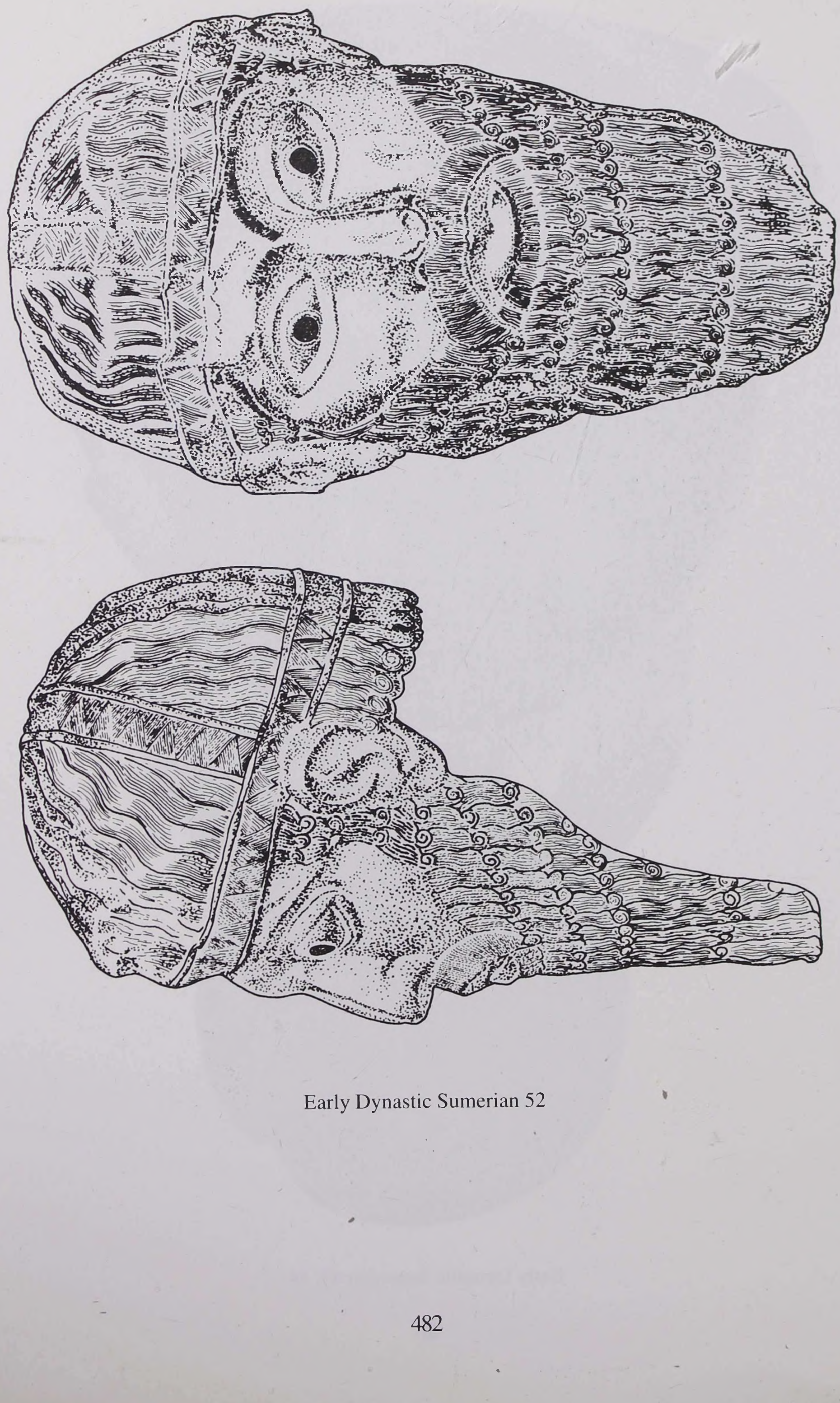
Early Dynastic Sumerian 38

Early Dynastic Sumerian

Early Dynastic Sumerian 40, 42

Early Dynastic Sumerian 43, 44

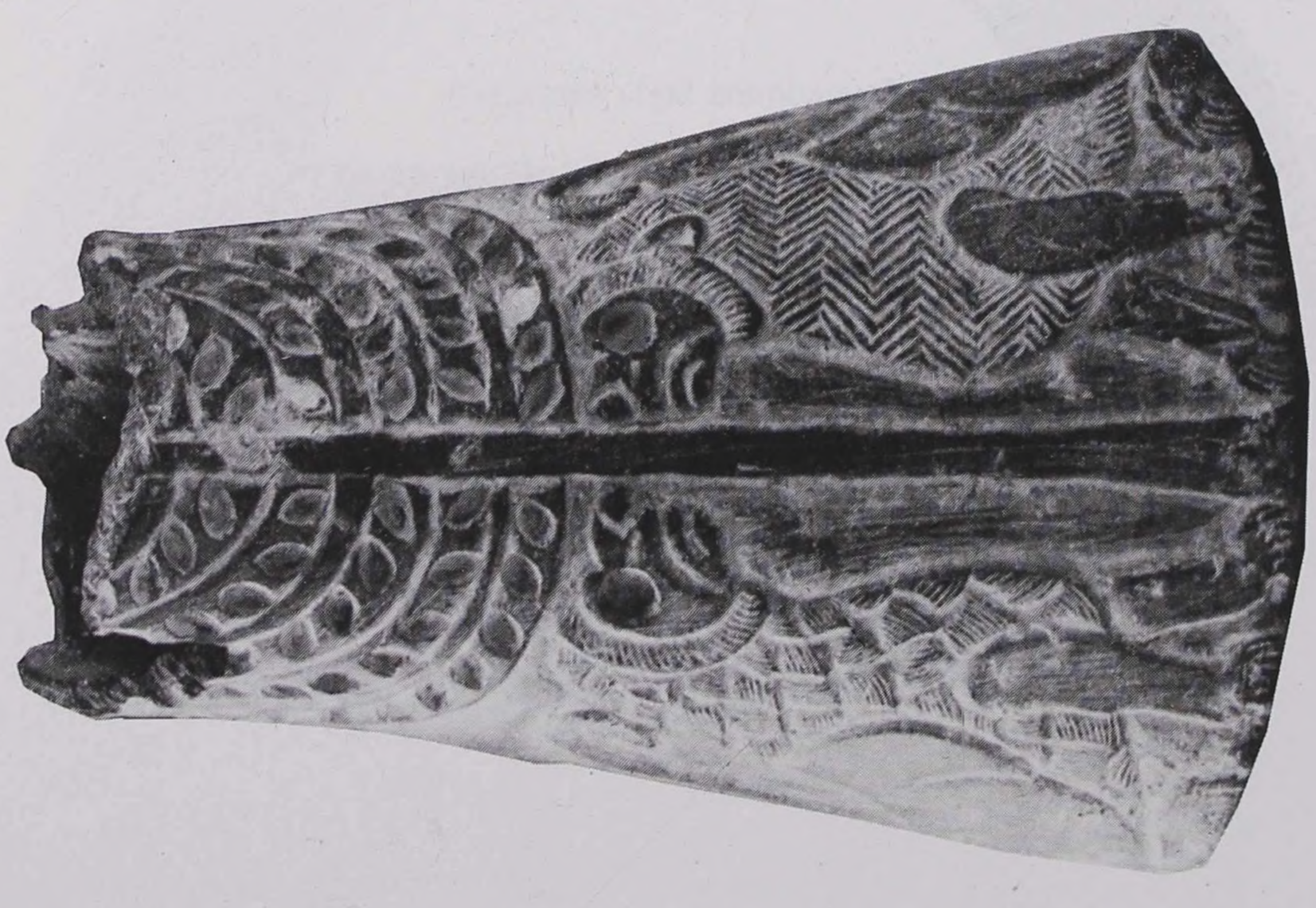
Early Dynastic Sumerian

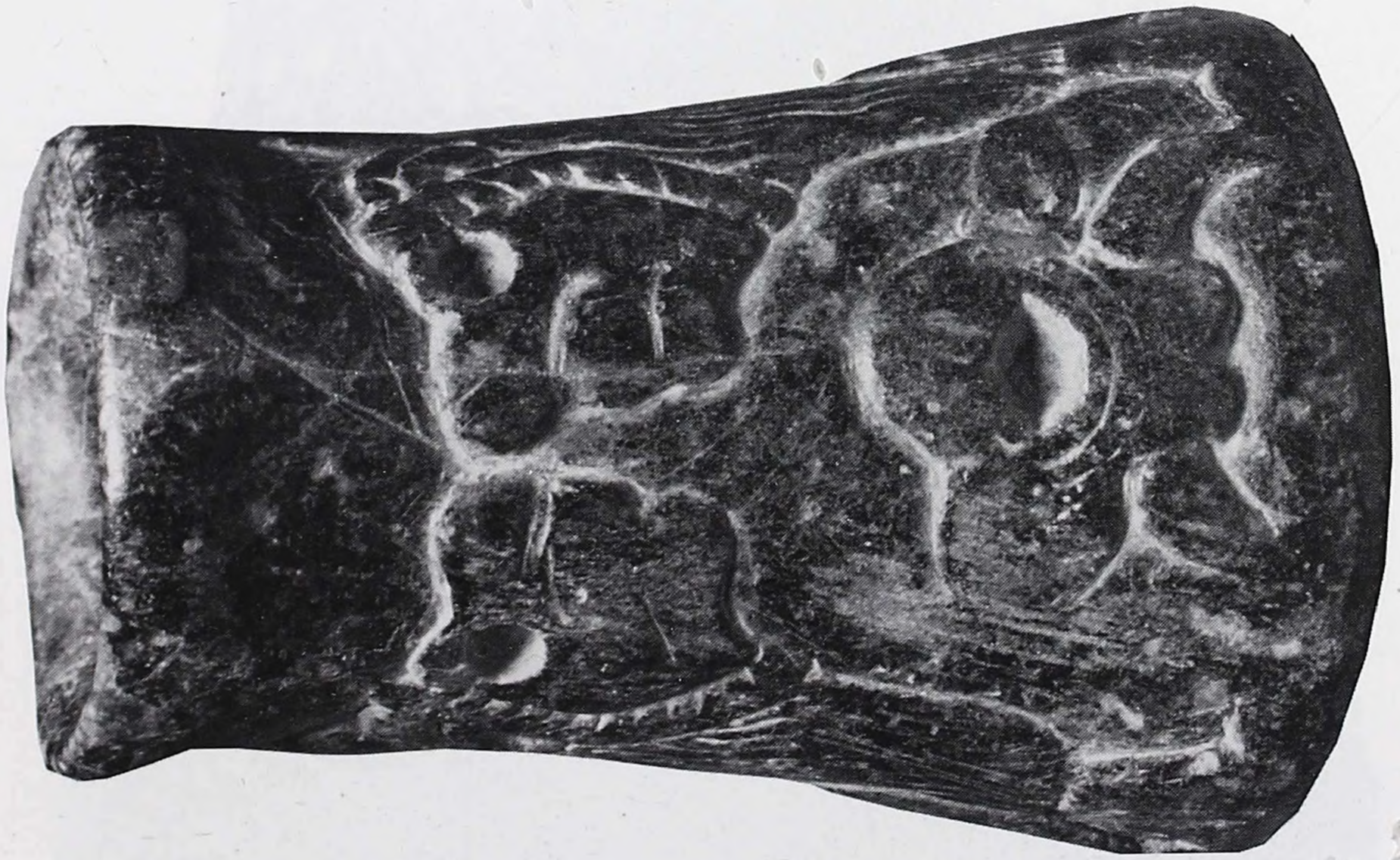


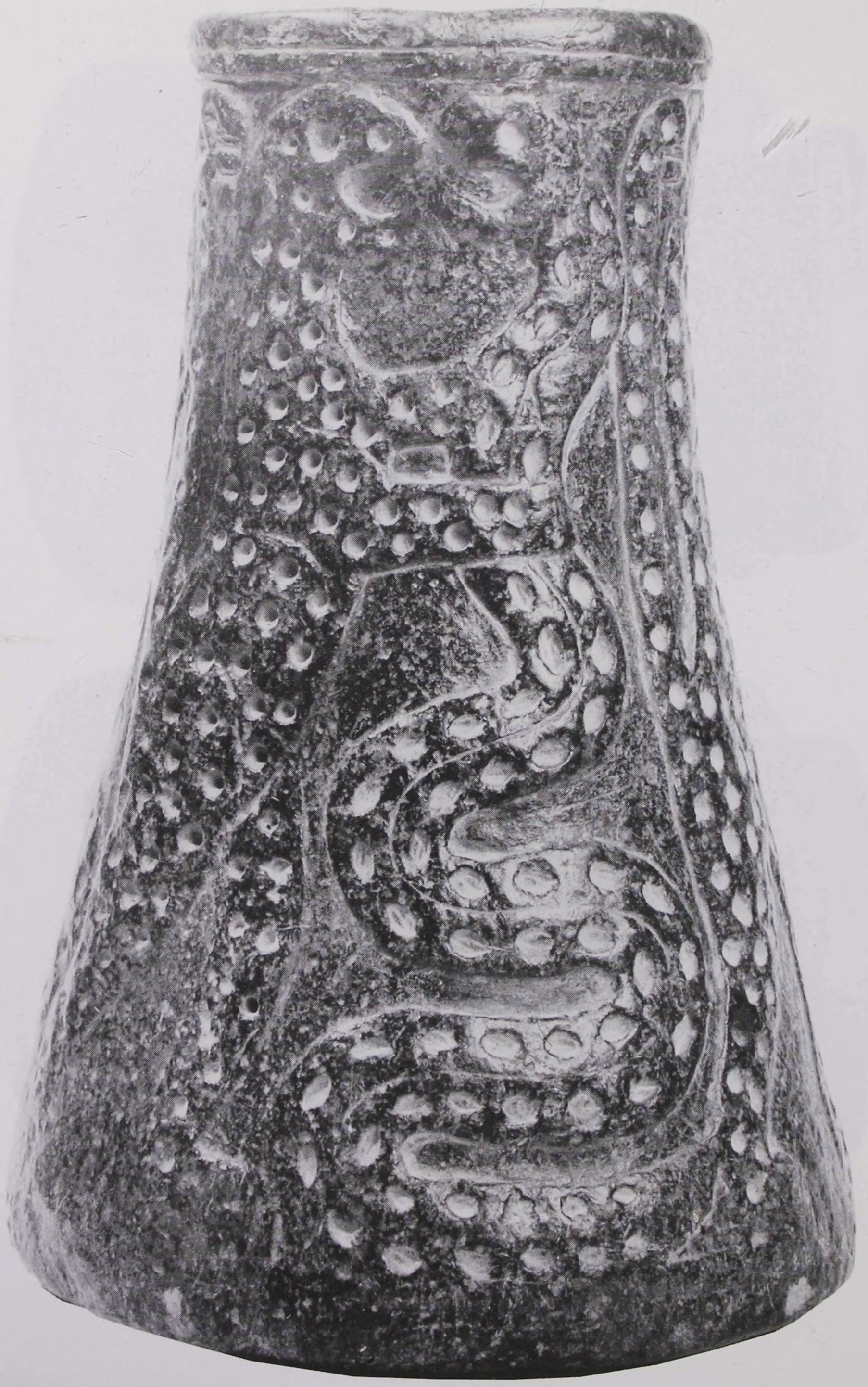
Early Dynastic Sumerian 52

Intercultural Style Artifacts 1

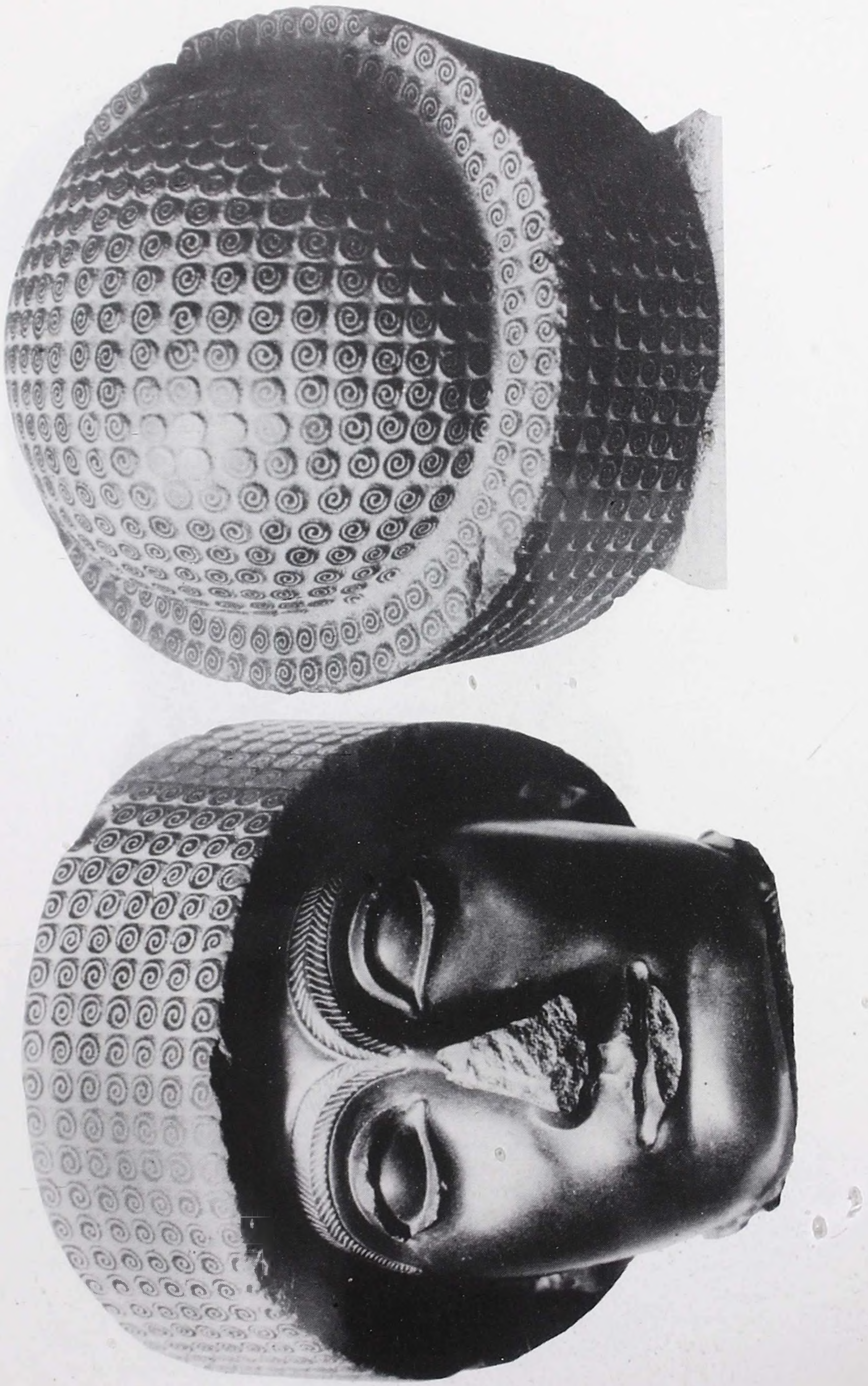
Intercultural Style Artifacts 2







Intercultural Style Artifacts 18c

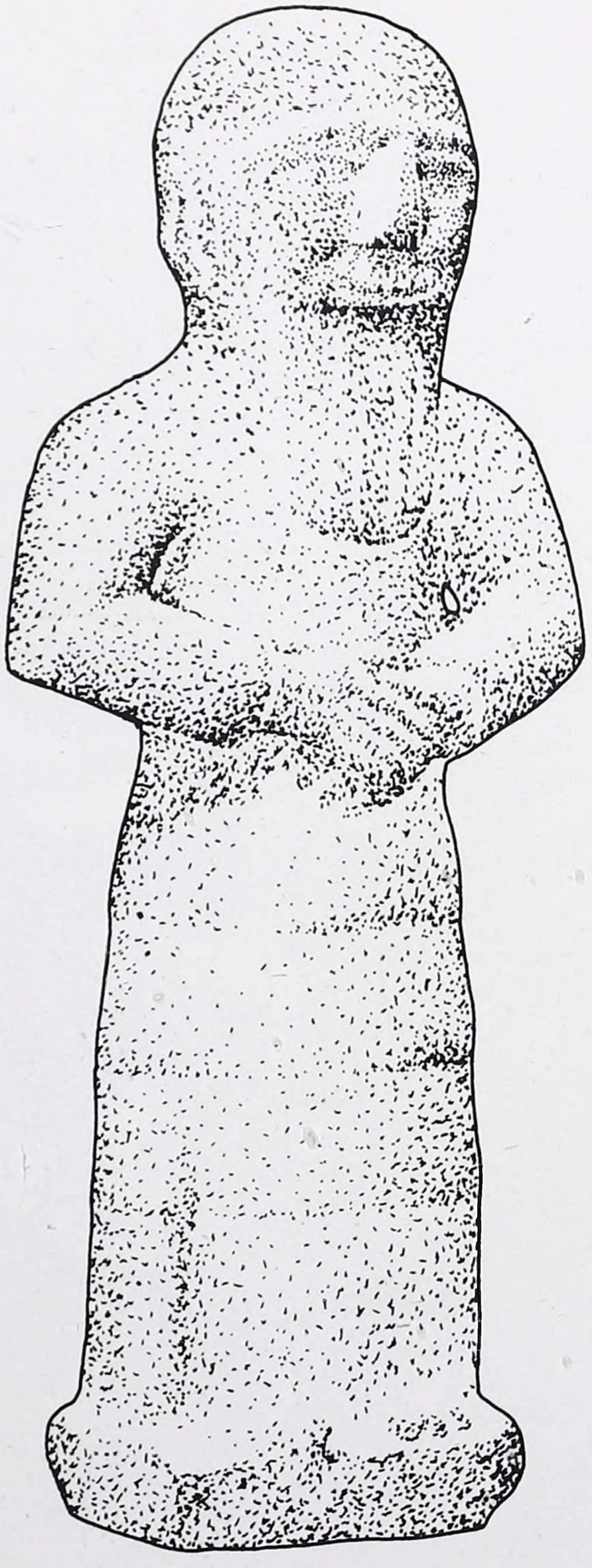


Gudea Statues 1

Gudea Statues

Gudea Statues 2

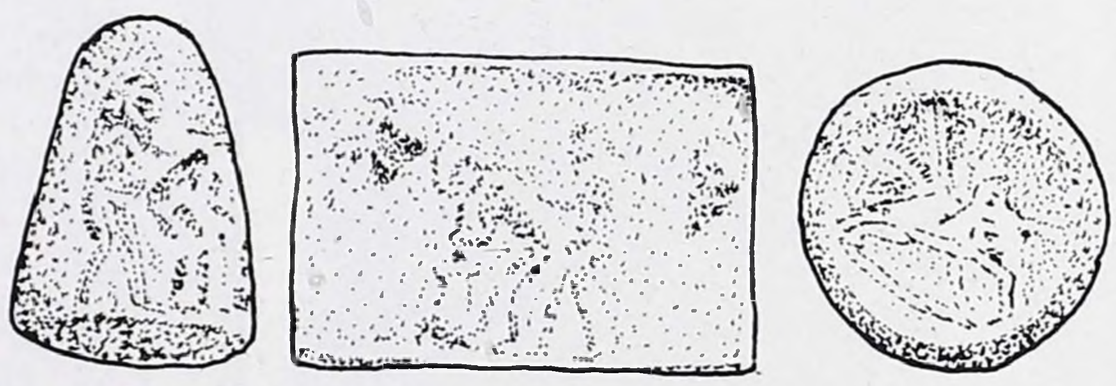
Babylonian



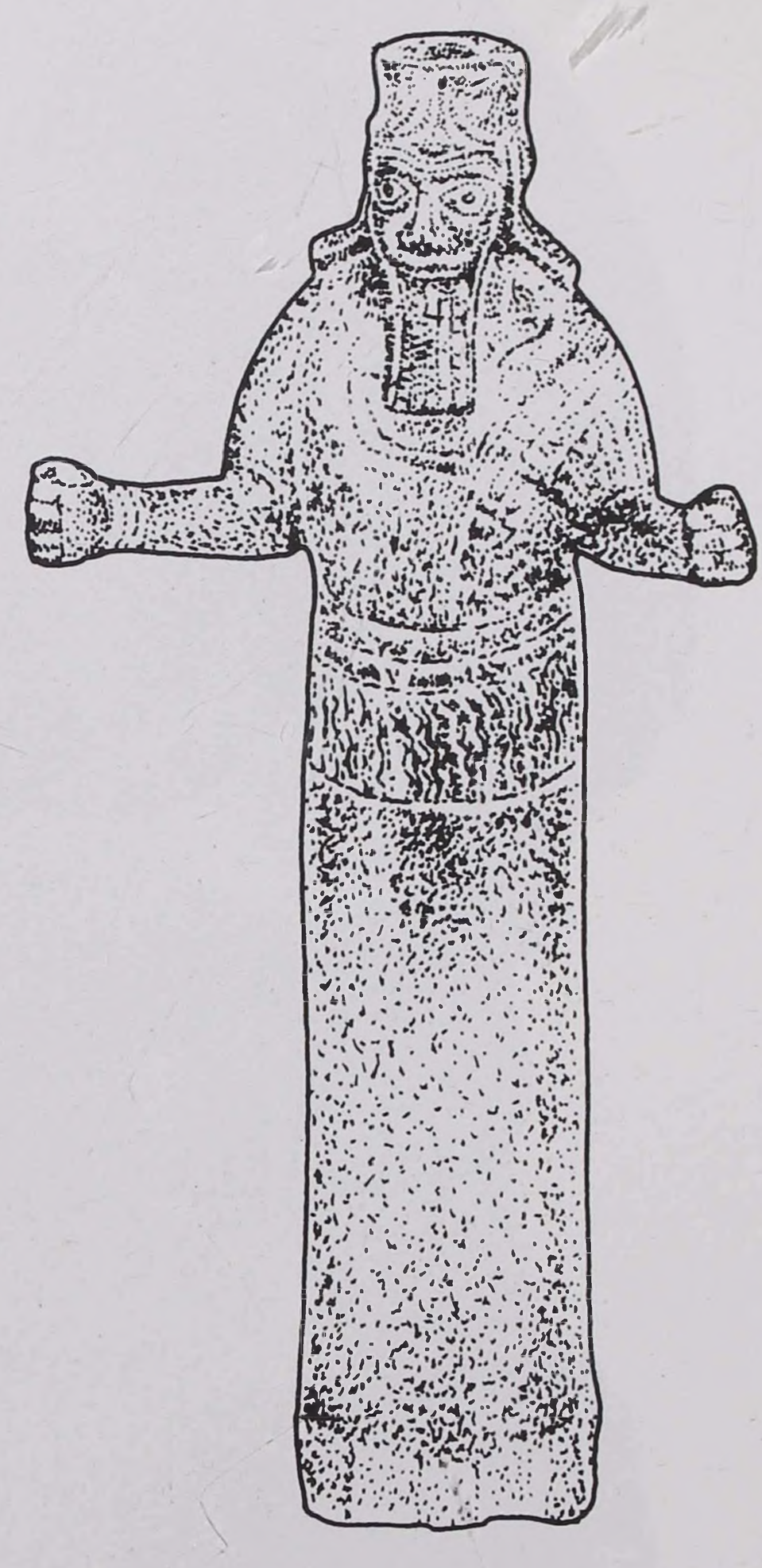
Babylonian 1

Babylonian

Babylonian 4d

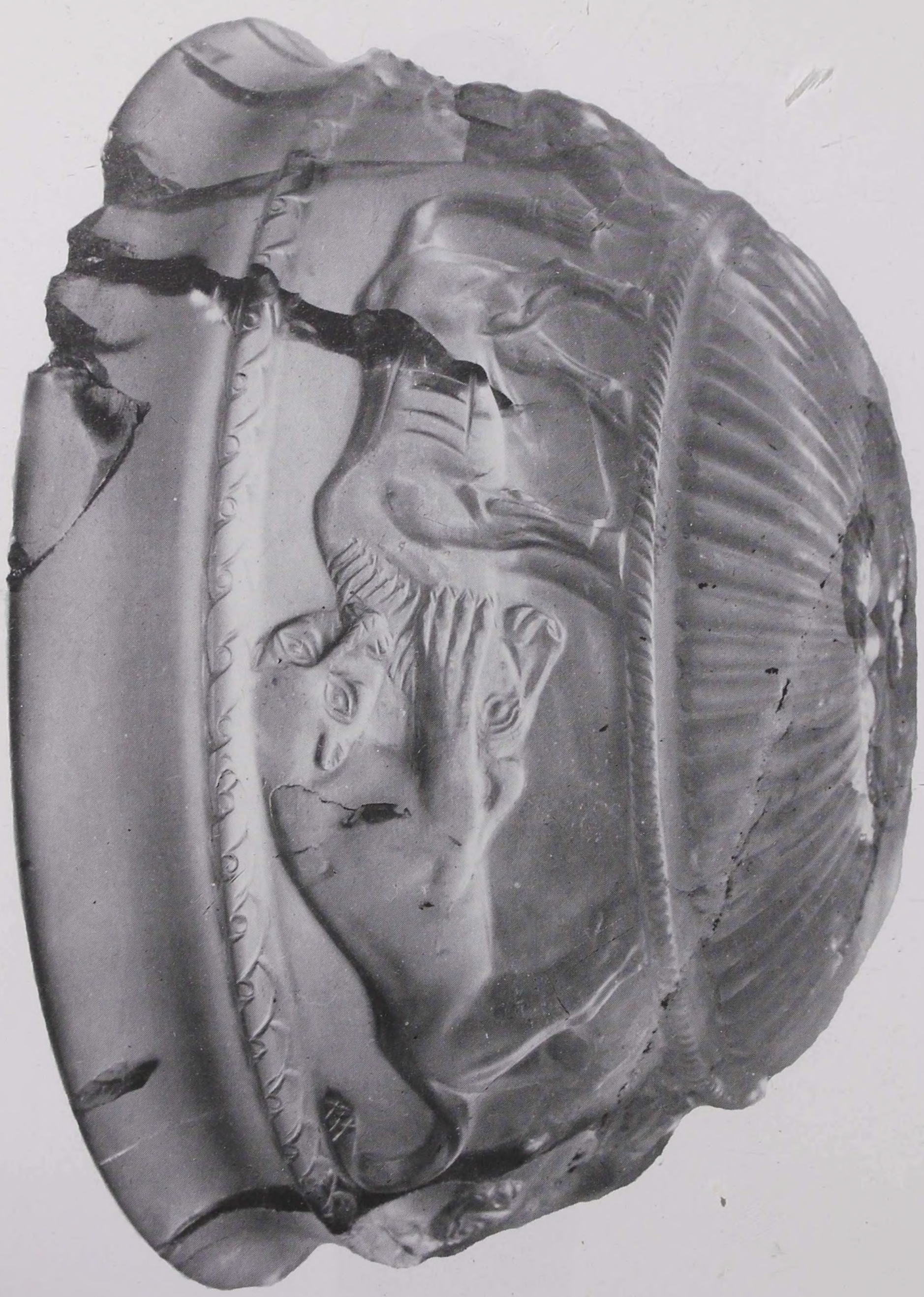


Babylonian 6, 7



Assyrian 8, 9

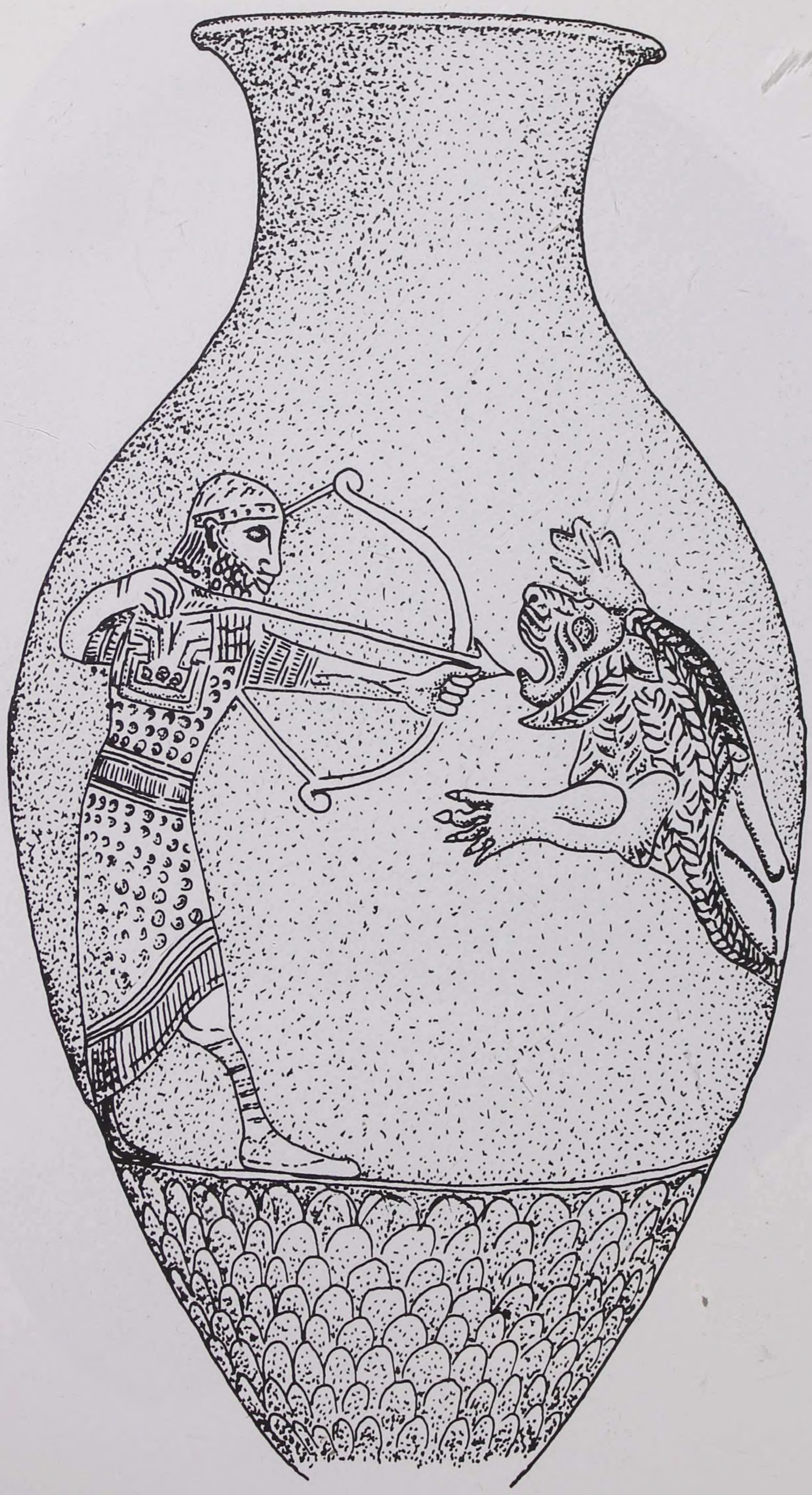
Assyrian 14



Assyrian 15

Assyrian 16

Assyrian



Assyrian 18

Assyrian 25

Assyrian 27

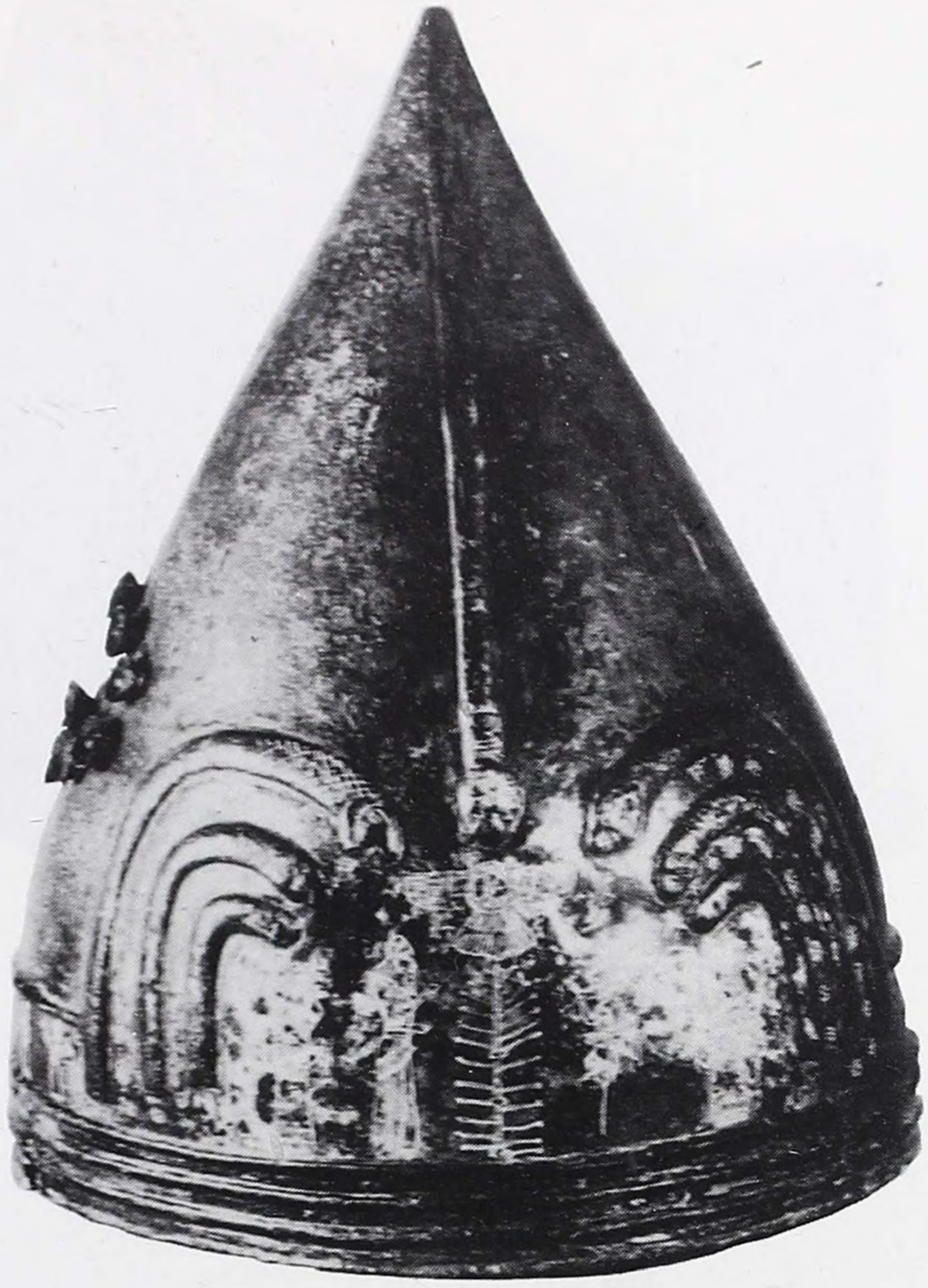
Assyrian 28

Assyrian 31

Assyrian

Assyrian 34, 39

Assyrian 42



Assyrian 44, 45

North Syria 1

North Syria 2

North Syria 13

North Syria 15

North Syria 16

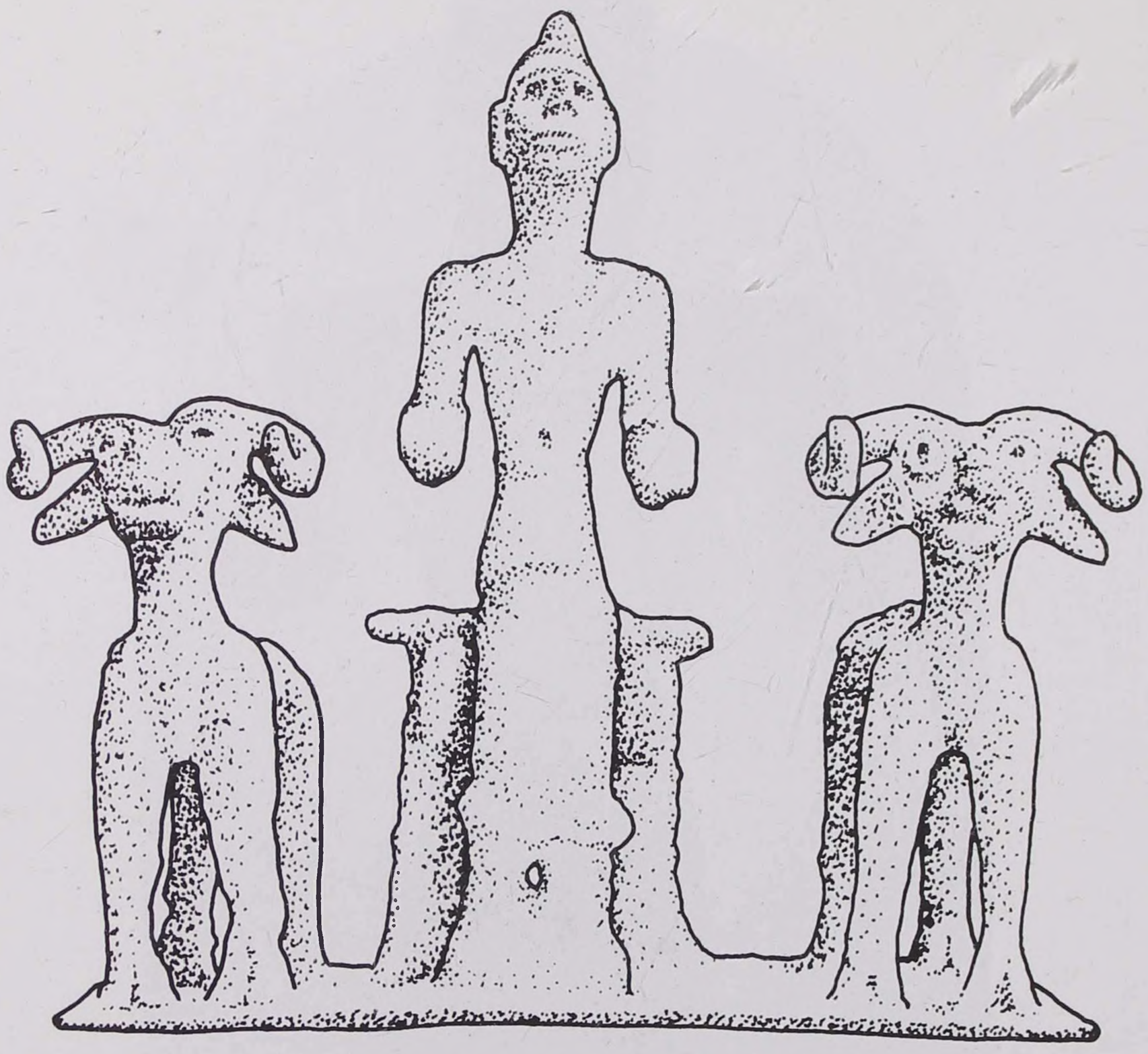
North Syria 21

North Syria 22

North Syria 28

Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 1

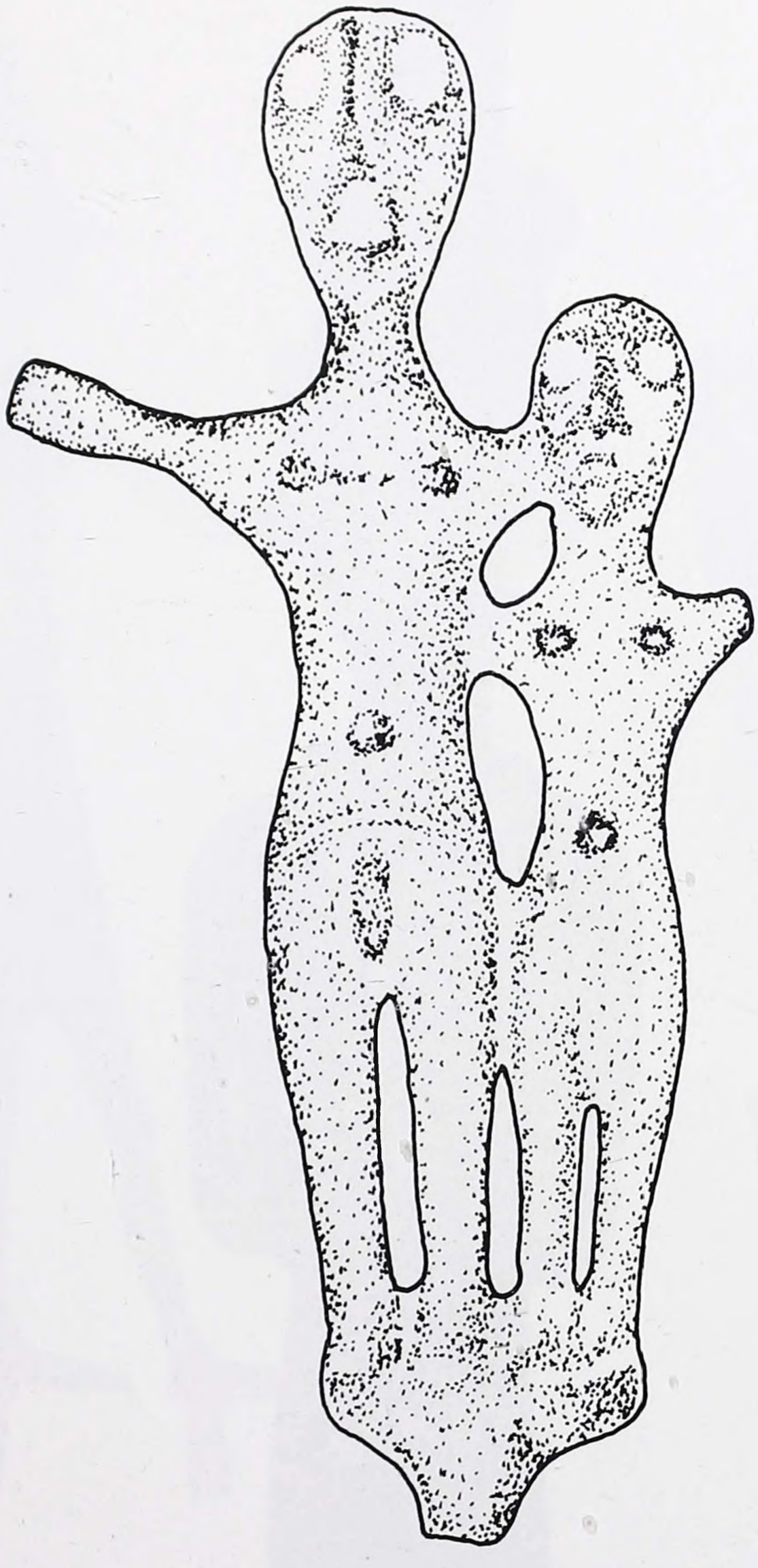
Phoenician, Syrian, Levant



Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 2

Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 3

Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 4, 5

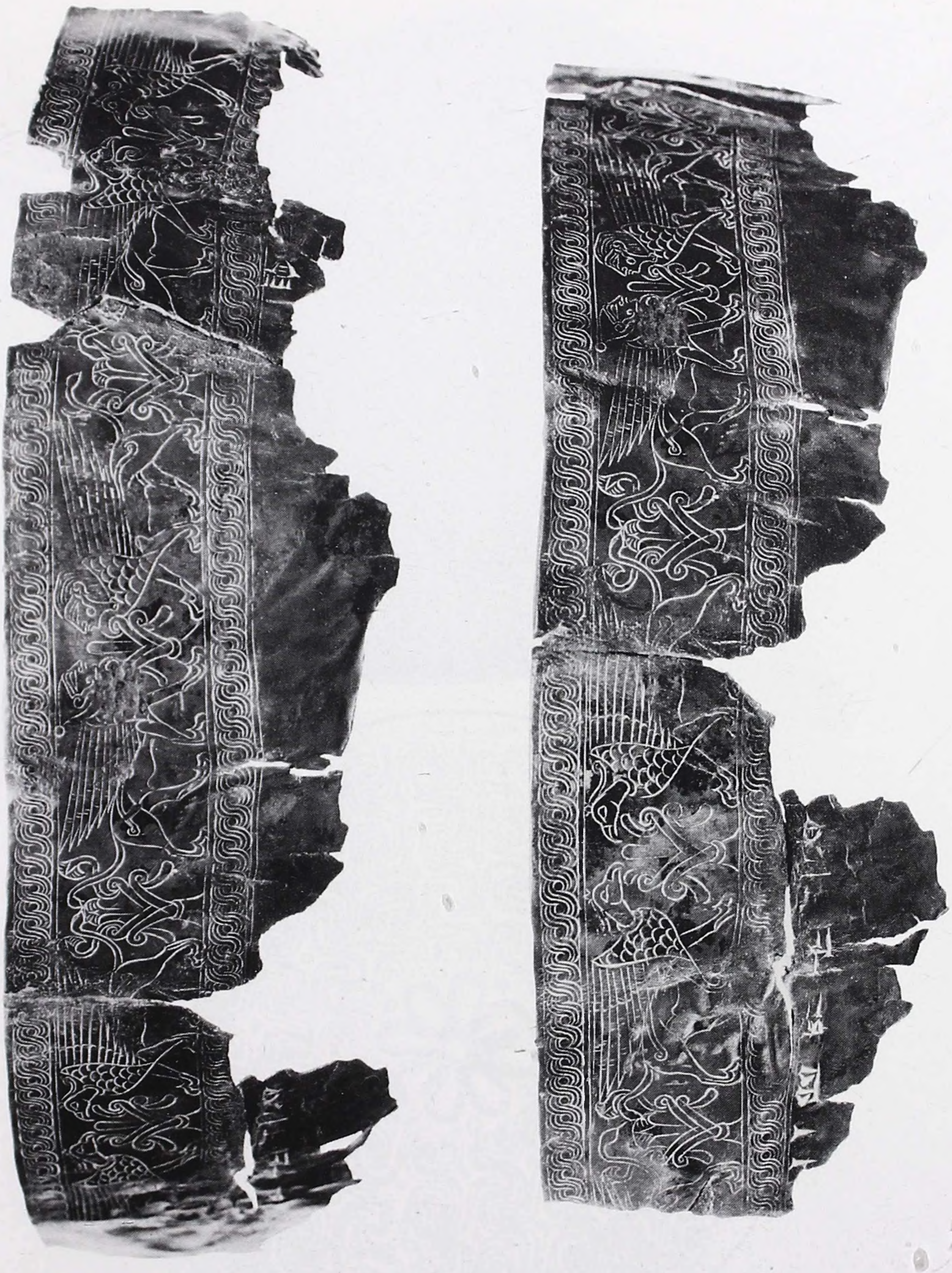


Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 6

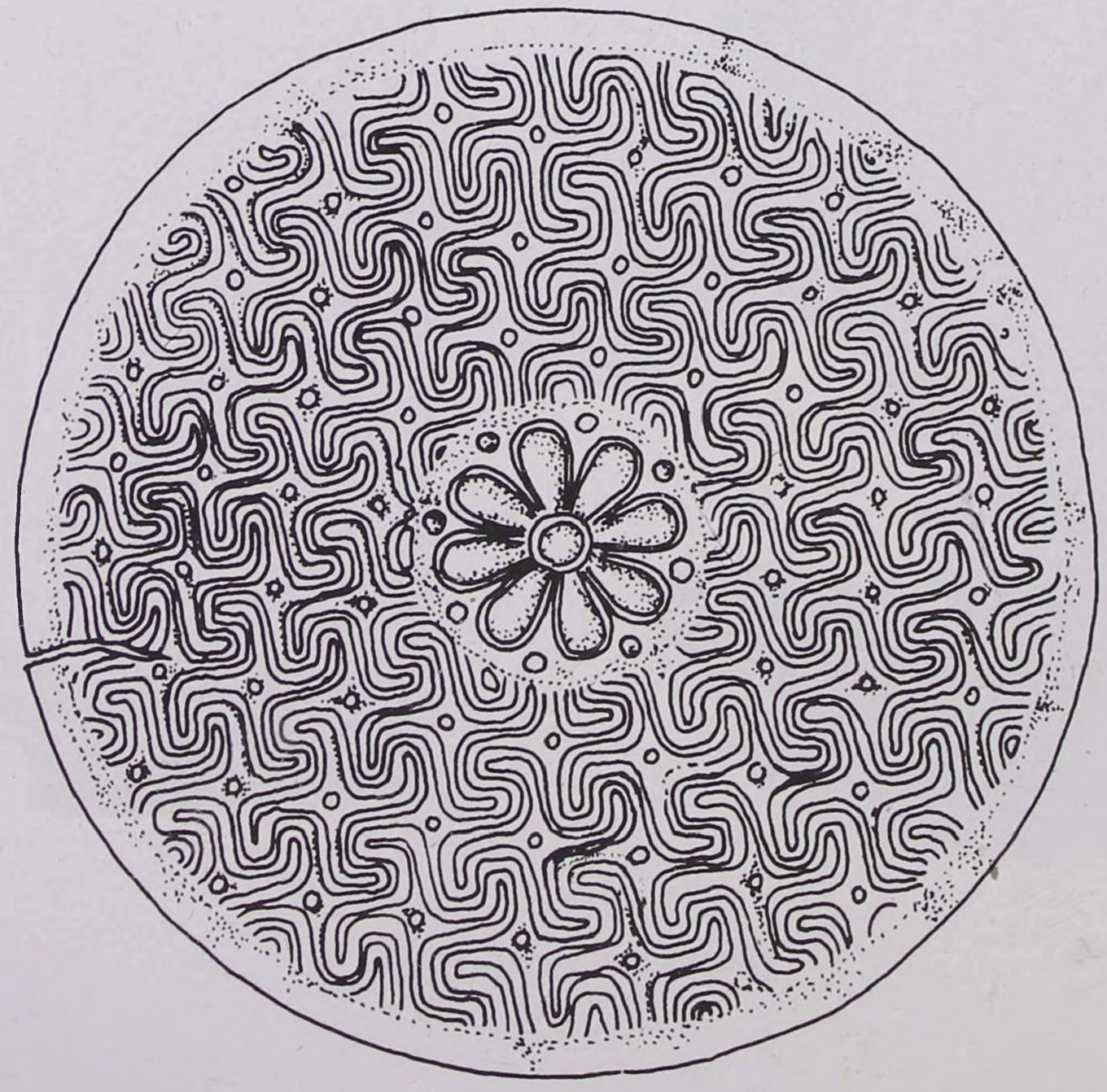
Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 9

Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 14, 22

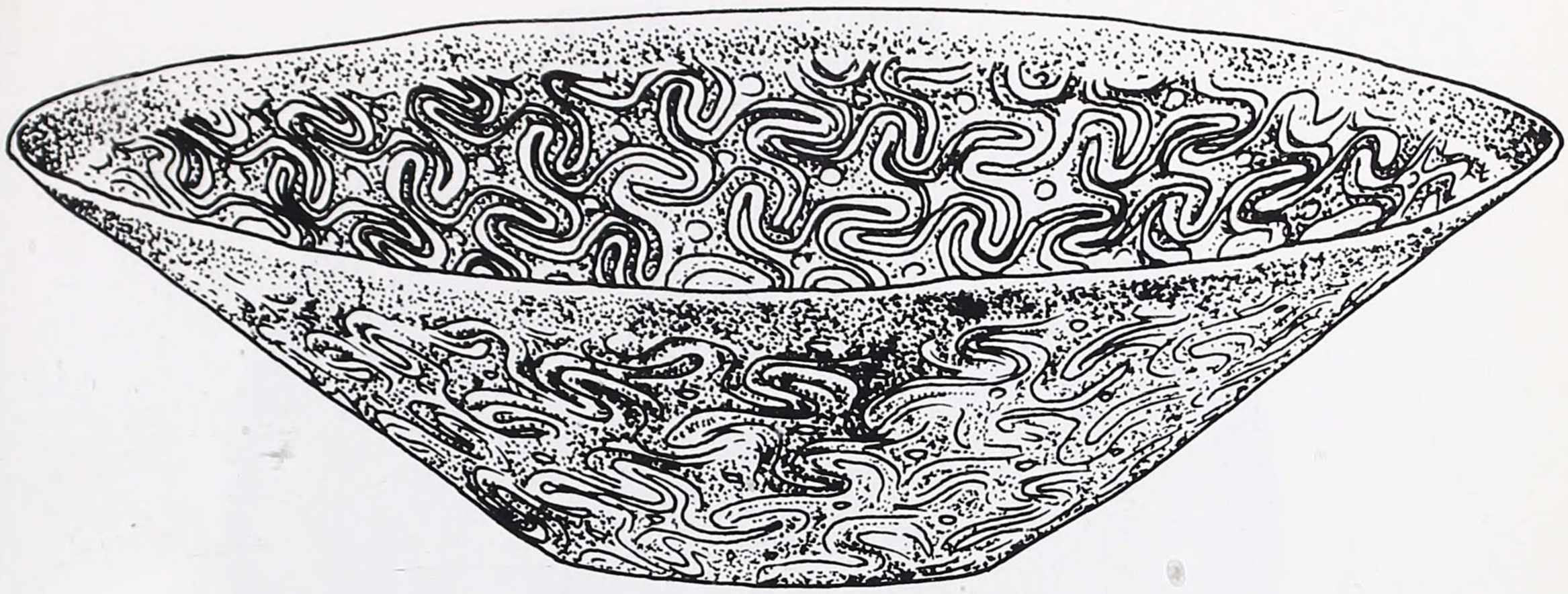
Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 26



Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 30



Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 33



Phoenician, Syrian, Levant 34

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