



Passionate Curiosities

Tales of Collectors & Collections from the Kelsey Museum

Lauren E. Talalay & Margaret Cool Root

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Kelsey Museum Publication 13

Ann Arbor, Michigan 2015

To our husbands and partners in the passionate curiosities of life

Steve Bank and Larry Root

Published by:

Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

434 South State Street

Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1390

<http://www.lsa.umich.edu/kelsey/research/publications>

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ISBN 978-0-9906623-3-4

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Acknowledgments

No one can whistle a symphony. It takes an orchestra to play it.
—Halford E. Luccock (1885–1961)



Passionate Curiosities began as a modest endeavor. Initially conceived many years ago, it was intended as a short, internal document selectively highlighting some of the more interesting collectors and collections that have contributed to making the Kelsey Museum corpus so unusual. Although a brief history of the Museum's fieldwork had been printed in 2006 (*In the Field: The Archaeological Expeditions of the Kelsey Museum*) and a biography of the Museum's eponymous founder published in 2011 (J. G. Pedley's *The Life and Work of Francis Willey Kelsey*), the Museum lacked even a short document devoted to overviews of the collections history and the array of intriguing figures who first began donating antiquities to the University of Michigan in the late 1800s. As often happens with ideas that germinate for a while, our initial plan expanded in both concept and scope, mostly through the coordinated efforts of a small army of individuals. In the end, *Passionate Curiosities* evolved into a more complex project than first envisioned and became a collaborative undertaking incorporating work by several former and current students at the University, as well as numerous curators and staff members, past and present, at the Kelsey Museum.

We warmly thank the entire administrative team of the Museum during the span of our project: Sharon Herbert and Chris Ratté (former and current directors, respectively); Dawn Johnson (associate director); and administrative staff members Carl Abrego, Sandra Malveaux, Alex Zwinak, and Lorene Sterner for their constant support. Thanks also to Lorene for her exceptional help with image files and maps.

On research questions and advice, we are especially grateful to the following members of the Kelsey family: Professors Elaine Gazda, Janet Richards, and Terry Wilfong (fellow curators); John Griffiths Pedley (former director of the Museum and goldmine of information on Francis W. Kelsey and institutional history); Amy Rosenberg, Claudia Chemello, Suzanne Davis and Carrie Roberts (former and current conservators); Madeline Neiman (Samuel H. Kress Foundation Fellow in Conservation, 2014–2015); Ann Taylor van Rosevelt (research associate); Kathryn Carras (textile consultant); Sebastián Encina and Michelle Fontenot (database and collections management), whose collaborations on database issues, images, and archival searches have been invaluable; Don Burian and Penny Slough (registry volunteers working with coins); Kirsty Walker (registry intern); Randall McCombs (docent and registry volunteer in digital imaging); Cathy Person (educational programming), and Todd Gerring and Sarah Mullersman (former and current community outreach coordinators, respectively); Scott Meier and

Emily Kirk (exhibition designer and assistant designer, respectively) as well as former designers David Slee and Dana Buck; and to all the Kelsey Museum docents for their consistently perceptive suggestions. We are deeply in your collective debt—and happy to be so.

Among this great in-house cadre we single out Peg Lourie (editor) with profound gratitude. Her skills, collegiality, and intellectual sensitivity have been critical in transforming our text into a book. We are honored to be under your wing, Peg; and we enjoy every minute of it. We also thank Terry Wilfong for his supportive guidance as curatorial head of publications.

For support and superlative services we are grateful to Matt Biro (chair of the Department of the History of Art), to the Freer Committee, and to the Department's administrative staff; to Cathy Pense Rayos and Sally Bjork (Visual Resources Collections); to Deirdre Spencer and her entire staff (Fine Arts Library); to the research personnel of the Bentley Historical Library; to Randal Stegmeyer (photographer, University Library), and to the superb University library system, including everyone who makes ILL and GET work and all the good people at the Buhr facility.

For research and networking within the University, we thank Mary Freiman (secretary to the director, Department of American Culture); Carole McNamara (curator, University of Michigan Museum of Art) as well as Beth Bahls, Pam Reister, and Ruth Slavin on the UMMA staff; Jeff Pearson (librarian, Askwith Media Library); Phil Hallman (librarian, Department of Screen Arts and Cultures); and the following faculty: Celeste Brusati, Christiane Gruber, Patricia Simons, Rebecca Zurier, and Howard Lay (Department of the History of Art); Carla Sinopoli (Department of Anthropology, curator in the Museum of Anthropology, and director of the Museum Studies Program); the late Bill Farrand and also Eric Essene (Department of Geological Sciences); and Carol Bardenstein (Department of Near Eastern Studies).

Beyond the University, we are indebted to Bill Peck (former curator of Egyptian art, Detroit Institute of Arts); Christine Lilyquist and Diana Patch (former and current curators in the Department of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art); Deirdre Lawrence and Angie Park (principal librarian and archivist, respectively, in the Brooklyn Museum); Esther Goudsmit (for her graciousness in sharing memories of her father, Samuel A. Goudsmit); Manuele Wasserman (for her advice and for sharing family lore about her great grandfather, Maurice Nahman); Lucy Kaplan (for information on her father, Edward Gans); Susan Porter (National Button Society membership coordinator) for recovering material on Jane Ford Adams; Kenneth Milano (Presbyterian Historical Society of Pittsburgh) for helping to elucidate the life of Miss Hattie Conner; and Sarah Humes and her volunteer Autumn Muir (Kalamazoo Valley Museum) for invaluable assistance on A. M. Todd; Kelly Beattie of the Ypsilanti Historical Society; the JD Candler Roofing Company of Livonia; Rebecca Roundtree (BA 2012) at Christie's New York; Lavinia Ciuffa at the American Academy in Rome; and Lisa Crane, Special Collections, the Honnold/Mudd Library at the Claremont Colleges.

For investigative efforts cutting across the entire range of *Passionate Curiosities*, we extend deep gratitude to Mrs. Cathy Andrejak for her extraordinary volunteer services as a professional librarian in archival research.

Many students have contributed substantially to specific subsets of material discussed here. We would like in particular to thank the following undergraduates whose projects reach two decades back: Jessie Tropman (BA 1992), Nathan Estep (BA 1994), Will Pestle (BA 1999), Jesse Ortega (BA 2004), Laura Kubit (BA 2005), Meryl Schwartz and Natalie Newton (BA 2008), Jessie Roy (BA 2010), Claire Malley (BA 2012), Helen Argiroff-Flood (BA 2014), and Lisa Padilla (BA 2015). Their special studies of artifact groups and/or archives have found fresh life here. Similarly, numerous graduate students past and current deserve special thanks for research on the Museum's collections and archival records crucial to our investigations: Henry Colburn, James Cook, Emily Holt, Jenny Kreiger, Kate Larson, Leah Long, Hima Mallampati, Lynley McAlpine, Diana Ng, Adrian Ossi, Emma Sachs, Troy Samuels, and Adela Sobotkova (Interdepartmental Program in Classical Art and Archaeology [IPCAA]); Mariana Giovino, Elizabeth Higashi, Victoria Jennings, David Katz, Susan TePaske-King, and Ashley Dimmig (Department of the History of Art); Nicole Brisch and Helen Dixon (Department of Near Eastern Studies); Kamyar Abdi (Department of Anthropology); and Kathleen Davis (Department of Geological Sciences). Not listed here in every case are various additional former students whose collections research ultimately produced publications cited in the bibliography.

Special appreciation goes to Dan Diffendale (IPCAA PhD candidate), whose investigative work in 2014–2015 has made all the difference to the endgame; and to Meryl Schwartz and Henry Colburn, listed above as former students, who have provided precious assistance since then from their current professional positions at the Brooklyn Museum and the Harvard Art Museums, respectively.

We acknowledge all the collectors, donors, and supporters who have enlivened the missions of the Museum from the 1880s onward—including those not mentioned as well as those discussed at length. What a remarkable group.

In closing, we give our heartfelt thanks to family members. Steve Bank and Kathy Talalay have offered creative ideas, editorial advice, and support throughout the process of researching and writing this book. Nina Callahan and Tracey Cullen (honorary sister) provided ongoing encouragement. Larry, Katherine, and Ben Root have leapt in with software interventions and myriad forms of research assistance. All of you, in both families, have sometimes flipped switches to enable us to make transformative decisions—just by listening thoughtfully and giving back.

Lauren E. Talalay
Margaret Cool Root
April 2015

Map of the Mediterranean and the Near East



CHAPTER ONE

Introduction



AIRO, 1921

It is late morning. Professor Kelsey is finally feeling revived after the long journey aboard a transatlantic steamer and his brief stop in Rome. Cairo's streets are turning hot, and Kelsey is glad he remembered to don his hat, shielding him from the unforgiving Egyptian sun. His day, crammed with appointments, begins with a visit to Maurice Nahman, a banking official who is better known to most people in the city as a leading antiquities dealer. Stepping into Nahman's gallery, Kelsey is pleased to see the usual assortment of treasures. Among other things, he is there to vet papyri that he hopes to purchase for the University of Michigan's burgeoning collection. Out of the corner of his eye, Kelsey sees a young man carrying a basket brimming with fruit cautiously enter the shop. Nahman clearly knows the visitor, and a hushed conversation ensues. Careful not to intrude, Kelsey observes Nahman gingerly finger several small ancient artifacts hidden under the dates and pomegranates. Kelsey's curiosity is piqued. He decides to return at the end of the day. The antiquities dealer has a long history of helping the university professor purchase objects for teaching purposes, but today Kelsey feels a sense of urgency to procure some outstanding items for what he hopes will one day be a world-class archaeological museum in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He is especially intrigued by a third-century mummy portrait that sits just out of reach on one of the shelves. What will it cost, and where might it have come from? Was it possibly found at one of the nearby sites by local farmers who often unearth artifacts? Will there be problems clearing customs? Could the beautiful portrait be a forgery, crafted by one of the talented village artists? Time is running short, and Kelsey has to meet colleagues in the Moorish Hall at Shepherd's Hotel before their luncheon in the Grill Room, where he hopes to cultivate backers for a possible Michigan-sponsored excavation in Egypt. But the mummy portrait is too striking to forgo. He will return as soon as he can to negotiate with Nahman, who will inevitably drive a hard bargain (figs. 1.1–1.2).

WHILE THE SCENARIO described above is fictional, it is based on facts we know about Professor Francis W. Kelsey's trips and overseas contacts, the nature of the antiquities market in his era, and the stiff competition among museums in America (and elsewhere) to scour Europe, Egypt, North Africa, and the Near East for ancient artifacts—from papyri, to objects of daily life and funerary cult, to monumental inscriptions and sculpture (fig. 1.3). This imagined snapshot also spotlights many of the topics and questions that shape this book—namely, how did the Kelsey collections begin, and how did they develop; who were the major individuals who contributed to their growth; and



Fig. 1.1. Envelope from Cairo antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman to Francis W. Kelsey, who was staying at the Shepherd's Hotel; Cairo, Egypt; April 15, 1920 (F. W. Kelsey Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).



Fig. 1.2. Shepherd's Hotel, view of the front looking toward the Continental Hotel; Cairo, Egypt; March 2–6, 1920 (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. 145.11).



Fig. 1.3. Painted Egyptian clay mummy mask (2nd century CE); F. W. Kelsey purchase, 1921 (KM 1874).

what intriguing stories hide behind the scenes? Just as important, our fictional scenario hints at ethical matters that blur boundaries between archaeological practice, collecting, looting, and the trafficking in illicit antiquities. Currently, these concerns figure prominently in archaeological discourse. But how did they play out in the world of museum building at the turn of the last century?

FRANCIS W. KELSEY, a professor of Latin Language and Literature at the University of Michigan from 1889 until his death in 1927, was a vigorous participant in the early days of institutional collecting in the United States as well as a promoter of various archaeological initiatives (fig. 1.4). He was one of several eminent scholars at American universities who were committed to building collections of antiquities, not only to enrich the educational experiences of their students but also to burnish the reputations of their institutions. A discerning buyer and shrewd bargainer, Kelsey spent years corresponding with dealers and cultivating financial backers for potential purchases. His long hours of negotiating ultimately paid off. In 1928, one year after his death, the University of Michigan founded the Museum of Classical Archaeology—now known as the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (occupying Newberry Hall) at 434 South State Street (fig. 1.5). At long last, the promise of one permanent home for thousands of antiquities that had previously been scattered among various campus locales seemed possible.

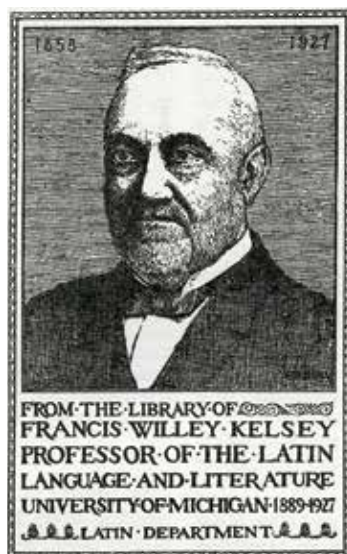


Fig. 1.4 (*left*). Posthumous bookplate of Francis W. Kelsey, designed by Wilfred B. Shaw (Sanders 1950, p. 339; Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).



Fig. 1.5 (*center*). Colorized postcard of Newberry Hall, 1920s. The Kelsey Museum first occupied Newberry Hall in 1929; it continues to serve as the Museum's home (Kelsey Museum Archives).



Fig. 1.6 (*right*). Père Delattre in the Cathedral Gardens; Carthage, Tunisia; May 1–12, 1925 (photo, G. R. Swain; detail of Kelsey Museum neg. no. 7.2048).

Its original name notwithstanding, the Museum was by no means limited to representations of ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. In fact, most of the artifacts on display, as well as the mass of other material that was moved into storage in the same building, had been discovered during Michigan-sponsored excavations conducted in the 1920s at sites representing the ancient worlds of Egypt, North Africa, and the Near East. Other objects were gifts from private collectors, some donated to Michigan (or to Professor Kelsey personally) for use in university teaching as early as 1880; still others were acquired through strategic purchases, often by field archaeologists in the course of their excavations. As the years passed, the holdings expanded significantly through further excavations and documentary expeditions, gifts, bequests, and purchases. Today, the Museum is steward to an internationally recognized corpus of materials from diverse cultures—from humble implements to great works of imperial patronage, stretching from Europe to India. This book provides a detailed account of some of the complex histories of these collections, positioning the Kelsey within the broader context of early museums in America and incorporating glimpses of many of the intriguing personalities who contributed their collections to the Museum.

Professor Kelsey's plans for an archaeological collection housed on the Michigan campus began to take shape in 1893 with his purchase of slightly more than 100 objects from Père Delattre, a Jesuit priest living in Tunisia (fig. 1.6). From that small acorn grew the tree—a museum that currently houses well over 105,000 discrete artifacts and clusters of artifacts as well as approximately 31,000 photographs, many from the turn of the last century. These holdings continue to engage scholars and students, finding new life in publications, exhibitions, and online presentations. Among the more exceptional collections is the largest and best-preserved corpus outside of Cairo of excavated objects from daily life in Egypt under Ptolemaic and Roman rule. Recovered



Fig. 1.7. Photograph showing the official division of toys from Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt, 1929–1930 (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. 5.3680).



Fig. 1.8. Photograph of bone figurines brought into Baghdad from the American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq; labeled “Bone fetishes, Baghdad Museum, Feb. 1937” in the original caption (Kelsey Museum neg. no. F050).



Fig. 1.9. Clay incantation bowl for trapping demons (ca. 3rd century CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 33756).

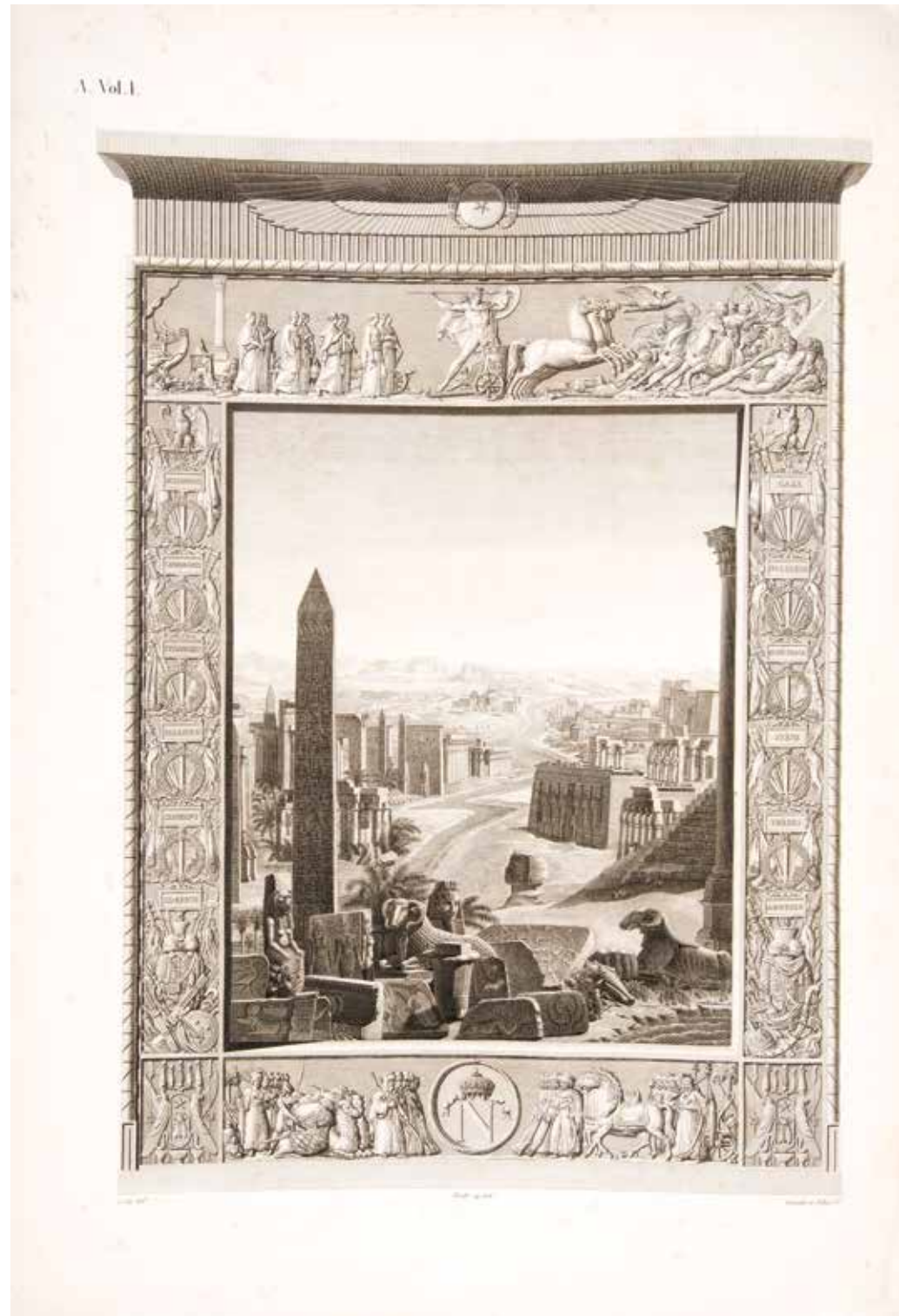
from the site of Karanis in the Fayum, these finds range from nearly 2,000-year-old wooden doors, sculptures, glass, textiles, papyri, and coins, to pull-toys and dolls (fig. 1.7). Equally significant are the lion's share of extant artifacts from Seleucia on the Tigris in Iraq (the first capital of the Seleucid Kingdom and later the western capital of the Iranian Parthian Empire). Included in these finds are seals, seal impressions on clay (bullae) once affixed to official documents, coins, figurines, pottery, glass, jewelry, grave assemblages, and magical incantation bowls (figs. 1.8–1.9). In addition, the Museum holds the most substantial set of Latin inscriptions in the Western hemisphere (fig. 1.10); the largest number of Roman brick stamps outside Italy; distinguished collections of Roman Period, Early Christian (Coptic), and Islamic textiles from Egypt; a large corpus of late antique magical amulets; and an important and culturally representative sampling of ancient and medieval glass vessels. The Museum is also steward to a significant assemblage of Near Eastern seals of Iran and Iraq from late prehistory through the Sasanian era, impressive examples of Egyptian mummy masks, and important collections of coins. Some of the pieces in the Museum are not, strictly speaking, antiquities but are rare (in a few instances, unique) testimonies of ancient monuments and their exploration. These include the only known watercolor facsimiles of wall paintings in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii and a plaster cast of sections of the Bisitun monument from northwestern Iran, commissioned by the Persian king Darius the Great. Also in the Museum's possession is a deluxe edition of the *Description de l'Égypte* (fig. 1.11). This lavishly illustrated, monumental multivolume publication was produced on the basis of detailed information gathered by the scientists, engineers, scholars, and artists who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798. Finally, the

Fig. 1.10. Kelsey Museum Accessions Book 1-5000, p. 62-1, showing Walter Dennison's notes and sketches of inscriptions he purchased from Giuseppe De Criscio in Pozzuoli, Italy, in 1905 (Kelsey Museum Archives).

Current Number	Original Number	Name	Locality	Number of Specimens
1526	105	DISJ MAN Q SEPTICIO EPAGATI PATRI		
1527	106	D M S DAPHINUS PIVS VIXIT ANNIS		6 lines
1528	107	C ANTONI FELIX M VII		= C. I. L. XI, 3444
1529	108	OLLIA SAXIA		
1530	109	L TARIU L AVCTV		= C. I. L. XI, 27, 106
1531	110	LIETERIVS P L FLORENTINI VIXIT ANN XIII		
1532	111	L SENTIVS CORINTH		In three pieces
1533	112	AVS M SCRIBONIVS SYNEROS SUPRA AEGYPTICA MEXVS L PECT		
1534	113	EFVFCIA ROMANA DET SVIS		In three pieces
1535	114	D M S ANINI E VENO VIX		6 lines = C. I. L. XI, 11, 053; lines 7-9 gone, and line 6 broken.
1536	115	PECIT SEPTIMIA S PINA BENE MERE NTEGVS SANCTIS		
1537	116	D N VAL FORT NATAEOR		10 lines = C. I. L. XI, 28, 195
1538	117	ELIAMS SATILIN		7 lines In two pieces
1539	118	C CABLIO HERMAE		10 lines = C. I. L. XI, 13, 195 In three pieces
1540	119	MARCIA VIX ANNA VLTIMA		8 lines = C. I. L. XI, 22, 117
1541	120	P BYPLARIS AE STIP		6 lines
1542	121	D M ARESCVE SEVERAES		7 lines
1543	122	S IVS CIBOCTA AD ANI L		(blank space between line 4 and lower edge of frame)
1544	123	M Q A V C D I S S P E V I E		
1545	124	VSTIO VSTO I SVO		5 lines
1546	125	VSTA E R V I A S		
1547	126	D S R A D D N HEK M		
1548	127	K A D COYATEKIA D THN NIKWN		CRIPIAN N G
1549	128	RTVS GARIS-ER		
1550	129	M T D M VII M VIII		

* Tabella columbarii affixa in oenea Viri-
lia via Latina a lacu Fluvio lapide, postquam
domo via de Crucifera de. (C. I. L.)

Fig. 1.11. Engraved composite image of Egyptian views and antiquities; Napoleon's *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–1828); *Antiquities* vol. 4, frontispiece; gift of Dr. Otto O. Fisher, 1953 (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 2003.4.1k).



Kelsey holds more than 7,000 albumen prints of fine art photography, dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Complementing these works of fine art on paper are extensive archives of expedition and excavation photographs and notebooks.

Today, visitors to the Kelsey Museum can expect to find a brief descriptive title, cultural information, and unique museum identification code (accession number) for each piece on display. These data are presented in a short individual label known, behind the scenes, as the object's "tombstone." What visitors will rarely find, however, is information about the backstory of the object. Where did it "live" before settling into its current home? Why and how did it ultimately find its way to the Museum? Who facilitated its journey? For any excavated artifact now maintained at the Kelsey, records can help draft a fairly complete biography, starting with the moment and circumstances of its final removal from circulation (when and where it was placed in a grave, for instance). At times, however, even the excavated status of an artifact (especially before the mid-20th century) is built on contingent circumstances, ambiguous intentions, and wittingly or unwittingly misleading recordkeeping. For the many objects in the Kelsey unearthed in uncontrolled circumstances, we face more daunting challenges. Often there will be little or no information with which to flesh out an artifact's journey from its initial creation to its handling by a dealer, and ultimately its coming to rest in the Museum's display vitrines or storage drawers. In such cases, the storyline dwells instead upon how and why the object became collectible and whose hands it passed through *en route* to the Museum. These narratives are often compelling. Some tell tales of rescue, others chronicle opportunistic destruction of archaeological sites or of antiquities harvested in tandem with scientific archaeological projects, and still others involve sagas of loss-in-transit. Occasionally the biographies are spiced with a touch of scandal. Despite differences in their life histories, all the artifacts that came to the Kelsey (especially but not exclusively those entering through private hands) reflect in one way or other the personal passions, curiosities, sensibilities, societal motivations, and eras of the original collectors. In sketching the development of the Kelsey Museum collections, we have created a narrative shaped by these varied vectors. The reader will encounter not only engaging individuals and pivotal points in history but also important constraints dictated by various antiquities laws (which were sometimes artfully circumvented) and shifting perspectives on what a university museum of archaeology should be.

Like most museums, the Kelsey has acquired material across an extended period of time. Any museum-based history of collecting and collections intending to proceed temporally, as ours does, will necessarily involve stories of material originally gathered many decades ago but only entering the museum relatively recently. For archaeological museums, an artifact's recent résumé often involves a series of dates: when it was collected, when it was acquired by the institution, and when it was officially accessioned by the museum. For example, the Cesnola collection (chapter six) was amassed in the mid-to late 1800s, bought by the University in 1928, but not officially transferred and accessioned into the Kelsey until the 1960s. A further twist, specifically where the Kelsey is

concerned, is that the earliest acquisitions (given accession numbers long after the fact) actually preceded the creation of the Museum as an institutional entity in 1929. Given these complexities, there was no simple way to plot our narrative from early beginnings to the present day. Although we provide general chronological divisions, in the end what results is a temporal zigzag, with object-lives and the lives of those passionately curious about them intertwining along an historical continuum.

Our narrative is divided into eight chapters, including this first introductory chapter. Chapter two situates the Kelsey within the larger context of collecting and museums of antiquities in America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In chapter three we provide a brief biography of Francis Kelsey, the eponymous founder of the Museum, as well as a glimpse of his vision and early acquisitions. Chapter four chronicles and contextualizes the growth of the collections through excavations and expeditions, starting with Michigan's earliest, in 1924, and ending in 1963, when the last excavated finds were accessioned. In chapters five and six we explore the growth of the collections through purchases, gifts, and bequests, looking first at the F. W. Kelsey years and then at the post-Kelsey era from 1928 to 2013. While chapters two through six highlight selected objects within the contexts of their collections histories, chapter seven singles out the Museum's extensive collections of specific media: textiles, coins, glass, and fine art photographs and lithographs. In each category, the holdings are particularly large, culturally diverse, and specialized. They are thus best presented as bodies of like material that, once explained in those terms, offer opportunities to illuminate the collectors and collecting practices that brought them to the Museum. Finally, in chapter eight, we explore issues confronting every university archaeology museum—concentrating on the vexed worlds of collectors, dealers, forgers, and ethical challenges.

The colorful figures who weave through these stories often led entangled lives. As actors on our stage, whether playing leading or supporting roles, they are part of the dynamic history of the University of Michigan and its far-flung global connections. They range from scholars and priests to missionaries and adventurers, from social commentators and activists to industrialists, local entrepreneurs, and world-renowned scientists. Some of these individuals receive more detailed discussion than others. These varying treatments emerge out of our particular scholarly interests, the foci of Kelsey traditions, the engagement of the particular person in a wider sphere, and available documentation. In the end, each one is, nonetheless, a significant figure in the roster of *dramatis personae* and the sagas of passions and curiosities that helped create the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

CHAPTER TWO

The Backdrop

An Overview of Early American Museums



While there is no consensus on what qualifies as the world's first museum in a modern sense, most scholars agree that the nearest ancestors to both the civic and university museums of Europe and America extend back to the cabinets of curiosities of the Enlightenment (fig. 2.1). Popular in 16th- and 17th-century Europe, these displays often consisted of large rooms crammed with a medley of the rare, the ancient, the scientific, and the fantastic—all meant to present an encyclopedic approach to knowledge that featured a bewildering array of zoological oddities, precious jewels, fossils, exotic shells, swords, armors, and works of art. The purview of the rich and powerful, these rooms—which were occasionally opened to the public—aimed to enhance the worldly or scholarly prestige of the few. English immigrants to America certainly knew of these displays, and it is no surprise that at least



Fig. 2.1. Engraved image of the cabinet of curiosities belonging to the wealthy Danish physician Ole Worm (1588–1654); Worm 1655 (posthumously published), frontispiece.

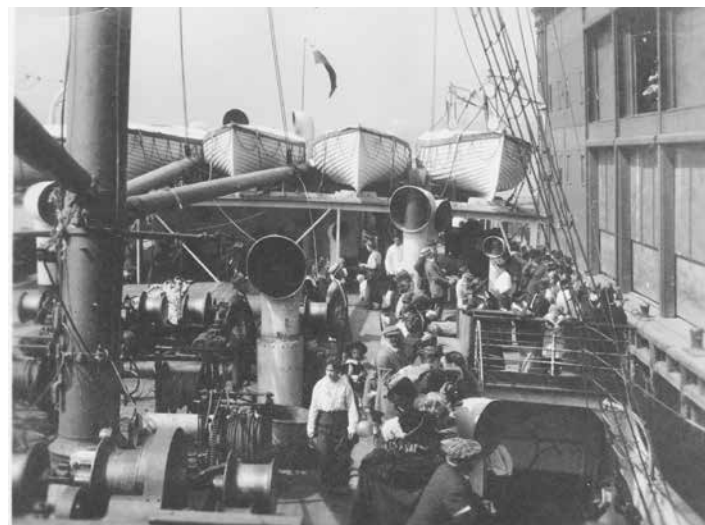
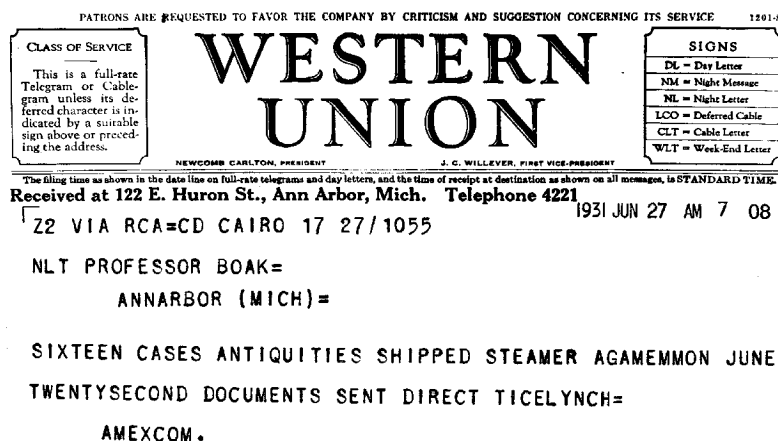


Fig. 2.2 (left). Cablegram from Cairo to Ann Arbor notifying Professor Arthur Boak of artifacts arriving from the Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt; June 27, 1931 (Kelsey Museum Archives).

Fig. 2.3 (right). Transatlantic steamer, *SS Columbia*; Francis Kelsey, wife Isabelle, son Easton, and photographer George Swain traveled on this boat in September 1919 for a ten-day trip from New York to Glasgow (Kelsey Museum neg. no. KS 00106).

some of the earliest museums in America followed that model. Indeed, one of the first public museums in America—the Philadelphia Museum, established in the 1780s by the artist Charles Wilson Peale—represented the artist’s personal cabinet of curiosities housed in his home. It included all manner of natural specimens and fabricated objects from places as diverse as Africa, China, the Pacific islands, and the Americas. Among the stranger items on exhibit were a two-headed pig, a five-legged cow with two tails, and a live grizzly bear. It is no wonder that part of the Peale family collection was later bought by P. T. Barnum of the Barnum & Bailey Circus!

Peale’s museum was, however, more the exception than the rule in late 18th-century America. Most public exhibitions in America amounted to no more than a few vitrines of objects and antiquities, often housed in obscure informality within colleges, theological seminaries, and libraries. Harvard University, Dartmouth College, and Bowdoin College formed some of the first such collections. Although most of those collections have now been dispersed, they seem to have combined art works and nature specimens, much like the earlier cabinets of curiosities.¹⁷ These small, hidden assemblages remained the norm for another 100 years, with notable changes emerging only in the aftermath of the American Civil War and the synergies of the Industrial Age.

The growing class of extraordinarily rich individuals created by the Industrial Revolution began to transform metropolitan American landscapes—building roads, railways, and department stores, and founding some of what are now regarded as the major museums in the United States. Many of these ambitious projects were aided by telegraph technology, which enabled almost immediate transmission of messages from coast to coast across the United States and across the Atlantic (fig. 2.2). The world had grown smaller, and the resulting opportunities were enticing. Deals (including antiquities purchases) could be secured almost instantaneously—even though bodily travel between America and the Old World remained a protracted process (fig. 2.3). A time of rapid change and growing disparity between the rich and poor, the era paradoxically gave

rise to a sense that the moneyed elite were obligated to lift up the masses. Although riddled with competing motivations, this notion of *noblesse oblige* was one of several driving forces that inspired wealthy patrons to invest energetically in public cultural institutions. Sincere interests in furthering worldly values in the still-parochial setting of North America mingled with an appreciation for the opportunities such undertakings could bring to industry, markets, and modernization. Equally important, generous support of civic cultural life was also seen by the wealthy as socially prestigious. For a variety of reasons, then, museums became places with important pedagogic functions, where working- and middle-class visitors could be educated about “high culture” and about what it meant to be civic-minded and informed citizens. The excitement generated early on by the popular marketing of gallery viewings (such as that for the famous 1844 classicizing sculpture of *The Greek Slave* by Hiram Powers) forecast a trend that would soon play out in larger civic spaces (fig. 2.4).² Schoolchildren were brought to public exhibitions, free public lectures were offered on a variety of topics, and free concerts brought additional audiences through the doors. The earliest of these grand public institutions included the Smithsonian (1846), the American Museum of Natural History (1869), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1870), Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts (1870), and the Field Museum in Chicago (1893).

But soon after World War I trends shifted, with major American museums once again catering to high society and wealthy collectors, actively marginalizing the working class. This was particularly evident in art museums. Energies and funds in those institutions began to concentrate on acquiring great works of European masters. Museums took advantage of the fact that leading European institutions and private collectors, struggling from the devastations of years of grueling war on their own soil, were suddenly at a competitive disadvantage. Then, with the onset of the Great Depression, beginning with the stock market crash of 1929, America faced its own financial troubles, and the paradigm once again shifted. The projects of the Works Progress Administration in the 1930s spearheaded a return to populist ideals about what museums should and could be.³

Universities and academic institutions that continued to house informal, obscure collections of curiosities gathered in the 18th century were not immune to developments playing out in the civic arena. Following national trends that encouraged the creation of large public museums, a few museums within American academic settings were formally established in the 19th century. The first university art museum was founded at Yale in 1832. Other early university museums include Yale’s Peabody Museum of Natural History (1866), Princeton’s University Art Museum (1882), the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (1887), and Harvard’s Semitic Museum (1889) and Fogg Museum (1895). Many others, like the Kelsey Museum, were formalized slightly later even though their collections (again, like the Kelsey’s) began to be amassed in the 1880s and 1890s. Places like the University of Chicago (founded in 1892) acknowledged that museums were vital components of a first-class academic institution. In fact, two of the first buildings constructed at that university were museums: the Walker Museum for Natural History and the Haskell Oriental Museum (later the Oriental

Fig. 2.4. Engraving depicting the 1857 public viewing of *The Greek Slave* by American sculptor Hiram Powers at the Dusseldorf Gallery, New York City, one of several venues on its tours across America (*Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 2.1, 1857, opp. p. 40).

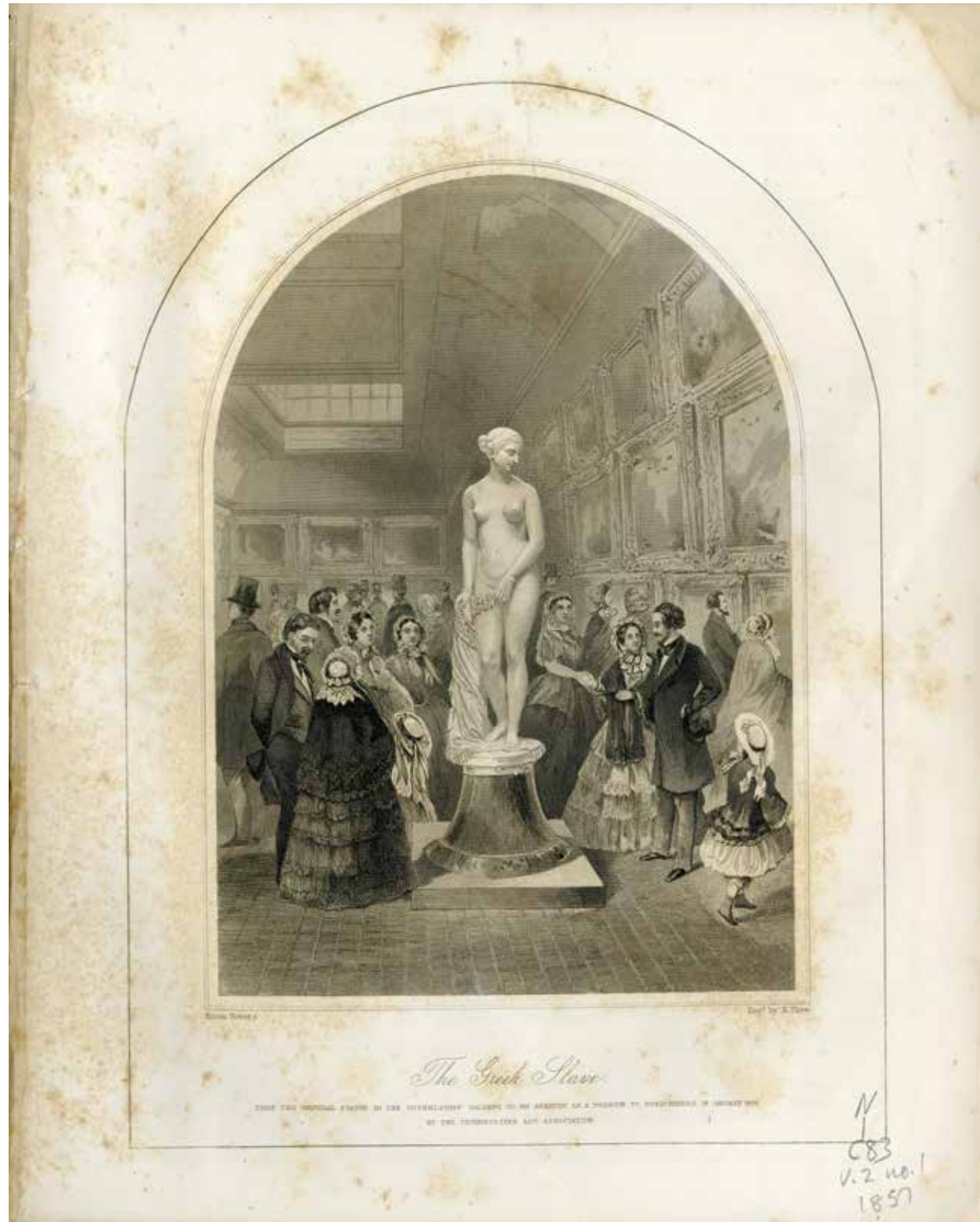




Fig. 2.5 (left). Photograph of University of Michigan chancellor Henry P. Tappan (Hinsdale 1906, p. 42; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).



Fig. 2.6 (right). University of Michigan campus in 1864 (Hinsdale 1906, p. 64; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).

Institute). While mandated to serve the production and dissemination of knowledge, they too increasingly sought to serve multiple audiences along with students and specialists. In so doing, they became a critical part of the social landscape of America.

Unlike the great metropolitan treasure houses, these earliest university museums were embedded within academic institutions that focused on intellectual and research agendas. Thus they often housed idiosyncratic holdings relevant to the institution's specific pedagogical missions and scientific interests rather than expansive, expensive, and eye-catching collections. Nevertheless, early university museums were similarly prone to fluctuating notions of mission in acquisition, display, and dissemination of knowledge. Although no one has yet written a comprehensive history of university museums in America, differences and interdependencies between emergent university and municipal museums have recently been analyzed (with special reference to the University of Michigan and the Kelsey), and Harvard's Fogg Museum has been studied as an historical phenomenon.⁴

The University of Michigan's first museums were explicitly meant to play a vital role in education. As Carla Sinopoli observes,

That museums and collections were part of the vision of the University of Michigan from its beginnings is evidenced in the formal creation of a "Cabinet of Natural History" simultaneously with the university's foundation in Ann Arbor in 1837.⁵

The University's first chancellor, Henry P. Tappan (whose tenure ran from 1852 to 1863), was convinced that Michigan should be a leader in a new paradigm of secular education (fig. 2.5). Departing from the traditions of many schools of the day, which were theologically grounded, Tappan promoted a worldly, European model for the Ann Arbor campus, which at the time was a rural, provincial environment (fig. 2.6). He



Fig. 2.7 (left). University of Michigan's Detroit Observatory in the 1860s (Hinsdale 1906, p. 117; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).



Fig. 2.8 (right). Plaster cast of the famous Greek sculpture the Nike of Samothrace (2nd century BCE); exhibited in the University of Michigan Gallery of Art, Alumni Memorial Hall (now the University of Michigan Museum of Art) in 1910 on the occasion of President Burton's funeral. The cast was a gift from Charles Lang Freer, after the original in the Musée du Louvre. The current location of the cast is unknown (M. L. Burton Funeral; HS 3925, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

persisted (despite charges of blasphemy against God) to create an observatory for the University based on the model of the great Royal Observatory in Berlin.⁶ Tappan was much reviled for his European airs and was summarily dismissed by the Board of Regents during a clandestine meeting in 1863. But he had made his mark on the University of Michigan. His observatory, housing its beautiful original telescope assembled from imported German parts, bankrolled by Detroiters, still stands on Observatory Hill overlooking East Ann Street in Ann Arbor (fig. 2.7).

Subsequent campus leaders of the 19th and early 20th centuries included several activist scholars who (like Tappan) promoted a marriage between the humanities and the sciences. Among them was Professor Kelsey, who was not alone in his ambition to create an archaeological museum on a college campus. Innovative individuals at several other academic institutions had not only begun to build comparable archaeological collections in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but they had also (as noted above) begun to found museums dedicated to programs of acquisition. Each of these museums was driven by the teaching and research interests of a single scholar and thereby dependent on the leadership of one visionary individual. Invariably, this charismatic academic was closely involved in the creation of the collections through archaeological expeditions and purchases as well as strategic fundraising and international connections.

The emerging interests in acquiring antiquities also sparked a desire to display large-scale works unobtainable on the market. Plaster casts—full-scale replicas—of famous monuments in the great European museums or still *in situ* at ancient sites provided a viable solution to the problem. From the mid-1870s into the first decade of the 20th century, many North American institutions procured large displays of plaster casts of major works of sculpture from Greece and Rome, Egypt and Mesopotamia, as well as medieval and Renaissance Europe.



Fig. 2.9. Plaster cast of a Mesopotamian *kudurru* (land grant stela) commissioned by King Marduk-nadin-ahhe of Babylon (1099–1082 BCE); University of Michigan purchase, late 19th century, after the original in the British Museum: ANE 90841 (KM 2004.3.1).

At the University of Michigan, the acquisition of what became an impressive if not comprehensive collection of casts began in 1855 and increased steadily through the late 19th century. The casts, along with some original works, were displayed in what was then known as the Gallery of Art and Archaeology (fig. 2.8).⁷ The jewel of this array was a set of full-scale casts of the reliefs decorating the Triumphal Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (Benevento), Italy. This great monument of imperial grandeur was erected in 114 CE in anticipation of the emperor's return from military campaigns in the East. In the late 19th century casts of the entire array of sculptures were offered for sale in a catalogue detailing options for purchase.⁸

Concurrent with the apogee of cast collecting across the United States was an equally forceful movement to disparage copies in favor of originals.⁹ As a result, by 1910 casts no longer played a major role in the great civic museums of America. At Michigan most of the casts once displayed so prominently were either sent off to adorn instructional spaces (such as the Reading Room of the first Main Library) or were crammed into the basement of Newberry Hall. New steam tunnels constructed to run from under Newberry Hall to the new Administration Building (now the LS&A Building) blasted the Museum basement with steam. This condensed to produce a steam-heated flood. In 1948–1949, the once-treasured casts of Trajan's arch “had to be carted away as debris.” As Professor J. G. Winter (then director of the Kelsey Museum) cynically observed, “The accidents to the steam pipes—there were several—solved, rather drastically, the problem of some of the casts.”¹⁰

Only a few casts of small monuments survived at the Kelsey, among them a Babylonian royal land grant stela (*kudurru*) of King Marduk-nadin-ahhe of Babylon (1099–1082 BCE) after the original in the British Museum (ANE 90841). This cast has been accessioned (KM 2004.3.1) to protect its status as an asset of the Museum, where it is currently integrated into the ancient Near East gallery displays (fig. 2.9).¹¹

While casts played an important role in teaching at Michigan, it was the race to collect genuine antiquities that thrust Kelsey and his fellow collectors onto the international stage during a volatile age. The mid-19th to early 20th centuries spanned modern colonialism and its upheavals, World War I, the subsequent divisions of former imperial holdings into nation states, and the geopolitical maneuverings leading up to World War II. Shifting concepts of cultural autonomy surged through these years, partly shaped by an increasing sense of ethnic heritage and a determination to retain rights over antiquities—particularly in archaeologically rich regions. Emerging laws protecting archaeological remains varied from one country to another, depending upon specific local histories, changing governmental and social forces, and in many cases, external agents catalyzing or complicating such initiatives (see appendix). Inevitably, tensions arose between source cultures or states (the locations where antiquities originally came to light) and market nations (the locations through which antiquities have passed for resale to individuals and institutions often far from their original homes). Rights of ownership were also confounded by the fact that objects often traveled in antiquity—collected

and moved for reasons of war, diplomacy, and individual antiquarian interest.¹² By the time these long-displaced items were excavated or harvested (usually by Western archaeologists) or purchased on the market after clandestine recovery, their pedigrees were already layered, charged with multiple and often conflicting meanings.¹³ The emergence of the Kelsey Museum should be seen in light of these rapid and ongoing shifts in the social and cultural landscape of the United States, the overseas markets, and developing antiquities laws. Collecting of antiquities for museums was energetically pursued by the wealthy, the scholarly, the adventuresome, and the curious. All of them inevitably collided with competing forces on the political scene overseas, fluxuating tastes, the urge to secure social prestige, and the desire (sometimes sincere and sometimes self-aggrandizing) to educate others.

CHAPTER THREE

Francis W. Kelsey Scholar, Collector, Leader



Fig. 3.1. Photograph of Francis W. Kelsey as a young man (Hinsdale 1906, p. 283; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).



he comprehensively researched and indispensable exploration of Francis Kelsey's life, *The Life and Work of Francis Willey Kelsey* by John G. Pedley, portrays a beloved teacher, esteemed scholar, committed humanitarian, and savvy player in antiquarian enterprises. Eminent in the scholarly circles of America and Europe,¹⁴ he left an impressive legacy, not only in the form of his prodigious publications and the museum that now bears his name but also in reams of letters, diaries, and memoranda. Kelsey's colleagues were known to comment—sometimes in humor, sometimes in irritation—on his inability to write a memo of less than forty pages. His archives thus provide rich details on his remarkable life and also on the larger world in which he lived, including correspondence with political figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Herbert Hoover, as well as with a vast network of associates who shared his passions for scholarship, archaeology, and collecting.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Francis Kelsey was born in Ogden, New York, in 1858 and educated at the University of Rochester (BA 1880, PhD 1886). Soon after receiving his BA, he held a professorship at Lake Forest College (1880–1889), joining the Michigan faculty in 1889 (fig. 3.1). He served as department chair and professor of Latin Language and Literature at the University of Michigan, which remained his scholarly home for the rest of his life. He died in Ann Arbor in 1927.

Kelsey spent his childhood on the family's modest farm. After local elementary schooling he went farther afield to Lockport, presumably as a boarder, since no secondary education was offered nearer home. Although poor, his parents appreciated his precociousness and did what they could to encourage their gifted child. Their own backgrounds played a role, with Kelsey's father Henry having aspired to become a physician. His mother, Olive Cornelia Kelsey (née Trowbridge), was the sister of John Townsend Trowbridge—a noted author of adventure stories, a public advocate for the abolition of slavery, and a friend of Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain).

Although a philologist by training and professional specialization, Kelsey believed that access to archaeological artifacts would enhance his students' understanding of the ancient world. Thus motivated, in 1893 he began a systematic effort to acquire



Fig. 3.2. Red-figure bell krater showing a symposium scene on the obverse (4th century BCE); purchased in Campania, Italy, by Francis Kelsey in the 1880s; gift of Mrs. F.W. Kelsey, 1935 (KM 28802).



Fig. 3.3. Detail of photograph of Thomas Spencer Jerome (*left*) and Charles Lang Freer in the gardens of their villa on Capri (T. S. Jerome Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

objects suitable for teaching, after only a few years at Michigan. He also made occasional personal purchases, including a red-figure bell krater brought home from one of his first European trips in the 1880s and donated to the Museum by his widow, (Mary) Isabelle Badger Kelsey, in 1935 (fig. 3.2). Between 1919 and 1926, Kelsey undertook several trips to Europe, North Africa, Egypt, and the Near East in search of not only more instructional artifacts but also sites to excavate. Ultimately, his excavations and those after his death brought a flood of archaeological material to the University of Michigan.

Throughout his life Kelsey cultivated the friendship and support of a diverse array of individuals—from colleagues and students to industrialists—in his quest to realize his visions and to enhance various Michigan programs.¹⁵ One such individual was Thomas Spencer Jerome (1864–1914), scion of a distinguished Michigan family, whose father, David H. Jerome, was governor of Michigan from 1881 to 1883. Jerome practiced law in Detroit until 1898, when he was appointed to a diplomatic mission in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. In 1889 he left the United States for Italy, became consular agent in Sorrento from 1900 to 1901, and then took the same post on the island of Capri, where he lived in the beautiful Villa Castello until his death in 1914 (fig. 3.3). His relationship with Kelsey was informed by mutual antiquarian interests—Jerome, for example, published and lectured on Roman history. The two also shared an interest in photography, both purchasing large groups of art photographs of Italian sites and scenes. At his death, Jerome bequeathed to the University over 600 of his vintage prints, many taken by such eminent photographers as Giorgio Sommer (1834–1914).¹⁶ Several years before Jerome's death, he and Kelsey discussed plans to establish an endowment to fund a series of lectures and short courses at Michigan. Today, the prestigious Jerome Lectureship, delivered biannually in rotation between Ann Arbor and the American Academy in Rome, owes its existence to these negotiations spearheaded by Kelsey.

Similarly, Kelsey's assiduous attentions to another prominent patron of the arts also provided significant academic benefits to the University of Michigan. Detroit railroad tycoon, philanthropist, and art collector Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919) was a close friend of Jerome and co-owner of the Villa Castello on Capri. Unlike Jerome, he was not, however, born into a wealthy family. Instead, Freer's early life was a classic American rags-to-riches story. Born in New York state, Freer received only an eighth-grade education before going to work on the lowest rungs of the burgeoning railroad industry. Clearly an astute and sometimes ruthless businessman, he became fabulously wealthy. After a series of brilliant mergers and buy-outs had earned him millions, Freer retired in 1899 at age forty-five. He devoted the rest of his life to connoisseurship and art collecting, particularly in Egypt and Asia. Engaged by American art as well, he also purchased major works by his contemporary, the American painter James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). In 1906 Freer bequeathed his collection to the Smithsonian Institution, along with a million dollars to build a new venue for them in Washington, DC. Eventually, the Freer Gallery of Art opened its doors in May 1923.¹⁷ At Kelsey's urging, Freer also left an endowment to the Department of the History of Art at the

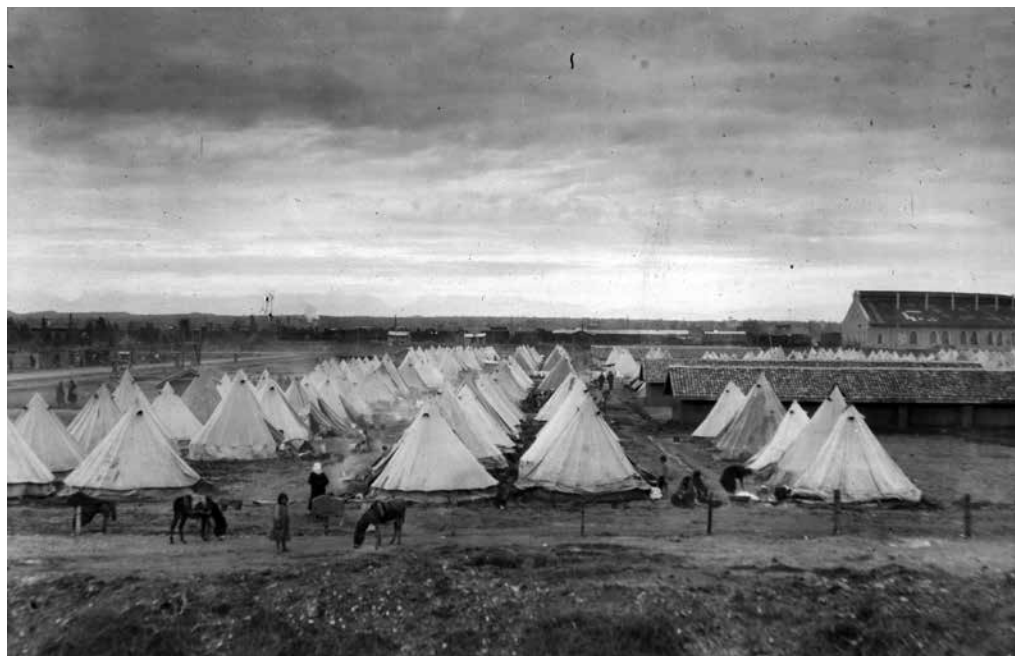


Fig. 3.4 (left). Photograph of the Armenian refugee camp at Adana, Turkey, in 1919–1920 (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. GL 00843).



Fig. 3.5 (right). Photograph of Easton Trowbridge Kelsey on an upper balcony of the Shepheard's Hotel in Cairo, Egypt; March 1, 1920 (Kelsey Museum neg. no. KK 071).

University of Michigan. The Freer Fund continues to support scholarly study in Asian art and lively programmatic connections between the Department and the Freer Gallery of Art/Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution.

Although none of Freer's ancient artifacts now graces the Kelsey Museum, his imprint is stamped upon many of the Museum's holdings. He frequently served as the intermediary when Kelsey and his colleagues were plying the Egyptian markets. Letters from the first decade of the 20th century document animated exchanges between these men on strategies for acquiring the most desirable items on offer at any given moment, especially in Cairo. Although some fellow Detroit industrialists commented that "Charley Freer was no good on a picnic,"¹⁸ he got on famously with connoisseurs.

Kelsey often devoted himself to humanitarian endeavors. In 1919–1920 he journeyed from Western Europe across Greece, Egypt, Syria, and Turkey, with photographer George R. Swain (chapter seven) documenting these regions and investigating potential excavation sites. Among his many concerns on that trip was the desire to bring the suffering of displaced people traumatized by the Great War to the attention of the American public. Kelsey participated actively in the work of the Near East Relief Committee, a charity organized in response to the Ottoman persecution and massacre of Armenians, which began in 1915 and lasted until 1923 (fig. 3.4).¹⁹ He also served as secretary to the Michigan chapter of the Belgian Relief Committee, whose mission focused on improving the lives of Belgian children left impoverished by the war. Kelsey's son, Easton Trowbridge Kelsey (1904–1975), accompanied the expedition as an assistant to Swain. Easton (fig. 3.5), who later had a State Department career, collected a small

Fig. 3.6a–b. Obverse and reverse of an Armenian coin (12th–14th centuries CE) collected by Easton Trowbridge Kelsey during a trip with his father in 1919–1920; gift of E. T. Kelsey, 1968 (KM 1968.1.6).

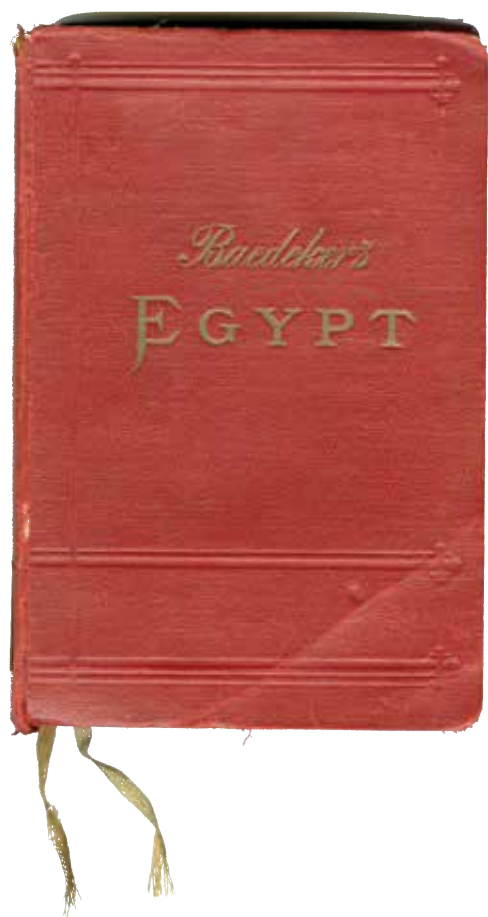


Fig. 3.7. Cover of Francis Kelsey's personal copy of Karl Baedeker's *Egypt and the Sûdân. Handbook for Travellers* (1914). Kelsey had this with him during his last trip overseas (Kelsey Museum Library).

but distinctive group of Armenian coins of the 12th to 14th centuries CE during this trip (fig. 3.6a–b). He donated them to the Kelsey Museum in 1968.

A research and collecting foray to Egypt in 1926–1927 turned out to be Professor Kelsey's last journey when failing health forced him to return home prematurely. The Museum owns a tangible memento to that final trip: the 1914 edition of Karl Baedeker's *Egypt and the Sûdân. Handbook for Travellers* that he carried with him (fig. 3.7). Maintaining his voluminous correspondence to the end—even when he had to be strapped to his chair to write—he died on May 14, 1927. He is buried in Forest Hills Cemetery in Ann Arbor, only a few minutes' walk from the archaeological museum that he had turned from a cherished dream into an imminent reality.

PROFESSOR KELSEY'S ACQUISITIONS

The artifact that is sentimentally designated as the first acquired by Professor Kelsey at the outset of his collecting career is now marked "1" in ink on its reverse. Once the Museum was formed, it received the accession number KM 1 (fig. 3.8). A modest fragment of a small clay Christian-era lamp, it bears a partial stamped impression of the Greek Chi-Rho monogram. The laterally disposed X (Chi) combines with the P (Rho) to signify the Greek ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (Christ). This fragment was a gift to Kelsey in 1893 from the Jesuit priest Père Alfred Louis Delattre (1850–1932), who was digging at the site of ancient Carthage in Tunisia. Père Delattre sold 108 objects (mostly lamps, vases, and building materials) to Professor Kelsey that year, and the lamp fragment was included as a symbolic gift accompanying this purchase. The unassuming artifact was the first that Delattre himself had uncovered when he began his work at Carthage, and its discovery had inspired him (moved by his strong interest in the history of Christianity) to excavate further (fig. 3.9). Thus it was a meaningful token marking the bond between two men and their shared passion for the past.



Fig. 3.8 (*left*). Fragment of a molded clay lamp (4th–5th centuries CE) bearing X (Chi) P (Rho), a Christian monogram for Christ; found at Carthage by Père Delattre and presented to Professor Kelsey as a gift of friendship. It became the first catalogued item in the Museum's collection (KM 1).



Fig. 3.9 (*right*). Photograph of Francis W. Kelsey and others at the site of Carthage, Tunisia; May 1925; *left to right*: Enoch Peterson, George F. French, Byron Kuhn de Prorok, Père Huguenot, Henry S. Washington, Abbé J.-B. Chabot, Francis Kelsey, and Père Delattre (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. 7.2055).

Among the other artifacts purchased from Delattre by Kelsey in 1893 were several colorful mosaic fragments, presumably from the vicinity of Carthage, dating to late Roman times (figs. 3.10–3.11). During this same trip Kelsey secured another 1,096 objects from dealers in Tunis, Rome, Capri, and Sicily. These early purchases ran the gamut from pottery and terracotta figurines to painted stucco and tombstones inscribed in Latin.

Although Kelsey did not return to Europe and North Africa for several years, he continued to buy antiquities with the help of friends. These purchases included 387 objects (lamps, pottery, and glass) from the Roman world and a series of thirty-four representative Greek lamps brought together by a colleague at the University of Athens.

Fig. 3.10 (*near right*). Mosaic fragment showing image of a deer's head (ca. 4th century CE); Francis Kelsey purchase, vicinity of Carthage, Tunisia (KM 91).



Fig. 3.11 (*far right*). Mosaic fragment showing a human face (ca. 4th century CE); Francis Kelsey purchase, vicinity of Carthage, Tunisia (KM 89).





Fig. 3.12. Roman brick stamped with the insignium of M. Rutilius Lupus, a major brick maker (early 2nd century CE); Francis Kelsey purchase from Rome, 1900–1901 (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 1142).



Fig. 3.13. Terracotta votive plaque of two eyes and a nose (3rd–1st centuries BCE); Francis Kelsey purchase in Veii, Italy, 1900–1901 (KM 1774).

He also purchased the first of several hundred inscribed Roman tombstones acquired specifically from the parish priest of Pozzuoli, Italy, one Giuseppe De Criscio (chapter five), who had been acquiring inscriptions, mural fragments, and other antiquities from his parishioners for over four decades.

In 1900–1901 Kelsey took a leave from the University to serve as a visiting professor at what was then called the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. Several purchasing opportunities arose, and Kelsey took full advantage of them. In particular, he acquired over 400 examples of stamped Roman bricks, which typically bear the names of the owners of the clay beds, the manufacturing establishments producing the bricks, and sometimes the names of administrators to whom we can attach dates. These “brick stamps” (as scholars call them) offer rare insights into Roman trade and social history.²⁰ Kelsey first acquired a Roman brick stamp serendipitously in 1893 when he purchased an example “from an old woman on the road to the Villa Iovis at Capri.” It is almost certainly modern and was probably picked up on a whim. But the episode seems to have sparked Kelsey’s interest. By 1900 he had become a studious and systematic collector of Roman brick stamps. One of the stamps he acquired bears the identifiers of a brick-making operation owned by the empress Domitia Domitiani, widow of the emperor Domitian. Another bears the insignium of a major manufacturer in Rome during the early 2nd century CE—one M. Rutilius Lupus. Lupus was a landowner as well as a brick maker, with extensive clay-lands supporting his business near where the Vatican stands today. His distinctive stamp incorporates the image of a wolf as a rebus for his name (*lupus* meaning “wolf” in Latin) (fig. 3.12).²¹ Kelsey’s persistence eventually led to a corpus of 523 stamped bricks marked with 366 distinct stamps, making the collection in Ann Arbor the largest and most diverse outside Italy. A major publication of the entire corpus in 1983 by Bodel provides crucial documentation of this extensive collection, greatly facilitating new research in the field.²²

During his 1900–1901 leave, Kelsey also acquired ninety specimens of makers’ stamps impressed into Arretine (South Italian) redware. This highly prized form of pottery was shipped all over the Roman Empire and also manufactured in regional forms. Today, such marks are a critical resource for studying workshop production and trade networks. Kelsey’s other purchases that year included thirty-three modeled clay offerings of animals and various human body parts that were presumably deposited near an ancient temple of healing at the Etruscan site of Veii (fig. 3.13).²³ Finally, one of his more unusual purchases in 1900–1901 was the acquisition of over 400 pieces of building materials, many of them exquisitely colored, polished marbles funneled to Rome for construction projects from various sources throughout the Greater Mediterranean.

More than a century after the harvest of his residency in Rome, research uncovered surprising details relating to five carved stone fragments Kelsey had acquired at various times and from different sources that year. All the fragments were discovered to have originated from the same imperial Roman historical monument, a Flavian Period installation dating to the reign of Vespasian (r. 69–79 CE). In addition to several

Fig. 3.14 (*near right*). Relief fragment of the head of Emperor Vespasian from the Templum Gentis Flaviae (69–79 CE); Francis Kelsey purchase in Rome, 1900–1901 (KM 2430).

Fig. 3.15 (*far right*). Relief fragment of the head of a Roman soldier from the Templum Gentis Flaviae (69–79 CE); Francis Kelsey purchase in Rome, 1900–1901 (KM 2425).



architectural fragments, one piece displays the head of the emperor himself (fig. 3.14), and another depicts a Roman soldier in profile (fig. 3.15). Kelsey had bought two of his pieces at the Baths of Diocletian—one from the foreman of a construction crew nearby, another from “a dealer at the school,” and still another with no source noted.²⁴ At the same time, the German archaeologist Paul Hartwig purchased nine fragments on the market and gave them to the Museo Nazionale Romano (the Terme Museum). Only after decades did it become clear that the Kelsey and Hartwig fragments were part of a single structure. All had been reused by the emperor Diocletian (r. 284–305 CE), which may explain why several of Professor Kelsey’s fragments were purchased in the area of Diocletian’s Baths. Together they form vestiges of the earliest extant example of a sculptural program for a Roman imperial funerary complex. As a result of inter-institutional collaboration, casts of the pieces in Rome are now displayed in Ann Arbor within a reconstruction that shows their relative positioning and where they join with the pieces Kelsey purchased.²⁵

Between 1902 and 1918, Kelsey added fewer than 200 items to his collection. These included more Latin inscriptions and a valuable corpus of (mostly Roman) objects of daily life, such as writing implements, bronze jewelry, hairpins, dice, spoons, ladles, and spindles. Suffering periodic bouts of illness, the professor kept close to home, teaching and working on various projects. World War I, bracketing the last four years of this period, also curtailed his travels.

Kelsey was again on leave in 1919–1921, and that trip resulted in the acquisition of Roman glass from the Cologne Museum, 130 Greek vases, and, most important, several Egyptian tomb assemblages, including alabaster bowls, beads, and toilet articles donated by the eminent Flinders Petrie, who was digging in Egypt at the time (chapter five).

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Dr. David Ashren	F. W. Kelsey	July 13 1925	9 changed to 21573- 81	one changed to 21555 These objects were unpacked during absence of Curator (1924-1926) and placed in boxes some of which bore numbers. Not all the objects were numbered, and there have been confusions. The accession list has been made from the typed inventory of the Ashren Collection and the numbers so far as they could be found. There may easily be discrepancies as part of the material was taken to Angell Hall as you list was left here. These confusions can be checked later from complete list.
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"	"	"		
"	"	"		

Fig. 3.16. Kelsey Museum Accessions Book 1-5000, p. 124-2. Part of the text reads: "These objects were unpacked during absence of Curator (1924-1926) and placed in boxes some of which bore numbers. Not all the objects were numbered and there have been confusions. . . . There may easily be discrepancies as part of the material was taken to Angell Hall and no list was left here."

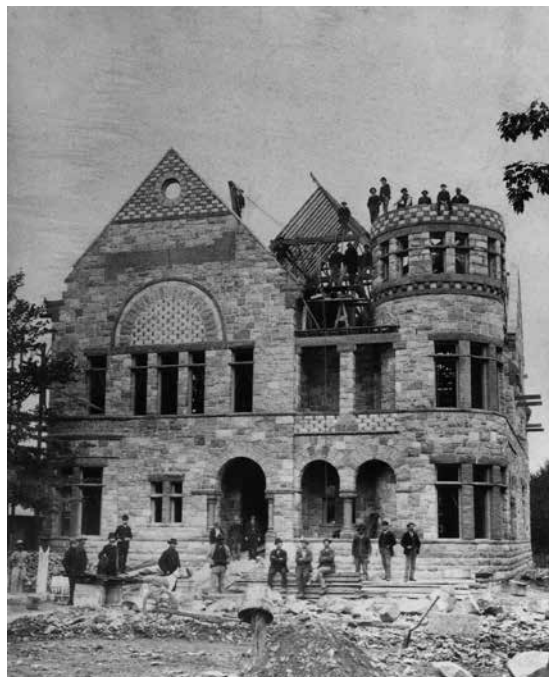
The year 1924 marked a shift in acquisitions strategy, motivated by Kelsey's long-held interest in finding sites to excavate. With colleagues, he established the Near Eastern Research Fund and convinced the University to begin excavations overseas. These efforts ultimately brought a massive influx of artifacts to Michigan (chapter four).

BIRTH OF AN ARCHAEOLOGY MUSEUM IN ANN ARBOR

Kelsey's acquisitions through excavations, purchases, and gifts streamed into Ann Arbor. With no single place in which to house these burgeoning collections, they were perforce scattered across various locations on campus. And with very limited staff left at

Fig. 3.17 (*near right*). Newberry Hall—ultimately the home of the Kelsey Museum—under construction, around 1888 (Kelsey Museum Archives).

Fig. 3.18 (*far right*). Stained-glass window in the Kelsey Museum Library, designed by Louis Comfort Tiffany around 1889 (Kelsey Museum Archives).



home when fieldwork was in progress, confusion sometimes prevailed when large lots of finds came in (fig. 3.16). In the fall of 1928, one year after Kelsey's death, several Michigan professors convened to discuss the urgency of properly housing the mass of material. Their petitions to the University yielded positive responses: the Board of Regents granted their request to create a Museum of Classical Archaeology and generously funded the project as well. Plans were soon afoot to convert part of one of the buildings on campus—Newberry Hall—into an exhibition space. A beautifully appointed Romanesque-style building of pink and gray stone in the heart of campus, Newberry Hall had been built in the 1890s as a meeting place for the Student Christian Association (SCA), an independent organization serving University students (fig. 3.17). Newberry Hall is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places and stands as one of the oldest extant buildings on campus. A soaring stained-glass window designed by Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848–1933) graces the library (originally the SCA lecture auditorium) on the second floor (fig. 3.18).

By the close of the 19th century, the SCA could no longer pay for the upkeep of Newberry Hall. In 1921 the University began renting the building for classes and subsequently purchased it. Eventually, many of the objects that Kelsey had accumulated were moved into the ground floor of Newberry Hall.

The new museum, now lodged in these elegant quarters, opened its doors to the public in 1929 with displays on Karanis and life in ancient times. The 1928–1929 President's Report contains a touching reference to Professor Kelsey in the context of the inaugural exhibition:

The opening of this small exhibit . . . is a step toward the fulfillment of Professor Kelsey's plans for the future. It is a keen regret to all of those associated with him . . . that he is not here to see this step toward the realization of his hopes. However, though he is not with us in person, his memory remains as an inspiration.

In 1953 the Museum of Classical Archaeology was renamed the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Two decades later, in response to threats from the University to divert support, the Museum began a new era under the leadership of John Griffiths Pedley. Curatorships were formalized and expanded, their appointments made jointly with professorial positions in teaching departments; a dynamic program of regularized special exhibitions began to bring in larger audiences; and an era of targeted acquisition proceeded to fill specific lacunae in the collections. Professional collections managers assumed a major role in facilitating all these programs. A permanent post in conservation and a dedicated staff position in exhibition preparation and design contributed substantially to the care and display of the Museum's extensive holdings.

In the 1990s, Eugene and Emily Grant financed the creation of a safe storage environment in Newberry Hall in which the thousands of artifacts not on display could be held in climate-controlled and fire-proof conditions, even though the rest of the old building remained vulnerable to seasonal fluctuations. Finally, a major gift from Ed and Mary Meader of Kalamazoo, Michigan, enabled the construction of an entirely new building at the back of Newberry Hall—the William E. Upjohn Exhibit Wing—which opened in 2009 and has greatly expanded display and storage areas. At long last, the collections initiated with Kelsey's purchases in the 1890s are now stored and displayed in a secure, climate-controlled, and purpose-built environment (fig. 3.19).

Fig. 3.19. Watercolor rendering of the William E. Upjohn Exhibit Wing, opened in 2009. The building was designed by the Chicago-based firm of Hammond Beeby Rupert Ainge, Inc.



CHAPTER FOUR

What Comes Home from the Field (1924–1963)



This chapter, which spans 1924 to 1963, brackets two significant events in the Museum's history. The year 1924 marks the first Michigan excavations, when the earliest excavated objects from field projects began to flow into Ann Arbor; 1963 is the year of transfer to the Kelsey of its last share of excavated finds.

EXCAVATIONS AS COLLECTION-BUILDING MISSIONS

Unlike antiquity laws today, legal statutes in source nations from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s (with precise dates varying from country to country) permitted foreign institutions conducting excavations to bring a portion of the unearthed material back to the sponsoring organization(s), a system called *partage*. The legal division of finds was at the discretion of the antiquities authorities in the source country, and many of the world's premier archaeological museums built their collections through this “Great Divide” of archaeological spoils at the turn of the last century. The growth of the Kelsey's collections was no exception. Well over half the objects now housed in the Kelsey Museum derive from University-sponsored excavations during the 1920s and 1930s, linking them to well-documented, archaeological contexts. Moreover, the types of sites Professor Kelsey and other dig directors at Michigan championed included rural and/or domestic contexts of non-elite people as well as environments of grandeur. The Kelsey collections of excavated objects thus reflect a range of human activities, many of them associated with long-term historical and social changes. Since several of the sites witnessed multiple military occupations affecting the lives of indigenous populations, the collections have particular strengths in materials that reflect such social and political entanglements.

In the Field: The Archaeological Expeditions of the Kelsey Museum (Talalay and Alcock 2006) surveys the history of these field projects through 2005 from the viewpoint of the excavations themselves. Here, we expand upon rather than reiterate salient points in that volume—highlighting selective finds and stories relating to their recovery as well as some of the individuals who participated in the field projects. In addition, we feature two archaeological projects not discussed in *In the Field* that were supported by the University of Michigan (rather than by F. W. Kelsey or the Kelsey Museum strictly speaking). The finds or archives from those two projects ultimately became part of the Museum's holdings.

Every object (or object cluster in some cases) that entered the Museum was eventually accessioned and assigned a number if it was deemed appropriate for official registration within the collections. Once an object is accessioned, it becomes subject to all the protocols of the Museum regarding the security, care, and use of the collections. An accessioned object cannot be deaccessioned (removed) from the collections except under certain conditions stipulated in the Kelsey Collections Policy; and ultimately its removal must be sanctioned by the University of Michigan Board of Regents.

In the early years, accession numbers proceeded from number “1” onward. Large groups of artifacts from major early excavations tend to bear numbers in a long numerical sequence because they came in for registration at the same time. After the middle of the 20th century a date-prefix protocol was adopted (e.g., 1979.01.0003 in the database, or 1979.1.3 as a short version in this book and in Museum labels). The date-prefix refers to the year of entry into museum records—not necessarily the year of excavation or acquisition by other means. The second numeral represents a main-group designation; and the third number represents the individual item (or individual group). Occasionally, a group of artifacts emerging from a source country through excavation still operating under a division agreement may bear an accession number prefixed with a year that postdates the termination of find-division protocols in that country. This reflects time lags in the entrance of the objects into the Museum or delays in the accessioning process itself for various reasons. One constant theme in behind-the-scenes anecdotes from all museums is the tale of internal “reexcavation” that may take place either serendipitously (perhaps during rearrangement of storage spaces) or systematically as part of a programmatic effort to review all objects (accessioned and not) that belong to the backlog of a certain excavation. As Don Whitcomb has remarked of his efforts to reassemble and interpret all the data emerging from a site in Iran excavated in the early 20th century by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, “the museum has become, in a sense, the archaeological site.”²⁶



Fig. 4.1. Fragment of a molded bowl (3rd–4th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Antioch, Turkey, 1924 (KM 93898).

PRE-WORLD WAR II EXCAVATIONS

Antioch of Pisidia (Turkey)

The first Kelsey field project was at Antioch of Pisidia (“The New Rome”) in central Turkey. It began in 1924 under the field leadership of the outstanding scholar of Anatolian studies at the time, Sir William Ramsay. Although Ramsay and his team spent only one season in the field, they uncovered major Roman monuments, many in fragments, from the reign of Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE), Rome’s first emperor. Just under 250 objects came to Ann Arbor from Antioch of Pisidia—principally coins, pottery, architectural elements, and a 1920s plaster cast of a portrait head once belonging to a statue of Augustus, unearthed during the Michigan excavations but retained by Turkey (figs. 4.1–4.4). Extensive archives of field notes, architectural drawings, and photographs

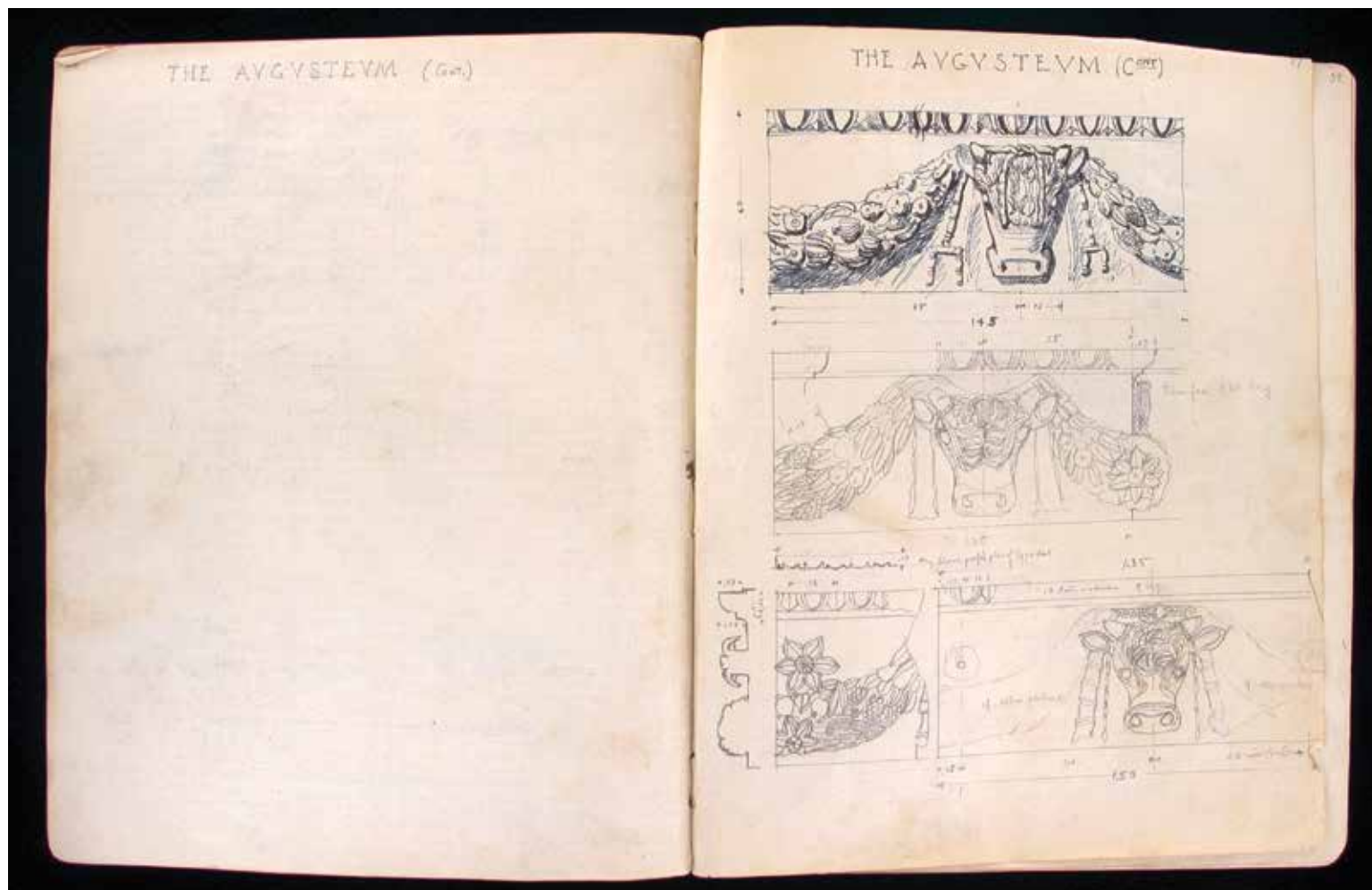


Fig. 4.2a (above). Page from notebook of excavation architect F. J. Woodbridge, with drawing of a decorated stone architectural block from a temple at Antioch (3rd–4th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Antioch, Turkey, 1924 (Kelsey Museum Archives).

Fig. 4.2b (right). Field photograph of the architectural block from Antioch drawn in the notebook of F. J. Woodbridge; Michigan excavations at Antioch, Turkey, 1924 (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. 5.250).



Fig. 4.3. Field photograph of the stone head of Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE) from a life-sized sculpture coming to light during Michigan excavations at Antioch, Turkey, 1924; Enoch Peterson, excavation director, is second from left in the foreground (Kelsey Museum neg. no. KR 54.7).



Fig. 4.4. Plaster cast of the portrait head of Augustus unearthed during Michigan excavations at Antioch, Turkey, 1924. The original sculpture was retained by Turkey (KM 4733).

relating to this campaign enabled the Museum to produce 3-D models of the imperial buildings for an exhibition in 2005.²⁷

The most historically significant discovery was of numerous inscribed stone fragments from a Latin copy of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (literally, “The Accomplishments of the Divine Augustus”), which had once been prominently displayed at the entranceway to the grand imperial sanctuary of the city. The original rendering of the *Res Gestae* for public display at the imperial center in Rome was inscribed in bronze at Augustus’s mausoleum there. It did not, however, survive antiquity. There are, in fact, extant remnants of only three examples of this ancient document of royal rhetoric, which was presumably disseminated throughout the empire: the fragments from Pisidian Antioch and those from two other Roman-era cities in Turkey. Based on tool marks, the excavators determined that at some point in the 4th or 5th century CE iconoclasts smashed the Pisidian Antioch version to bits.²⁸ One of the resulting fragments (preserving the letter Q) made its way to Ann Arbor, where it was accessioned once the Museum was established and then forgotten. About eighty years later (in 2004) it was noticed in storage and identified by two doctoral candidates as the lost “fragment Q”—one of the smashed elements incorporated into a photo-reconstruction made from all the recovered pieces on site in 1924.



Fig. 4.5. Stone stela from the Tophet, sanctuary of the goddess Tanit (ca. 4th century BCE); Michigan excavations at Carthage, Tunisia. The stela was retained by Tunisia (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. 5.0680).

Carthage (Tunisia)

As noted in chapter two, the site of Carthage (at modern Tunis) was the place where Professor Kelsey met Père Delattre in 1893 and acquired his first antiquities. Three decades later, concurrent with the initiation of the Antioch project, Kelsey began laying plans to return to Carthage—this time to dig. The wealthy Hungarian dilettante Byron Kuhn de Prorok (who called himself Count de Prorok) figures prominently in this story.

De Prorok was an entrepreneurial antiquarian and archaeologist, as well as an adventurer and speculator. At one point in his sprawling career, he became fascinated by inscribed Punic monuments emerging from excavations at the illustrious city of Carthage, legendary home to both the historical warrior-king Hannibal (d. 183/181 BCE), who suffered defeat at the hands of Roman Republican forces, and to the mythical Queen Dido of Virgil's *Aeneid* (composed between 29 and 19 BCE). Beguiled by the site's romantic appeal and by the promise of riches as antiquities were pouring out of the ground, de Prorok purchased land at the site. He began conducting hasty explorations, aided by French support and several inexperienced volunteers. In 1924 he courted financial and academic backing in the United States. The count was particularly eager to gain the allegiance of Francis Kelsey and the aura of academic legitimacy that would accompany such an association.

Kelsey joined forces with de Prorok's efforts in the succeeding season—during the spring of 1925. This Franco-American excavation of 1925 explored the Punic sanctuaries of Ba'al Hamon and Tanit, both important Punic deities. The most intriguing finds were those from the Tophet (the sanctuary of the goddess Tanit), which yielded urns containing the charred sacrificial bones of children, along with the bones of lamb, goat, and small birds, as well as rings, bracelets, beads, and objects of gold, silver, and bronze. Approximately 500 items were shipped back to Michigan. These included clay lamps and vessels, architectural and sculptural fragments, and numerous child-burial urns. The expedition also recorded a large number of stone dedicatory stelae (freestanding markers) in the cemetery, decorated with carved inscriptions and images (fig. 4.5). The stelae provide important data on the people, deities, and burial practices of a culture that has remained poorly understood, partly due to the sensationalist implications of its practice of child sacrifice. Although Kelsey was not able to bring these back from Tunis, his team produced paper squeezes (or impressions) of seventy-five of them. A unique stela in the corpus documented by one of these squeezes depicts a worshipper with the symbol of Tanit on his robe. The accompanying text indicates that he was a perfumer by trade.²⁹ Since their discovery, many of the original stelae have deteriorated, and physical access to them today can be logistically and politically challenging. These factors significantly add to the ongoing research value of Kelsey's original squeezes.³⁰

More than seventy years after Kelsey's work in Tunisia ended, a remarkable event unfolded. In 1998 nine urns containing child burial remains from the Tophet were unexpectedly offered to Michigan as a gift from the estate of Horton O'Neil (1908–1997). Before heading to Princeton (where he joined the class of 1930) this young man had

Fig. 4.6. Photograph of Horton O'Neil and others aboard the *SS George Washington*; February 14, 1925. Left to right: Horton O'Neil, Byron Kuhn de Prorok, Francis Kelsey, unidentified, F. C. Shorey, and C. E. Barriere (photo, Mrs. Maurice Kellerman; Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, HS 5258).



participated, as one of the inexperienced volunteers mentioned earlier, on de Prorok's initial 1924 expedition. The following year O'Neil returned for the new season, still under de Prorok's wing, although the project was led by Kelsey. In the company of Professor Kelsey, the count, and others, O'Neil crossed the Atlantic to Europe and then Tunisia on the *SS George Washington* in February 1925 (fig. 4.6). After the European disembarkation of the whole group, O'Neil reached Carthage in advance of Kelsey, who had other affairs to tend to in Europe. When the professor finally arrived in Tunis, he immediately went to the site to determine the lay of the land. Much to his shock, he came upon O'Neil and another volunteer connected to de Prorok digging on their own, clearly conducting unauthorized excavations. Kelsey wrote in his diary of March 4, 1925, that he took a firm stand against this unprofessional activity, threatening to close down the whole operation "if another spade of earth is turned without my approval."³¹

O'Neil's letters home reveal an immature young man who misjudged the seriousness of the project. When he had completed his obligations at the site, he wrote his mother from Tunis on May 8, 1925, recounting how he had bribed a customs officer to let him out of the country without searching his luggage. His trunk (as he reports) was bulging with artifacts for which he had been unable to secure export permits.³² By O'Neil's own account, Professor Kelsey exercised very close supervision over the site, including extended daily postmortems on every trench. How the young man managed to secrete material from the site (if the objects were indeed excavated by the Kelsey-sponsored excavations) remains a mystery. In any event, he clandestinely accumulated a large body of antiquities from the Carthage excavations and the immediate environs—all of which found their way out of Tunisia in 1925.

O'Neil eventually donated the bulk of his ill-gotten acquisitions to the Alice Corinne McDaniel collection of objects of daily life within Harvard University's Department of



Fig. 4.7. One of the nine cinerary urns from the Carthage Tophet still holding cremated remains of a child (ca. 700 BCE); acquired in Tunisia by Horton O'Neil in 1925 and donated to the Kelsey Museum by his widow, Madelyn Phillips O'Neil, in 2003 (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 2003.3.10).



Fig. 4.8 (right). Field photograph of University of Michigan excavations in progress at Karanis, Egypt, ca. 1927; Enoch Peterson (director) at left (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. 5.2927).

Classics. They are now in the collections of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum of the Harvard Art Museums. The nine urns from the Carthage cemetery containing child burials were, instead, given to the Kelsey Museum by Mr. O'Neil's widow, the actress and modern dancer Madelyn Phillips O'Neil, who had been married to him for fifty-six years at the time of his death (fig. 4.7). Following his archaeological escapades under de Prorok's influence at Carthage and also at Utica (northwest of Carthage), Horton O'Neil led an interesting and varied life. He was a professional architect and set designer, and served during World War II as an instructor and carpenter on a government project to teach farmers in Maine how to build Liberty ships.

The funerary urns that have come to the Kelsey are most likely linked to the Tophet and thus can be placed in the context of the larger understanding of the site and its people. Moreover, they offer unusual teaching opportunities for appreciating the complex world of museum ethics.³³ The Museum accepted the O'Neil urns, eventually accessioning them for inventory and tracking purposes.

Karanis, Soknopaiou Nesos, and Terenouthis (Egypt)

While Professor Kelsey was involved with Carthage, he began to consider other field options, ultimately deciding to excavate at Karanis, a rural town in the northern Egyptian Fayum district west of the Nile. The site would prove to have a long history, occupied from approximately 250 BCE in the Ptolemaic era until sometime in the 7th century CE. After two seasons of initial exploration in 1924 and 1925, Professor Enoch E. Peterson (1891–1978) directed the project from 1926 to 1935 (fig. 4.8). A graduate student under

Fig. 4.9 (*near right*). Wooden door from a house (1st–4th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 8151).

Fig. 4.10 (*far right top*). Toy horse with wheels (1st–4th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 7692).

Fig. 4.11 (*far right bottom*). Colorful textile doll (1st–4th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 3648).



Kelsey's mentorship and a close relative of University President Alexander P. Ruthven, he served on the faculty at Michigan until his retirement in 1962.

Between 1926 and 1936 almost 45,000 objects from Karanis were shipped to Ann Arbor. Representing somewhat less than half the total number of objects unearthed at the site (the remainder stayed in Cairo through the *partage*), they comprise an impressive array of materials from domestic contexts, which were meticulously recorded. These artifacts of daily life are amazingly varied and include sandals and textiles, armor, hairpins, dolls, toys, pottery, rope, combs, tiny amulets and beads, large storage jars, olive presses, agricultural tools, food remnants, wooden doors, locks and keys, glass vessels, seals and sealed bullae once affixed to papyrus documents, and many coins (figs. 4.9–4.11).

In contrast to the largely undisturbed domestic contexts, the graves at the site had already been ransacked by papyrus hunters and seekers of mummy portraits on wooden



Fig. 4.12. Black basalt statue of a seated priest (1st century CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 8218).



Fig. 4.13. Reclining stone statue of Nilus, the personification of the Nile River (late 2nd century CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 25747 [head] and KM 25869 [torso]).

panels (Fayum portraits) long before the Michigan team began work.³⁴ In Egypt of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods papyrus copies of the works of famous Greek writers circulated widely. These documents were, over time, recycled as material for mummy-making. As excavations both licit and illicit disgorged mummies from the Egyptian soil, thousands of scraps of papyri inscribed with passages from ancient literary masterpieces began to provide new evidence of classical texts. Other papyri represented letters, business records, and comparable documents, offering scholars the chance to reframe ideas about ancient society based upon the lived experiences of ancient people. Disassembled mummies were marketed in bits and pieces—scattering papyrus fragments, mummy masks, portraits, and protective amulets to the far corners of the globe. A substantial number of papyri from Karanis were acquired by the University of Michigan as *partage* and are now housed in the University's well-known Papyrology Collection.³⁵

Only two fragmentary and poorly preserved painted mummy portraits from Karanis reached Ann Arbor, recovered from houses during the 1926 season. Frustratingly, no contextual details are given, and they are only mentioned in the record of objects, not in published field reports.³⁶ Their discovery in domestic dwellings rather than in graves—where they were usually placed over the faces of wrapped mummies and bound securely by layers of linen—might seem surprising. These contextualized Karanis examples, however, support the hypothesis that such images were frequently commissioned during the lifetime of the deceased and displayed in the home upon completion until the death of the person represented demanded their removal for funerary application. Fayum portraits frequently show that they were cut down from larger rectangular panels at the time of insertion into the restricted area of mummy wrappings. And a tomb at Hawara excavated by Flinders Petrie in the 19th century revealed a panel portrait still in a frame for wall-hanging, deposited unaltered in the grave rather than integrated into a mummy covering.³⁷

Other materials from Karanis that found their way to Ann Arbor included sculptures reflecting the culturally mixed population in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Most iconic is the statue of a seated priest (fig. 4.12). Dating to about 50–100 CE, it blends classic characteristics of an age-old Pharaonic royal pose and a face reflecting trends in contemporaneous Roman portraiture. A small-scale statue of a reclining Nilus (the Nile god) excavated at Karanis from a late 2nd-century CE context also illustrates the melding of classical traditions and Egyptian motifs (fig. 4.13). The artist has reimagined the ancient Egyptian allegorical depiction of Nilus as a languorous male nude of mature years, styled in a fashion that echoes mainstream Hellenistic types. Other similarly evocative sculptures from Karanis include an array of reclining lions reminiscent of some of the famous colossal works of the New Kingdom except at a greatly diminished scale and affect.³⁸

The material transported to Michigan from Karanis contained detailed excavation notebooks, records of objects, thousands of photographs, drawings, maps of each level at the site, and several hours of 16-mm silent film footage on the excavation process



Fig. 4.14. Stone funerary stela showing deceased woman reclining (late 2nd–early 4th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Terenouthis, Egypt 1935 (KM 21179).



Fig. 4.15. Carved stucco architectural wall decoration in the form of an all-over pattern of interlocking circles, with vestiges of red paint (248 BCE–226 CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 16672).

and the local population.³⁹ Professor Kelsey first floated the idea of film recording in 1924, surely influenced by the fact that Byron de Prorok took pioneering footage at Carthage in that year (none of which has survived).⁴⁰ It was not until 1927 that the still-photographer George Swain (chapter seven) exchanged his usual apparatus for a motion picture camera. Although not technically a great work of cinematography, it is a precious and rare record of the Fayum in the 1920s.

Concurrent with the excavations at Karanis, Professor Peterson led preliminary excavations at the nearby sites of Soknopaiou Nesos (modern Dimé) and Terenouthis (modern Kom Abou Billou). Soknopaiou Nesos turned out to be a frontier settlement and way station occupied from approximately 240 BCE until the end of the 2nd century CE. Around 500 objects (including approximately 100 coins) were transferred to Michigan. Terenouthis, by contrast, proved to be an ancient necropolis located on the edge of Egypt's western desert. This site yielded intact burials in over 200 mud brick tombs, most dating from the late 2nd to the early 4th centuries CE. The installations incorporated painted plaster images and carved funerary stelae, frequently with well-preserved polychromy, many combining native Egyptian traditions with Greek and Roman motifs (fig. 4.14). The stelae explicitly underscore the complex cultural interactions among these three groups.⁴¹ The Kelsey holds 208 of these funerary stelae along with another 2,000 objects—vessels, jewelry, small figurines, and magical amulets and coins placed on the hands and beneath the skull of the deceased or carefully arranged in rows on top of the corpse.⁴²

Seleucia on the Tigris (Iraq)

Two Michigan excavations were undertaken in western Asia beginning in the 1920s following the one-year effort at Pisidian Antioch. Foremost was a project in Iraq to dig the site of Seleucia on the Tigris, 35 kilometers (21 miles) from modern Baghdad and very near the epicenter of ancient Babylon. Professor Leroy Waterman (the distinguished Michigan philologist and biblical scholar discussed in chapter six) directed the effort from 1927 to 1932. After a hiatus, Clark Hopkins (who had previously excavated Dura Europus in Syria for Yale) directed the final season at Seleucia in 1936–1937, having joined the faculty at Michigan. Hopkins (1895–1976) coordinated the publication effort in the 1930s and later produced an archaeological overview of the site.⁴³

Seleucia was strategically located on the west bank of the Tigris River at the confluence of a canal linking the Tigris with the Euphrates River. The city was founded by Alexander's general Seleucos as the first capital of his Seleucid Kingdom soon after 312 BCE, when (following the death of Alexander) Seleucos claimed Greater Mesopotamia as his share of the unraveling Macedonian Empire. Although Seleucos soon moved his capital westward to Syrian Antioch, Seleucia remained a thriving and important urban center. In 141 BCE the Parthian Persian Mithridates I conquered Seleucia and made it the western capital of the Parthian Empire. The city was an intermittent trouble spot in military encounters between eastward-pushing Romans and Parthians. In 115 CE Seleucia and the Parthian city of Ctesiphon (on the opposite bank of the Tigris) were



Fig. 4.16. Bitumen bulla displaying the seal of an office of the Seleucid Royal Treasury (312–248 BCE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 35705). The bitumen was molded around a string binding a sack of coins, then stamped with a seal displaying an official insignium. The anchor symbolizes the importance of river shipping to Seleucia's economy. The horse head left of the anchor identifies the seal with a specific sub-office of the Treasury.



Fig. 4.17a–b. Parthian silver coin of Vologases III (161–162 CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 1985.4.116.5).

sacked by the Roman emperor Trajan. And in 226 CE, Seleucia was devastated yet again by Roman forces. The city eventually fell into severe decline. Now only displaced remnants of its ornate architectural embellishments in carved and painted stucco remain, allowing us to imagine the splendor of palatial edifices with walls decorated in elaborate all-over patterns (fig. 4.15).

Waterman's excavation was funded by the University of Michigan with substantial support from the Toledo Museum of Art and, in the last two seasons, by the Cleveland Museum of Art. Approximately 13,000 objects (or in many cases, object clusters)—pottery, lamps, seals, sealed administrative bullae, coins, figurines (of stone, terracotta, and bone), jewelry and garment appliqués, glassware, fragmentary inscriptions and cuneiform tablets, stamped bricks, and decorative architectural elements—came to Michigan from Seleucia (figs. 4.16–4.18; fig. 1.8 above).

The wealth of material reflects the cultural environment and administrative activities of a famous capital city characterized by momentous political events and complex social relationships among several populations. These included indigenous Mesopotamians and more recently settled Jews who had initially been relocated by force after the Babylonian assault on Israel; Persians, who brought fresh cultural synergies reflecting life within the Achaemenid Persian Empire; and Greek-speaking people who appeared in the wake of Alexander's conquest.



Fig. 4.18. Fragmentary terracotta figurines of three camels (248 BCE–226 CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 14400, 16372, 14315).



Fig. 4.19. Terracotta figurine of a nude female (head broken off), right hand presenting right breast, left hand at vulva (150 BCE–226 CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 16059).



Fig. 4.20. Terracotta relief plaque of a nude female seen from the rear in the Greek “bathing Aphrodite” pose (312–248 BCE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 14098).

Since the spate of scholarly publications on finds from Seleucia published in the 1930s—from pottery and figurines to coins and other inscribed objects—new studies have incorporated current analytical methods.⁴⁴ In many instances, excavations by the University of Turin, Italy, beginning in 1964, have catalyzed these efforts, merging evidence from the earlier American project with the new data and finds from the Italian project.⁴⁵ Female figurines, which were first studied in a landmark catalogue in the 1930s, provide a good example of these renewed efforts (fig. 4.19).⁴⁶ It is now evident that some workshops in Seleucid Mesopotamia used Greek techniques of hollow-mold production brought in by newly arrived colonial populations in combination with styles and imagery reflecting native Babylonian traditions. Similarly, figurines and related relief plaques produced according to venerable Mesopotamian techniques frequently displayed stylistic and iconographical features reflecting Greek representational traditions (fig. 4.20). The evidence does not therefore support previously held notions of Greek culture radically transforming indigenous traditions. Rather, it suggests a complex *mélange* of artistic decisions and social forces.⁴⁷ The recorded archaeological contexts of the figurines also allow us to insert them into current discourses on the roles of female figurines in social practice—in specific cultural milieus and also across cultures.⁴⁸ We can, for instance, broach questions such as why so many of the three-dimensional female figurines have their heads broken off, and what types of findspots these apparently deliberately beheaded examples come from. Finally, many of the figurines of terracotta, bone, and stone also bear rare remnants of polychromy, which are now the focus of ongoing study.⁴⁹

One particularly interesting but small group of Seleucia finds consists of magical incantation bowls that have prompted intense study. Inscribed in black paint on their



Fig. 4.21 (left). Clay incantation bowl for trapping demons, inscribed in Aramaic with a spell to protect a woman named Ngray from illness; the figure wears an amulet and a key pendant (ca. 3rd century CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 19504).

Fig. 4.22 (above). Miniature bronze pendant in the form of a key (114 BCE–226 CE); found clenched in the hand of a skeleton in a grave; American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (KM 18312).



Fig. 4.23. Terracotta fragment depicting a boy carrying a large storage jar (312–141 BCE), embedded in brick fabric of 141 BCE–43 CE; American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (Toledo Museum of Art 1930.149.1).



Fig. 4.24a (left). Watercolor rendering by Robert J. Braidwood of a gold earring with pearls and glass inlay found in a grave; American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (Seleucia Expedition Files, 1927–1936; Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

Fig. 4.24b (right). Photograph of the gold earring rendered by Braidwood (41 BCE–115 CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (Toledo Museum of Art 1931.303).

interiors with spells in Aramaic or in a pseudo-Aramaic script, these small bowls usually also bear line drawings rendering demonic figures who were meant to be exorcized by the magic spells.⁵⁰ Two of the Seleucia bowls were discovered rim to rim, encasing an aspirated eggshell covered with script and then broken in a ritual act. Like some excavated at other Babylonian sites, these were secreted under thresholds of houses so that, as the demon exited the bowl, it would disappear underground. One of the Seleucia bowls is inscribed in Aramaic with spells to protect a woman named Ngray from illness and curses. Its accompanying drawing depicts a human figure who wears a round amulet and a key around the neck (fig. 4.21). Actual magical amulets like the one portrayed in this drawing are well represented in the Kelsey (chapter six: Bonner Collection). The miniature key the figure also wears was a protective device, made in actuality either of bone or bronze. Worn as a necklace pendant by the living, such keys were discovered at Seleucia, where they were placed in the hands of deceased individuals in their graves (fig. 4.22). The key is thought to signify the deceased's guarantee of metaphorical access to safe passage from this world.

In 2012, the Toledo Museum of Art transferred to the Kelsey Museum its share of the Seleucia division: 727 artifacts, including some of the most spectacular of the figurine finds from the site. These figurines now join others in the Museum, documenting the long tradition in ancient Near Eastern figurine production that can be traced through Kelsey holdings, beginning with the Early Dynastic Period. Because the mission of the Toledo Museum has always been that of a civic art museum, their materials selected in the division of finds included some of the more dynamic exemplars of finds from the excavations (figs. 4.23–4.24a–b). They decided to transfer their Seleucia portion to the Kelsey so that the objects could be studied together in a university environment. The Cleveland Museum of Art still retains its *partage* share of some forty-two objects.

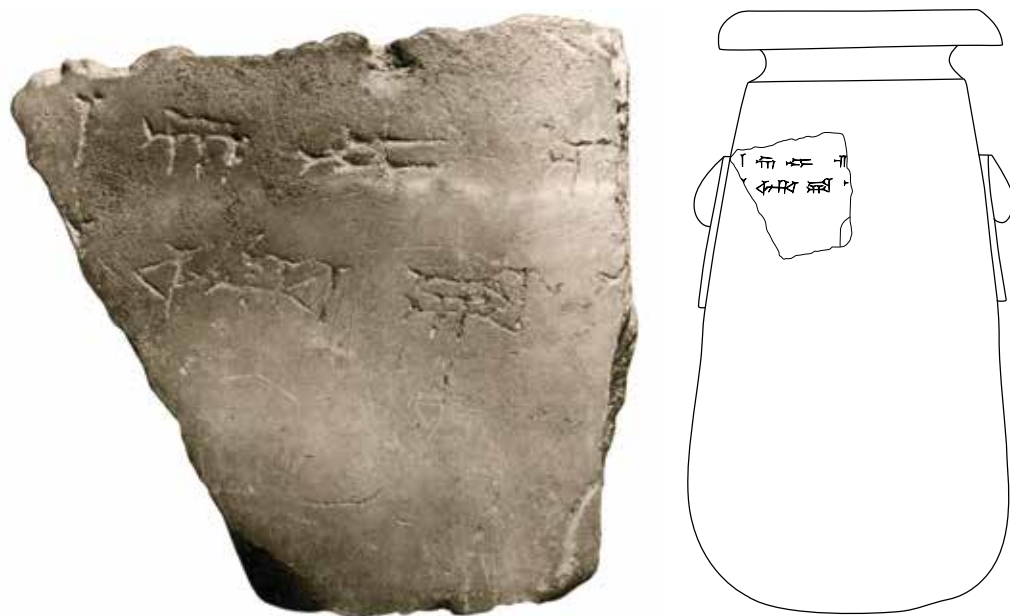
While the Seleucia finds have long held intrinsic historical importance, current devastations in the region render them ever more precious. An unknowable percentage of Seleucia objects once held in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad (including the Iraqi share from the American excavations and almost all the finds from the later Italian excavations) have been lost as a result of the pillaging of the museum in 2003 and the dissemination of stolen artifacts onto the international antiquities market.⁵¹ Furthermore, the site itself and its exurbs suffered massive US bombardment at the same time—followed by rampant looting, which sadly continues today.

Sepphoris (Mandatory Palestine/now Israel)

In the fifth season at Seleucia, Professor Waterman left that site in the hands of his field director, Robert H. McDowell, turning his own focus to the site of Sepphoris in Palestine. Finds that came to the Kelsey from a single season there in 1931 include almost 500 implements of daily life—mostly kitchenware, metal tools, spindle whorls, bone hairpins, needles, and gaming dice dating to Roman and early Byzantine times (ca. 1st through 6th centuries CE).

Fig. 4.25a (*near right*). Fragment of large alabaster vessel originally inscribed with a quadrilingual text naming King Artaxerxes I of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (r. 465–425 BCE). The fragment preserves part of two of the three cuneiform lines (Elamite and Babylonian—with the Old Persian now lost) and at bottom right a tiny section of the name-ring that held the Egyptian hieroglyphic version; American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq—formerly known as a surface find from Michigan excavations at Sepphoris, Palestine (KM 90109).

Fig. 4.25b (*far right*). Reconstruction drawing of the inscribed alabaster vessel from Seleucia/ex-Sepphoris (KM 90109), with the Kelsey fragment inserted; drawing by Lisa Padilla.



The Great Depression, followed by World War II, made further work at Sepphoris impossible. In the later 20th century, excavations at the site by joint Israeli and American teams have, however, yielded an extraordinary array of more dramatic discoveries, including beautiful floor mosaics and religiously significant artifacts. These recent finds have more than fulfilled Waterman's early hopes that the site would provide an important window on the development of both Christianity and rabbinic Judaism, even though the material explicitly representing those developments did not reach Ann Arbor. But the domestic assemblages retrieved by the Michigan season, in conjunction with the more recently unearthed material, provide important insights into various aspects of life at the site across its history.⁵²

One historically important find associated with Leroy Waterman and his work at both Seleucia and Sepphoris deserves special note, not only for its intrinsic significance but also for what it tells us about potential problems that can arise between excavation practices and museum registration. The piece—a shoulder fragment of a large white alabaster vessel—preserves remnants of what was originally the quadrilingually inscribed name of King Artaxerxes I (r. 465–425 BCE) of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (fig. 4.25a–b). It displays in horizontal registers sections of two of the three cuneiform lines (Elamite and Babylonian—with the Old Persian now lost) and a tiny section of the name-ring that held the Egyptian hieroglyphic version. Fragmentary and intact examples of this type of prestige vessel have been found in secure archaeological contexts at sites across an empire that stretched from the Indus River to the Danube. Others, without archaeological provenance, have surfaced on the art market since the 19th century. Some preserve vestiges of blue paste in the incised signs, lending the royal

names a commanding presence against the alabaster.⁵³ These royally inscribed artifacts and their far-flung locations attest to a widespread pattern of gift exchange from the king to loyal followers. Other categories of prestige objects associated with the Persian king served similar social functions of reward and loyalty affirmation—including seals (fig. 4.26) and wine-drinking dishes (phialai in Greek) inscribed with the royal name. Uninscribed but imperially minted Persian archer coins may also have served as tokens of esteem (fig. 4.27).⁵⁴ The Kelsey fragment—KM 90109—is a member of this prestigious constellation.

Questions have emerged, however, concerning where it was recovered. A short description of a fragmentary alabaster vessel that may be KM 90109 appears in the Kelsey accession book roster of finds from Waterman's single season at Sepphoris in 1931. But the entry includes no field number—only the notation “chance find.” On the basis of this sparse record, the fragment was linked to Sepphoris on its accession card, transcribed into the digital database, and eventually published as a Sepphoris object. But in researching Waterman's life (chapter six), we have uncovered a letter written in January 1929 to his son Donald in which he specifically mentions “a fragment of a beautiful alabaster vase with wedge writing on it.”⁵⁵ At that time he was excavating at Seleucia. And in the 1929 (C Season) book of finds from Seleucia we locate an item C 2163 (entered on 11/8/29) listing as a “surface find” a “stone fragment, traces of possible wedge signs, stone.” This likely refers to KM 90109, supporting the evidence from Waterman's letter that the fragment was recovered at Seleucia in 1929—not at Sepphoris in 1931.

To unravel the confusion we need to understand the vagaries of chance or surface finds on archaeological excavations. For early excavations, the designation “surface find” often signified an artifact brought to the dig director for sale by a site worker,

Fig. 4.26. Plaster cast of an impression of a royal name seal of Darius I of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (r. 522–486 BCE); original seal: British Museum ANE 89132; from the cast collection of Campbell Bonner (KM 1992.2.117).

Fig. 4.27. Persian imperial archer coin (*siglos*), displaying an image of the king as a kneeling archer; Monks collection (KM 1991.2.232 obv.).



who likely recovered it somewhere in the neighborhood. In the aftermath of this sort of transaction, an artifact generally (but not always) made its way into the excavation record. While its evidentiary value as a truly excavated object ought to be accordingly diminished by the knowledge of what a “surface” or “chance” find can mean, the abbreviated language we use (in museum labels and also in academic publications) tends to obscure the ambiguity of the object’s biography. It becomes widely associated with the site under excavation at the time of its purchase in the field. Lending cogency to our specific case, we have the words of a member of Waterman’s own team at Seleucia, Samuel Yeivin. He recounts (in a never-published manuscript) the way things worked there along the boundary between archaeology and collecting:

It will be noted that the volume contains a comparatively large amount of surface finds. These have been secured from our workmen, who picked them up—while walking to or from work—on the surface of our mounds or other mounds in the immediate vicinity of our site. . . . By offering a small compensation for such chance finds, the expedition merely chose the lesser of two evils, and prevented—as far as it was humanly possible—the trickling out of such finds into the hands of dealers.⁵⁶

The story of the alabaster vessel fragment is slightly more layered because of the confusion between two different field operations in different geographical zones. Neither Sepphoris nor Seleucia is an historically implausible area from which to retrieve an artifact of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, which ruled both regions for 200 years. But how did a fragment so distinctive that Waterman wrote home about it from Seleucia in 1929 not come to the Museum until it accompanied the Sepphoris *partage* some years later?

We posit this scenario: Waterman kept personal possession of the inscribed fragment that had “surfaced” at Seleucia and had been duly entered in the registration of C-Season finds. Thus it never arrived at the Kelsey with the mass of other artifacts. If anyone in the Museum noticed the discrepancy between its registration as a 1929 surface find and its absence from the incoming material, we have no notation of that concern. Eminent philologist that he was, Waterman was clearly captivated by the inscription. He may have decided to hold on to it for a while, eventually bringing it home in his luggage. In due course, he deposited it in the Kelsey along with the then-incoming finds from Sepphoris—apparently without alerting anyone to the fact that this item should properly have already arrived with the Seleucia objects. In this way, the same fragment that was already registered in the Seleucia records may have been reregistered in the Sepphoris accession records; but this time (with the actual object present) it received a Kelsey accession number in the sequence of numbers assigned to the Sepphoris items.

Museums the world over harbor such stories of misregistered finds, especially from years when artifacts from the field were open to the discretionary activities of

the excavation leadership until they arrived at a central location for official *partage* and shipment home. Occasionally one hears more perverse tales of deliberately created mistaken identities manufactured in order to launder illicit transactions or to burnish the prestige of an excavation by accruing to it items that actually had nothing to do with the dig per se. But the case of Waterman's Seleucia-Sepphoris confusion simply reflects a scholar's failure to clarify the record retrospectively.

EXPEDITIONS OF A DIFFERENT ORDER: POST-WORLD WAR II

Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai (Egypt)

University of Michigan-sponsored excavations all over the Mediterranean and Near East were halted during World War II and did not resume until the late 1950s and early 1960s. By that time, finds from excavations conducted by foreigners could rarely be legally exported to the expeditions' sponsoring institutions (see appendix). Although the Kelsey Museum continues to lead and to participate in archaeological projects in Europe, Egypt, the Sudan, and the Near East, the last official entry of objects to the collections from fieldwork conducted by Michigan dates to the early 1960s. These objects derive from a jointly sponsored project under the direction of Professor George H. Forsyth, Jr., with Princeton University and the University of Alexandria in Egypt, at the famous Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. A multiyear campaign, it aimed to create a comprehensive photographic record of the monastery's architecture, sculptures, decorative arts, and paintings as well as its current monastic lifeways and liturgical practices that reflect traditions reaching back to early Christian times. Images of the spectacular Mount Sinai—where in the Hebrew Bible Moses received the Ten Commandments—as well as hundreds of additional photographs of the monastery and its inhabitants (now held in the Kelsey and the Sinai Archives of the Visual Resources Center, Department of the History of Art) were taken by the expedition staff photographer and long-term Kelsey Museum colleague Fred Anderegge (1908–2001) (fig. 4.28).

Much of the original wooden architectural ornamentation dating to the mid-6th century CE remains intact within this still-active monastery at the foot of the mountain. The few architectural fragments of wood embellishments that came to the Kelsey bear tangible witness to this venerable and revered place (fig. 4.29). An important suite of images from the expedition also enlivens early Christian objects in the Kelsey collections. For example, the practice of baking round bread-cakes decorated by stamped impressions for the celebration of Holy Communion (where the bread symbolizes the body of Christ) was documented at Mount Sinai as a living tradition, much as it must have been 1,500 years or more before (figs. 4.30–4.31). These photographs, in turn, help us envision how late antique artifacts in the Kelsey collection of comparable stamps and actual cakes were produced and used (figs. 4.32–4.33).

Fig. 4.28. Photograph of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, Egypt (Image: The Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai. Photo, Fred Anderegg, 1960; courtesy also of the Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).

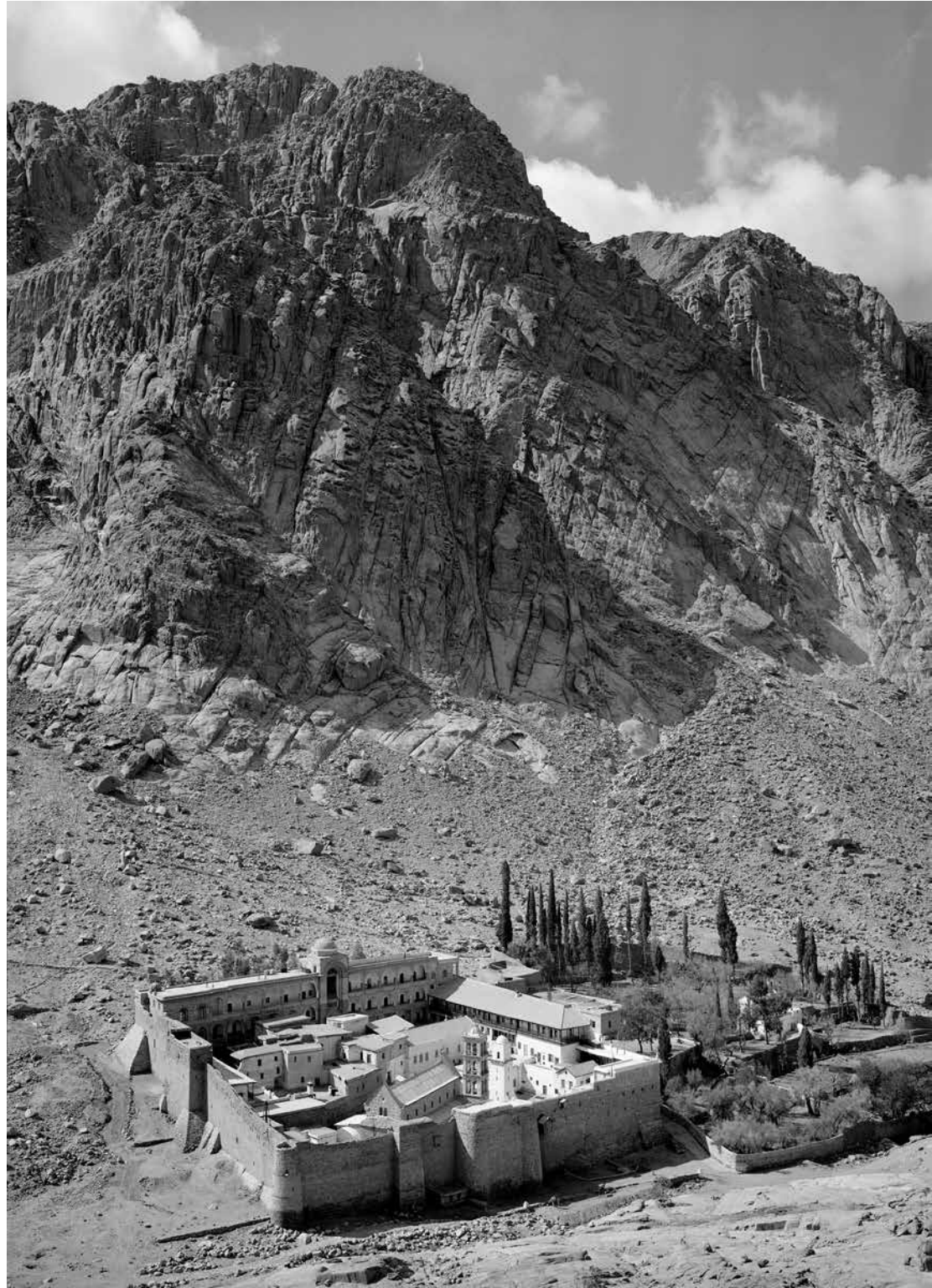




Fig. 4.29. Wooden architectural element displaying a cross (6th century CE) from the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, Egypt; The Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai, 1958 and 1960 (KM 1963.7.2).



Fig. 4.30 (*top center*). Photograph of a monk at the Monastery of St. Catherine stamping Eucharistic cakes (Weitzmann and Andereg 1964, p. 88, with permission of the National Geographic Society).

Fig. 4.31 (*top right*). Photograph of modern stamped Eucharistic cakes made at the Monastery of St.

Catherine (Weitzmann and Andereg 1964, p. 89, with permission of the National Geographic Society).

Fig. 4.32 (*bottom left*). Two clay stamps for decorating Eucharistic cakes (9th–12 centuries CE); from the site of Fustat (ancient Cairo), Egypt; Ruthven collection (KM 1971.1.32–33).



Fig. 4.33 (*bottom right*). Stamped Eucharistic cake from Egypt with Greek encircling the design (19th century CE); Bay View collection, purchase of the Reverend Camden McCormack Cobern (KM 1971.2.250a–b).



Fig. 4.34. Blue stone stamp seal with design of drilled globes (ca. 4000 BCE); found in a brick wall dating to 43–116 CE; American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (Toledo Museum of Art 12.1.31).



Fig. 4.36. Multiple impressions of a cylinder seal applied as a security and labeling device onto a clay collar that bound the mouth of a container (2350–2193 BCE). The seal depicts an heroic contest framing an inscription panel, which identifies the seal owner as a scribe who was an overseer of the temple of Inanna; American excavations at Nippur, Iraq (KM 1963.3.108a–b).



Fig. 4.35. Stone head from the statue of a priest or scribe (2600–2350 BCE) found in the courtyard of the temple of Inanna; American excavations at Nippur, Iraq (KM 1963.6.32).

Nippur (Iraq)

One small but significant collection of ancient Mesopotamian artifacts reached the Kelsey in the early 1960s from an excavation led by a non-Michigan team. The University was an institutional supporter (as a member of the American Schools of Oriental Research) of excavations conducted at Nippur, the holy city of the god Enlil, in Iraq during its 1952–1962 campaign sequence. Michigan eventually received a group of representative artifacts as its share in the division of finds. The items were accessioned by the Kelsey in 1963; but they were then packed in a box and left on the floor in the basement storage area of the Museum. Twenty years later, one of the curators literally stumbled over this box. When she peeked inside, she discovered remnants of Mesopotamian civilization from three major historical periods spanning the 3rd millennium: the Early Dynastic Period, the Akkadian Empire, and the Neo-Sumerian/Ur III Period.

The Nippur finds complement the Kelsey's material from Seleucia, which is much later except for some noteworthy heirlooms, including an extremely worn Akkadian cylinder seal found in a late Parthian grave assemblage together with two ornate Parthian gold earrings (one in the form of a vessel and the other in the form of a nude female) and a late prehistoric tabloid stamp seal embedded in a Parthian wall (fig. 4.34). Several highlights from Nippur are noted here. The first is the head of an Early Dynastic Period stone statuette of a worshipping priest or scribe (fig. 4.35). The head, which shows signs of burning, was found in disturbed fill in a courtyard of the temple of Inanna. Originally the complete statuette would have been dedicated to the goddess and placed as an offering within this precinct. A second piece—a fragment of a monumental inscribed



Fig. 4.37. Large square brick bearing the name and titles of King Ur-Namma (2112–2004 BCE), famous as the builder of the great brick *ziggurat* (temple platform) at Ur; American excavations at Nippur, Iraq (KM 1963.6.111).



Fig. 4.38. Fragment of a large square brick bearing the hand print of the laborer who patted the wet clay into the frame for drying (141 BCE–226 CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (digital enhancement, B. Root; KM 33670).

alabaster cult vessel—bears the words “the great governor of the god Enlil,” a title associated with the god Ninurta (son of the great Enlil and a patron deity of Nippur). Finally, several Mesopotamian seals and a large collar of clay that once bound cloth wrapped around the mouth of a container (fig. 4.36) enhance the Museum’s collections of glyptic evidence. The clay collar preserves, on the outside, multiple impressions of an inscribed Akkadian cylinder seal identifying the seal owner as a scribe who was an overseer of the temple of Inanna (Sumerian goddess of love and abundance). On the inside, we can clearly see the impressions of cord that once wrapped around a piece of fabric over which clay was slathered protectively to lock and label the contents of the container. The man who owned the seal served as a temple bureaucrat.

Also included in the Nippur finds are numerous stamped Mesopotamian bricks of various periods. One large example bears the name and titles of King Ur-Namma (fig. 4.37), famous builder of the great brick temple platform (*ziggurat*) at Ur in southern Mesopotamia. This brick represents a type of Mesopotamian artifact that began reaching European museums in quantity as early as the 18th century—well before the age of excavations that began in the 19th century. The Kelsey also holds numerous stamped Mesopotamian bricks of various periods from the excavations at Seleucia, ranging from the Neo-Babylonian Period of Nebuchadnezzar through the Seleucid era. Instead of the name-stamp of the ruler that we might expect, one brick brought to Ann Arbor from the site preserves the handprint of the actual worker who had patted the mud into its wooden frame to dry in the sun—according to the age-old mode of production still used in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley well into the 20th century CE (fig. 4.38). A modest piece, it reminds us of the unsung human labor that helped create the massive buildings at Near Eastern sites. Another interesting item from Seleucia related to brick production is a stamping tool made of clay bearing an official inscription used for impressing individual bricks on an assembly-line basis. This one was fashioned after the traditional Mesopotamian model, but the partially preserved inscription is in Greek, reflecting the Seleucid occupation of the region.

The Cameron Expeditions to Bisitun, Iran, 1948 and 1957

One final Michigan expedition (though not funded by the Museum) was an ambitious documentary project led by Professor George G. Cameron (1905–1979), an eminent historian and philologist of ancient cuneiform languages as well as a specialist in ancient Iran, with particular focus on the Achaemenid Persian Empire. Cameron founded the University of Michigan Department of Near Eastern Studies in 1948, transforming the earlier Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures into a modern multidisciplinary unit.⁵⁷

In the fall of 1948, Cameron led an expedition to Iran sponsored by the University of Michigan and the American Schools of Oriental Research. The goal was to examine closely and document anew one of the most famous monuments of ancient history: the rock relief and inscription of Darius I (the Great), who ruled the Persian Empire



Fig. 4.39 (left). Photograph looking up toward the peak of Mount Bisitun and the rock relief and inscription of Darius I (519 BCE); Cameron expedition to Bisitun, Iran, 1948. The scaffolding and latex squeeze-making are visible (photo, G. G. Cameron; Kelsey Museum Archives).

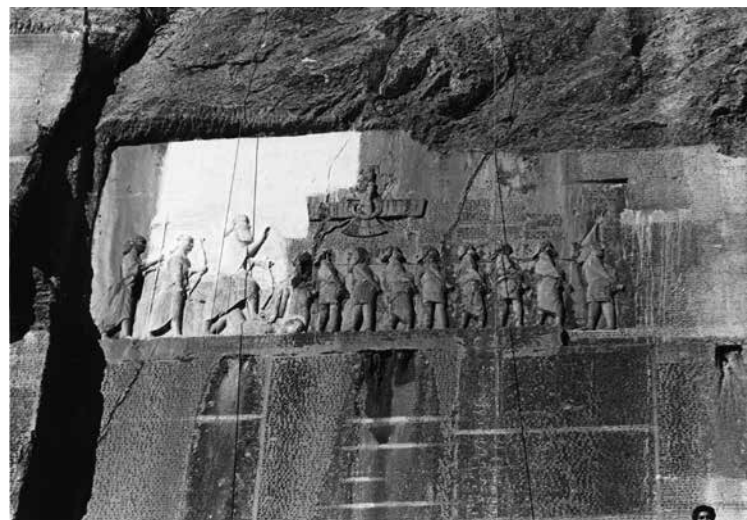


Fig. 4.40 (right). Photograph of latex squeeze-making being performed on the section of relief showing Darius I *in situ*; Cameron expedition to Bisitun, Iran, 1948 (photo, G. G. Cameron; Kelsey Museum Archives).

from 522 to 486 BCE (figs. 4.39–4.40). Carved 322 feet up on a sheer cliff face of Mount Bisitun at a major pass in the Zagros Mountains, the relief sculpture was accompanied by cuneiform text in three languages used by the Persian court for monumental display inscriptions (Babylonian, Elamite, and Old Persian). The three parallel texts (that is, essentially the same document written in three different languages) record his rise to the throne and his reconsolidation of the empire after a period of unrest. This spot was chosen partly because it was strategically located along the east-west highway, known today as the Silk Road, running all the way to China. It also overlooked a valley where Darius's forces won a decisive battle against local insurgents. Finally, it held venerable associations with spiritual forces of sun and water. Mount Bisitun is called *bagastana*—place of the gods—in Old Persian, and Darius's monument carved on this sacred mount purposely faced east to the rising sun. A mountain stream runs through crevices in the rock behind the monument and spills into an oasis pool below.⁵⁸

Between 1835 and 1847, Henry C. Rawlinson (a British officer in the service of the reigning shah of Iran) had copied the texts while precariously suspended from a rope anchored at the top of the cliff. He made hand copies of the inscriptions as well as paper squeezes of some sections. The squeezes were eventually eaten by mice while in storage. But the hand copies became critical evidence used in the decipherment of Babylonian cuneiform.⁵⁹ The three parallel texts in the monument could be compared with a similar account written in Greek by the historian Herodotus before about 425 BCE. The Bisitun Monument became the Rosetta Stone of the ancient Near East—key to decipherment of a whole world of textual documentation in cuneiform script, just as the Rosetta Stone was key to unlocking Egyptian hieroglyphic script.

Although later expeditions returned in the early 20th century to check Rawlinson's accuracy, many questions remained. Cameron's vision was to return to the monument 100 years after Rawlinson completed that first foray to clarify readings and to seek

Fig. 4.41. Snapshot of Professor Cameron swinging in a chair suspended from the peak of Mount Bisitun in order to examine the inscription; his assistant, Hussein, stands on the narrow ledge nearby; Cameron expedition to Bisitun, Iran, 1958 (photo, Margaret Bell Cameron; Kelsey Museum Archives).



clues to the process of carving of the various lengthy columns of cuneiform signs. Just as important, he also aimed to produce fresh documentation of the relief sculpture. The ravages of nature and time were increasingly taking their toll on the monument. He pursued his harrowing mission from a massive scaffolding suspended from the top of the mountain, taking hundreds of detailed photographs of the columns of texts and the fast-eroding sculpture. In addition, Cameron produced a series of latex squeezes of the texts and some major segments of the relief.

Cameron brought all the squeezes back to Ann Arbor. One set documenting the Babylonian text deteriorated so badly that it became unreadable. So he returned to Bisitun in May 1957 to obtain a new impression of this one area. In view of his limited aim this time, he accomplished the task suspended from a chair-basket rather than full scaffolding. A photo snapped by his wife, Margaret Bell Cameron (already let down in the basket), shows Cameron's Iranian assistant Hussein standing on the narrow rock ledge under the inscription panels while Cameron himself swayed in the air (fig. 4.41).⁶⁰

In 1982 Mrs. Cameron donated the copious photographic documentation from both Bisitun expeditions plus the squeezes in her possession to the Kelsey Museum. Subsequently, Dr. Elizabeth N. von Voigtlander (a specialist in the Babylonian text of Bisitun) gave the Kelsey a squeeze of the Babylonian section, which Cameron had redone in 1958 and lent to her for her research. By the time the squeezes reached the Kelsey, many had suffered severe damage. During a sabbatical year Cameron's office had been occupied by a visitor. The rolled up squeezes were stowed on top of a radiator under a window, frequently subjected to incoming rain and then "cooking" from below. Even without this unfortunate series of events, the chemical properties of latex squeezes would have rendered them self-destructing over time.

A passing remark by Cameron in a *Michigan Alumnus* article noted that he hoped someday to commission production of a plaster cast from his squeeze of the figure



Fig. 4.42. Detail of Cameron's latex squeeze showing a portion of the relief sculpture including Darius I as it looked in 1984; Cameron expedition to Bisitun, Iran (photo, A. Rosenberg; Kelsey Museum Archives).



Fig. 4.43. Detail of cast, made by D. Slee and A. Rosenberg, showing the crown of Darius I (photo, B. Root; segment of KM 1986.10.1–3, 5–6, 8, 10, 12).

of King Darius at Bisitun. The Museum felt that this enterprise was warranted even though it would certainly cause further damage to the squeeze itself. After examining the sculptural squeeze for possible evidence of features such as tool marks or remnants of pigment or gold leaf, Kelsey personnel devised and carried out a complex multistaged casting project in 1984 (fig. 4.42). The resulting monument was sawed into units of viable dimensions and weight for storage, handling, and display either in sections or pieced together to recreate the larger composition centering on the royal figure (fig. 4.43).

The Kelsey Museum now maintains the only replica of the Bisitun relief in existence. The squeeze itself cannot be displayed in the galleries. It is too large and too fragile. Moreover, it gives off toxic gases. But the cast provides visitors with an up-close view of Darius the Great, including visible details of iconography and style that have provided new evidence for appreciating the artistry and meaning of the monument. A recording by Professor Emeritus Don Cameron of the Department of Classical Studies, speaking the words of Darius in the accompanying Bisitun text, complements the display. In an earlier version of this presentation, inaugurating the completion of the cast in 1986, Don Cameron's sonorous intonations of Darius were delivered through a wall-mounted telephone receiver adjacent to the cast in Newberry Hall. One visitor was observed returning frequently to the Museum to use this phone. When asked what her impressions were of the display, she confided that it comforted her to stop by to hear the voice of God. Although she had misunderstood the identity of the speaker and accompanying sculpture, her interpretation of the message of image and text was quite on the mark in one sense. The ancient intentions were certainly to present the power of the king speaking from the mountaintop as a divinely inspired transmitter of judgments of good over evil from his patron deity, Ahuramazda.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Passionate and the Curious, Part I (1893–1927) Collections Acquired in the F. W. Kelsey Years



lightly more than 35 percent of the Kelsey collections represent purchases, bequests, and gifts whose precise archaeological contexts are usually unknown. Some of these pieces were purchased or otherwise acquired by Professor Kelsey or colleagues working with him from the late 1800s through the early 1900s. Many more came to the Museum after his death in 1927, even though some of the material was amassed by original collectors much earlier. Most of the gifts and purchases arrived in substantial groups, numbering anywhere from a few hundred to several thousand objects. These collections were often given by single donors, many of whom had close links to Michigan.

In this chapter we discuss several sub-collections acquired during Kelsey's lifetime, highlighting some of the more colorful donors and collectors. Chapter six continues the theme of objects acquired by purchase, bequest, or gift, focusing on the period after Kelsey's death. Because the collections were offered to the Museum over several years or long after the objects were initially acquired by the donor, we cannot arrange our narrative in strict chronological order. As much as possible, however, the flow of discussion moves from earlier to later acquisitions. Directly beneath the name of each sub-collection we list the year(s) in which the collection was acquired by the University of Michigan or the Kelsey Museum, as far as records enable us.

An important element in our sagas involves the interplay of antiquities legislation and the desires of archaeologists, collectors, and dealers. The histories of legal frameworks for the safeguarding of cultural property have varied significantly from one nation to another and, within each land, they have evolved over time. The artifacts discussed below and in subsequent chapters were all, in principle, subject to those antiquities laws in their source countries that existed at the moment of sale and transport. While most of the Kelsey collections were acquired by their original collectors and removed from their source countries in conformity to existing legal codes, there are certainly instances of clear circumvention of the letter as well as the spirit of the law—sometimes facilitated by complicit monitoring authorities. In the appendix we provide a short overview of the histories and developments of antiquities legislation for each region pertinent to our collections.

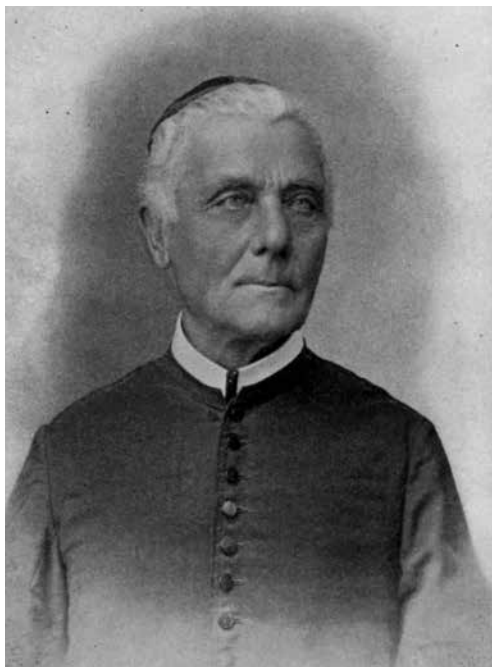


Fig. 5.1. Photograph of Giuseppe De Criscio (late 19th century); Pozzuoli, Italy (Kelsey Museum Archives).



Fig. 5.2. Red-figure fish plate (late 4th century BCE); from Pozzuoli or Cumae, Italy; De Criscio collection (KM 1084).

THE DE CRISCIO COLLECTION

Acquired by the University of Michigan: 1898–1899, 1905, 1909, and 1922

The De Criscio collection at the Kelsey Museum, numbering some 1,060 artifacts, owes its name to Giuseppe De Criscio (1826–1911), a parish priest of Pozzuoli, Italy (ancient Puteoli on the Bay of Naples) (fig. 5.1). The town had served as a vital hub for the transport of goods throughout the Roman Empire. It was also the home base of Rome's largest naval fleet. For many years De Criscio immersed himself in the rich antiquities of this region. By the end of his life he had published over twenty articles and twelve monographs on the archaeology of the area and was recognized as an important scholar. During the years of his residence in Pozzuoli, De Criscio amassed a collection that included Latin inscriptions (principally tombstones), architectural and mural fragments, jewelry, and pottery (fig. 5.2), most of which was given to him by his parishioners. As the priest aged, he began to worry about the final disposition of his collection, having no heirs who expressed interest in maintaining the artifacts. As luck would have it, a young Walter Dennison of the University of Michigan was passing the years 1895 through 1897 as a graduate student fellow at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome (now the American Academy in Rome). He located and befriended De Criscio in order to obtain permission to publish some of the inscriptions in the priest's corpus. During one visit, De Criscio confided to Dennison his anxiety about the future of his antiquities. Dennison immediately suggested that the collection would be a wonderful teaching aid to Michigan students and wrote to Francis Kelsey about the possibility of finding a suitable donor to pay for the purchase. With his usual zeal, Kelsey set about raising funds. In 1898, through the generosity of Mr. Henry P. Glover of Ypsilanti, he secured enough money to have 276 objects from the collection purchased and shipped to Ann Arbor. In a letter to Dennison on November 25, 1899, Kelsey mentions that the De Criscio inscriptions arrived in Ann Arbor encumbered by an extra freight charge and duty fee amounting to \$117.65. Kelsey goes on to report that

I telephoned to Mr. Glover in reference to the bill and he told me to draw on him at once through the bank for the full amount. He is one of the best business men I have ever met. . . . The inscriptions have been unpacked on the second floor of the Museum. . . . In interest and value they considerably exceed my expectations. The collection would have been cheap at a thousand dollars and I am sure I am right in saying that more than one University would have been glad to pay that amount or more for them.⁶¹

The significance of money in this story and others to follow cannot be overestimated. Indeed, it is important to acknowledge individuals such as Glover, who were willing to respond to pleas for help in the interest of securing a particularly noteworthy acquisition that might otherwise slip out of reach.

Henry Glover (b. 1837) was for a time mayor of Ypsilanti (fig. 5.3). He was a self-made man who had to leave school and seek work at age fifteen. Pulling himself up by



Fig. 5.3 (left). Photograph of Henry Glover (late 19th century), Mayor of Ypsilanti and founder of the Ypsilanti Dress Stay Manufacturing Co. (courtesy of the Ypsilanti Historical Society).

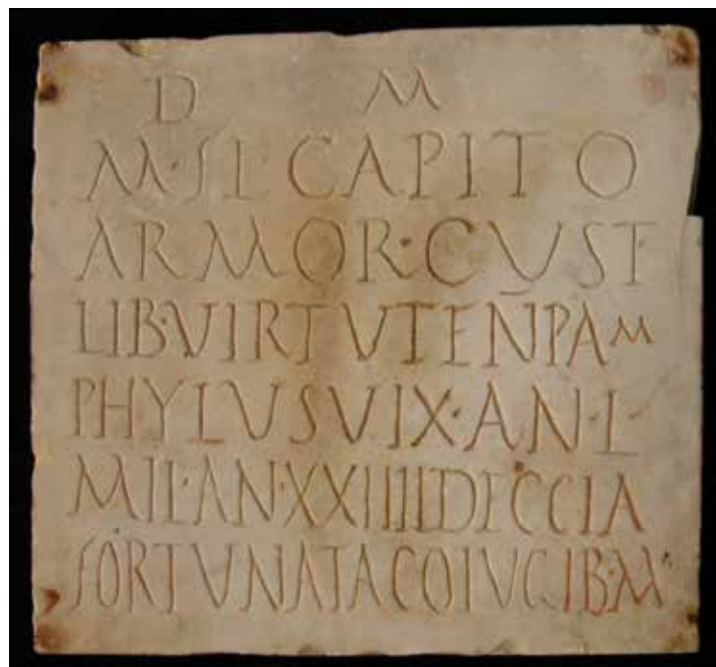


Fig. 5.4 (right). Marble slab bearing epitaph of M. Flavius Capito, an officer in charge of weapons for a ship's rowers (2nd century CE); said to have been found at Bauli, Italy; De Criscio collection (KM 928).

the proverbial bootstraps, he founded a variety of lucrative local businesses, including the Ypsilanti Dress Stay Manufacturing Company, incorporated in 1880. This substantial brick building on the corner of Huron and Pearl Streets employed “about 200 hands, mostly girls, who are kept busy all the year round.” As the contemporary description of the firm (held in the Ypsilanti Historical Society), continues: “The chief product of the factory is the Ever-Ready dress stay, which is known and appreciated by femininity from Maine to California and is to be found on the counters of every first-class dry goods store.” Beginning in 1890, Glover also owned the controlling interest in the Ann Arbor & Ypsilanti Motor Line Railway.

The inscriptions purchased with Mr. Glover’s support are a valuable source of information on Roman life.⁶² Unfortunately, none has a secure context. Neither their findspots nor their histories of discovery are adequately documented. They do, however, shed light on local imperial government and administration, professions of the rank and file, religious dedications, and the lives of members of the Roman fleet stationed in Puteoli. Inscriptions that refer to the fleet, for example, list the names of otherwise unattested individuals, their naval ranks, their ship names, often their age at death, and the number of years they served in the Roman forces (fig. 5.4). The non-military professions mentioned in the inscriptions are equally telling. We have, for example, an epitaph of a Greek midwife (her profession is misspelled on the inscription) married to a Roman citizen of established lineage. One inscription lists the names of shopkeepers for what were probably small pottery stores set up separately from pottery production facilities. The tombstone of a muleteer, most likely a slave, commemorates a man whose job involved transporting people and goods in wagons and carts drawn by these



Fig. 5.5. Photograph of Professor Walter Dennison (Hinsdale 1906, p. 332; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).

animals, and tending to the mules that powered the mills at Roman bakeries. Viewed in conjunction with the Dennison collection discussed below, these humble epigraphical monuments provide intimate glimpses into the lives of workers in the Roman world.

More inscriptions and other artifacts from the region of ancient Puteoli (including pottery, sculpture fragments, votive terracottas, cinerary urns, and small domestic items in bone, bronze, and glass) were delivered in 1905 and 1909. After De Criscio's death in 1911, a final installment of objects reached Ann Arbor in 1922.

THE DENNISON COLLECTION

Acquired by the University of Michigan: 1909

Walter Dennison (1869–1917), the young student who operated as Professor Kelsey's facilitator in Italy for the acquisition of the De Criscio artifacts, was a notable individual in his own right (fig. 5.5). Like his mentor, he devoted much of his life to classical studies and Roman archaeology. Reports of his memorial service are filled with praise, not only for Dennison as a scholar but also for his human qualities: "a loveable man and a rare companion," who possessed an "absence of criticism in his nature, and [a] kindly humor." His students clearly adored him, noting that he played a "noble part" in their lives. "He did not make us work," his students wrote, "he inspired us with the desire to learn." No doubt, these same qualities endeared him to the aging priest De Criscio.⁶³

Dennison earned his BA from Michigan in 1893, going on to distinguished graduate studies in Latin in Ann Arbor, Bonn, and Rome. He authored several important papers and a number of textbooks, including a college edition of Livy, and revisions to a previous edition of Virgil's *Aeneid*. An active member of several classical organizations, he was the first president of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies. He began his teaching career at the University of Michigan in 1897, taught at Oberlin from 1899 to 1902 and then, starting in 1910, at Swarthmore College, where he served as head of their combined Department of Greek and Latin until his death.

In 1908–1909, Dennison held the annual professorship at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. During this interlude he managed to acquire a substantial corpus of antiquities, some 225 of which have come to the Kelsey. Rome was undergoing a building boom at the time, partially due to the naming of Rome as the new capital city of a united Italy. Construction often unearthed valuable archaeological objects. Dennison was able to purchase six separate groups of artifacts, including more than 100



Fig. 5.6. Inscribed stone columbarium marker bearing the epitaph of a Syrian glass-maker (mid-1st century BCE–mid-1st century CE), said to have been found outside the Porta Salaria, Rome; Dennison collection (KM 1429).

Fig. 5.7. Large terracotta cinerary receptacle (mid-2nd century BCE) depicting the battle of Eteocles and Polynices; acquired at the Villa della Pienne, Italy; Dennison collection (KM 1461).



inscriptions that had been brought to light during the construction frenzy, allegedly from the outskirts of the city. Before any of his purchases could be exported, however, they had to be carefully inspected by the Italian government. An official set aside four inscriptions from the corpus, ordering that they not be exported but should be mounted in the National Museum in Rome. No doubt fearing further governmental entanglements, Dennison did not enter a claim for monetary compensation but wisely presented these four pieces to the Italian government as a gift. Permission to export the remaining part of his assembled collection seems to have been granted rather quickly thereafter.

Like those of the De Criscio collection, these inscriptions provide terse but tantalizing demographic information on the non-elite populations of Rome. Since literary texts often ignore the lives of commoners, these inscriptions help fill a gap, offering valuable details on the life spans, occupations, and social histories of those people who did not provide stories of their own. Several inscriptions refer to members of the lower classes who ran the business activities of senatorial families. There are, for example, numerous epitaphs that record data on people such as the keeper of a private granary of a well-to-do Roman family; a *dispensator* or official in charge of the funds in an imperial household; an overseer, probably a slave or a freedman, who handled the rental and maintenance of property for a wealthy family; and a Semitic slave who may have been brought to Rome along with other skilled laborers to work as a glass-maker (fig. 5.6).

In addition to these inscriptions, Dennison purchased a number of cinerary urns, stamped bricks, incense altars, hairpins, architectural pieces, several pieces of Roman bronze jewelry, and a good example of a Roman bronze razor. One of the Etruscan ash urns, dating to the mid-2nd century BCE, is made of clay with a vivid portrayal in molded relief depicting the battle between Eteocles and Polynices, brothers who killed each other in a power struggle to control the city of Thebes (fig. 5.7). Vestiges of color hint at the vibrancy of the original object, which was installed in a family tomb.

The Dennison collection not only provides insight into the lives of ordinary people of Rome; it also informs us about the collecting habits of one young American scholar at the beginning of the 20th century who, with only modest means, was able to develop an outstanding corpus of material for his students. His urge to collect and his discerning eye must surely have been shaped by his mentor, Francis Kelsey.

THE MARBURG (EX-GOTTSCHALK) COLLECTION

Acquired by the University of Michigan: 1923

By convention, a corpus of some 130 Greek and Italic pots is known within the Kelsey as the Marburg collection. In fact, this material derives from the collection of Paul Gottschalk—a German antiquarian book dealer who emigrated to New York in 1939. Gottschalk had lent his collection to the University of Marburg on a temporary basis for study. Seeing an opportunity to acquire a sizable and diverse array of Greek and Italic wares for teaching and display in Ann Arbor, Professor Kelsey entered into protracted negotiations with Gottschalk for the purchase of the entire lot in 1923. Kelsey offered \$900, far below the price indicated by an independent professional valuation. Gottschalk and Kelsey eventually settled on \$1,200 plus shipping, handling, and customs fees. By one calculation, this would amount to approximately \$14,400 today.

The Marburg collection was a substantial acquisition of Greek and Italic pottery. Highlights include a Late Geometric Greek pyxis (a lidded container) of ca. 750 BCE decorated on the body with charming geometric and figural motifs and crowned by a lid with an elegantly turned knob (fig. 5.8). Another representative pot of the same era is a large amphora from Boeotia (Thebes), in Greece. Equally engaging is a fine example of a 6th-century kylix (a footed, two-handled drinking cup) depicting revelers on the exterior and a musician on the interior (fig. 5.9). At the later end of the Greek painted pottery tradition is a white-ground lekythos, a pitcher form used in funerary and wedding rituals, dating to about 450 BCE (fig. 5.10a–b). Although its surface is badly degraded, as is common with the ephemeral white-ground technique, it is a fine example of its genre. The contemplative scene on the body of the vessel portrays a young man seated at his own tomb marker.

Among the Italian examples is a beautifully preserved Etruscan bucchero chalice (fig. 5.11), an open drinking cup on a pedestal foot. Dating to about 600 BCE, it is a skillful example of this glossy black-clay ware. The exterior of the wide cup is impressed with a repeating cycle of relief decoration produced by rolling a cylindrical marking device carved in the negative. When rolled with pressure along the outer wall of the cup, this tool produced a positive image displaying seated figures in an apparent ritual setting. This type of Etruscan pottery of the so-called Orientalizing Period reflects impulses from the Near East, where the tradition of the cylinder seal as a device for social identification, administrative technology, and decorative strategies had a long and important history.⁶⁴



Fig. 5.8 (*top left*). Late Geometric pyxis with lid (750–700 BCE); University of Marburg (ex-Gottschalk) collection (KM 2569).

Fig. 5.9 (*top right*). Interior of a red-figure kylix showing a musician (mid-5th century BCE); University of Marburg (ex-Gottschalk) collection (KM 2601).

Fig. 5.10a (*bottom left*). White ground lekythos with funeral scene (mid-5th century BCE); University of Marburg (ex-Gottschalk) collection (KM 2604).

Fig. 5.10b (*bottom center*). Watercolor rendering of lekythos image; painting by Todd Gerring.

Fig. 5.11 (*bottom right*). Etruscan bucchero chalice with impressed decoration (ca. 600 BCE); said to have come from Tarquinia, Italy; University of Marburg (ex-Gottschalk) collection (KM 2590).



Fig. 5.12. Photograph of Albert M. Todd of Kalamazoo, Michigan (courtesy of the Chemical Heritage Foundation).

The Marburg (ex-Gottschalk) collection remains critical to the Museum for teaching and display ninety years after its purchase. Only in the late 20th century did the Kelsey systematically purchase a small number of additional Greek painted wares (chapter six). These more recent purchases of the 1970s and 1980s were intended to complement both the Marburg collection and earlier acquisitions by Francis Kelsey.

THE TODD COLLECTION: THE DJEHUTYMOSE COFFIN AND RELATED ARTIFACTS

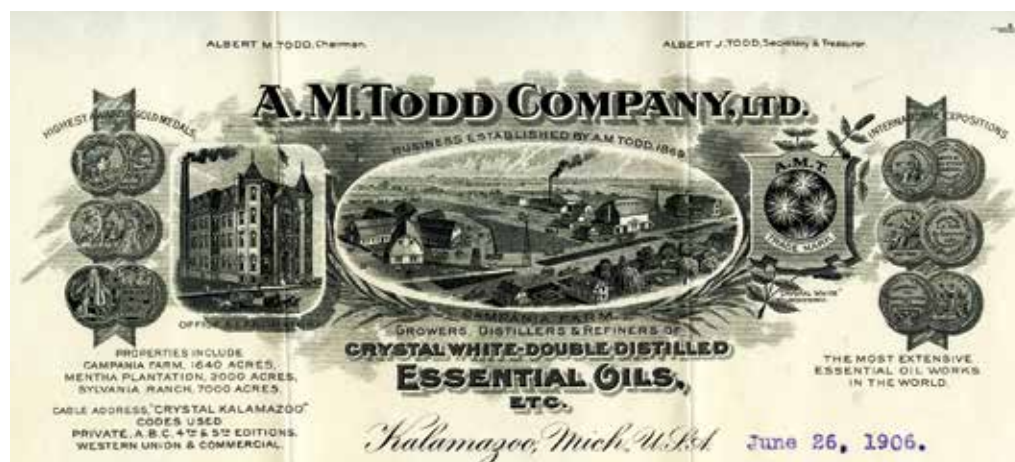
Acquired by the University of Michigan: late 1880s–1906

Albert M. Todd (1850–1931) was an American chemist, entrepreneur, social activist, and politician (fig. 5.12). A precocious child raised in a Michigan homesteading family of ten children, he began experimenting while still in his teens with the distillation of peppermint along with one of his older brothers. After one year at Northwestern University he embarked on a walking tour of Europe to help recover from failing health. The trip was transformative, allowing him to make systematic observations on a variety of peppermints and experience for the first time the bounties of Europe’s great museums. He then immersed himself in scientific and mercantile endeavors. Dubbed “The Peppermint King” for his lucrative mint flavoring inventions, Todd established his own business (including vast mint-growing farmlands in the Kalamazoo area), which eventually produced most of the world’s mint oils. In 1894 Todd made an unsuccessful bid for governor of Michigan on a Prohibition platform; but two years later he joined the Democratic Party, winning a seat in the US House of Representatives.

Todd had wide-ranging intellectual and societal interests. In 1900 he developed 2,100 acres to the west of Kalamazoo as a full-service village (Mentha, Michigan) for his workers and foremen. The name referred to a key ingredient in the flavorings the workers produced. Todd’s sympathies with the working class and his perceptions of best practices in industrial relations were notable. In 1920, as president of the Public Ownership League of America (founded in 1916), he published a stirring call to social justice. It included a blistering castigation of the “American Railway Autocracy” and the social disparities and institutionalized corruption of the Gilded Age.⁶⁵ At the end of his life, he formed the Todd Foundation, whose aims were “to promote social well-being by means of research and publications; to promote justice and Democracy in human relationships; and to cultivate friendly feelings among inhabitants of the various nations.”⁶⁶

Todd also became a discerning bibliophile (with rare books numbering about 11,000 volumes), as well as a collector of European and American paintings and a diverse array of Greek, Near Eastern, and Egyptian antiquities. Between 1907 and 1923 he undertook eight business-and-collecting trips around the world from Europe and North Africa to the Far East, continuing to accumulate new markets for his mint products and fresh inventory for his growing art collection. With the exception of pieces he donated to

Fig. 5.13. Detail of a letter on letterhead of the A. M. Todd Company, Ltd. from Mr. Todd to the City of Kalamazoo, Board of Education alluding to “Egyptian Antiquities” as well as photographs “procured in Greece,” June 26, 1906 (courtesy of the Kalamazoo Valley Museum Archives).



museums and other institutions, he displayed all of it on the upper floors of his business offices, twice annually opening them to the people of Kalamazoo.

This remarkable individual intersects with the Kelsey Museum through nine Egyptian artifacts he donated to the University of Michigan sometime in or before 1906, when he also gave numerous antiquities to the Kalamazoo Public Library (fig. 5.13). The University objects appear in a 1906 catalogue of the Gallery of Art and Archaeology (precursor to the disparate museums on campus).⁶⁷ One of these is the beautiful Djehutymose coffin of the Saite Period (fig. 5.14), which has the distinction of being the only Kelsey artifact to have its own (much-“liked”) Facebook page—thanks to Kelsey docent Marlene Goldsmith. Other items include a Ptolemaic child mummy with preserved cartonnage and a Ptolemaic mummy mask (fig. 5.15).⁶⁸ The description of the coffin (number 9 in the 1906 catalogue) is incorrect in some respects, evidently conveying flawed information given to Todd by a dealer. But there is no doubt that it refers to the Djehutymose coffin. Study of the coffin, its texts, and its iconographical program indicates that it is one of many funerary items uncovered in excavations at the Nag el-Hassiya cemetery near Edfu in the south of Egypt. A large group of such coffins emerged from this site beginning in the late 1800s; their later histories have varied as each one found its way through one or another dealer into private hands.

Of Djehutymose’s actual mummy we know nothing. The man himself, in this world, was a priest in the temple of Horus at Edfu, as the biographical information of the coffin’s inscriptional program reveals. Exactly how, where, and when Todd acquired the coffin and the other eight artifacts remains a mystery, although we know he made these purchases some years before the 1907–1923 era of his intensive world travels. In addition to his walking tour after freshman year at Northwestern, he probably visited Europe in 1900 to receive the Gold Medal at the Paris Exposition for his presentation on vegetable oils. This might have been the occasion of such purchases from one of the



Fig. 5.14. Painted wooden coffin of Djehutymose, priest of Horus at Edfu (ca. 625–580 BCE), originally from Nag el-Hassiya, Egypt; *left to right*: coffin lid exterior and interior, coffin base interior and exterior; Todd collection (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 1989.3.1).



Fig. 5.15. Cartonnage Egyptian mummy mask (332–30 BCE); Todd collection (KM 1989.3.2).

established Parisian dealers. In his notes for an undated speech, he mentions the purchase of “a considerable number of Egyptian antiquities, including several wooden coffins covered with paintings of gods and men, and giving the names who were interred there.”⁶⁹ The Djehutymose coffin must be one of these.

In 1931 the formerly combined Michigan collections (including the Todd pieces) were moved from the Gallery of Art and Archaeology (in Alumni Memorial Hall, now the University of Michigan Museum of Art) into various discipline-based locations around campus. At that time, the fledgling Museum of Classical Archaeology was reeling with the responsibility of running numerous field projects overseas and processing the finds pouring in through the divisions of artifacts from excavations. So it was decided to send the Todd coffin and mummy mask on long-term loan to the Kalamazoo Public Museum (now the Kalamazoo Valley Museum), which Todd had helped to found in 1927. By the 1980s, the Kelsey Museum was in a better position to accommodate the coffin. With funding generously provided by Linda and Todd Herrick, the coffin of Djehutymose made its way back to Ann Arbor. It now stands in the Upjohn Exhibit Wing in all its polychromatic glory—and it resides in a specially designed vitrine made possible through the generosity of an anonymous donor. It is displayed in an open position so as to make visible the full range of its iconographic and textual program and to give the visitor a sense of stepping into the embrace of the coffin and its messages of an all-encompassing afterlife.

A. M. Todd is a well-documented man of his time, and his own recollections add to the press coverage of him as a public figure who submitted to multiple election campaigns. Notes from an undated speech he gave about his collections provide insights into the affection he felt for certain forms of representation: paintings depicting the human condition and the suffering brought by war rather than the victories of battle, for instance. Although not a scholar, he was an inquisitive, urbane, and attentive citizen of the world and its histories.

This brings us to one of the many French oil paintings in Todd’s collection: a 1923 work by Jules Monge (1855–1934) bearing in printed letters the word ARCHÉOLOGIE (“Archaeology”) in the upper right field (fig. 5.16). We chose it as the cover image for this book because it captures so many of the competing passionate curiosities motivating those who populate our stories of collectors and collecting. In the Monge painting, which echoes the famous 1527 portrait by Lorenzo Lotto of the Renaissance collector Andrea Odoni,⁷⁰ the collector-as-aged-scholar sits at a desk cluttered with antiquities.⁷¹ He grasps a bright blue shabti in his left hand—clearly caught by the painter as he is comparing his piece to a similar one depicted in a learned tome. In a brief biographical entry on this relatively obscure painter, the title is given as *L’archéologue* (“The Archaeologist”) despite the clear imprint of Monge’s own title on the canvas itself (ARCHÉOLOGIE, “Archaeology”).⁷² Todd commissioned his own title plaque for the Monge painting also, calling it *The Archaeologist*, perhaps subtly reaffirming a more self-referential sense than Monge’s own abstract title implies. Todd must have identified with this portrait of the archaeologist/

Fig. 5.16. Oil painting by Jules Monge (Paris, 1923), titled *Archéologie* ("Archaeology") by the artist, and retitled *The Archeologist* by A. M. Todd (photo, R. Stegmeyer with permission of the Kalamazoo Valley Museum; Kalamazoo Valley Museum 1932.239).





Fig. 5.17. Photograph of Dr. David Askren and family at home in the Egyptian Fayum, 1920s (Kelsey Museum neg. no. 7.367).

collector. The painting seems to represent the alter-ego of the eminently modern Peppermint King captured in a commissioned 1918 oil portrait by Kenyon Cox.⁷³

THE ASKREN COLLECTION

*Purchases by Dr. David L. Askren for Francis W. Kelsey
Acquired by the University of Michigan: early 1900s*

While sailing to Italy in January 1915 to sort out the estate of Thomas Spencer Jerome, Professor Kelsey had a chance meeting with Dr. David L. Askren, a missionary and physician. Out of this serendipitous encounter emerged a close professional relationship leading to the acquisition of approximately 1,800 archaeological objects that eventually became part of the Kelsey Museum's collections. Dr. Askren had lived in Egypt since 1899—first serving as an assistant physician at the United Presbyterian Hospital in Assiut and then setting up private practice at his home in the Fayum (fig. 5.17). He had already developed a keen interest in the archaeology of the region by the time he met Kelsey. Well connected to the antiquities dealers in Cairo, he became an enthusiastic collector on his own and was thus eminently suited to act as an intermediary for Kelsey during the early 1900s. The letters and cablegrams between the two men are filled with revealing questions:

What had Askren found for sale that would be suitable for the growing collections in Ann Arbor?

How could they negotiate a good price for purchase?

What was the best way to pack fragile objects such as glass for shipment to Ann Arbor?

When might Professor Kelsey next visit Egypt, given not only his own schedule but the difficulties of traveling during the Great War?

Kelsey first became interested in Askren as his intermediary because of the professor's desire to obtain as many illustrative examples of Greek papyri as possible. A letter from Kelsey to Askren dated February 11, 1915—soon after their initial meeting aboard ship—is one of many regarding the acquisition of papyri:

I warmly appreciate your courtesy in consenting to make further search for manuscripts and to hold any manuscripts, or well-preserved papyri, until we have opportunity to examine a photograph of a couple of pages or section. In case a manuscript of value is recovered, either from finds now concealed, or finds hereafter made, I agree to come or to send for it within a reasonable period and to reimburse you for all your costs together with such return for your trouble as shall be satisfactory. My interest in all this work is purely scientific, having as its aim the advancement of learning, particularly in America.⁷⁴

Fig. 5.18 (near right). Fragment of a gilded Egyptian mummy mask (1st century BCE–2nd century CE); Askren purchase (KM 4651).

Fig. 5.19 (far right). Painted wooden panel of an enthroned youth (ca. 332 BCE–100 CE); Fayum region, Egypt; Askren purchase (KM 88617).



Several months later, we have a long letter from Askren to Kelsey worrying that earlier letters (and a shipment of papyri) must have been lost at sea or detained by Egyptian censors. It goes on to discuss the cost of the acquisitions business.

The Askren-purchased artifacts that ultimately reached Ann Arbor in 1925 range widely in dates and object categories. Nearly 300 pottery ostraca (fragments of stone used as scratch paper) inscribed with brief laconic notations offer insight into daily life in Egypt of Ptolemaic and later times. Other highlights include scarabs, fine stone vessels from Dynastic Egypt, rings and pottery of the Roman period, figurines from the Saite Period through Roman times, and several fine funerary portraits. Two particularly striking pieces are a fragment of a gilded Ptolemaic–Roman Period mummy mask dating from sometime between the 1st century BCE and the 2nd century CE (fig. 5.18),⁷⁵ and a rare example of panel painting (in tempera paint on wood) depicting a young man enthroned, facing forward (fig. 5.19). Interestingly, the panel combines aspects of several different traditions: Fayum portraits (particularly in the medium and technique of painting), late mummy-making preferences for painting full-length figures on mummy wrappings, and religious mural paintings like those recovered from Karanis (fig. 5.20).⁷⁶ The imagery thus reflects a dynamic interplay between representational traditions of early Christian and pagan Egypt.⁷⁷

Many of the Askren artifacts came from the Cairo dealership of Maurice Nahman, whom we discuss in chapter eight. Although Askren's discernment sometimes lapsed when he was buying on his own without the filter of Nahman's judgment (as we will see in chapter eight), Kelsey maintained his allegiance to the doctor, hiring him to serve as physician to the Karanis excavations beginning in 1924.

Fig. 5.20. Watercolor facsimile by Hamza Carr, 1925, of a mural of the child-god Harpocrates and the sphinx god Tutu from house C65 (1st–3rd centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis; the original mural fragment was retained by Egypt (KM 2003.2.1).



THE PETRIE GIFT

Acquired by the University of Michigan: 1921



Fig. 5.21. Photograph of Sir Flinders Petrie at Abydos, Egypt; 1922 (The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums/petrie>).

The first group of archaeologically excavated materials to be acquired by the University of Michigan came via Professor Kelsey's personal relationship with Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie (1853–1942), the eminent British Egyptologist, knighted in 1923, who is considered the father of modern scientific methods in excavation (fig. 5.21). The son of an engineer and grandson of one of the first explorers of Australia's coasts, Petrie was frail as a child. He was home-schooled, in part by his father, who taught him the art of careful surveying techniques. He began surveying archaeological sites in England as a teenager and at the age of twenty-seven traveled to Egypt in order to survey the Giza pyramids, ultimately disproving key assumptions about these structures. Petrie's trip to Egypt had a profound effect on him. With the exception of two short stints in Palestine, he devoted the rest of his life to Egyptian archaeology. His contributions to Egyptology and to archaeology in general are inestimable. He set a new standard in the field for scientific analysis, recognizing the value of documenting the precise context of all material found on a site and the significance of painstaking data collection—all common practice now but far from the norm in the late 1800s. He also developed the technique of seriation, a method for determining the relative dating sequence of a collection of artifacts that is based on the co-occurrence and frequency of certain shared features over time. Although seriation has been refined since Petrie's day, his core concept remains critical.



Fig. 5.22. Objects from a woman's grave in Tomb 103 excavated at Gurob, Egypt (3100–2750 BCE); gift of Sir Flinders Petrie (bowl: KM 1899; necklace: KM 1904; hairpin: KM 1900; chunks of galena: KM 1901) (photo, R. Stegmeyer).

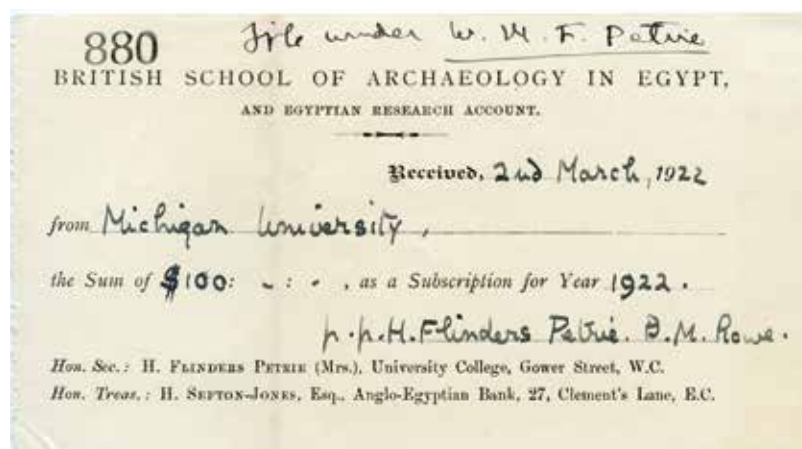


Fig. 5.23. Receipt for University of Michigan's \$100.00 subscription to the British School of Archaeology in Egypt and the Egyptian Research Account; March 2, 1922 (Francis W. Kelsey Papers, Box 84, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

Petrie was a complicated figure whose scientific interests included eugenics and the study of skulls as a means of tracing phenomena of race and evolution. He applied his knowledge of skulls to the study of Egyptian remains, examining examples from Predynastic burials to Roman Period Hawara. The Hawara material enabled him to speculate on the relationships between the actual phrenological remains of mummies and the painted portraits displayed within their wrappings. On several occasions Petrie expressed his wish to have his own head donated, as a specimen of “a typical British skull,” to the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in London upon his death. He was in Palestine at the critical moment of death in 1942. His head was indeed removed by a local surgeon and placed in formaldehyde, while his body was buried in the Protestant Cemetery there. Petrie's severed head remained in Jerusalem because of the turmoil of World War II. By one romantic account it was finally brought home to London in 1946—carried by his wife and fellow archaeologist, Hilda Petrie, in her hatbox. The macabre and sensationalist features of the story gave rise to speculation that perhaps the head that reached the College of Surgeons was not actually Petrie's; but testing in the 1990s pronounced it “almost indubitably” the genuine article.⁷⁸

The fifty-four objects in the Petrie gift came to Michigan at the direct request of Francis Kelsey, who had established a professional acquaintance with Petrie when, in 1919, he visited the Egyptian site of Lahun, where Petrie was excavating. During this visit, Kelsey asked Petrie for some alabaster vessel sherds for the University's study collections. Petrie agreed, and in 1921 he sent to Ann Arbor not only the requested sherds but also whole vessels and other small objects that he had unearthed from the sites of Lahun, Sedment, and Gurob—including a complete assemblage from Tomb 103 at Gurob (fig. 5.22). This generous donation was no doubt partly motivated by Petrie's respect for Kelsey. It was, however, also partly driven by Petrie's hope that Kelsey would lobby for a University of Michigan contribution to the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, which funded his fieldwork. Indeed, Kelsey did secure a \$100 pledge to the British School from the Regents of the University after receipt of the objects (fig. 5.23). This was a most

Fig. 5.24. Photograph of Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii, Italy (ca. 60–40 BCE), during excavations in 1909 showing the discovery of a mural on the north wall of Room 5 (Comparetti 1921, frontispiece).



generous sum by the standards of the day. The Petrie gift includes both calcite (alabaster) and ceramic vessels, jewelry and scarabs, cosmetic implements, textiles, and furniture. Excavated from tombs dating from the Late Predynastic Period to the New Kingdom, the objects provide glimpses into the daily life and funerary practices of the non-elite populations of Egypt in multiple eras. The New Kingdom finds from Sedment are especially helpful in illustrating items that would have been part of a non-elite household during a prosperous period in which the size of the middle class was expanding. In addition, the connection of these objects to Flinders Petrie situates the Kelsey and its collections within the broader history of archaeology as a scientific discipline in the early 20th century.

THE BAROSSO WATERCOLORS

Acquired by the University of Michigan: 1927

Kelsey was well acquainted with the site of Pompeii, having produced a much-lauded translation of a monumental volume on the site by the German scholar August Mau. The town and its often richly appointed homes had been preserved when the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE sealed it until excavations began in the mid-18th century. In 1909 the Villa of the Mysteries on the outskirts of the city came to light (fig. 5.24).

Fig. 5.25. Telegram from Francis Kelsey in Carthage to Esther Van Deman in Italy asking her to inform Maria Barosso to start work at the Villa of the Mysteries; March 12, 1925 (Kelsey Museum Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).



This grand house was so named by its discoverers because of the mural cycle in one room (Room 5) that was thought to illustrate an induction ceremony into a Roman mystery cult of Bacchus (Greek Dionysos). These images were probably painted between about 60 and 40 BCE. Hailed as a masterpiece, they garnered international attention not only for their beauty but also for their evocative (even titillating) subject matter, including a flagellation scene preliminary to a marriage rite. Professor Kelsey expressed concern that these rare images would ultimately deteriorate *in situ*, exposed to the elements. He was determined to commission a large-scale reproduction of the paintings in Room 5 that he could bring back to Ann Arbor for teaching and display.

With the help of Esther Van Deman, his archaeology protégée then working in Rome (chapter six), Kelsey entered into discussions with an artist named Maria Barosso (1879–1960). Van Deman knew Barosso through their joint efforts in the Roman Forum. Born in Turin, Barosso was well known in Italian circles and eventually became head of drawings for the Soprintendenza of Monuments of Rome and Lazio. Barosso was also the first woman employed as an archaeologist and draftsman in the Roman Forum under the auspices of the Italian government.

Kelsey eventually convinced Barosso to take on the challenging project of producing watercolor facsimiles of the paintings in Room 5. In late December 1924, Kelsey received approval from Michigan to commission the copies along with a purse of \$3,000 to support the effort. By June 1925, he had obtained official permission from Amadeo Maiuri, Superintendent of Antiquities at Pompeii, to have the complete cycle of frescoes rendered at five-sixths scale (fig. 5.25). Maiuri insisted upon the slightly reduced scale to distinguish them from the originals in Italy. Nevertheless, Barosso was permitted to render one sample panel at full-size. A second condition of the agreement required that the copies remain in Italy for one year so that they could be placed on public display (figs. 5.26–5.27).

Barosso began her work in 1925, and Kelsey received the full-sized sample in Ann Arbor by October of that year. The project continued for eighteen months, with Barosso

Fig. 5.26. Maria Barosso watercolor of seated matron; west wall of Room 5, Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii, Italy (ca. 60–40 BCE) (KM 2000.2.1a).





Fig. 5.27. Maria Barosso watercolor of seated bride and Eros holding a mirror; south wall of Room 5, Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii, Italy (KM 2000.25a).

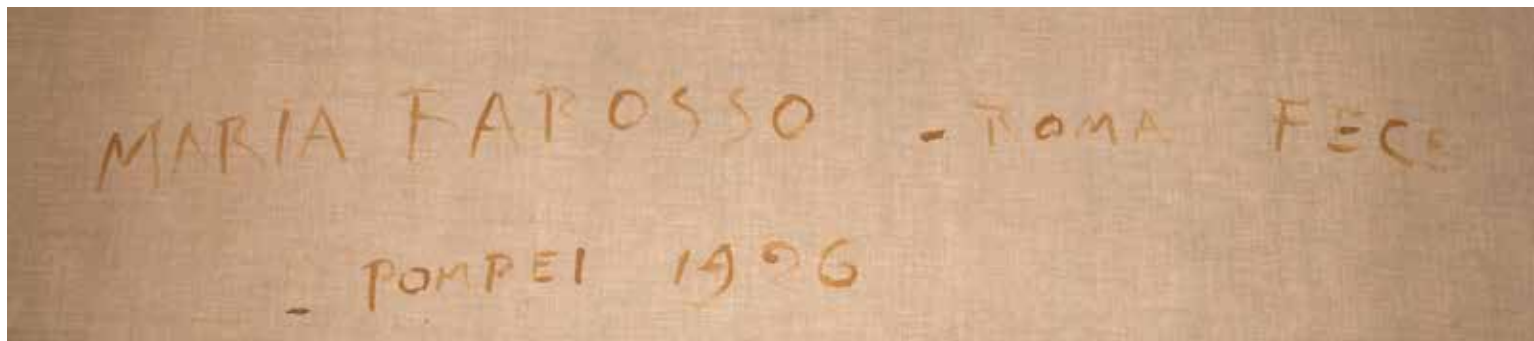


Fig. 5.28. Maria Barosso signature and notation on the back of one of her watercolor facsimiles of the murals in Room 5 of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii, Italy (KM 2000.2.2a back).

painting each wall of the room, panel by panel, in three units: the central section with figures followed by the upper and then the lower decorative borders. In her letters to Kelsey, Barosso wrote of her efforts to make an accurate scientific rendering of the images and to capture their original aesthetic qualities; she worked only when the light was just right. Conditions inside the Villa were often dismal—cold and damp in the winter and blazingly hot in the summer. In one letter to her patron, she writes:

I am still here, but at the limit of my mental and physical strength; I want to continue to work this month . . . and am taking energy supplements in order to avoid a . . . breakdown . . . [The] work [is] unending, every day for the whole day, every day of the week, in that oppressive house, far away and deserted.⁷⁹

By the time Barosso had completed her job, she had produced eighteen separate panels, which were displayed in 1926 at a government-sponsored exhibition in the Galleria Borghese in Rome. The exhibition received extensive press coverage and was extolled by the Fascist government in an era when ancient Italian heritage was used as propaganda to underscore the country's long cultural preeminence. Some of Barosso's original fine art paintings were on exhibit in a separate room of the Galleria during the acclaimed showing of her Pompeiian copies. Unfortunately, the positive energy of this moment was not sufficient to encourage governmental support for the publication of a monograph she was planning on the process of producing the watercolors and the insights she had gleaned in the course of the project. The manuscript has never been located. Nor have we been able to find any photographs of Barosso. In lieu of her image we feature her signature and attending notation on the back of one of the panels: "MARIA BAROSSO - ROMA FECE - POMPEI 1926" (fig. 5.28).

Professor Kelsey attended the exhibition in the Galleria Borghese in 1926—as did the king and queen of Italy; but Barosso's watercolors did not actually arrive in Ann Arbor until after Kelsey's death. His plan to reconstruct the whole room in the archaeological museum he envisioned was not realized for almost eighty years. The individual panels were rolled up and overlooked for decades after the Museum opened. As time passed, memory of their existence receded with the passing of the individuals who had

known of the endeavor firsthand. It was not until the late 1970s that one of the curators, pursuing a review of Museum holdings, came upon them stacked in storage. Luckily she was curious enough to arrange to have them carefully unfurled. What a surprise was in store! Following this astounding discovery, the Museum commissioned a detailed report by professional paper conservators to document the current condition of the watercolors and to recommend treatment. Much later, with plans under way to install the entire array in a special room on the second floor of the Kelsey Museum's William E. Upjohn Exhibit Wing, the Museum secured funding from the Institute of Museum and Library Services to have the watercolors cleaned, mended, and prepared for hanging. In 2009 they were finally available to be seen as Professor Kelsey had always intended.⁸⁰

CHAPTER SIX

The Passionate and the Curious, Part II (1928–2013) Collections Acquired by the Kelsey Museum



The years between Kelsey's death in 1927 and the most recent donations to the Kelsey Museum significantly expanded the collections. While the objects themselves provide an impressive array of material that will continue to be studied, the personalities and inquisitiveness of the collectors and donors also demand our attention. Each donor was unique, ranging from Cesnola, the obsessive harvester and crafty marketer, to Van Deman, the pioneering scholar and early feminist; from Goudsmit, the nuclear scientist whose search for a new “brown bag” topic turned him into a life-long collector and student of Egyptology, to the colorful cast of individuals caught in the fervor of 19th-century Egyptomania who contributed to the Bay View collection. Their particular collections helped redefine the Kelsey Museum in the decades to follow.



Fig. 6.1. An engraving of Luigi Palma di Cesnola (Cesnola 1878, frontispiece).

THE CESNOLA COLLECTION

*Acquired by the University of Michigan: 1928
Transferred to the Kelsey Museum in 1960*

The Cesnola collection now in the Kelsey Museum represents a tiny fraction of a much larger corpus of objects spirited out of Cyprus by devious means in the mid-1800s. Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832–1904) was a dashing Italian aristocrat who trained as a military officer and emigrated to America in 1861 to seek his fortune (fig. 6.1). He fought in the American Civil War, where he rose to the rank of colonel before being wounded and imprisoned (he was rumored to have demanded a diet of macaroni and bologna from his captors). Ultimately released, he was appointed American consul to Cyprus in 1865 by President Abraham Lincoln just one week prior to the president's assassination. Once installed, he became intrigued by the island's little-known antiquities.

Between 1865 and 1877 Cesnola launched dozens of archaeological projects on Cyprus, unearthing thousands of artifacts. He likened himself to Heinrich Schliemann, whose work at Troy was generating much excitement at the time. Cesnola saw his own discoveries as equally significant, providing a link between the classical and the biblical worlds. According to Cesnola's own accounts, he excavated 118 sites, including 15 sanctuaries, 28 cities, and nearly 61,000 tombs. Unfortunately, his archaeological techniques were anything but careful. Rarely present at his excavations, he took few notes and seldom photographed objects in context. More egregious, he occasionally fabricated stories

about the sites and their associated finds. His skills and true interests lay elsewhere: He was a master marketer and profiteer. Having amassed a large number of artifacts and works of art from his excavations, Cesnola began promoting his discoveries at auctions in Europe, ultimately selling over 35,000 objects harvested on Cyprus and flouting the authority of the Ottomans, who tried to prevent their illicit removal. The Cesnola episode is widely seen as the first wave in the wanton destruction of Cypriot cultural heritage.

Cesnola negotiated to sell his ill-gotten gains with a number of high-powered individuals and institutions. In 1870 he initiated discussions with Napoleon III of France, aware that the emperor was entertaining the possibility of acquiring the entire collection for the Musée du Louvre. Not to be outdone, Russian officials stepped in, voicing their desire to obtain the corpus for the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. Cesnola eventually decided to ship his collection to London, where (as a marketing device) it was placed on exhibition, generating considerable public interest. The newly founded Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York made the best offer, acquiring the bulk of the collection. The purchase was funded by public subscription with the help of several wealthy businessmen. Once the offer to buy the collection was brokered, Cesnola booked passage to New York for his family and 275 chests of artifacts. Ensnared in his new home, he devoted his time to unpacking, cleaning, and inventorying; to repairing artifacts broken in transit; and to supervising the materials' installation at the museum. In 1877 he accepted a position on the museum's board of trustees, and then in 1879 became the Met's first director—a position he held until his death in 1904. Several attempts were made to oust Cesnola as director, based partially on accusations that he had improperly restored many of his objects to produce various pastiches, including whole vessels and sculptures fabricated from fragments of multiple distinct items. Libel suits followed, creating sensations in the art world; but Cesnola was never removed as director or convicted of fraud in a court of law.

For years the Cesnola collection filled the main floors of the Met with an array of beautiful objects, helping to establish it as the preeminent place in America for viewing classical antiquities. The displays also prompted the French and British to launch their own excavations on Cyprus, hoping to fill the coffers of their own museums with treasures that would rival those in New York.

As the Met's collections grew, the Cesnola pieces were deaccessioned and sold to make room for new acquisitions. The trustees of the Metropolitan Museum held two auctions, in March and April of 1928. Approximately 200 of those auctioned items were purchased by the University of Michigan and presented to the University's College of Architecture. In 1960, they were transferred to the Kelsey Museum. The Kelsey's holdings consist of several fine examples of early pottery (fig. 6.2) and a number of small but typologically exemplary sculptures from sanctuaries on Cyprus that date roughly from 500 to 100 BCE.⁸¹ Among these are two stone heads from Golgoi (mod. Athienou) that are practically identical to two published by Cesnola himself (figs. 6.3–6.5). These votive heads were collected during his archaeological escapades as American consul.



Fig. 6.2. Geometric Cypriot tankard (ca. 1600–1450 BCE); Cesnola collection (KM 26578).



Fig. 6.3. Engraving of multiple stone heads recovered by Cesnola from Golgoi, Cyprus (Cesnola 1878, p. 141).

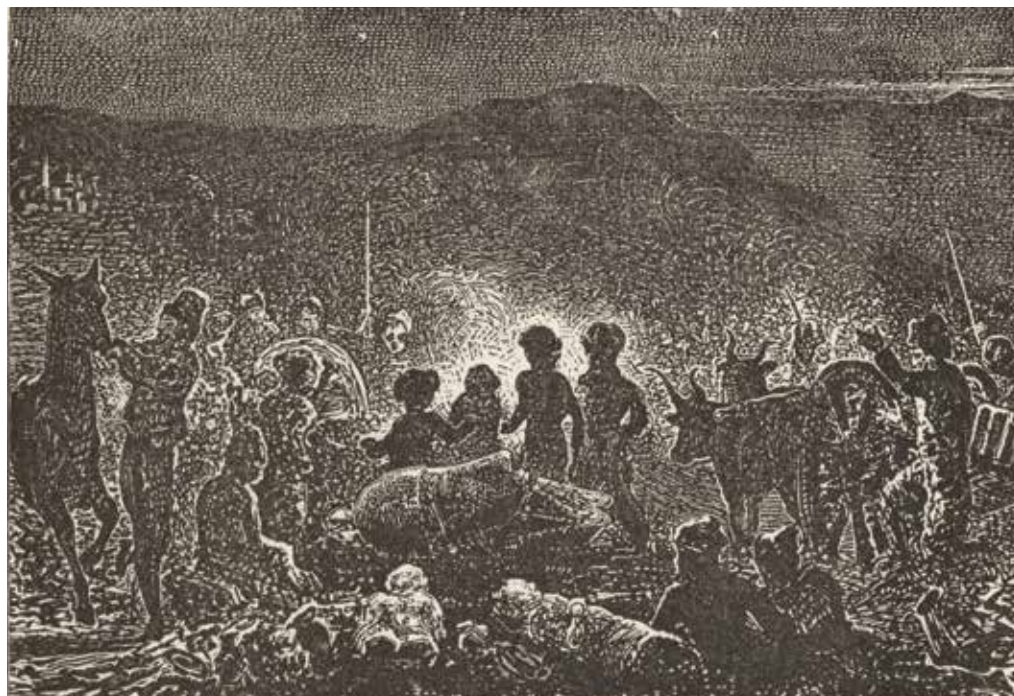


Fig. 6.4 (top right). Male head of stone with Egyptian headdress from Golgoi, Cyprus (ca. 550–525 BCE); Cesnola collection (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 29108).



Fig. 6.5 (bottom right). Female head of stone from Golgoi, Cyprus (ca. 300–200 BCE); Cesnola collection (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 29131).

Fig. 6.6. Engraving of the Golgoi “excavations” at night (Cesnola 1878, p. 122).



In one tale he describes his commandeering of the finds made by local looters whom he had paid to dig in Golgoi on his behalf (fig. 6.6):

I furnished them with funds to support them and their families in the meantime, and explained to them where I wished them to dig. . . . Nearly a week passed before I heard from them, and I was beginning to doubt their success when one morning, while I was at breakfast, a muleteer was announced as having arrived from Athieno with a message from them informing me that they had discovered an enormous stone head and other sculptures, and requesting me to send a cart at once . . .

The scene . . . was wild and weird. All Athieno was bivouacked on the desert-like plain of Aghios Photios, the moon was not yet risen, and large fires were lit at different points, throwing fantastic shadows as men moved about, eagerly gesticulating and conversing. The light falling on their swarthy faces and parti-colored dress, gave them the appearance of a band of brigands, which in some measure they were. . . . As I approached, the news spread of the arrival of the American Consul, and the uproar and confusion instantly ceased. . . . I then called the other zaptieh and motioned to him to disperse the crowd and to clear a space around the sculptures. . . . I now ordered the carts to be brought near, had the sculptures carefully placed upon them. . . . Thus I may say that I rather captured than discovered these stone treasures.⁸²

It is difficult to defend Cesnola’s behavior even within the contexts of early collecting and the less than scientific excavation techniques of the mid- to late 1800s. But

Fig. 6.7. Photograph of Esther Van Deman at her desk at Mount Holyoke College, where she taught from 1898 to 1901 (American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive).



from today's vantage point, his checkered career is instructive. In 2000, for example, a new display (and accompanying catalogue) at the Metropolitan Museum, which still owns a number of his impressive pieces, described in some detail Cesnola's history and his impact on museum policies and collecting. By so doing, the Met alerted visitors to ethical questions that continue to arise within museum culture.

THE VAN DEMAN COLLECTION

Bequeathed to the Kelsey Museum; accessioned in 1938

Esther Boise Van Deman (1862–1937) was one of the first women to achieve prominence in Mediterranean archaeology (fig. 6.7). A Kansas farm girl, she had a strong-minded, independent spirit and a disdain for traditional female roles. After attending a Presbyterian school (the College of Emporia) near her home, she took and passed the entrance exam for the University of Michigan at age twenty-four. The following year she began studying under Professor Kelsey, starting research on the cult of the Vestal Virgins of Rome. She received her BA in 1891 and went on to become the first woman to receive a doctorate in Latin from the University of Chicago. In 1901, she became a student at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome (later called the American Academy in Rome). In that year (at age thirty-nine) she again worked with Kelsey, who was then in

residence as the annual professor. That year in Rome altered the entire direction of her career. She shifted from a focus on Latin literature and inscriptions to a specialization in archaeology and material culture.

Van Deman lived and worked in Rome for most of her life thereafter. Against the grain of gendered tradition in the field, she chose typically “masculine” research areas: Roman aqueducts, building materials, and construction techniques. Legend has it that Van Deman could date Roman walls by tasting the mortar that held them together. (We now know that different ingredients used in different eras might lend some support to this approach.) Some of her nongustatory strategies for dating have now been superseded; but her core approach to the painstaking empirical documentation of building materials and techniques had a considerable impact in her day and continues as a critical part of archaeological investigation. Van Deman was also a self-trained photographer whose work was at once scientific and aesthetic, capturing juxtapositions of ancient and modern elements in the city of Rome and memorializing peasant women in the Italian countryside. Her photographs have been exhibited at the American Academy in Rome, the Graduate Center Art Gallery of the City University of New York, and the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. A complete set resides in the archives of the American Academy in Rome.

Francis Kelsey maintained an active relationship with Van Deman. We have already seen in chapter five that in 1924 she identified Maria Barosso as an ideal artist for Kelsey’s commission to copy the wall paintings of Room 5 in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii. After Kelsey’s death, Van Deman stayed in contact with the emergent Museum in Ann Arbor. Correspondence in the Kelsey archives includes a request made in 1930 asking Van Deman to secure samples of a common Roman building stone called tufa for an upcoming exhibition. In addition to agreeing to supply the stone, Van Deman’s reply includes a thumbnail scholarly treatise instructing the Museum on the proper terms to use in describing it.

Despite Van Deman’s seeming successes, she lived in an age when women faced enormous difficulties in archaeology.⁸³ She was something of a lightning rod for the asymmetrical gender relations within the very conventional American academic communities of Rome and Athens in the early years of the 20th century. Even her long-time supporter Francis Kelsey, in a confidential letter of recommendation to the Carnegie Foundation (which funded much of Van Deman’s research), noted her “inadequate sense of humor” and her somewhat obsessive “conscientiousness in accumulating details,” suggesting, perhaps, that he saw these as unfeminine qualities.

For her part, Van Deman wrote a letter to Kelsey during his year of residence challenging the exclusion of women students at the American School from attending a lecture series at the German Archaeological Institute. Reading between the lines, we can see that, on the one hand, she was chastising her old mentor. On the other hand, she seems to have felt that he might be willing to do something to redress the situation. She had a hard time conforming to the School’s dress codes and other protocols of social



Fig. 6.8. Fragment of orbicular granite from Corsica, acquired in Rome, Italy; Van Deman collection (KM 6785).



Fig. 6.9. Etruscan bronze razor (9th–8th century BCE); said to have been acquired in Rome, Italy, 1938; Van Deman collection (KM 1445).



Fig. 6.10. Etruscan bronze fibula (ca. 900–850 BCE); Van Deman collection, 1938 (KM 6657).

decorum for women. At one point the wife of the director of the School demanded that she buy a new hat and gloves in order to be presentable for an upcoming tea.⁸⁴

Van Deman died in 1937 and was buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome. Her grave marker states in Latin that she happily dedicated her life to Rome, a place she deeply loved. Like many expatriate academics working in the Eternal City after World War I, she ardently admired Benito Mussolini—a feeling engendered, in part, by Fascist-sponsored excavations and research projects aimed at underscoring the connections between ancient glories and contemporary ambitions. According to an obituary by Maria Barosso, Van Deman bequeathed her engagement ring (a vestige of a long-ago relationship in Kansas) to the Fascist Party.⁸⁵

Van Deman willed her books and antiquities (which were in the United States, in the care of the museum of the Johns Hopkins University) to the University of Michigan. Hopkins exhibited the artifacts in 1911, with a presentation featured in the February 4 *Baltimore Evening Sun*. After her death, the collection moved permanently to Michigan. Van Deman had intended to bequeath her collection to Johns Hopkins until one Tenney Frank was hired there. They were rivals, and she considered his work on Roman building materials “useless.” The change in her will, to favor Michigan, has provided the Kelsey Museum with some beautiful examples of decorative stones used in Roman imperial constructions of the Greater Mediterranean (fig. 6.8).⁸⁶ Numerous Etruscan objects also came to the Museum, including an intimidatingly large crescent-shaped bronze razor (fig. 6.9) and a fine bronze fibula (fig. 6.10). Fibulae are ancient garment-pinning devices, operating like modern safety pins—but meant to be seen and admired. And this one is something any Etruscan man would have sported with pride. Perhaps Van Deman would be most pleased, however, to know that a piece of marble and a chunk of mortar from her collection are used every year to teach students about Roman building materials in an undergraduate course on Roman archaeology.

THE BAY VIEW COLLECTION

Collected in the 1880s–1890s for the Bay View Association

Acquired by the Kelsey Museum: 1971

In 1971, the Bay View collection of slightly more than 300 Egyptian antiquities came to the Kelsey Museum from the Bay View Association, located in Bay View, Michigan, on the picturesque Little Traverse Bay of Lake Michigan. Founded in 1875, the Association initially consisted of a group of Michigan Methodists who established a camp meeting—a type of American organization familiar at the time, dedicated to promoting intellectual and scientific discourse in a cultural environment informed by religion and morality.⁸⁷ Like the Chautauqua Assembly (now called the Chautauqua Institution), which convened for the first time in 1874 on the shores of Lake Chautauqua in New York state, the Bay View Association grew quickly, spawning ancillary reading circles across the United States that embraced some 25,000 members between 1893 and 1921. And like Chautauqua, Bay View thrives to this day, continuing to foster literary, scientific, and religious programs as well as dramatic and musical performances in the summer. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, both communities attracted famed speakers, the most sought-after being the charismatic politician William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925). The larger-than-life presence of men like Bryan within both Bay View and Chautauqua reflects the social movements of the day; the grand oratory of their advocates, who crisscrossed America on the lecture circuit, formed a backdrop against which we must appreciate the church members and missionaries who then traveled and collected antiquities.

John M. Hall, director of the Bay View Association in the late 1800s, was committed to creating a museum for the community that would encompass specimens of natural history and Michigan history, and would also include a major collection of artifacts from Egypt and the Holy Land. A Flint, Michigan, real estate magnate married to a wealthy heiress, Hall probably underwrote a generous portion of the enterprise, augmenting the more modest contributions of others who answered his call. In March 1889, the *Bay View Association Herald* announced:

In a few years we will have at Bay View rich treasures of literature, science and curios of great interest which will beckon hundreds of students to that favored spot. . . . Then these collections we are now making will have grown to superb proportions. In time they will be enriched by rare curios and objects to illustrate other civilizations, Bible narrative and the triumphs of genius. Casts of classic art, and of discoveries throwing light on Biblical history, libraries which few private fortunes can afford, reading rooms, and gifted instructors to discourse upon the treasures of such an institution, will incite a thirst for learning and create enthusiasm among students.⁸⁸

As John Hall endeavored to fulfill his dream, he fortuitously encountered the Reverend Camden McCormack Cobern (1855–1920). Cobern had earned his BA degree

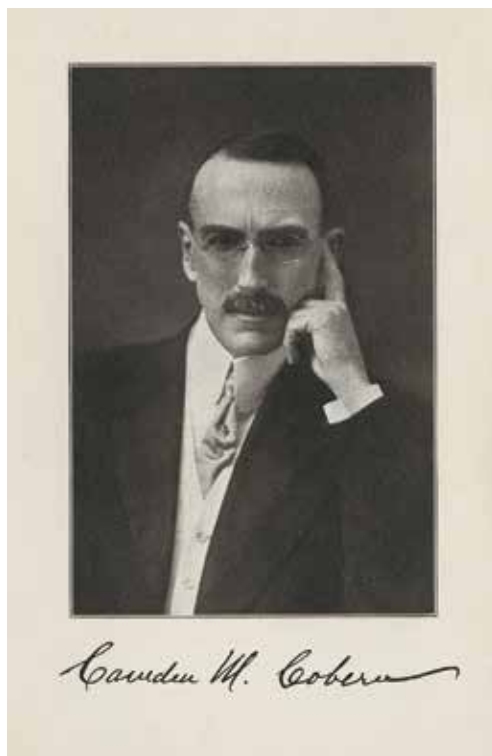


Fig. 6.11. Photograph of the Reverend Camden McCormack Cobern (Cobern 1914, frontispiece).

from Allegheny College in 1876 and was ordained as a Methodist minister shortly thereafter, receiving his PhD from Boston College in 1885 (fig. 6.11). He served as pastor of the Cass Avenue Methodist Church in Detroit for several years, and in 1893 as pastor of the Ann Arbor First Methodist Episcopal Church at 13 North State Street (where records show that he officiated at a local wedding attended by Francis W. Kelsey). An active member of the Methodist lecture circuit in the United States, he is listed as a speaker on “Ethics and Politics” at Bay View in the summer of 1888.⁸⁹

Because Cobern’s travels and circle of acquaintances provide an unusual window onto early collecting in Egypt, it is worth dwelling at some length on his history. During the 1880s Cobern had become affiliated with the Egyptian Exploration Fund and the Palestine Exploration Fund, both British scientific organizations devoted to antiquarian and archaeological pursuits. Like many clergymen of the 19th century, he developed a keen interest in the archaeology of the Near East as a way of recovering an historical affirmation of the Bible. He authored several books, including *Ancient Egypt in Light of Modern Discovery* (1892) and *New Archaeological Discoveries and Their Bearing upon the Life and Times of the Primitive Church* (1917). Cobern befriended Sir Flinders Petrie (chapter five), visiting the great archaeologist on an Egyptian excavation in late 1889 and again on a dig in Palestine at Tell el-Hesi in the spring of 1890. At the latter site (which was then identified with the ancient city of Lachish sacked by the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 701 BCE), Cobern wrote rapturously of the simple life in the field that Petrie practiced: “We were nomads, and had the pleasure of a perpetual picnic. Tinned meats, and the preserves for which we longed as boys, were luxuries which we enjoyed at every meal—and to eat out of the can saved washing a dish.”⁹⁰ His report for the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* of 1890 includes descriptions of the local people that accord with the tenor of most Western observations of the day:

There are few such happy-go-lucky sorts of people to be found in England or America as are these Arabs. They have nothing, and they need nothing, and they want nothing. To have a turban and a shirt, and to be able to lie down during the greater part of the day in the shade of a rock in a weary land, is the summum bonum . . . while they seem to think that Allah will take care of them without work, they seem to think that it would be tempting providence not to steal.

Cobern concluded this passage with warm praise of Petrie: “May he stick his spade deep into Philistia and bring up great spoil!”⁹¹

The Reverend Cobern acquired not only Egyptian antiquities but Mesopotamian, Greek, and Roman material as well. In addition to the Egyptian objects he presented to the Bay View Association in the 1890s, he also gave a substantial collection of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman artifacts to Allegheny College. Of the many artifacts representing his own purchases in Egypt that Cobern presented to the Bay View Association (and now in the possession of the Kelsey), two are of special significance in the history of Egyptology: a pair of inscribed faience shabtis, figurines that acted in burial contexts as



Fig. 6.12. Two shabtis of Pinudjem II, High Priest of Amun (ca. 969 BCE); donated by the Reverend Camden McCormack Cobern to the Bay View Association; Bay View collection (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 1971.2.169 and 1971.2.170).

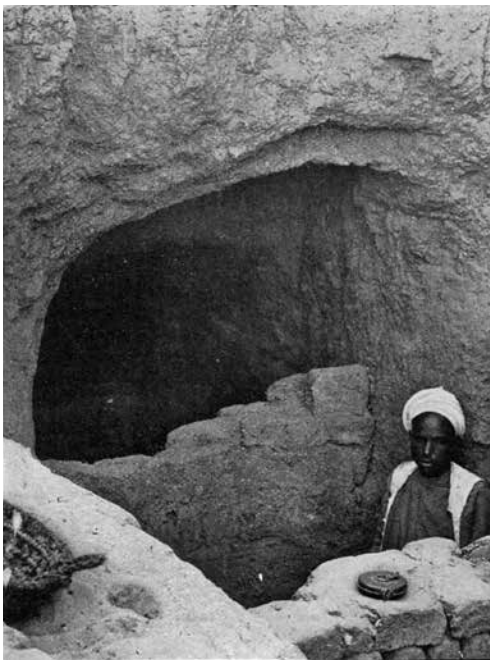


Fig. 6.13. Entrance to Jackal Catacombs of Abydos, Egypt (Cobern 1913, p. 1051).

surrogate laborers and facilitators for the deceased in the afterlife (fig. 6.12). These had come from the tomb of Pinudjem II at Deir el-Bahri, just above the grand funerary monument of the New Kingdom queen Hatsheput. Pinudjem II was the High Priest of Amun at Thebes from 990 to 969 BCE. Somewhat later, his family tomb became the repository for a large cache of robbed royal burials in the Valley of the Kings. The discovery of the tomb of Pinudjem in 1881, along with its surprising contents, caused an international sensation, even inspiring the now iconic Egyptian film *al-Mumiya* or *The Night of Counting the Years* (1969) by Shadi Abd al-Salam.⁹² We do not know the particulars of how these two shabtis entered the art market—or from whom Cobern purchased them less than a decade after the remarkable discovery. The provenances of some other Bay View artifacts have links to Petrie projects through Cobern, including shabtis “said to be from the Pyramid of Illahun,” where Petrie worked in February or March of 1890.⁹³

Cobern had a compelling writing style, evidenced by his later contributions to *National Geographic*. An article published in 1913 described the conditions in the “Catacomb of Jackals” at Abydos and his own exploration of it:

Although deep underground, the stench was so great when it was first reopened that it was disagreeable at a hundred yards distant. The first man who attempted to enter the cave with me was almost asphyxiated, but we crawled out without harm. To the writer, three days later, was assigned the odoriferous duty of finding among these tons of decayed or half mummified bodies a number of specimens fit for scientific examination. . . . Crawling on hands and knees for four hours over these piles of bodies, one sees many a ghastly sight—thousands of skulls or half-mummified heads; bodies broken and mashed; bones that crumble at a touch; eyes staring wild or hollow sockets filled with black paste; mouths closed just as they had been reverently arranged by the priestly undertaker 2000 years ago, or sprung wide open as if the creature had sent out a terrible wail in the last moment of its life. The sight of white, sharp teeth glinting everywhere in the light of the candle was indeed weird and gruesome. That four hours’ experience can never be forgotten: shoulders bents, back cramps, down almost with face and nose touching these grinning skulls, feet, hands, and knees crunching into a mass of putrifying bones which often fall to a powder as you touch them or cause a cloud of mummy dust to envelop you. . . . Let us be careful, too. If this mummification was with bitumen, it only needs a careless movement of the candle, and in a moment your body and those of the sacred beasts will be offered to the gods in a hecatomb of flame (fig. 6.13).⁹⁴

Most of the pieces in the Bay View collection are of high quality even if they do not rise to the level of historical interest of Pinudjem’s shabtis. One fine example, now on display, is a funerary stela of the Middle Kingdom depicting a man called Shemsu, who is shown performing an offering ritual to nurture the *ka* (soul) of his deceased sister (fig. 6.14).⁹⁵ Incorporated into the imagery is a distinctive lidded libation vessel for

Fig. 6.14 (near right). Limestone stela of Shemsu (seated), performing an offering ritual for his sister (1991–1783 BCE); Bay View collection (KM 1971.2.190).

Fig. 6.15 (center right). Burnished clay libation vessel with lid (2040–1650 BCE); acquired in the Egyptian Fayum, 1930s; gift of Enoch Peterson (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 91162).

Fig. 6.16 (far right). Detail of wrapped cat mummy (1st century CE); Bay View collection (photo, R. Stegmeyer; KM 1971.2.183).



Fig. 6.17. Photograph of the Reverend Chauncey Murch, a missionary, collector, and purveyor of antiquities who was stationed in Luxor, Egypt, in the 1880s (Hartshorn, Merrill, and Lawrence 1905, p. 359).

offerings—a type for which the Museum has an actual Middle Kingdom example (fig. 6.15), a gift from Professor Peterson, who must have acquired it while serving in Egypt as director of the Karanis excavations. Overall, the Bay View objects are impressively varied. A favorite among Museum visitors is an entire cat mummy in its decorated linen wrapping, one of numerous attestations of the feline cults in ancient Egypt (fig. 6.16).⁹⁶

Although the core of the Bay View collection revolves around his own acquisitions, Cobern coordinated the donations of additional Egyptian artifacts purchased by several Methodist missionaries who worked in Egypt. Among them was the Reverend Chauncey Murch, nicknamed “the fat reverend” (fig. 6.17). Stationed in Luxor, he was ideally situated to become closely associated with the renowned Egyptologists of the day—in particular, the British Egyptologist E. A. Wallis Budge (keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities at the British Museum from 1894 to 1924 and author of seminal books such as *The Mummy* and *The Book of the Dead*). Indeed, Murch became a key player in many important acquisitions for the British Museum. As Egyptologist T. G. H. James (a successor to Budge at the British Museum) has described the arrangement,

In Egypt it was usually necessary to clinch a deal speedily; the native owner could rarely wait for the outcome of protracted negotiations in London, which might include delays in making the necessary funds available. Murch, however, could buy quite informally, to be reimbursed in due course by the Trustees.⁹⁷

The Reverend Murch intersected not only with the great Budge but also with the colorful American journalist and amateur Egyptologist Charles E. Wilbour, whose legacy includes patronage of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Brooklyn Museum and an endowed professorial chair in Egyptology at Brown University. Wilbour’s letters



Fig. 6.18. Wrapped mummy of child (1st century CE); acquired in the Egyptian Fayum in the 1880s by Harriet (“Hattie”) Conner; donated to the Bay View Association; Bay View collection (KM 1971.2.179).

to family frequently mention the Reverend Murch and the collections he was amassing at his house. On January 23, 1890, Wilbour wrote,

I took Mr. Brunner to Mr. Murch’s where I recognized two of the cartouches cut out of the grand inscription at Beni Hassan, and a tablet with the cartouches of Pepi, which I judge comes from a tomb at Bersheh. These he [Murch] bought from Sidrach at Ekhmeem, who had five or six Beni Hassan cartouches and about ten others.⁹⁸

The spoliation of tombs at Beni Hassan was a controversial topic of the day in Egypt, raising some awareness of and perhaps a sense of complicity in the deprecation of ancient monuments to create saleable fragments that served the growing appetites of Westerners. Scholars, missionaries, and tourists alike eagerly bought up everything on offer, and we know that Murch, a permanent expatriate in Upper Egypt, certainly participated in such practices. While many of the dealings at the time would be considered unethical today, they did bring Coptic material into the hands of scholars, thus revolutionizing the study of early Christianity at the time.⁹⁹ In 1910, Murch sold about 3,370 of his artifacts to the British Museum, and later a small number of additional pieces to the Art Institute of Chicago. He was far less generous in his gifting than in his sales—donating only a handful of the most modest artifacts to the Bay View Association.

A different sort of missionary donor to the Bay View Association, also associated with Reverend Cobern, was Harriet (“Hattie”) Conner (1858–ca. 1898), who purchased and then gave to Bay View the wrapped mummy of a child (fig. 6.18) that today attracts schoolchildren to its specially designed area in the Museum’s Egyptian gallery. The



Fig. 6.19. Group photograph of Egyptian girls at the Cairo Mission School in Hattie Conner’s era (Elder 1958, p. 49; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan, with permission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America).

Fig. 6.20. Group photograph of some missionary evacuees from Egypt, taken in Southampton, England, 1882 (Elder 1958, between pp. 192 and 193; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan, with permission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America). Harriet Conner is in this group photograph, but she cannot be identified more precisely.



mummy is of Roman date and probably comes from the Fayum region (the locale of the Michigan excavations at Karanis), where we can trace Conner's presence. She was one of many unsung female Protestant missionaries serving in Egypt, teaching the Bible, imparting practical skills to local girls, and doing charitable works during the closing decades of the 19th century. The daughter of a Presbyterian pastor in Pennsylvania, she first sailed for Cairo in 1880, where she helped run a mission school for girls in Cairo's Faggala district and ministered to poor families (fig. 6.19). In advance of the British invasion of 1882, anti-colonial tensions ran high among Muslim and Coptic populations alike; Conner and other missionaries received threats on the streets. Ultimately violence escalated, and on June 15 the members of the American Mission took refuge on the American frigate *Galena*, anchored at Alexandria.¹⁰⁰ Soon they were divided up and shipped either to England, Italy, or America, with Conner sent to England. A photograph of the evacuees who reached Southampton includes Hattie Conner, but we do not know which figure she is (fig. 6.20).¹⁰¹

Conner returned to her work in Egypt and remained there until 1892, when she went home on furlough, attending Chautauqua that summer. Although booked to sail again to Egypt in November, she resigned her ministry on September 14 under circumstances that still elude us. She served thereafter at the Syrian mission in the former Basin Alley neighborhood of Pittsburgh. In 1895 she pleaded for better assistance for treating typhoid fever, which was raging at the time in this underserved community where folk medicine often collided with more modern treatments. She drops off the record soon thereafter. She may herself have died of the disease.

Fig. 6.21. Charles E. Wilbour and other Egyptologists in the Temple of Luxor, late 1800s; *left to right*: the Marquis de Rochemonteix, Albert Jean Gayet, Charles E. Wilbour, Jan Herman Insinger, and Gaston Camille Maspero, member of the Collège de France and Director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service (courtesy of Brooklyn Museum Archives, Wilbour Archival Collection, Visual materials [9.4.024], n.d.).



Elusive as she remains today, Conner received notice from some remarkable men of her day. On February 23, 1887, for example, she appears in the journal entry of Frederick Douglass (1818–1895), the charismatic former slave who became a scholar, politician, and powerful figure in the abolitionist movement. She had accompanied him and his second wife, the Caucasian Helen Douglass (née Pitts), on home visits in her Cairo neighborhood so that they could observe local conditions.¹⁰²

Her notice in powerful Egyptological circles was more pronounced, even if the company was not so exalted. In three letters, Charles E. Wilbour (fig. 6.21), who dealt with the most distinguished Egyptologists of the day, mentions “little Miss Connor [*sic*].” Intriguingly for us at the Kelsey, two occasions when Hattie Conner crossed paths with Wilbour involve sites that later became the focus of Michigan archaeology. On January 10, 1891, Wilbour writes:

I went by rail to Wasta and thence to Medeenet el Fayoom. Dr. Watson and little Miss Connor [*sic*] of the American Mission were on the train. She is enthusiastic about antiquities. They were going to Senoras to a station and she would come to Medeenet soon. To my disgust, Grébaut had cleared out the principal anteekeh shop, paying seventy pounds therefor. There was a big mortar in granite we might have pounded our coffee in with a fine inscription about it and a long piece of carved wood of Roman time. We should have bought them last spring.¹⁰³

Fig. 6.22. Plupy, one of the Egyptian “dig dogs,” posing at Michigan excavations at Soknopaiou Nesos in an ancient stone mill similar to those Miss Conner noticed coming out of nearby Karanis (Kelsey Museum neg. no. 327).



The Kelsey holds an enormous stone mortar, or milling vessel, from the Michigan excavations at Soknopaiou Nesos near Karanis (fig. 6.22). Although without an inscription visible today, it closely resembles the one Wilbour reports seeing in this Fayum shop and regrets not having purchased. It may well have come from Soknopaiou Nesos or Karanis. Karanis was subject to ongoing looting decades before Michigan began systematic work, with its treasure traveling significant distances to market. Wilbour’s letter of January 25, 1891, is vivid testimony to the sale of items illicitly harvested there: “I got a note from little Miss Connor [*sic*] who tells me that D. P. Giovanni has at Senouris in the Fayoom, two or three hundred [British] pounds worth of fine antiquities mostly from Kom Isheem [Karanis], three and a half hours ride away.”¹⁰⁴

Although a wonderful collection of Egyptian antiquities was thus gathered for the Bay View Association, plans to build a museum on the Bay View grounds never materialized. In order to safeguard the objects for posterity, the Association sold the lot to the University of Michigan in 1971. For almost a decade prior to this, the artifacts had already been held in the Kelsey on loan under the stewardship of then curator Louise Shier (d. 1990), who had family ties to the Bay View Association and was instrumental in securing the purchase.



Fig. 6.23. Photograph of Henry Gillman (courtesy of the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library).

THE GILLMAN COLLECTION
Acquired by the University of Michigan: 1952

Henry Gillman (1833–1915), born in Kinsdale, Ireland, led a varied life as a scientist, public servant, writer, and diplomat (fig. 6.23). While still in his late teens he moved with his family to Detroit, where he began working for the Geodetic Survey of the Great Lakes under the Engineer Corps of the US Army, becoming a rising star in the community

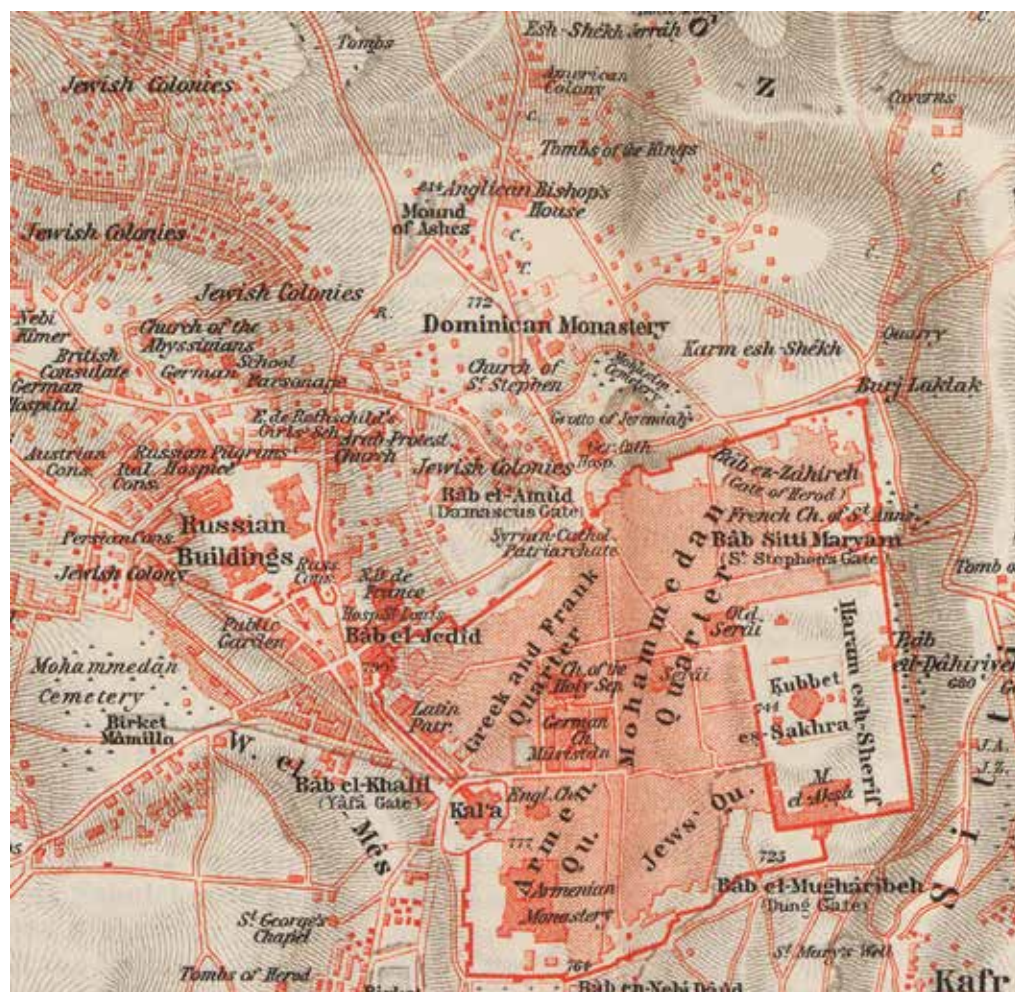
of ecological scientists and topographical engineers. Many of the early charts of the Great Lakes issued by the US Lake Survey were created by Gillman and his teams. Later he served as superintendent and librarian of the Public Library of the city of Detroit (1880–1885). Long interested in archaeology, Gillman also excavated several burial mounds in Michigan, publishing the results in prestigious journals and holding an affiliation with Harvard’s Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

In 1886 Gillman was appointed American consul to Jerusalem and remained in that post until 1891. The idea of serving in an area of archaeological interest was a motivation in seeking the position.¹⁰⁵ By the time he arrived in the Levant, it had become a major tourist destination for Americans, who had begun traveling in large numbers to the Holy Land, wishing to connect with narratives of (Christian) America as the New Jerusalem.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Christian missionaries were firmly embedded in the region, hoping to convert the Muslim populations.¹⁰⁷ Like these other Americans, Gillman was eager to collect artifacts that would embody the perceived relationship between the Old and the New Jerusalem. He might have lived out his consular stint as an unnoticed figure, except that (as we shall see) his official position offered him the opportunity to intervene on the world stage. The cultural dynamic of his life in Jerusalem calibrated his creative and collecting interests.

Inspired by his years there, Gillman wrote a lush novel of love and adventure set in the countryside near Jerusalem. *Hassan: a Fellah. A Romance of Palestine* (1898) chronicles the life of a shepherd who has been exposed to Christians and Europeans in Jerusalem and has received some education through contact with an American woman whom he served as muleteer. The worldly veneer he acquired in Jerusalem contributes to his stature as a “higher specimen of nature” than the other “Orientals” in his village. The passionate attraction between Hassan and the modest, beautiful Hilwa (who comes from a village feuding with Hassan’s) radiates an Orientalizing enchantment with the land of Palestine as a pristine, overheated Eden, a common view promoted in 19th-century Western literature.¹⁰⁸

Given Gillman’s era, it is not surprising that his novel reveals an authorial bias against Jews equal to its stereotypical biases against heathen Arabs. But Gillman also had an independent streak that led him to challenge certain norms. In his consular role, he became known for his assertive resistance to Ottoman laws that forced the expulsion of any fresh influxes of Jews from America and elsewhere who were attempting to settle in Palestine. Residents of Jerusalem in Gillman’s day clustered into ethnically defined quarters, many of which were longstanding Jewish enclaves (fig. 6.24).¹⁰⁹ The Ottoman imperial authority was bent on restricting any increase in the permanent Jewish population. When Henry Gillman arrived, himself a Christian interested in discovering the precise location of the crucifixion of Jesus, he turned his attention to the plight of American Jews, prompted by his duty to protect US citizens. His advocacy was a major element in forging a commitment from European powers to work successfully against the Ottoman expulsion edict.¹¹⁰

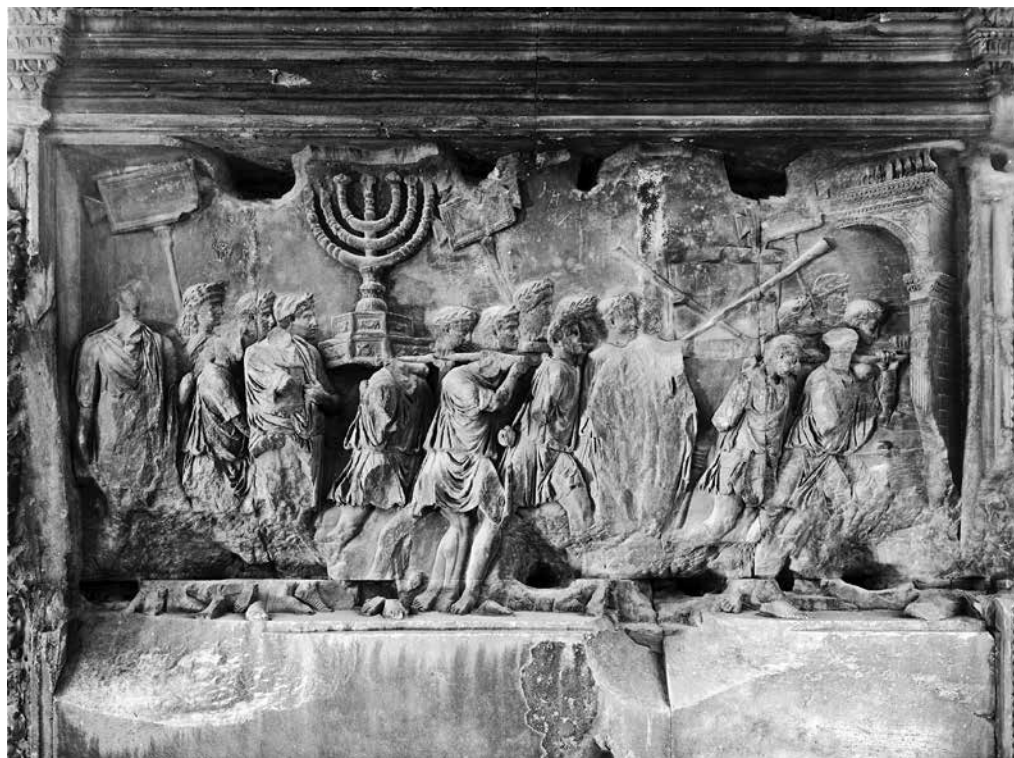
Fig. 6.24. Detail, map of Jerusalem and its environs, showing divisions of ethnic quarters, much as they were in Henry Gillman's era (Karl Baedeker's 1912 edition of *Syria and Palestine. Handbook for Travellers*, foldout between pp. 72 and 73; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).



During his years in the Levant, Gillman amassed a large collection of antiquities, 3,254 of which were donated to the University of Michigan in 1952 by his son, Robert Winthrop Gillman, MD (1865–1956), who had served as assistant surgeon at St. John's Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem (founded by Henry Gillman) during the early phase of his father's tenure as consul. Henry Gillman's collection was eclectic—accrued more out of sentiment than out of a deep scholarly engagement with any single type of artifact, and even less out of an interest in acquiring objects of high monetary value. About 3,000 of these items that came to the Kelsey are coins. Gillman made careful notes of the date and place of purchases. These records have allowed one scholar to posit that Gillman purchased a large collection of coins containing an ancient forgery unwittingly picked up by the owner in antiquity on his military travels.¹¹¹

Many of Gillman's coins relate to ancient and medieval cultural encounters that must have seemed all too contemporary in Jerusalem of the 1880s: in particular, coins of the First and Second Jewish Revolts against Rome. The First Revolt (66–70 CE) ended

Fig. 6.25. Detail of Arch of Titus in Rome (ca. 82 CE); interior relief panel depicting The Spoils of Jerusalem as seen in the late 19th century (courtesy of the Alinari Archives, Florence, and the Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).



in the fall of Jerusalem after a seven-month siege by the emperor Titus. The Temple on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem was destroyed along with most of the city; populations were enslaved and evacuated to hard labor in mines or in the gladiatorial arena.¹¹² Despite this devastating blow, pockets of resistance remained. The last beleaguered remnants took a stand on the citadel of Masada. In the spring of 74 CE, the defenders of this city committed suicide rather than submit to subjugation as the Roman Army prepared to charge. The sack of Jerusalem was then immortalized on the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum through a depiction of the army returning in triumph carrying sacred liturgical paraphernalia as booty from the Jewish temple (fig. 6.25). Gillman collected numerous exemplars of First Revolt coinage—almost all thin, extremely worn bronzes about the size of today’s US dime.

The Jewish coins issued during the Second Revolt (132–135 CE) led against the emperor Hadrian by Shim’on Bar Koseba (“Bar Kochba”) take on special resonance when we remember Gillman’s bold consular stance in the 1880s to protect Jews from expulsion. By the time of the Second Revolt, there was no longer a temple or temple treasury on the Temple Mount for the issuing of official coinage. Yet the ability to produce viable money was not only an economic necessity; it was also a psychological imperative as a marker of sovereign resistance to the occupying authority. Roman coins were scavenged, their imagery filed down, and the metal disks restruck with Jewish motifs and inscriptions.



Fig. 6.26. Coin issued by the Jews during the Second Revolt against Rome (132–135 CE); the seven-branched palm tree is a surrogate for explicit depiction of the seven-branched “daily” menorah; Gillman collection (KM 86294 obv.).



Fig. 6.27a–b. Coin issued by Emperor Quietus (260–261 CE), showing Quietus in radiate crown and the figure of Indulgentia seated on the reverse; one of an important hoard of 14 coins discovered on the Mount of Olives overlooking Jerusalem and acquired by Henry Gillman in the city (KM 85379).

The imagery on coinages of the First and Second Revolts had to suppress explicit symbols of Jewish religious expression, using veiled visual allusions to those symbols instead. One common motif was the seven-branched palm tree used in place of the seven-branched menorah (fig. 6.26). After Hadrian brutally crushed the Second Revolt, Jerusalem became a Roman city, with Jews forbidden from setting foot within its walls. A portion of Gillman’s collection reflects life there from this time forward under Roman rule. A hoard of fourteen coins uncovered on the Mount of Olives (looking down over the eastern outskirts of Jerusalem), which Gillman purchased intact, includes exemplars of a rare 260–261 CE issue of the Roman emperor Quietus, depicted wearing a radiate crown with the seated figure of Indulgentia on the reverse (fig. 6.27a–b).¹¹³

Gillman also collected coinages of the Crusader States: four colonial enclaves in the Near East including the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which were established in the wake of the First Crusade (1095–1099 CE). His pieces are fairly modest specimens, frequently displaying a cross on the obverse and a reverse bearing either an abstract rendering of the Tower of David (a Crusader fortress in Jerusalem) or the Holy Sepulcher. Taken in combination with the historical range of Gillman’s other coin records of Palestinian history, they underscore the changing fortunes of a place constantly in the grip of competing agendas.¹¹⁴

Among some 250 non-coin artifacts Henry Gillman amassed in Palestine we single out two examples. The first is a large carnelian stamp seal of the Persian Empire dating to about 500 BCE (fig. 6.28a–b), which displays a finely engraved scene of a crowned hero in combat with a roaring lion. This “royal hero” motif signified a concept



Fig. 6.28a. Carnelian stamp seal of the Persian Empire (ca. 500 BCE); Gillman collection (KM 87016).



Fig. 6.28b. Drawing of the stamp seal impression by Lisa Padilla (KM 87016).



Fig. 6.29a–b. One of two glazed terracotta figurine plaques (ca. 1500 BCE), possibly depicting a female figure seen from the back in a position of birthing or sexual availability; acquired in Jaffa, 1888; Gillman collection (KM 87140).
(a) View of back
(b) View of side

of hegemonic empowerment across the vast imperial landscape—with individual seal owners participating in this imagery through their own personal seals.¹¹⁵ Originally the seal would have been held within a gold or silver mount. Sometimes these precious mounts have been recovered intact, deposited in tombs with their owners. But in many cases, they were removed in antiquity when a seal was retired from active use. Then the seal might still be held as a valued heirloom for hundreds of years until its final deposition.¹¹⁶ In other scenarios, seals appearing on the market may have been recovered clandestinely and stripped of their valuable metal—with the seal itself either tossed aside or sold separately. Fortunately, the Gillman stamp seal was not drastically damaged when its mount was removed.

The second artifact noted here—a pair of glazed terracotta figurine plaques dating to the mid-2nd millennium BCE—poses unresolved questions of interpretation (fig. 6.29a–b). Acquired by Gillman in Jaffa in 1888, both figures appear to be made from the same mold, each depicting a prostrate figure pressed face down against a flat base with arms and legs drawn up and akimbo. They may depict females in a squatting or splayed birthing position, shown face down rather than on their backs or upright. Their sex cannot be determined on anatomical grounds because of their pose.

A clue to the meaning and function of the two Gillman plaques comes from a glazed steatite Egyptian scaraboid (fig. 6.30a–c) in the Kelsey's Goudsmit collection. Dating to the New Kingdom 18th Dynasty, it is roughly contemporaneous with the plaques.¹¹⁷ Moreover, this was an era of intense cultural exchange between the Levant and Egypt. The scaraboid is barely larger than the nail on an adult female's little finger. The back side is rendered in three dimensions in the form of a crouching figure of anatomically indeterminate sex, shown face down. Here, the flat base of the object (the seal face of the scarab) bears a representation carved intaglio (in the negative) of Taweret—the fearsome composite Egyptian fertility goddess and protectress of children. Taweret is rendered in her guise as a standing hippopotamus with a crocodile tail and pendulous human breasts. The combination of imagery presented on the scaraboid suggests that it functioned as an amulet for protection in childbirth, and that the crouching figure of the back side depicts birthing. Perhaps Gillman's plaques served a similar purpose.



Fig. 6.30a–c. Glazed steatite scaraboid—back showing a crouching female in posture of birthing, with base showing Egyptian fertility goddess Taweret; Goudsmit collection (KM 1981.4.47).
(a) View of back
(b) Profile view of back
(c) View of base



Fig. 6.31. Photograph of Samuel A. Goudsmit in his office at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, holding a New Kingdom Egyptian canopic jar lid in his collection (now KM 1981.4.29; courtesy of the AIP Emilio Segre Visual Archives, Fermi Film Collection, Goudsmit Collection).

THE GOUDSMIT COLLECTION

Acquired by the Kelsey Museum: 1935, 1974, 1981, and 2001

Samuel Abraham Goudsmit (1902–1978) was born in The Hague, The Netherlands, and became an internationally lauded physicist with an enduring passion for Egyptology (fig. 6.31). Between 1925 and the 1970s he amassed a sizable and discerning collection of ancient artifacts, most of which are now in the Kelsey Museum. The first in his large extended family to go beyond a high school education, he published his first scientific paper in 1921 at age nineteen and received his doctorate in physics at the University of Leiden in 1927.

While still graduate students in Leiden, he and a fellow student, George Uhlenbeck, discovered the spin of the electron in 1925—altering the face of physics. After graduating, Goudsmit and Uhlenbeck accepted positions in the Department of Physics at the University of Michigan, having been aggressively recruited because of their breakthrough discovery. One Nobel Laureate in physics (Dr. Isidor I. Rabi of Columbia University) commented that, “Physics must be forever indebted to those two men for discovering the spin. Why they never received a Nobel Prize will always be a mystery to me.”¹¹⁸ Although the Nobel Prize eluded them, Goudsmit and Uhlenbeck shared the Max Planck Medal in 1964; and in 1976 they were together awarded the National Medal of Science. Goudsmit collaborated with other path-breaking physicists in addition to Uhlenbeck. Two seminal works early in his career were *The Structure of Line Spectra*, with Linus Pauling (1930); and *Atomic Energy States*, with Robert F. Bacher (1932).

Goudsmit left Michigan in 1940 for a one-year visiting professorship at Harvard. Then global events intervened. He became chief scientific officer of the Alsos Project, an intelligence mission during World War II to uncover the state of German atomic weapons research. His popular 1947 book, *Alsos*, tells the story of this mission and of his personal experiences and reflections on the project and on war-torn Europe. During his intelligence operations, work brought him briefly to The Hague. He reports on his heart-breaking experience there as he located the ransacked shell of his boyhood home, his parents sent to their death in a concentration camp. In 1945, following the capitulation of Germany, the mission entered Berlin. Goudsmit stopped by the shambles of the great archaeological museum, which he had frequented in years gone by. An elderly guard sitting alone in the wreckage gave him three pieces of decorated mummy cartonnage (figs. 6.32–6.33).¹¹⁹

After the war, Goudsmit taught briefly at Northwestern University and then headed the Department of Physics at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, where he wielded significant influence in the American physics community, culminating in his position as editor-in-chief of all publications of the American Institute of Physics. Following retirement in 1975, he taught at the University of Nevada at Reno, where an endowed lectureship perpetuates his memory.

Goudsmit’s interest in Egyptian antiquities began as a chance event during his years at Leiden. A member of a discussion group that required students to take turns

Fig. 6.32 (near right). Two cartonnage fragments cut from the chest of the same mummy casing (525–30 BCE), showing images of Isis and Nephthys; procured in Berlin, 1945; Goudsmit collection (KM 1981.4.31a–b).

Fig. 6.33 (far right). Cartonnage fragment cut from the same mummy casing as the pieces in fig. 6.32 (525–30 BCE), showing image of the falcon; procured in Berlin, 1945; Goudsmit collection (KM 1981.4.32).



Fig. 6.34. Painted wooden figure of the kneeling goddess Nephthys (332–30 BCE); gift of Esther M. Goudsmit; Goudsmit collection (KM 2001.1.1).

lecturing on various themes, he repeatedly addressed his favorite topic: the structure of the atom. His single-minded focus apparently caused a decline in attendance, and the president of the society implored him to find another theme. Not wanting to disappoint, Goudsmit enrolled in a class on Egyptology so that he could diversify his repertoire. Soon he found himself immersed in the study of hieroglyphs, which he apparently mastered quickly. He also began collecting, drawn to objects and images as well as to texts.¹²⁰ He delighted in puzzling over the pieces in his collection, even publishing scholarly notes about specific artifacts. During his ten years in Ann Arbor, Goudsmit continued his study of Egyptology, keeping informed on the excavations in progress at Karanis and maintaining ties with the vibrant community attached to the newly formed archaeological museum.

Long after he left Michigan he remained loyal to his first academic home in America. He resolved that his growing collection of Egyptian art and artifacts would one day belong to the University of Michigan. While teaching there he donated a relief fragment in 1935, which he published years later.¹²¹ Then in 1974 he donated a papyrus fragment to the Kelsey (discussed below). Later, his widow, Mrs. Irene B. Goudsmit, bequeathed the entirety of his collection that was left to her to the Kelsey Museum, as her husband had wished. Before her death in 1994, she had lent the artifacts to the Museum on a permanent basis in 1981, at which time they were accessioned as a bequest. Professor Goudsmit's daughter, Esther M. Goudsmit (now Professor Emerita in Biology at Oakland University), also had Michigan ties, earning her BA degree from the University of Michigan. Seven of the artifacts in the Goudsmit collection given to her by her father came to the Kelsey separately because of her own generosity. Until 2001, when she donated them in perpetuity to the Museum, they too were on long-term loan.¹²²

Samuel Goudsmit bought his first scarab in 1925 (simultaneous with the discovery of the electron spin) from an Amsterdam dealer named D. Komter. His memoirs recount that he paid the equivalent of \$10 for that first acquisition, a huge investment for a graduate student whose annual income as a part-time lab assistant was only the equivalent of \$400. His collection eventually included significant groups of scarabs, seals,



Fig. 6.35. Painted papyrus fragment from the Book of the Dead depicting the goddess Ma'at in the hall of judgment (664–332 BCE); Goudsmit collection (KM 1981.4.22).

and amulets, as well as papyrus fragments, sculpture, funerary accouterments of varied media, jewelry, and textiles.

Esther Goudsmit's favorite piece in this highly diverse collection is the wooden statuette of the goddess Nephthys (fig. 6.34)—sister of Isis and protectress of the home of Osiris, god of the Underworld. She remembers it having a prominent place on a bookshelf in her father's study. Nephthys adopts the kneeling pose of mourning as she assists in restoring Osiris to life in his annual cycle of death and rebirth. Goudsmit acquired the statuette in 1941 from Spink & Son of London. It had previously been in the collection of the British banker and antiquarian Frederick G. Hilton Price (1842–1909), collected by Price before 1897, when it appears in a catalogue of his collection described as “from Upper Egypt.”¹²³

The quality of papyrus fragments Goudsmit acquired testifies to his expertise in ancient Egyptian language and its scripts as well as in Egyptian literature. All were purchased in 1931 from Feuardent Frères in Paris. His 1974 gift is a section from the Egyptian funerary text, the Book of Amduat (the Book of What is in the Underworld).¹²⁴ The entire composition recounts the passage of the sun god through the Underworld across the twelve hours of the night. This particular fragment (dating to the Third Intermediate Period, 1070–656 BCE) shows the deity's boat and related entities, describing what is encountered in the twelfth hour of the journey. Intrigued by the fact that the scribe who copied this text was illiterate, Goudsmit published his findings.¹²⁵

Another four fragments preserve different copies of the Book of the Dead. Two, dating to the Saite Period or the Persian Period, may have been cut at some point before purchase from the same roll. (This was the sense Goudsmit apparently had at the time.) One of these fragments depicts a beautiful polychrome image of the deceased receiving sustenance from the sycamore tree of the goddess Nut (KM 1981.4.23); the other (fig. 6.35) portrays a segment of the last judgment in which the deceased's heart will be weighed on the scales against the feather of the goddess Ma'at (truth).

Another Goudsmit fragment has become part of a saga of scholarly sleuthing. It is a small section of a hieratic (cursive Egyptian) copy of a Book of the Dead dating to about 630 BCE. It has now been connected with other fragments separated from the same roll, which was originally owned by one Khamhor, member of a high elite Theban family who held many priestly titles and related offices. No doubt looted from a Theban tomb, it was subject to deliberate fragmentation for lucrative dispersal on the market. Other sections of the same document have been traced to Brown University, the Metropolitan Museum, and the Museo Egizio in Florence, Italy.¹²⁶

One of Goudsmit's other treasures tells a similar story of fragmentation and dispersal—this time with a different ending. This piece is a small rim section from a faience chalice molded in an elaborate pattern of figural imagery and inscription. Such chalices were prestige items of the late New Kingdom.¹²⁷ While on permanent loan to the Kelsey and on exhibition in 1982, this fragment was determined to belong to a cluster of documented pieces from the same vessel now spread around the world



Fig. 6.36. Painted limestone relief (2407–2260 BCE); a panel framing one side of the false door in the tomb of Kara-Pepy-Nefer at Saqqara, Egypt; Goudsmit collection (KM 1981.4.1).



Fig. 6.37. An artist's sketch slab (1570–1070 BCE), showing several profiles, hieratic script, and vestiges of a human arm and a lion's head; Goudsmit collection (KM 1981.4.18).

from the United States to Europe to Russia. This original vessel, like others of its ilk, had been smashed deliberately upon retrieval from a looted tomb and sold in bits to various buyers. One such object, preserved intact, fetched a great sum in a sale in 1922.¹²⁸ The Kelsey and Irene Goudsmit agreed that the Kelsey chalice rim fragment should go to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, home to a more substantial section of the same vessel. At this writing, both are presented together in the Late Period Egyptian galleries there.¹²⁹

Visitors' favorites among Goudsmit artifacts on display in Ann Arbor are two tomb reliefs. One (dating to Dynasty 6) shows two scribes holding unfurled papyrus scrolls.¹³⁰ The names of the scribes appear above them. The other is a scene from the Dynasty 6 tomb of Kara-Pepy-Nefer at Saqqara. The deceased, who was Chief Magistrate under Pharaoh Pepy I, appears in a time-honored Egyptian pose framing the left side of the false door in his tomb complex (fig. 6.36). The piece retains significant remnants of color (probably retouched at some point by an antiquities dealer).

Finally, we highlight a large limestone slab 16.5 inches (42.0 cm) in height, covered on its front face with an artist's trial sketches in red and black ink (fig. 6.37). Goudsmit acquired the piece in 1959 from a sale of surplus holdings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Chips of limestone ranging in size from more than 16 inches down to less than 5 inches in maximum dimension were used by Egyptian artists as scratch paper for preliminary sketches of motifs for large monuments. These preliminary drawings were especially prevalent during the Ramesside phase of the New Kingdom—the era of the Goudsmit example, which displays a sketch of a Ramesside type visage in profile with characteristic slightly hooked nose. Superimposed on this are two other profiles. Traces



Fig. 6.38. Photograph of Professor Leroy Waterman (Faculty History Project, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

of hieratic script appear at the upper end; and at the lower end are very faint vestiges of a lion's head and a human arm. The piece is a remarkable evocation of the Egyptian craftsman in informal moments of calligraphic expression.¹³¹

THE WATERMAN COLLECTION

Acquired by the Kelsey Museum: 1944–1945; 1959

Professor Leroy Waterman (1875–1972), an only child, was born on a farm near Pierpont, Ohio. His father died of pneumonia when Waterman was ten years old, forcing the sale of the family farm. His mother, consumed by “melancholia,” died two years later after a period of institutionalization. Waterman subsequently lived a hard-scrabble life, working for room and board at a succession of family farms while attending the local one-room school. After earning a teaching certificate at age fifteen, he worked as second cook on the *C. H. Green*, which plied Lake Superior carrying coal to Houghton and Hancock and bringing down iron ore from Marquette.

In 1898, Waterman completed a BA at Hillsdale College (a Baptist institution in Michigan), preparing for the ministry and learning Hebrew, one of several languages he ultimately mastered. At the close of his first year in the program he was invited to become the chair of Hebrew Language and Literature in Hillsdale's Divinity School (fig. 6.38). The offer stipulated, however, that he attend Oxford University for one year. His experience abroad was transformational. Waterman began to apply what was known as Higher Criticism to his study of the Bible, a theory that approached Bible studies historically and contextually rather than as theologically positivistic scripture. When he returned to Hillsdale, the new approaches he propounded made him ill-suited to the fundamentalist environment there. He became a subject of intellectual controversy, leading to attempts to censure him in 1902 and again in 1906.

To defuse the situation (in which the students sided with the professor), Hillsdale's president granted him a year's sabbatical with salary to attend the University of Berlin, Germany, for the academic year 1906–1907. Waterman recounts, “This was the greatest service Hillsdale College could ever do me and it was the most significant single boost of my life, because it came at a most strategic point for success or failure.”¹³² Following his stint in Berlin, he went on to complete a PhD under Assyriologist D. D. Luckenbill at the University of Chicago in 1912. He later taught in the University of Michigan's Department of Semitic [later Oriental] Languages and Literatures from 1917 until his retirement in 1945.

A distinguished biblical scholar, he was one of thirty-one specialists who produced the Revised Standard Version (RSV) of the Bible to rectify and update the language of the American Standard Version of 1901, which was based on the English King James version of 1611. The New Testament edition appeared in 1946, the Old Testament edition in 1952. The theological community and members of the lay public alike reviled the

Fig. 6.39. Section of a letter from Emil Goussy to Professor Waterman and his fellow translators (August 14, 1927); the letter decries their Revised Standard Version of the Bible (Leroy Waterman Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

Aug. 14-19. 27.
 Mr. Leroy Waterman. Mr. J. M. Powis Smith.
 Mr. Alex R. Gordon. Mr. Theophile Meek.
 Dear Sir
 You are calling yourself translators,
 and Professors, of Theology. But
 the truth is, that you are ignorant

Fig. 6.40a–b. Inscribed clay Sumerian school tablet (ca. 2900–2350 BCE) (KM 89533).

- (a) Teacher's side
 (b) Student's side



results as perverting the word of God (fig. 6.39). The RSV rendered Isaiah 7:14 as “Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel.” By substituting “young woman” for “virgin” (the word used in the King James version) these scholars were, for instance, challenging the notion of immaculate conception.¹³³ An article in the *Michigan Daily* recounts Waterman’s brush with McCarthy-era red baiters who charged that his involvement with the RSV indicated his collusion with the “Communist-front apparatus.” His membership in organizations supporting “Negro rights” was cited as corroborating his Communist leanings.¹³⁴ Throughout these controversies, University President Harlan Hatcher vigorously defended Waterman.

In 1944–1945, Waterman donated a collection of some 550 cuneiform tablets and other inscribed Mesopotamian artifacts to the Kelsey. He seems to have gathered the material before 1939 during various sojourns in Iraq and the Levant—including the years of his directorship of the Michigan excavations at Seleucia near Baghdad and Sepphoris in Mandatory Palestine. The tablets now in the Museum span approximately 2,000 years—from about 2300 to 240 BCE. Most date to the Third Dynasty of Ur, an era of prolific recordkeeping. Primarily administrative in nature, these documents deal largely with the management of grain, wools, animals, and silver either received or delivered, and rations for messengers on official business for the crown. Other types include school practice tablets marked with lines (fig. 6.40a–b), a marriage contract, and a record documenting business of a high-ranking priestess in the cult of the deified king Shu-Sin. In addition, a small group dating to the Akkadian Empire includes one receipt for the sale of a female slave. Among some 75 Old Babylonian texts is a letter from King Hammurabi of Babylon (KM 89475), popularly known today for his “an eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth” code of justice. The other numerically significant group consists of approximately 150 Neo-Babylonian tablets featuring an example of the literary genre of the “lamentation”—bemoaning death or another tragedy. Small groups of Neo-Assyrian, Achaemenid, and Seleucid texts round out his collection.

Over the years, several scholars have studied and published parts of the tablet collection, but some 425 tablets still remain unpublished. Recent efforts spearheaded by Dr. Nicole Brisch will ultimately make them all available online in the form of images, along with catalogue information, edited texts, and translations.¹³⁵

Painstaking research piecing together references in texts on tablets held in many museums has linked four Kelsey tablets dating to the Persian Empire to the historically



Fig. 6.41. Inscribed and sealed clay tablet from the Kasr Archive of Babylon (424–405 BCE), showing edge bearing impression of an Achaemenid Persian stamp seal of heroic encounter (KM 89401).



Fig. 6.42. Photo of Edgar J. Banks at the site of Adab (mod. Bismaya), Iraq, dressed in Arab garb (Banks 1912, frontispiece; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).

significant Kasr archive from the Kasr mound at Babylon. This corpus of documents, now scattered across the world, is the recovered remnant of “paperwork” from the affairs of a Babylonian named Belshunu, a subordinate of Gubaru (Greek Gobryas), the Persian satrap of Babylonia in the reign of Darius II (424–405 BCE). The texts provide a window onto the daily lives, business deals, and legal tribulations over taxes and estate management of imperial elites. The four examples in the Kelsey are second only to the thirteen in the Yale Babylonian Collection in quantitative distribution within American museums.¹³⁶ One of the Kelsey tablets (fig. 6.41) bears a fine impression of a stamp seal of the Persian Period, thematically similar to the type of actual seal artifact collected by Gillman (see fig. 6.28a–b).

The dispersal of clay tablets as explicated by the Kasr archive raises questions about the post-production life of such objects. How does a whole archive of written records, once clearly maintained in one place at one time in the past, become spread across the world in small clusters of one or a few examples of complete tablets or fragments? Sadly, the answers involve sordid tales of local looters and greedy collectors willing to smash a complete artifact into pieces for more resale opportunities. They also involve the complicated intertwining of excavation procedures and antiquities marketing, especially in the 19th and early 20th centuries. E. A. Wallis Budge, for instance, vividly recounted the theft, recovery, bribery, and collusion involved in the acquisition of thousands of tablets for the British Museum in connection with his ongoing excavations in Mesopotamia.¹³⁷

In the case of the Kasr archive of the Babylonian Belshunu, the first group of documents was discovered in 1891 by the mercantile agent and gentleman scholar Claudius James Rich (1787–1821), harvesting on the Kasr mound of the ancient city. At the time, Rich was representing the East India Company in Baghdad.¹³⁸ Most of the tablets he uncovered ultimately went to the British Museum, but some passed into the hands of dealers and thence (without documentation) to myriad museums and collections. Following the withdrawal of the British, German excavators recovered additional tablets from the same area of Babylon in 1913. After World War I, most of these tablets left their safekeeping in Baghdad, bound for the Berlin Museum. Here again, some were siphoned off to the antiquities market.

Information on the precise sources of Waterman’s tablet acquisitions is meager. While working at Seleucia (close to Babylon), he may well have purchased some tablets as “brought” finds by his dig workers. Others surely came from city dealers who themselves were purveying objects brought in from sites currently being excavated. The inescapable irony is that an excavator and collector like Waterman might sometimes purchase an artifact in town that had actually emerged recently from the soil of his own site. We do know that he purchased fifty tablets along with several other Mesopotamian artifacts from Edgar J. Banks (1866–1945), an entrepreneurial archaeologist with a PhD. Banks was an adventurer, diplomat, and energetic purveyor of hundreds if not thousands of cuneiform tablets at the turn of the last century (fig. 6.42). Appointed American consul in Baghdad in 1898, he resigned his diplomatic post after only one year and soon became engaged in the tablet trade.¹³⁹ His claim to fame in American

Fig. 6.43. Frame from the early 1920s film *The Migration*, produced by Edgar Banks, showing a scene at the court of Hammurabi with the Law Code Stela of Hammurabi being consulted (Banks 1923, p. 9).



popular culture today is as the prototype for the swashbuckling fictional character of Indiana Jones. Banks consulted with Cecille B. DeMille on motion pictures with biblical themes in the 1920s and devoted much energy to Sacred Films, Inc., of Burbank, California. He engaged in these pursuits, he reports, “for no other reason than that I have given my life to the study of Oriental Archaeology” (fig. 6.43).¹⁴⁰

Professor Kelsey engaged in cross-correspondence with Waterman and Banks in the early 1920s—well before Waterman began excavating at Seleucia—concerning possible purchases Waterman might effect. In 1921, for instance, Kelsey writes,

My dear Waterman:

May I refer to you the enclosed letter from Mr. E. J. Banks in regard to Babylonian tablets which he offers for sale to the University of Michigan? It is addressed to Mr. Bishop [Michigan librarian at the time] but it has been turned over to me.¹⁴¹

And in 1923, Banks addresses Waterman in an ongoing exchange on possible sales,

Dear Sir:

Your letter of October 14 is at hand, and it happens that I have two of the case tablets

Fig. 6.44a. White stone cylinder seal (ca. 3800–2900 BCE) showing ritual scene (KM 26827). This view of the cylinder, carved in the negative with its cult imagery, displays two large vessels stacked one atop the other.

Fig. 6.44b. Drawing of the seal impression by Lisa Padilla. The complete scene that wraps around the cylinder seal presents (*right to left*) a female figure perched atop an elaborate dais with her arms raised as in a ritual gesture toward the two large vessels, which symbolize abundance stored for the community. Beyond the vessels stands a priest/shaman (wearing a horned headdress) whose raised arms extend toward two calves, one atop the other, followed by two rosettes (symbols of the goddess Inanna).



[cuneiform tablets held within clay “cases”/“envelopes”] left, one slightly broken, and the other complete. I am sending them both to you. They are valued at $\$15$ each. . . . Like all of the case tablets the case is sealed, while the inner tablet is not. They date from the time of Hammurabi. . . .

You might not care to have all of the objects I am sending you, but you are at liberty to return any of them you do not care to keep.¹⁴²

One of these two case tablets is now in the Kelsey.

Among the non-tablet artifacts Waterman bought from Banks is a votive macehead of about 2100 BCE. It bears an inscription declaring the object as a pious offering from a woman named Hala-Baba to Shulshaga, a son of the god Ningirsu.¹⁴³

In 1959, thirty-two ancient Near Eastern seals that Waterman had earlier donated to his academic department were given to the Museum. Like the cuneiform tablets, these seals seem to have been collected before 1939. They reached the Kelsey without any accompanying records of inventory, purchase receipts, or notations on dealers' names. The Leroy Waterman papers yield no hints relating to his interest in seals or his manner of collecting them. The object records list a W [Waterman] number for each seal along with the subsequently assigned Kelsey accession number. Gaps in the running sequence of these W numbers suggest that Waterman may once have owned more seals than he donated to Michigan. Not surprisingly, given Professor Waterman's special interests in theology, numerous seals in his collection portray cult imagery—including a Protoliterate (Uruk) Period cylinder featuring depictions associated with the cult of Inanna, the goddess of love and fecundity (fig. 6.44a–b) and an excellent exemplar of banquet/cult imagery popular in the Early Dynastic Period.¹⁴⁴

The Waterman seals include a representative array of types in stone and shell ranging from late prehistoric Mesopotamian stamp seals and the earliest Mesopotamian cylinder seals of the Protoliterate Uruk Period to the era of the Persian Empire.¹⁴⁵ When combined with the Kelsey's large and significant corpus of late prehistoric stamp seals in the Adams (ex-Herzfeld) collection from Tepe Giyan, Iran, the numerous distinctive exemplars from excavations at Seleucia, several seals from the Nippur excavations, and pieces from the Gillman and Goudsmit collections, they form a distinguished and deep repository of pre-Hellenistic era glyptic production in the Near East. As an aggregate, these



Fig. 6.45. Photograph of Professor Campbell Bonner (Faculty History Project, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

in turn complement the Museum's excavated seals and sealed bullae from Egypt and the Near East from the end of the Achaemenid Persian Empire through the late antique era. Ongoing Kelsey-sponsored research on another set of seals that comprise the Persepolis Fortification archive in southwestern Iran (509–493 BCE, excavated in the 1930s by Ernst Herzfeld), now enables us to place seal artifacts into increasingly informative contexts of social uses and meanings.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Kelsey-sponsored excavations at Tel Kedesh in Israel are stimulating fresh approaches to glyptic research in the Seleucid era.¹⁴⁷

THE BONNER COLLECTION AND RELATED CORPORA

Acquired by the Kelsey Museum: 1950s

Campbell Bonner (1876–1954), who taught Greek at the University of Michigan from 1907 to 1946, was an internationally renowned scholar of ancient religion (fig. 6.45). A prodigious author and innovative thinker, he was a key figure in interpreting the vast collection of Greek papyri acquired by Michigan in the 1920s. His crowning achievement, published only four years before his death, was his book on magical amulets.¹⁴⁸ Widely recognized as a path-breaking treatise (with catalogue) on late antique popular religion and superstition (including pagan, Jewish, and Christian beliefs), it was based on meticulous examination of an extensive corpus of engraved gemstones from the world's major collections. So influential was Bonner in pioneering a new field that his name is attached to an online database resource for ongoing study in this field.¹⁴⁹

The amulets analyzed in his book were produced from stones that were often perceived to hold magical or medicinal properties. Like seals, they were carved in the negative; but the amulets were explicitly associated with a range of magical applications involving ritual performances and chanting of spells—particularly to ward off diseases and other physical ailments.¹⁵⁰ The figural imagery offers a wide array of monstrous-looking



Fig. 6.46a–b. Magical amulet (ca. 4th–5th centuries CE); purchased from Nahman (KM 26054).

- (a) Side displaying a cock-headed, snake-legged god in military garb
- (b) Side displaying an eagle-headed winged figure

creatures, and texts carved into the stones (often on the back side) include invocations to the gods or commands to the owner. One example (fig. 6.46a–b) displays a cock-headed, snake-legged god in military garb on one side and an eagle-headed winged figure on the other. This piece has been noted for its multicultural character combining Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and biblical motifs with magical writing.¹⁵¹ The precursors of these amulets date back to late Near Eastern prehistory, in the form of carved stamp seals used as ritual devices.¹⁵²

Before completing *Magical Amulets*, Bonner had amassed a collection of late antique exemplars, fifty-four of which were catalogued in his book. These eventually came to the Kelsey Museum. He notes that he bought most of them from dealers in Syria, a few in Egypt, and the rest from various dealers in Greece and England. Bonner's presence at Michigan also facilitated the Kelsey Museum's purchase in 1941 of some 104 important examples from the collection of Mr. S. Ayvaz. The circumstances of this acquisition and the sources of the objects remain murky, involving scholarly contention between Bonner and the cleric-scholar Father R. Mouterde. Mouterde described them as collected from various places in the Levant where Ayvaz was deployed as an engineer; most are noted as purchased in Lebanon/Syria, with Beirut holding pride of place. Bonner, by contrast, stated that ninety-eight of the Ayvaz stones were bought in Egypt, two were purchased in Beirut, forty-seven were acquired as one lot in Syria and neighboring regions, and the rest were bought from various other dealers.¹⁵³

The disjuncture between the two scholarly testimonies is unsettling. Very few magical amulets known so far from any collections worldwide derive from excavated contexts or even from specific sites from which they are known to have been systematically harvested. Information on the chain of sale and resale for each artifact is the only link we have (however frail) that can potentially help in tracing the biography of any of them. Such trails can be extremely convoluted. For example, the place of purchase of an artifact at a given moment may or may not be relevant to the place where the object was originally produced or used in antiquity. Dealers processed and transshipped artifacts internationally in the 19th and early 20th centuries—as they still do today. Antiquities purchased by a dealer in one country are frequently resold to another dealer in another country—and hence to the next buyer. As we see repeatedly in our narratives, without supporting documentation, rubrics such as “from . . .” or “said to be from . . .” must be taken with a grain of salt.

The Kelsey is also home to twenty-two late antique magical amulets almost exclusively acquired in Egypt and forming part of the Ruthven collection (chapter seven). Based on the extensive knowledge we have of the history of the Ruthven antiquities as almost exclusively Egypt-based, the place of acquisition for this corpus seems secure. Bonner also affirms that the Ruthven amulets were collected mainly in Egypt, noting, however, that at least one was acquired from Cyprus.¹⁵⁴

Finally, the University of Michigan holds a corpus of some seventy magical gems purchased by Walter Koelz (1895–1989), apparently during extended travels in Iran from

Fig. 6.47. Plaster cast of modern impression of the cylinder seal of Aman-Ashtar, servant of the High Priestess Tutanapshum (seated), daughter of King Naram-Sin (2350–2193 BCE) (KM 1992.2.19; original seal in British Museum now lost).



1939 to 1946. Koelz was an eccentric botanist and ornithologist, who has been characterized as one of the last Victorian adventurers. His life was marked with professional and personal controversy, and he held salaried posts only sporadically. He is best known for his prodigious amassing of botanical and faunal specimens, Thangka paintings, and textiles from Asia—all of which he acquired on his extended expeditions.¹⁵⁵ His transcribed and published diaries of 1939–1941 yield only two passing allusions to “seals of the Sasanid period” he noticed in shops of Isfahan and Tehran.¹⁵⁶ Documentation has not been recovered so far on sources and dates of his purchases of the seventy magical amulets. However and wherever Koelz acquired them, they eventually came into the possession of Dr. Frederick A. Collier, a member of the Michigan medical faculty. Dr. Collier donated them to the University’s Medical Historical Museum (now the Taubman Medical Library) in memory of Campbell Bonner.¹⁵⁷ Because of this tenuous connection, they have become known (confusingly) as a subset of the “Bonner amulets” even though they were not in fact collected by Bonner or even included in his book.

The British Museum collection of late antique magical amulets (with which Bonner worked intensively) was described in 2011 as by far the largest single collection in the world. It currently contains about 650 exemplars. The aggregate collections at the University of Michigan number about 250. These actual amulet artifacts are, however, supplemented by hundreds of poured plaster casts of impressions of amulets and earlier seals of the ancient Near East and Mediterranean, known internally as the “Bonner casts.” The cast-making process used a vitreous paste invented in the 18th century to serve the interests of a growing number of antiquarians. The casts were typically framed in gold braiding that lent luster to the stark white plaques, and vitrines in the establishments of antiquarians across Europe proudly displayed them. The British Museum commissioned casts of all their coins, seals, and amulets between 1896 and 1912, selling them in lots to other museums and to scholars like Bonner for study purposes. Bonner’s extensive collection of these casts resides in the Kelsey Museum, forming a significant resource. In 1992 they were officially accessioned, ensuring the same level of recognition and stewardship afforded to our original ancient artifacts. At least one of the seal casts has acquired added evidentiary value because the seal itself (once in the British Museum)

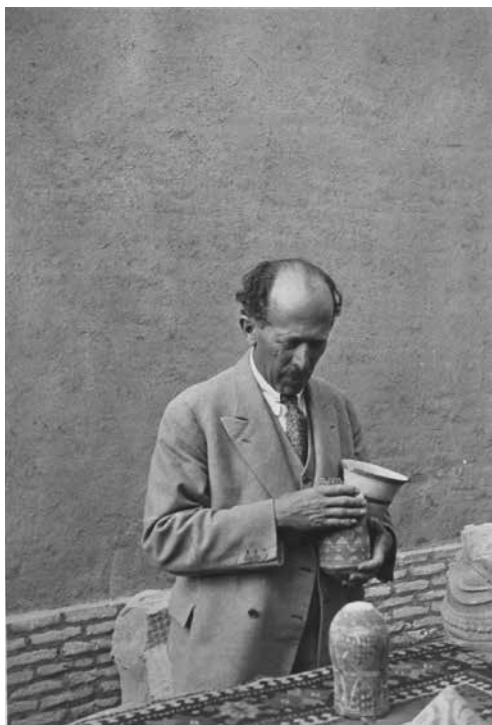


Fig. 6.48. Photograph of Ernst Herzfeld in Persepolis, 1932, sorting pots from the nearby prehistoric site of Tal-i Bakun (courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

is now lost. This inscribed Mesopotamian cylinder seal of the Akkadian Period was (as the inscription states) owned by Aman-Ashtar, a servant of the princess Tutanapshum, who was a high priestess and the daughter of King Naram-Sin of Akkad. The seal shows Tutanapshum enthroned and wearing a crenelated crown, as well as Aman-Ashtar, who comes forward holding a musical instrument (fig. 6.47).¹⁵⁸

THE ADAMS (EX-HERZFELD) COLLECTION OF LATE PREHISTORIC STAMP SEALS

Acquired by the Kelsey Museum: 1991

The Adams (ex-Herzfeld) collection was given to the Museum in 1991 by Dr. John Adams (Michigan BA 1920) of San Diego in memory of his wife, Jane Ford Adams (1900–1990)—a member of the Michigan freshman class in 1922. The letter of offer (complete with photographic documentation) described 158 ancient “buttons.” Luckily the Kelsey had on staff a curator who immediately recognized the collection’s erroneous attribution. The buttons were in fact a significant segment of a distinguished corpus of late prehistoric stamp seals. Most of them had been harvested from the northwestern Iranian site of Tepe Giyan by Ernst E. Herzfeld (1879–1948), the eminent linguist and pioneering German archaeologist of the ancient and early Islamic Near East (fig. 6.48).¹⁵⁹ Herzfeld explored the site of Tepe Giyan in 1928, picking up hundreds of seals and purchasing others from local people living in the neighboring modern village who had also retrieved theirs from the site. It is a vivid commentary on archaeological cultural politics of the era that the European Herzfeld characterized the artifacts he harvested for his personal collection as a “salvage” operation, whereas he decried as “widespread looting” the same process of harvesting when performed by local villagers.¹⁶⁰ But such a view was shared by most archaeologists at the time. To his credit, Herzfeld published many of the seals he collected at Tepe Giyan in a major scholarly article for the *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (1933). This study formed the earliest effort to typologize and define interpretive iconographical categories for stamp seals dating to a liminal moment in ancient Near Eastern societies on the brink of developing writing. Although it was a seminal and much-cited resource for many decades, no one knew the whereabouts of the bulk of the actual artifacts Herzfeld discussed; and no other scholar seems to have seen them firsthand. Since his article was illustrated only by his informal sketches without scale and did not contain supporting information on dimensions and other physical characteristics of the objects, much could have been gained for the field by follow-up analyses of the objects decades ago. By presenting the seals to the Kelsey, Dr. Adams supplied crucial clues that solved the mystery of what happened to Herzfeld’s seals from Tepe Giyan and, at long last, provided these empirical data to the scholarly community.

Herzfeld’s explorations of Tepe Giyan took place in the same year that he began legitimately to excavate another late prehistoric site—Tal-i Bakun in southwestern Iran close to the ruins of Persepolis (heartland capital of the Achaemenid Persian Empire).



Fig. 6.49. Photograph of Edward Gans (friend of Herzfeld and owner of the Gans Gallery in New York) at age 99 in Berkeley, CA (courtesy of Lucy Kaplan).

From this site emerged hundreds of painted pots of a distinctive type, many of which seem to have found their way out of Iran as Herzfeld's personal property. This was not an uncommon phenomenon even among the more enlightened and scientifically minded archaeologists of the early 20th century. He also undertook excavations at the two most prestigious sites of ancient Iran: first, at Pasargadae, the inaugural capital of the Persian Empire built by its founder-king, Cyrus the Great; then at Persepolis (under the auspices of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). Herzfeld ceded directorship of the Persepolis project and left Iran forever under a cloud of suspicion concerning clandestine operations.¹⁶¹

Herzfeld was then caught in the turmoil of looming war in Europe, combined with a recognition that returning to Germany as a Jew in the mid-1930s was not an option. He was able to emigrate to the United States assisted by the eminent art historian Meyer Schapiro, who recommended him to the Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars as "unquestionably the foremost living scholar in ancient and mediaeval Persian art."¹⁶² After some years ensconced as a researcher at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, Herzfeld faced retirement, the desire to return to Europe, and the need to raise funds by divesting himself of his vast collection of antiquities. By going down the trail of information crumbs that accompanied the Adams gift, we now know that in 1944 Herzfeld struck up a friendship with Mr. Edward Gans (1887–1991), both of them collectors and displaced German Jews. Gans was founding owner of the Gans Gallery in New York—a house dedicated to the antiquarian button trade, among other specialties (fig. 6.49). In 1947 Herzfeld put many of his stamp seals (including most of those he had published in 1933) up for sale through Gans. It is from this lot that Jane Adams purchased 158 items; several others in the catalogue found their way to the British Museum, where they joined examples Herzfeld had already sold to that museum. The two men decided to offer the seals as "the earliest buttons ever known." Whereas there was a brisk business in button collecting, Gans advised that collectors of prehistoric stamp seals were likely to be few and far between. The gallery sponsored a substantial illustrated pamphlet published as a volume in a journal for button enthusiasts (fig. 6.50).¹⁶³ This served as the sales catalogue for the Herzfeld artifacts. It caught the eye of Jane Ford Adams, who was then president of the American Button Club and a serious scholar of the history of buttons, with a number of publications to her name. Mrs. Adams seems to have understood that Herzfeld's seals, which she displayed for the San Diego Button Club soon after purchasing them (fig. 6.51),¹⁶⁴ were probably not actually garment fasteners in the modern sense. She published one of the ex-Herzfeld "buttons" in her coauthored book *The Button Sampler*, clearly considering that it might have been carried and worn as a prehistoric badge of prestige, much in the way some buttons were worn decoratively by European dandies during the 18th century as emblems rather than as functional fasteners.¹⁶⁵ Her instincts were, in fact, correct. Seals in the ancient world marked and secured commodities, ratified documents (in literate cultures), and served magical medicinal functions. Their materials and images also signaled identity and status.



Fig. 6.50. Jane Ford Adams's copy of *Just Buttons*, May 1947 (cover inscribed at upper right) showing some of the Herzfeld seals on offer in the 1947 Gans Gallery sale (Kelsey Museum Archives).



Fig. 6.51. Jane Adams and her ex-Herzfeld "buttons" shown in a San Diego news notice during the summer of 1947 (Crittenden 1947; courtesy of Susan Porter, National Button Society).

After almost sixty years of misidentification following their initial scholarly publication in 1933, the Herzfeld seals came to Ann Arbor still sewn onto their original sales cards as marketed in the Gans Gallery.¹⁶⁶ Today they are the focus of ongoing research on early modes of communication and social interaction through visual symbolic language. They were the subject of a major Kelsey exhibition in 2005, and selections from the Adams (ex-Herzfeld) collection are staples of the permanent seal display in the Near East gallery of the Upjohn Exhibit Wing. Among the most expressive are three seals linked to major themes of Near Eastern art that negotiate tensions

Fig. 6.52a. Dark stone stamp seal showing displayed female, grain, and other symbols (ca. 4500–3800 BCE); harvested by Herzfeld from Tepe Giyan, Iran; Adams (ex-Herzfeld) collection (KM 1991.3.74).

Fig. 6.52b. Drawing of the seal impression by Yasamin Keshtkar.



between ideas of cosmic cycle, procreation and abundance, and the co-opting of the threatening forces of nature. One portrays the “displayed female” (fig. 6.52). This image is an abstraction of a human female in a pose that signals both sexual availability and birthing. She is flanked by sheaves of grain connoting agrarian fecundity. Interestingly, this representation also echoes the format used for portrayals of the scorpion—whose sting was particularly dangerous for children and thus a threat to the procreative mission.¹⁶⁷

The second seal depicts the cosmic order through a balanced composition combining the ibex (the mountain goat who appears at sunrise and sunset on mountain peaks), the snake (a symbol of fertility of the land but also a potentially dangerous creature), and the radiant sun (fig. 6.53).¹⁶⁸ The third presents a dancing shaman (community healer and leader) wearing an ibex-horn headdress as he controls two snakes (fig. 6.54).¹⁶⁹ His head is flanked by deeply carved spheres, which may represent solar orbs but more likely stand for the bezoar stone (a spherical product formed in the stomach of the western Asiatic ibex). The bezoar stone is an antidote to a variety of poisons, including venomous snakebite. The practical link between this potent healing agent produced by the ibex and the role of the shaman as healer explains why late prehistoric shamans are shown wearing ibex horns or ibex-headed masks. Today the bezoar stone is famous because it has figured periodically in Potions class at Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry, most notably in *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*, when Harry saves his friend Ron (who has ingested tainted mead) by slipping a bezoar stone down his throat.¹⁷⁰ Tricks learned in the Hogwarts School are part of a continuous tradition that extends from prehistory into medieval and early modern times, when bezoar stones continued to be coveted curatives. Actual examples, often encased in elaborate gold and silver mounts, were prized items in Enlightenment cabinets of curiosities.

Fig. 6.53a. Dark stone stamp seal showing ibex and snake, with sun and other symbols (ca. 4500–3800 BCE); harvested by Herzfeld from Tepe Giyan, Iran; Adams (ex-Herzfeld) collection (KM 1991.3.158).

Fig. 6.53b. Drawing of the seal impression by Yasamin Keshtkar.



With the addition of the 158 ex-Herzfeld seals, the Kelsey now serves as one of the world’s most important repositories of the earliest seals from the ancient Near East.¹⁷¹

Fig. 6.54a. Dark stone stamp showing shaman, snakes, and other symbols (ca. 4500–3800 BCE); harvested by Herzfeld from Tepe Giyan, Iran; Adams (ex-Herzfeld) collection (KM 1991.3.91).

Fig. 6.54b. Drawing of the seal impression by Yasamin Keshtkar.



The Adams collection is equally important as a material evocation of one of the more complicated and brilliant scholars of ancient Near Eastern art and archaeology in the first half of the 20th century—Ernst Herzfeld.¹⁷²

INDIVIDUAL ACQUISITIONS BY PURCHASE, 1970S–1990S

In the 1970s and 1980s the Kelsey engaged in a modest campaign to expand its collections through strategic acquisitions by purchase. The goal was to acquire exemplars of major art forms that were not well represented in the Museum, would prove useful in teaching, and would engage the visiting public. In almost all cases, the eventual purchases were made possible by funds generously donated through membership subscriptions from the Kelsey Museum Associates or provided by individual donors, thereby blurring the boundaries between gift and purchase. Potential purchases were carefully screened to ensure that they met ethical standards set out by the UNESCO convention and the Archaeological Institute of America guidelines. We mention here only selected acquisitions, emphasizing those made possible by the Kelsey Museum Associates.¹⁷³

Greek Art

High on the wish list for teaching Greek art and culture was a Late Geometric funerary amphora with figural decoration, ideally including a mourning scene at the bier. This goal proved elusive: prices were beyond the Museum's purse, and the records of provenance were seldom satisfactory. But when a commanding South Italian (Apulian) volute krater came on the market, the Museum curators were intrigued by the idea of representing the late end of this grand figural tradition of funerary amphorae in the Greek world. The krater, attributed to the Gioia del Colle Painter (fig. 6.55), linked to other material in the collections (particularly the Attic white ground funerary lekythos



Fig. 6.55. Red-figure Apulian volute krater by the Gioia del Colle Painter, front (mid-4th century BCE); Kelsey Museum Associates purchase, 1982 (KM 1982.2.1).

Fig. 6.56. Detail of Athenian red-figure amphora by the Berlin Painter (ca. 480 BCE); Clark Hopkins Memorial Fund and Kelsey Museum Associates purchase, 1977 (KM 1977.7.1).



of the Marburg (ex-Gottschalk) collection mentioned in chapter five). It also had interesting ties to the larger oeuvre of the same painterly hand.¹⁷⁴

In addition, the Museum purchased several Athenian painted pots of archaic–classical periods at this time. These included a red-figure lekythos of ca. 480–460 BCE attributed to the Bowdoin Painter.¹⁷⁵ It is one of a small number of Attic pots of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE featuring a profile bust of the helmeted goddess Athena.

A favorite among many visitors, but one that raises troubling issues, is a red-figure amphora of about 480 BCE, purchased in 1977 (fig. 6.56) largely with monies from the Clark Hopkins Memorial Fund, which honors the director of the last (1936–1937) season of the Michigan excavations at Seleucia. The painting adorning this amphora is securely attributed to an artist who never signed his work but is recognized as one of the foremost artists of classical antiquity. We know his achievement through the effort of the distinguished historian of Greek art Sir John Beazley (1885–1970). Adapting the approach to artist attribution developed for Renaissance painting by Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891), Beazley devised a pioneering and detailed system of hand attribution applicable to Greek painted pottery. He identified the oeuvre of a painter whose hand is now recognized on approximately 300 vessels. Beazley called the artist the Berlin Painter, after an acclaimed masterpiece in that city. He wrote seminal articles on the Berlin Painter's style and stages of development in 1911 and 1922.¹⁷⁶

The Kelsey amphora has been attributed to the late period of this master on the basis of style and also compositional structure and subject matter. One side shows a scene of sacrifice, featuring a young warrior who faces a woman whose hairdo suggests she might be a *parthenos* (virgin).¹⁷⁷ She is pouring a libation from a pitcher into a kylix (a footed, two-handled drinking cup) he holds out to her. In his other hand, the warrior

holds a spear. An incised, but never painted, shield is faintly visible behind and to the left of him. This unfinished element offers a rare glimpse of the Berlin Painter's work in progress. The other side of the amphora shows an old man with a staff. The double scene is ambiguous. Is it meant to depict the warrior himself in old age, remembering his departures and returns of yore? Or is it meant to depict the warrior's father witnessing the cult scene and bestowing good wishes from the gods upon his son on the other side? Taken together, the two sides offer a moving and understated view of war and its memories—perennial themes expressing realities of ancient Greek society.

While the attribution of this work to the Berlin Painter is certain, questions arise regarding the post-ancient life of the vessel. At sale through McAlpine's in London, it was listed as formerly in the collection of Lord Belper of Nottingham (1801–1880), an affluent politician of varied portfolio named Edward Strutt who was raised to the peerage by Queen Victoria in 1856. He built Kingston Hall in Nottingham (designed by Edward Blore) in the 1840s and promptly began filling it with European masters and other works of art. According to the dealer, the vase had been part of Belper's collection since the mid-19th century. There are, however, no detailed inventories of the Belper holdings. An account of 1881 on the great houses of Nottinghamshire does mention at Kingston Hall "some Etruscan ware, which was brought from Athens, together with a number of other curiosities by the late Bishop of Chichester."¹⁷⁸ Whether any of these "other curiosities" included the Kelsey piece is not known. The pot does not appear in Beazley's publications or notebooks; had it been in Lord Belper's home during Beazley's professional lifetime, we would expect it to have caught his attention since he scoured the museums and private collections of Europe and America to build his documentation. Even if he saw it and dismissed it as a derivative product by a workshop member rather than the master himself, he would have noted it. A 1983 monograph on Beazley and the Berlin Painter by Donna Carol Kurtz does not list the Kelsey amphora either as part of (or formerly part of) the Belper collection in Kingston Hall, Nottingham, or as an object now in Ann Arbor.¹⁷⁹ Given the thoroughness of Kurtz's project to register the present whereabouts of additional pots that had not been included in Beazley's original catalogue, the lack of awareness of such a vessel if it was indeed at Belper's estate until coming to McAlpine's is puzzling. In short, the circumstances of the amphora before being put up for sale in London are a mystery.

By the same token, some features of the pot are unusual. According to norms of the ritual act depicted on our amphora, the warrior should be holding a shallow bowl-like vessel called a *phiale* to receive the libation offered by the young woman. Instead, he holds a *kylix*. The Kelsey amphora appears to have been incorrectly restored at some point in its modern history before sale by McAlpine's. We do not know when or under whose auspices this occurred.

Three fragmentary Greek sculptures were also purchased during this time.¹⁸⁰ One of these, made possible by a gift of Ann Taylor van Rosevelt through the Kelsey Museum Associates, portrays a young girl whose head was unfortunately removed at some

Fig. 6.57. Greek statue of a young girl standing, head now lost (late 4th century BCE); gift of Ann Taylor van Roosevelt through the Kelsey Museum Associates, 1979 (KM 1979.5.1).

Fig. 6.58. Roman portrait head of Polydeukion, probably from a herm (2nd century CE); joint acquisition of the Kelsey Museum Associates and the University of Michigan Museum of Art (KM 1974.6.1 and UMMA 1975.2.1).



point (fig. 6.57). Standing almost 2 feet (ca. 60 cm) high, this sculpture is a fine example of late 4th-century BCE drapery style and figural stance, and it adds significantly to the teaching corpus on permanent display.

Roman Art

Additional pieces were added on the Roman side as well. These include a portrait head of an important type, probably carved as the crowning portion of a stone memorial or boundary marker called a *herm*, rather than as part of a full-length statue. The head portrays a young boy named Polydeukion, who died tragically (fig. 6.58).¹⁸¹ Substantial fragments of two impressive Roman sarcophagi were also purchased. One of these (fig. 6.59) was a gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert D. Taggert through the Kelsey Museum Associates. It consists of two joined fragments from a frieze decorating a sarcophagus lid carved of Pentelic marble and dating to the 2nd century CE. The original coffin measured approximately 8 feet long. Its sculptural program presents a poignant rendering of a story first told in book 24 of Homer's *Iliad*. In this saga, Hektor, prince of Troy, was killed by the Greek hero Achilles, who then stowed Hektor's defiled body in his tent (against all protocols of common decency). Hektor's father, King Priam of Troy, came in desperation to the tent of Achilles, bearing ransom and pleading to reclaim his son for cleansing and proper burial. The particular rendition chosen by



Fig. 6.59. Fragment of a Roman sarcophagus lid of marble showing the ransoming of Hektor's body (late 2nd–early 3rd century CE); gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert D. Taggart through the Kelsey Museum Associates, 1979 (KM 1979.3.1).

the artist is instructive on several levels. It demonstrates the persistent resonance, and perhaps even the revitalization, of Homer's epic in this era of Roman cultural connections to notions of "Greeknness." The moment in the epic drama we see here is a later stage than that favored in archaic–classical Greek pot paintings, which tend to depict the moment when the defeated King Priam enters the tent of Achilles to ransom the bloodied corpse of his son.¹⁸² Instead, this sculpture features the aftermath. The Trojans have already secured Hektor's body and are returning it to Troy. At the forefront of the tragic procession, one of the great open-mouthed jars carried by two men is tipped toward the viewer, explicitly to demonstrate that it is now empty, its contents deposited as ransom at the feet of Achilles. At the back of the procession, female mourners gesticulate in anguish.

One of a small group of known examples of this scene on a Roman sarcophagus, the Kelsey example is closely paralleled by a frieze from a similar sarcophagus acquired by Sigmund Freud in Vienna through two separate purchases (one in 1930 and the other soon after). The two pieces turned out to join perfectly. Both had surfaced on the Rome art market in 1920 and reached Vienna in 1930. The Freud example, once joined, held a prominent place atop a display case in his consulting room at 19 Berggasse, Vienna—behind the head of the couch but in the psychoanalyst's sightlines (fig. 6.60). When Freud was forced, as a Jew, to seek asylum in London in 1938, he managed to bring his antiquities out with him.¹⁸³ The Kelsey example, purchased from Bruce McAlpine in London, was said to have come from Roman Period Bath, England; but this is unverifiable at present. Given the similarities in dimensions, compositional structure, and style between the Freud relief and the Kelsey example, it would be interesting indeed to be able to trace the ancient sources of the two sarcophagi.



Fig. 6.60. Photograph by Edmund Engelman of Sigmund Freud's consulting room in Vienna (1938), showing Freud's lid fragment (joined from two pieces) of a Roman sarcophagus depicting a closely similar scene to that of fig. 6.59 (courtesy of the Freud Museum, London).

Fig. 6.61. Section of a large floor mosaic depicting a portrait of the 7th-century BCE Greek poet Alcman (late 2nd–3rd century CE); from Gerasa (mod. Jerash), Jordan; gift of Ann Taylor van Rosevelt and the Associates of the Kelsey Museum, 1987 (KM 1987.4.1).



The Museum was also eager to acquire a substantial Roman mosaic of high quality and legibility to complement the colorful, but small and technically crude, fragments from late Roman Carthage purchased much earlier from Père Delattre (chapter three). The purchase of a mosaic from Roman Period Gerasa, in modern Jordan (fig. 6.61), was made possible through the generosity of Ann Taylor van Rosevelt and the Associates of the Kelsey Museum. It is one of two extant portraits of the early Greek poet Alcman of Sparta, who lived in the 7th century BCE and whose lyric verses have come down to us only through fragments on papyrus copies revealed from mummy wrapping materials of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The mosaic image of Alcman bears his name. It was originally part of a large floor mosaic created out of fine, closely fitted marble and glass tesserae. Dating to the 2nd century CE, the mosaic pavement was uncovered and dispersed on the art market in the 1920s. The original representational program (pieced together from many fragments identified in various collections) presented Dionysiac scenes bordered by depictions of authors (including Alcman), muses, and allegorical figures of time and the seasons.¹⁸⁴

Near Eastern Art

Another item on the acquisitions wish list was a substantial and visually commanding example of Mesopotamian sculpture to complement the Museum's rich collections of



Fig. 6.62. Limestone funerary relief bust of a Palmyrene woman, originally sealing her burial *loculus* (niche) within a large family tomb vault (ca. 43–226 CE); Palmyra, Syria; Kelsey Museum Associates purchase, 1980 (KM 1980.1.1).

small terracotta images across time. The artifact that fit the Kelsey’s provenance standards and purse at the time was a splendid funerary relief bust from Palmyra, Syria (fig. 6.62), dating to about 200–225 CE, when Palmyra was under Roman imperial control.¹⁸⁵ Palmyra, ancient Tadmor, was a great and storied desert caravan city in central Syria southwest of the Euphrates. It was first cited in known texts in the 2nd millennium BCE cuneiform archives from Mari (also in Syria); Tadmor also appears in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) Second Book of Chronicles. Reliefs such as the one we purchased were placed over individual interment slots (*loculi*) inside multistory family burial vaults. The compelling example in the Kelsey speaks to a blend of Mesopotamian traditions of costume and symbolic adornment even as it also reflects the impact of Roman sculptural traditions in funerary portraiture. Research on the Kelsey piece has linked it to a significant corpus of stylistically allied exemplars from a Palmyrene tomb excavated in 1969. Although not from this tomb, the Kelsey artifact was in all likelihood produced in the same local workshop that created the assemblage of portrait busts in that family vault. The Palmyra funerary relief is a “swing” artifact—one that could have been at home either in the ancient Near East area or in the Roman Provinces display—but it is currently displayed within its Near Eastern context. It serves as a visual anchor in a vitrine presenting articles of adornment from graves at Seleucia of the same approximate date. Of particular note are the two inverted crescent pendants depicted on the Palmyra sculpture. This jewelry form was widespread in the Seleucid and Parthian Periods of the Near East, symbolic of the lunar cycle and its association with female fertility. Actual examples in bone were excavated from Seleucia graves. With increasing cultural contact between Roman society and the Near East, resulting from persistent Roman military engagements, this inverted lunar symbol began to appear as a necklace pendant worn by women in Italy, indicating their participation in cults that had been adopted in the West.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Select Categories of Artifacts



o far, we have looked at the collections in the Kelsey through the lens of specific collectors and collecting histories, interweaving commentaries on selected artifacts. In this chapter we shift our focus slightly. Although still concerned with personal narratives of collectors, we now discuss certain individuals under the rubric of discrete categories of artifacts. The collectors presented here concentrated almost exclusively on a single type of material: textiles, coins, and glass. Collections acquired by gift and purchase in all three categories enriched and expanded the Museum's already extensive holdings, most of which had been amassed through excavations in the 1920s and 1930s. For each of the three categories we offer a brief overview of the Museum's holdings, especially those acquired through excavation, followed by a discussion of particular donors. The chapter concludes with presentations on several distinguished collections of fine arts photographs and prints currently housed in the Museum.

TEXTILES

Overview

Almost all the Kelsey's approximately 6,000 textiles emanate from Egypt, where the dry conditions and enveloping sands have supported the preservation of natural fibers. In addition to examples of local Egyptian manufacture, these collections include fabrics made in India, Iran, and Iraq and exported to Egypt, where they were recovered through excavation or purchased from dealers. The earliest securely dated textile in the Museum, coincidentally, was the first textile to enter the Museum. A linen mummy wrapping still preserving its fine fringe, it was recovered in 1909 from a Middle Kingdom 11th Dynasty tomb, arriving in Ann Arbor as part of the Petrie gift (chapter five).

But the heart of the textile collections is the corpus of nearly 4,000 items (dating between the 4th and 5th centuries CE) unearthed in the Fayum, primarily at Karanis, and arriving in Ann Arbor from the late 1920s through 1930s (fig. 7.1).¹⁸⁶ Despite the humble nature of these fabrics, they are important sources of information on materials and weaving techniques. Moreover, Karanis yielded weaving tools—from large combs for carding wool, to spindle whorls and implements resembling modern crochet hooks, to small needles.

Fig. 7.1. Excavation photograph of division of Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos textiles for *partage*; May 31, 1935 (Kelsey Museum neg. no. 7.2522).



Fig. 7.2 (left). Wool fabric displaying patterns in red, green, yellow, and deep blue (4th–5th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 22618).

Fig. 7.3 (right). Wool sock with articulated toe (4th–5th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 22558).

Most of the Karanis garments, which derive from domestic (rather than funerary) contexts,¹⁸⁷ were woven of wool or linen. Many of the wool fabrics display patterns in yarns dyed with vegetable ingredients in red, green, yellow, and deep blue (fig. 7.2). Some fragments document particular garment types. For example, an item produced in an early version of knitting technique is part of a left-foot sock with the big toe separated from the rest for wearing with sandals (fig. 7.3). Sandals for everyday wear also come from Karanis, and they are indeed thong sandals, woven of palm fiber. Other woven materials from Karanis include coarse goat-hair items, three of which are large, almost intact sacks.



Fig. 7.4. Print depicting an Egyptian peasant woman scavenging for papyri and ornaments (such as textiles) in a tomb at Thebes (Wilkinson 1878, vignette P; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).



Mummy Linen and the Candler Gift

Mummy wrappings form an interesting subgroup of textiles. As already noted, many tourists coveted a mummy relic without wishing to be burdened by the inconvenience of shipping home a complete example. Dealers were glad to oblige, cutting a bit of linen here, a finger there to sell as trophies of a winter sojourn in the Land of the Pharaohs. In the 19th and early 20th centuries mummy dissection was a lucrative business, with the linen wrappings cut into small pieces for sale to tourists and scholars alike. Egyptian cemeteries were systematically looted (either under the guise of excavation or for undisguised financial gain) in order to produce such material for the antiquities trade (fig. 7.4). The accounts of many early western archaeologists, missionaries, and travelers stress the culpability of “the natives” in this activity. In reality, the local populations were feeding a demand in which these commentators and travelers were complicit forces, even if not necessarily the driving agents of a hungry market.

The Kelsey houses several such trophies. One, a remnant from the Bay View collection (chapter six), comes from a linen mummy binding of the Late Period preserving a section from the Book of the Dead (fig. 7.5). The fragment is inscribed in black ink in hieratic script and is illustrated by a drawing of the *ba* bird (an icon standing for the spiritual aspect of the deceased person) and, in another section, a scene of priests.

Perhaps most emblematic of the touristic impulse to acquire mummy relics in the 19th century is an item that came to the Kelsey from travel memorabilia gathered by Mr. James Deforest Candler (1856–1925), a prosperous Detroit businessman who founded the roofing business of J. D. Candler & Co., located in those days at 90 and



Fig. 7.5. Detail from an extended section of Egyptian mummy linen decorated with an illustrated passage from the Book of the Dead inscribed in hieratic and incorporating an image of the *ba* bird (525–30 BCE); Bay View collection (KM 1971.2.278b).

Fig. 7.6 (*near right*). Photograph of James Deforest Candler (n.d.—probably not long before his death in 1925) (courtesy of JD Candler Roofing, Livonia, MI).

Fig. 7.7 (*far right*). Photograph of J. D. Candler's son, Deforest W. Candler (n.d.) (courtesy of JD Candler Roofing, Livonia, MI).



92 Congress Street East (fig. 7.6). The company persists today (as JD Candler Roofing of Livonia, MI) and maintains an archive on the family and its history (fig. 7.7). A descendant of Mr. Candler discovered an extraordinary historical treasure among family papers and offered it to the Kelsey almost 100 years after it had been brought home to Detroit.

Mr. Candler was about thirty-five years old when he traveled to Egypt—probably on a Cook's Tour—bringing his family with him, as was customary with affluent American businessmen of the era. The souvenir from the trip that eventually arrived at the Kelsey consists of a folded strip of mummy linen accompanied by Candler's handwritten note (fig. 7.8a–b):

Thebes 18th March 1890

Mummy Cloth from a mummified lady

The mummy case in whole was at our cost & instruction procured from an ancient tomb near Deir el-Bahri & taken to the house of the American Consul at Luxor, & there broken open: The mummy removed & unwrapped by us, & the inscriptions indicated an age of about 2800 to 3000 years BC. I took this from the body [&] also one of the arms & hand.¹⁸⁸

This account speaks to the unbridled enthusiasm for acquisition of ancient body parts. And it baldly reveals, as a matter of course, the lucrative sidelines of consuls in



Fig. 7.8a. Strip of Egyptian mummy linen folded, with dealer sticker labeled "2800. to 2000. B.C.," as it came to the Museum; gift of J. D. Candler, through his descendants, 1988 (KM 1988.1.1a).

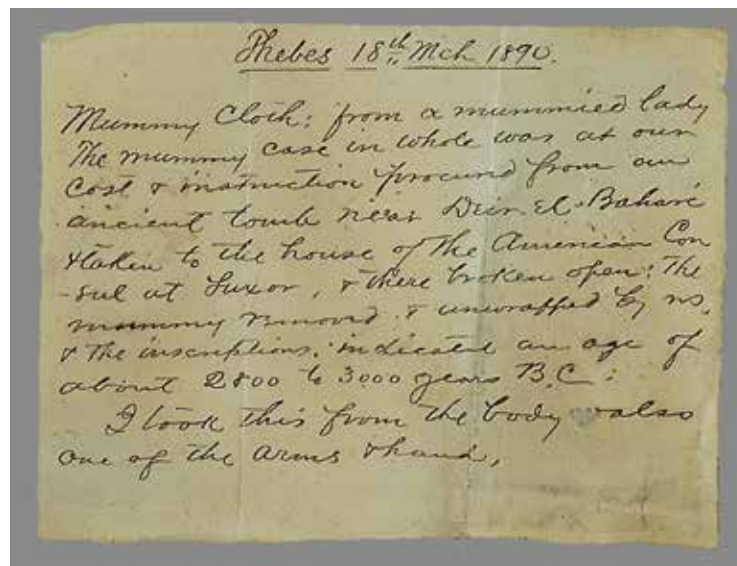


Fig. 7.8b. Note describing circumstances of the acquisition of the mummy linen by J. D. Candler, 1890 (KM 1988.1.1b).

this era—whether operating on the antiquities or tourist scene. In this case, the consular provision of safe haven for mummy dismemberment and disbursal to tourists and dealers no doubt involved a fee. Some American consuls in Jerusalem during the late 19th century also had similar encounters with tourism, in one instance involving charges of collusion with the Thomas Cook & Son package-tour giant. In other instances various “museonic” activities involved facilitating antiquities deals.¹⁸⁹ The small bit of mummy linen Mr. Candler carefully kept with his note is iconic of an era when the fetish of the mummy souvenir was at its height. Mummies had been classified as antiquities since 1851; so by Candler’s day, consular complicity in these dismemberments was directly flouting Egyptian law.¹⁹⁰

Coptic Textiles: The Elsberg and Atiya Collections

While mummy wrappings continued to be prized by tourists into the early 1900s, changes in Egyptian cultural practices in early Christian times ultimately affected what kinds of textiles were available for interested buyers. As Christianity became dominant in Egypt, mummification was outlawed in the 4th century CE, and Christians (called Copts in Egypt) were buried wearing tunics they had worn in life and swaddled in additional textile wraps. This shift in burial practice spawned a brisk trade in decorated fabrics worn first by the living and then by the dead—and finally harvested for the art market. In contrast to the earlier mummy linen, which was often unadorned, the later Coptic material was characterized by often highly decorated textiles in various techniques and materials.

Since most Coptic textiles were recovered from burials, it is not surprising that early excavators focused on relevant cemeteries to retrieve these items. Reports on these excavations often underscore the rapacious nature of retrieval. The excavations

Fig. 7.9. Print depicting the Coptic ("Byzantine") cemetery at Antinoë/Antinopolis (mod. Sheikh 'Ibada, Egypt) with bodies strewn about after robbing (Gayet 1902, p. 37; Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan).



Fig. 7.10 (left). Central medallion from a large Coptic textile intentionally cut apart from its original fabric (4th–7th centuries CE); Elsberg collection (KM 26606b).

Fig. 7.11 (center). Surrounding border of a large Coptic textile that once featured the central medallion that is now fig. 7.10 (4th–7th centuries CE); Elsberg collection (KM 26606a).

Fig. 7.12 (right). Textile pastiche made of several disparate fragments of Coptic fabrics (4th–7th centuries CE) to create one larger and more saleable piece; Tano purchase (KM 94418a–d).

of Coptologist Albert Gayet (1856–1916) at the Coptic/late antique cemetery at Antinoë (Greek Antinopolis, mod. Sheikh 'Ibada) in Upper Egypt are a striking example of such shoddy archaeological practices (fig. 7.9; see fig. 6.21 for a group photo including Albert Jean Gayet). As one scholar wrote:

Albert Gayet's excavations . . . were astoundingly quick and dirty: a cemetery was found, the corpses exhumed, and the clothes cut off the bodies. . . . The plainer (and the nastier)





Fig. 7.13. Photograph of Professor Aziz Suryal Atiya, n.d. (Faculty History Project, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

scraps were usually thrown away, while the decorated pieces made their way into museum collections or onto the art market.¹⁹¹

Most museum collections of ancient and late antique textiles from Egypt are replete with fragments (and stories) that reflect (and reflect upon) such wanton practices, challenging attempts to appreciate how the original garment must have looked.¹⁹² Typically, garments such as tunics and wraps incorporated decorative woven borders, strips, and medallions stitched onto the base fabric. But once these garments have been disassembled and dispersed, it becomes almost impossible to determine how multiple motifs appeared in relation to one another on the same garment—let alone to contemplate important questions of how gender and other identity or status differentials may have affected choices of decoration and arrangement of motifs.

The Kelsey collection of Coptic textiles provides glimpses into both the richness of the garments as well as the nature of the 20th-century art market for these items. Of particular interest are the Museum's Elsberg and Atiya collections.

The Elsberg corpus came by purchase in 1939 from the estate of H. A. Elsberg of New York City. Elsberg was a well-known collector and scholar of textiles; parts of his collections reside not only in the Kelsey but in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Peter Ruthven (see "Glass," below) negotiated the Kelsey's Elsberg acquisition. In 1940 he curated a special exhibition of Elsberg's collection in the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies on the Michigan campus.

Textiles acquired via both the Tano dealership (chapter eight) and Elsberg offer two instructive instances of willful fragmentation, clearly intended by dealers to boost sales. The first case consists of two separate pieces from the Elsberg purchase that were certainly part of the same original garment—cut apart in order to create more items to sell. A central figural medallion (fig. 7.10) was carefully separated from its surrounding vegetal and geometric border (fig. 7.11).¹⁹³ The second case illuminates the reverse practice. This 1953 purchase from Tano (fig. 7.12) comprises pieces from four different ancient garments that were stitched together to create a whole. The dealer fabricated a pastiche item from disparate ancient scraps in order to improve the marketability and sale price of a larger piece by rendering it more visually compelling.

The second group of Coptic textiles came to the Museum in the 1950s when the Kelsey purchased 1,150 examples through the efforts of Professor Aziz Suryal Atiya (1898–1988). Born a Copt in a small northern Egyptian village, Atiya was precocious and was sent to school in Cairo at a young age. He became a discerning collector, an eminent Coptic historian, and a specialist in Islamic and Crusader studies (fig. 7.13). He was also a talented linguist, fluent in at least seven languages. By the end of his life, Atiya had published approximately twenty books, most notably *The Crusades in the Later Middle Ages*, which, at the time of its publication in 1938, was described as epoch-making. Atiya's career was long and varied, with teaching and research appointments at universities

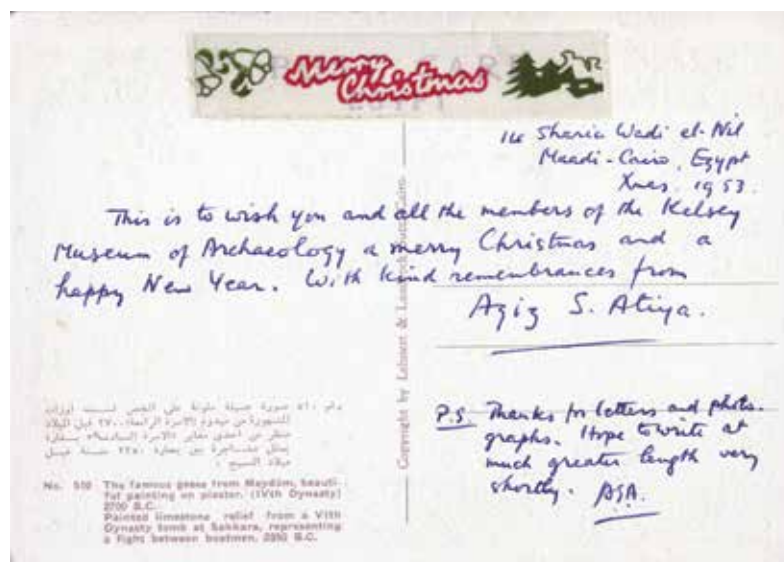
in London, Bonn, Cairo, Alexandria, Zurich, and Beirut. In the United States he taught at Princeton, Columbia, the University of Utah, and the University of Michigan. He was also founder of the Institute of Coptic Studies in Cairo and the Middle East Center at the University of Utah.

In addition to being well known among scholars for his collection of textiles, Atiya was an eminent papyrologist. He amassed thousands of important Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Coptic, and Greek codices and papyri in the course of his long career. That interest eventually embroiled him in a convoluted tale of mummies, Mormons, and papyri in the early 19th century that leads from Egypt to Europe to America.

The story begins when, in the early 19th century, eleven mummies robbed from cemeteries in the area of Thebes made their way to Europe to satisfy the new craze for Egyptian artifacts. By 1833 they had been shipped to New York City by one Michael H. Chandler, who opened them in hopes of discovering precious jewels tucked into the windings of mummy cloth. Instead, the mummy cloth concealed papyrus rolls of the Book of the Dead and related funerary texts. With the decipherment of hieroglyphics not yet widely known, Chandler was told that only one man had the special powers to translate such texts. This man turned out to be Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons), who bought the texts in 1835. Smith's inspired gleanings from the papyri formed the basis for the LDS *Book of Abraham*—the doctrinal foundation of the LDS church. The original papyrus fragments, which became iconic to Mormons, crisscrossed the country over the years. Smith gave some of the mummies he bought from Chandler to his mother, who charged the curious twenty-five cents each to view them—a princely sum in the mid-1800s! Eventually the papyrus fragments went on display in Chicago, where (it was thought) they were consumed in the Great Chicago Fire of 1871. Thereafter they dropped off the radar for ninety-five years. In 1966, Professor Atiya, working in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, noticed a group of papyrus fragments all pasted to the same type of modern paper backing. With his knowledge of the Mormon community from his time in Utah, Atiya connected these with the lost fragments that had formed the basis for Joseph Smith's "translations" in the *Book of Abraham*. Apparently, the papyri had not been burned in the Chicago fire but had come into the possession of someone who sold them to the Met in 1947.¹⁹⁴ With some fanfare, the papyri were in the end presented by the Met to the president of the LDS—all negotiated and finessed by Aziz Atiya.

The Kelsey collection of textiles Atiya helped procure has a less fraught, but equally interesting, backstory. On a trip to Egypt in 1952, Arthur Boak (professor of history at the University of Michigan) learned of an exceptional collection of approximately 1,000 Coptic textiles, some inscribed, that might come up for sale. Although he was not able to see the collection, Boak contacted Atiya for advice since the latter was then serving as professor of medieval history at the University of Alexandria in Egypt and was well acquainted with this corpus. Thoroughly impressed by the "magnificent" samples he saw, Atiya wrote back to Boak that they were

Fig. 7.14. Christmas postcard from Professor Atiya to the Kelsey Museum, 1953, inscribed side only; (Kelsey Museum Archives).



bound to make a sensation at any Museum . . . I do not think I shall ever see a similar collection offered in my life-time, and I am therefore writing to you and Dr. Peterson that you may give this matter immediate consideration.¹⁹⁵

Atiya maintained his correspondence with Peterson (as director of the Museum) over many months, vetting the pieces, negotiating Egypt's complicated antiquities laws, and arranging for shipment. Meanwhile, Peterson set out to raise the necessary money, ultimately amounting to approximately \$5,000. He is rather urgent in one letter to the vice-president and dean of faculties at the University of Michigan, commenting that a curator at the Brooklyn Museum was also very interested in acquiring the material.¹⁹⁶

As a collector, Atiya was well attuned to the market's fluctuations, particularly pertaining to inscribed Coptic textiles. He writes to Ann Arbor that

These have become rather scarce in recent years. Nevertheless one can never be sure of what may suddenly turn up. This is always the case with antiquities. When you least expect them, they just flow, and the smart fellow snatches them with little hesitation, and then they disappear for all time.¹⁹⁷

Following prolonged negotiations, the textiles he had purchased (carefully packed in two boxes) left Egypt on July 23, 1953, and arrived in Ann Arbor on September 16.

Aziz Atiya sustained a fruitful and warm relationship with Professor Peterson, serving as intermediary for other purchases in the mid- to late 1950s (fig. 7.14). Most notable were two completely preserved tunics that reached Ann Arbor in 1955. These were said to be from the Monastery of the Bones (Deir el-Aizam) on a mountain peak in the environs of Sheikh 'Ibada (ancient Antinoë, Greek Antinopolis, mentioned above in connection



Fig. 7.15 (left). Detail showing the embroidered yoke of a complete Coptic tunic (10th–12th centuries CE); Atiya collection, from the Monastery of the Bones (Deir el-Aizam) near Antinoë/Antinopolis (mod. Sheikh 'Ibada, Egypt) (KM 93768)



Fig. 7.16a (right). Complete Coptic tunic of wool with applied polychrome woven decorative panels featuring figurative motifs (ca. 3rd century CE); Atiya collection, from the Monastery of the Bones (Deir el-Aizam) near Antinoë/Antinopolis (mod. Sheikh 'Ibada, Egypt) (KM 93767).

with Albert Gayet). Like the great city of Antinoë itself, the monastery thrived as a Coptic center until cultural changes in the wake of the Arab conquest of 641 gradually lessened its importance. By sometime in the 14th century the monastery seems to have ceased operations entirely. The site was ravaged by antiquities hunters during the later 19th century and then suffered major destruction by the Egyptian military in the 1960s.

The larger of the two tunics from the Monastery of the Bones (fig. 7.15) measures about 4.5 feet in length and dates between the 10th and 12th centuries CE, near the end of the active life of the establishment. It is a funeral shroud decorated with coral and teal embroidered stitchery of bird, floral, and geometric motifs in a large rectangular panel extending from the neckline to mid-length. The smaller tunic, measuring almost 3.5 feet in length (fig. 7.16a–b), dates to the 3rd century CE. Made of wool with overlaid woven polychrome images of horsemen, dancers, and offering bearers, it provides a wonderful example of a woven Coptic garment with a complete program of decorative motifs.¹⁹⁸

Through Atiya's association with colleagues at Michigan, the Kelsey Museum was able to acquire Coptic textiles spanning nearly ten centuries—with these two rare complete tunics framing the temporal parameters. The entire collection bears testament to the brilliantly colored and lively figurative designs that recast earlier traditions to reflect the religious needs and self-presentations of Copts in this life and the next.



Fig. 7.16b (left). Detail of one of the decorative woven panels of the Coptic tunic shown in fig. 7.16a.



Fig. 7.17 (right). Fragment of silk *tiraz* (10th century CE); inscribed with a benediction and the name of the current Abbasid ruler shortly before the Fatimid takeover in Egypt in 969 CE; Tano purchase (KM 22520).



Fig. 7.18. Fragment of a silk-woven Islamic textile with interlace design (11th–12th centuries CE), exemplifying the increasingly elaborate patterning prevalent on opulent textiles of the Fatimid court in Egypt; Tano purchase (KM 91614).

Islamic Textiles

The Kelsey holds a relatively small, but significant, group of textiles produced for people of the Muslim faith dating from the 7th to the 19th centuries CE. Some are linked to Professor Atiya's good offices; others come from different sources, most importantly from the Tano firm in Cairo (chapter eight). They form part of a larger body of Egyptian material of medieval and early modern times: notably glass vessels and sealed weights, decorated ceramics, metal wares, artifacts of personal adornment and use, architectural elements, and manuscripts.¹⁹⁹ Among the textiles are numerous exemplars of *tiraz* ("palace factory") fabric. *Tiraz* products were made of linen with tapestry-woven silk inscriptions rendered in an elaborate floriated Kufic script, manufactured in the Islamic courts of Egypt and western Asia.

Although the earliest evidence of silk fabricated into thread dates to around 3000 BCE in China, silk makes its first documented appearance in Egypt as an import only in about the 8th century CE. The silk inscriptions on *tiraz* fabrics from Egypt often display the name of the current ruler, with a benediction. One fine example (fig. 7.17), dating to around 946–966 CE, was produced for the Abbasid court shortly before the Fatimid takeover in 969 CE. The Kelsey examples of *tiraz* are part of a much larger Michigan collection incorporating extraordinary acquisitions made by Walter Koelz and now in the Museum of Anthropology.²⁰⁰

The Kelsey also houses later examples of Islamic textiles, including a silk and linen tapestry fragment of the 11th–12th centuries CE that exemplifies the increasingly elaborate patterning prevalent on opulent textiles of the Fatimid court in Egypt (fig. 7.18). The silk weave on this piece has a luminous metallic sheen; and the complex interlace motif rendered in yellow, red, and blue reflects imagery used in other media from ceramics to architectural ornament.²⁰¹



Fig. 7.19 (left). Gujarati textile, cotton with multi-colored stamped decoration, imported to Egypt from Gujarat, India (14th–15th centuries CE); Tano purchase (KM 22701).



Fig. 7.20 (right). Clay textile stamp from Egypt, with remnants of red dye still visible (3rd–5th centuries CE); Askren collection (KM 88681).

Gujerati Textiles

Finally, another group of significant textile holdings in the Kelsey comprises fifty-seven Indian cotton fabrics exported to Egypt, probably during the 15th century CE. All came as purchases from the Tano dealership—first in the 1930s and then in 1953.²⁰² Initially known as Fustat cloth—after the site of al-Fustat (Old Cairo), where examples in Egypt first came to light—the textiles are now known to have been used at multiple centers in Egypt. Moreover, ongoing research has demonstrated that these fabrics were originally produced on the northwestern Indian subcontinent at Gujarat and are now more often referred to as Gujarati textiles. Sadly, the early 20th-century excavators of Old Cairo were not particularly interested in textiles and did not record their archaeological contexts. Finds from Fustat reached dealers and museums with no clear indications of dating and use.

Gujerati textiles in the Kelsey are woven from Indian cotton that is resist-dyed or block-printed in colorful patterns. The fragments once formed parts of garments and domestic furnishings of good quality. They were not, however, items of a luxury textile trade. Despite the fact that they were imported all the way from India, they represent the tastes of a mercantile class whose needs and purses were accommodated in the sea trade alongside shipments of luxury products for more elite consumption.

Some of the cloths display stamped patterns in a single color; others (fig. 7.19) reveal complex polychromatic patterns produced through repeated over stamping in variant colors.²⁰³ Stamp-decorated fabrics were also produced in Egypt, as illustrated in the Kelsey by several clay or plaster textile stamps, including a 3rd- to 5th-century CE example still bearing remnants of red dye—a purchase by Dr. Askren in 1935 (fig. 7.20).

COINS

Overview

The Kelsey Museum possesses a large number of ancient and medieval coins—over 42,000 items dating from ca. 650 BCE into Byzantine and Islamic times. The lion's share derives from University-sponsored excavations of the 1920s and 1930s, especially from Karanis and Seleucia, with much smaller numbers from Terenouthis and Sepphoris.²⁰⁴ The rest come from private collections offered to the University beginning in the late 1880s. While we cannot determine the original archaeological contexts of those coins, they offer important information and in a few instances are rare or unusual.²⁰⁵

We focus here first on the coins from Karanis and Seleucia, then on collections received from Abram E. Richards, Giovanni Dattari, Dr. George R. Monks, and Professor Adon A. Gordus. The coin collection of Henry Gillman is discussed in chapter six as part of a larger group of varied artifact types.

Karanis and Seleucia

Particularly noteworthy among the excavated corpora are hoards: groups of coins initially gathered together for various reasons and later excavated together as discrete clusters. Motivating factors varied for the creation of hoards: hiding riches away in times of war, securing secret storage of significant wealth, or simply maintaining something akin to the small-change jar on a kitchen counter today. One spectacular example comes from Karanis, where a hoard of sixty gold coins (*aurei*) dating to year 156/157 CE in the reign of Antoninus Pius was discovered in 1926. Unearthed from under the pavement of the courtyard of a 2nd-century CE house, the coins are in pristine “mint” condition (fig. 7.21a–b) and generated great excitement at the time of their discovery.

Modern monetary conversions for these Antonine *aurei* reveal how valuable they must have been in antiquity. Antonine *aurei*, which contain a high purity of gold, weighed 7.3 g each; 60 *aurei* would thus total 438 g of gold. Given the average price of gold in 2013 US dollars, this hoard would have been valued at approximately \$21,803. The cache seems to have been stored in a cloth bag that eventually disintegrated. It has been suggested that the cache represents the private treasure of a Roman official or army officer temporarily stationed in Egypt who would have been anxious to keep such riches hidden. An alternate scenario postulates that the coins formed part of the official monetary reserve used to support the Roman army garrison established in Karanis. At the time the hoard was secreted, Roman legionaries received 300 *denarii* per year. Since one *aureus* equaled 25 *denarii*, 60 *aurei* would have paid five legionaries for a full year of military service. Those same Roman soldiers stationed in the environs of Karanis could have bought about 9,700 liters of cheap Egyptian beer for 60 *aurei*!

At the humble end of the spectrum is a little pot containing a collection of now corroded and coagulated bronze “small change” nested inside a slightly larger jar. This



Fig. 7.21a–b. Gold coin (*aureus*) of Antoninus Pius (issued in 156/157 CE); discovered in 1926 under the pavement of the courtyard of a 2nd-century CE house; Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 40993).

(a) Obverse showing wreathed head of Antoninus Pius

(b) Reverse showing figure of Victory



Fig. 7.22. A hoard of small denomination bronze coins found inside a jar-within-a jar (ca. 248 BCE–226 CE); American excavations at Seleucia, Iraq (Toledo Museum of Art 1931.407a–b).

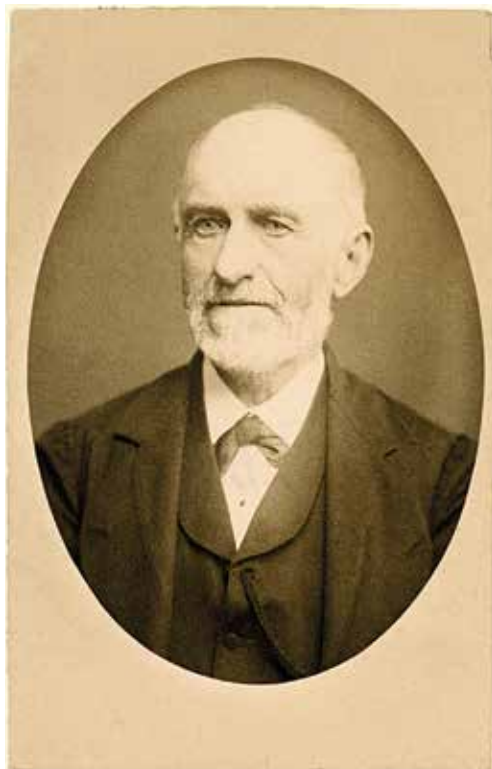


Fig. 7.23. Photograph of Abram E. Richards (Kelsey Museum Archives).

little hoard of the Parthian Period was recovered from Seleucia (fig. 7.22). Seleucia also yielded multiple examples of wealth secreted under threat of invasion, no doubt the result of serial invasions of the city by Roman armies. A cache of 214 silver *tetradrachms* of Vologases III, dating to the mid-2nd century CE (see fig. 4.17a–b) was, for instance, hidden on the eve of the invasion by the Roman emperor Verus.²⁰⁶

The Seleucia coins provide valuable information about the history of Hellenistic coinages in the East—a lively ongoing field of numismatic scholarship. They include beautiful and significant examples of Parthian and Sasanian issues.²⁰⁷ Unfortunately, discrepancies in the numbering system of these coins have caused vexing problems. The inconsistencies result from both the practice of recording much of the excavated material from Seleucia only in lots and from post-excavation processing. A well-intentioned but ill-starred Works Progress Administration (WPA) project during the Great Depression was set up in Detroit in a fire station on Woodward Avenue, supervised by a young Michigan PhD (1933) and assistant professor, Robert Harbold McDowell (1894–1980)—author of the 1935 Seleucia numismatic monograph as well as another on inscribed objects from the site in the same year.²⁰⁸ The project’s goal was to clean and perform metal analyses on the Seleucia coins. McDowell left the project in 1939 to join the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the precursor of the CIA, becoming a controversial figure in top-secret operations in Yugoslavia under the code name “Roger.”²⁰⁹ He never returned to academe or to the WPA project; consequently, much knowledge was lost to the coin project and to legacy work on the site as a whole. The removal of the coins to Detroit further disturbed connections between the records and the finds themselves. Then the project was shut down without warning in 1941 as the war effort loomed, leaving no time to coordinate new records with the artifacts themselves.²¹⁰ Currently, work to rectify all these complicating factors proceeds.

The Richards Collection

The Richards gift of coins was accepted by the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan on March 23, 1880. Details of Abram E. Richards’s life are sketchy. He was born in Wales in 1822, the eldest of eight children, came to America with his family at a young age, and settled in Washtenaw County, Michigan (fig. 7.23). He received his medical degree in America and accumulated a fortune in the pharmaceutical business. Retiring just before the outbreak of the American Civil War, he spent much of his later life abroad, dividing his time between Cardiff in Wales and Florence, Italy. A gifted linguist, he became fascinated by coins and medals, developing extensive knowledge in numismatics. The date of his death in Florence is unrecorded.

For many years, Richards sent letters to the Latin Department in Ann Arbor, often accompanied by a package of coins in the hope that these gifts would be useful for illustrating points in history. He seems to have recognized the value of his collection, commenting in one letter that many of the kinds of coins he had bought early on “are so scarce here in Rome and other cities I fear that I could not [now] get together a tenth of the variety . . . that you have.”²¹¹ Nearly 1,500 were eventually accessioned into



Fig. 7.24a–b. Silver *denarius* of the Roman Republic (126 BCE, struck by the moneyer C. Cassius); Richards collection (KM 75273).

(a) Obverse showing a helmeted head of Roma
(b) Reverse showing Libertas in a quadriga, with ROMA inscribed below

the Kelsey. They consist principally of excellent bronze examples and a small sample of gold and silver pieces spanning more than a millennium (fig. 7.24a–b). An historically significant but severely worn group consists of heavy bronze issues of the Roman Republic (called, in Latin, *aes grave*). *Aes grave* are the earliest manifestation of true coinage in central Italy—first minted in 289 BCE. The members of the Latin Department must have been delighted to open this particular parcel!

The Dattari Collection

Nearly twenty years after the accumulated Richards gifts were officially accepted by the University, Ann Arbor received another numismatic windfall. On July 20, 1909, Francis Kelsey had a cablegram from his friend Freer (chapter three), who was in Egypt at the time. The message asked if Kelsey would be willing to accept a gift of several thousand coins from a gentleman in Cairo. This gentleman was Giovanni Dattari, a well-known collector and numismatist who was a long-time resident of Cairo—first employed at the offices of the Thomas Cook & Son's travel agency and later serving as a provisioner to the colonial British Army.

Professor Kelsey was most enthusiastic about the potential offer. In due course, the University formally accepted Dattari's collection. The gold, silver, and bronze coins date mainly from the founding of Alexandria, Egypt, in 332 BCE to the middle of the 4th century CE. That Dattari chose to donate this valuable corpus to the University of Michigan is noteworthy (fig. 7.25a–b). Unlike many of the other scenarios of acquisition in these early years, Dattari had no connection to the state of Michigan, to its University, or to Professor Kelsey personally. Correspondence between Freer and Dattari suggests that, although the latter felt compelled to sell a good deal of his antiquities for financial reasons, he had an overriding interest in donating the coins specifically to a university that would use them in teaching and research. Ten days after Freer sent the cable to Kelsey urging him to consider Dattari's gift offer, Freer himself purchased 1,388 glass objects from the Italian collector for 2,500 pounds sterling. Could the extraordinarily wealthy (and civic-minded) Mr. Freer have paid this princely sum to Dattari for the glass artifacts in order to make more palatable Dattari's donation of his coins to Michigan?



Fig. 7.25a–b. Silver *tetradrachm* of Antoninus Pius (r. 86–161 CE); Dattari collection (KM 81672).

(a) Obverse showing head of Antoninus Pius
(b) Reverse showing goddess Eirene, standing and holding a caduceus and two grains of wheat

The Monks Collection

Dr. George Richard Monks (d. 1987) earned his BA degree at the University of Michigan in 1933, going on to receive a Michigan MA (1934) and PhD (1938). Throughout his life, Monks was an avid collector of ancient and medieval coins and medallions. He purchased ancient coins from dealers in the United States, France, and Great Britain between 1952 and the 1970s. His major source was B. A. Seaby, Ltd., of London, the well-known numismatics dealership and publishing house founded by Herbert Allen Seaby in 1926. A memoir by David R. Sear, recounting a vignette from his years as a specialist on staff there, characterizes the tone of the establishment precisely during the era of Monks's purchases. Seaby's emerges not only as a place to purchase items on the market but as a salon for learned debate cutting across social boundaries on matters numismatic:

My years at Seaby also gave me the opportunity to become acquainted with a wide range of individuals covering the entire spectrum of ancient numismatics in the '60s. Luminaries from the academic world, professional dealers from many countries, and collectors of all types used to comprise what sometimes seemed an endless procession of visitors to the "top floor" of 65 Great Portland Street (the Seaby home until the end of the decade). One of my most vivid memories from those years is a scene which occurred one Friday afternoon, when the great Oxford scholar and author Colin Kraay sat happily chatting on the subject of ancient numismatics with one of our "regulars"—a most knowledgeable fellow who happened to be a night-watchman by profession.²¹²

In the course of roughly twenty years, Monks amassed a collection of over 1,500 coins. He delved into his hobby with scholarly intensity, maintaining a card catalogue in which he assiduously described each purchase and recorded his research notes. He bequeathed his coins to the Kelsey in 1979, and they were accepted by the Board of



Fig. 7.26a–b. Early Roman imperial bronze coin (issued in 20 BCE): Monks collection (KM 1991.2.973). (a) Obverse displaying the heads of Augustus and his right-hand man Agrippa, back to back (b) Reverse displaying a crocodile chained to a palm tree, symbolizing the subjugation of Egypt by Rome



Fig. 7.27a–b. Silver *tetradrachm* from the reign of the Hellenistic ruler Hieron II of Syracuse, Sicily (ca. 275–215 BCE); Monks collection (KM 1991.2.1).
 (a) Obverse displaying the portrait of Philistis
 (b) Reverse displaying Nike (the Greek personification of Victory) in her chariot and the name Philistis

Regents in 1991. In addition to this generous gift, Monks donated his card catalogue, which has assisted the Museum in creating comprehensive documentation files.

The Monks collection includes a wide variety of ancient types as well as Turkoman and medieval examples. It is thanks to Dr. Monks that the Museum now owns an example of a *siglos*—the Achaemenid Persian imperial silver archer coin (see fig. 4.27 above). Other interesting specimens emanate from minor Hellenistic kingdoms; still others are unusual Roman imperial issues from the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. Many are in excellent condition and represent through their imagery important moments in ancient history. One early Roman imperial bronze coin type, dating to 20 BCE, shows on the reverse a crocodile chained to a palm tree and on the obverse the heads of Augustus and his right-hand man Agrippa, back to back (fig. 7.26a–b). The reverse emblem allegorically advertises the subjugation of Egypt by Rome. Another beautiful and rare issue is a silver *tetradrachm* from the reign of the Hellenistic ruler Hieron II of Syracuse, Sicily (fig. 7.27a–b), dating to ca. 275–215 BCE. On the front is a portrait of a woman whose name (Philistis) appears on the back along with an image of Nike (the Greek personification of Victory) in her chariot. Philistis is not attested as an historical personage except through this coin type. Since it is so similar in every respect to the coinage of the ruler Hieron II (except for the crucial exchange of Hieron’s portrait and name for that of Phillistis on the back), it is presumed that Phillistis was his royal wife—and a powerful one indeed to have an issue of her own coin. Among Monks’s earlier Greek examples is a well-preserved 4th-century BCE Boeotian *stater* that offers a visual pun (fig. 7.28a–b). The reverse displays a Boeotian shield, which signifies Boeotia but also plays on the Greek word *bous* (ox), alluding to the fact that Greek shields were often covered with oxhide.

Fifty of the Monks coins are not accessioned because the Museum cannot demonstrate that their pedigree conforms to the ethics policies of UNESCO and the American Institute of Archaeology (chapter eight). By prior understanding with Dr. Monks,



Fig. 7.28a–b. A Boeotian *stater* (4th century BCE); Monks collection (KM 1991.2.66).
 (a) Obverse displaying an amphora and inscription
 (b) Reverse displaying a Boeotian shield, making a pun on the word *bous* (ox) since Greek shields were often covered with oxhide



Fig. 7.29a–b. Silver Sasanian *drachm* of Shapur I (241–272 CE); Gordus collection (KM 2009.1.221). (a) Obverse showing portrait of Shapur I in tall crenelated crown topped by eagle head (b) Reverse showing two attendants flanking the fire altar, facing away from center

these unaccessioned items are, nonetheless, used extensively for educational purposes—both in University of Michigan courses and in public outreach programming.

The Gordus Collection

Adon A. Gordus (b. 1932), professor emeritus of chemistry, taught at the University of Michigan from 1956 to 2001. His longstanding interest in nondestructive methods of materials analysis led to a collaboration with Professor James B. Griffin (1905–1997), a pioneer in the field of North American archaeology and an unfailing friend of the Kelsey Museum. From their two disciplinary vantage points, they explored the use of neutron activation analysis for the sourcing of obsidian (a volcanic material used for tools and other items in ancient times). Sourcing seeks to determine the original geographical location of a specific raw material used in the production of a particular artifact. Thus its potential impact on archaeology was (and remains) path-breaking for understanding patterns of trade in minerals and other natural substances. Gordus went on to experiment with nondestructive methods for the analysis of silver fineness and materials sourcing—aiming to build a database of information that might hold broad relevance for a range of archaeological questions, including the detection of forgeries. In preparation for the XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists held in Ann Arbor in 1967, he was permitted to perform neutron activation analysis on twenty-four Sasanian coins on loan to Ann Arbor from the Dr. George C. Miles Collection and the holdings of the American Numismatic Society. The coins were to be installed in a landmark exhibition and publication, *Sasanian Silver*, developed by Professor Oleg Grabar for the University of Michigan Museum of Art. Grabar, an eminent scholar in Islamic art and archaeology with a keen interest in numismatics, was eager for the effort to move forward.²¹³

For Gordus, this opportunity opened up a new area of professional engagement as well as personal fulfillment: “These coins, which we were allowed to analyze prior to their being installed in the display, served to produce, as an unexpected byproduct, the transformation of a chemist into an enthusiastic amateur Near Eastern numismatist.”²¹⁴ With the support of his own Department of Chemistry, the Michigan Memorial-Phoenix

Fig. 7.30a–b Silver Sasanian *drachm* of Khusro II (590–628 CE); Gordus collection (KM 2009.1.590). (a) Obverse showing portrait head of Khusro II in low crenelated crown topped by winged symbol, ringed by Zoroastrian astrological symbols of the crescent and star (b) Reverse showing two attendants flanking the fire altar, frontally disposed, ringed by Zoroastrian astrological symbols of the crescent and star





Fig. 7.31a–b. Copper Qajar coin (issued in 1824 CE) from Tabriz, Iran (KM 75938).

(a) Obverse showing an anthropomorphized sun motif emblematic of the cosmic associations of Iranian kingship

(b) Reverse showing inscription

Project, and the US Atomic Energy Commission Division of Research, Gordus developed and refined a set of analytical methods. In order to further develop a database of information on Sasanian silver and gold he began collecting coins, which he submitted to several of his newly refined tests. Ultimately he donated his collection—some 1,000 in all—to the Kelsey Museum in two lots, one in 1995, the other in 2009. The scientific results based on these coins have formed the evidentiary core for a suite of publications.²¹⁵ The coins themselves, coupled with the accompanying analytical data Gordus has provided, make his collection a particularly valuable numismatic resource for projects in royal Zoroastrian iconography, mint locations, and economic history (figs. 7.29a–b and 7.30a–b).

IN ADDITION TO the major groups highlighted above, the Kelsey is home to many smaller collections of donated coins. These include gifts from Professor Kelsey's son Easton Trowbridge Kelsey, mentioned in chapter three, some impressive exemplars of Islamic coinages (fig. 7.31a–b), and a collection from Mr. Herman C. Hoskier, a British banker and associate of Professor Kelsey. The Hoskier donation contains rare Roman bronze coins that were once part of Hoskier's larger numismatic collection published in 1907 by Jacob Hirsch. Finally, a corpus of Sasanian silver and gold coins donated by Ann Taylor van Rosevelt complements excavated examples from Seleucia.

GLASS

Overview

The Kelsey holds representative collections of glass from the 2nd millennium BCE to the 19th century CE. Finds from Karanis form the quantitative core—weighting the collections toward Egypt under Ptolemaic and Roman rule. Important but much smaller groups come from the Seleucia and Sepphoris excavations. Kelsey-sponsored campaigns at Tel Anafa in Israel (1978–1986) also yielded significant glass of the Levant under Seleucid rule.²¹⁶ Although these Tel Anafa objects physically reside in Israel, and are not part of the Kelsey Museum collections, research on the corpus has appreciably improved our understanding of certain Hellenistic types that are currently owned by the Museum and derive from undocumented contexts.

Major groups of purchases and gifts supplement the Kelsey's archaeologically derived corpora. Categories of glass not linked to controlled excavations include collections large and small assembled in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by archaeologists and antiquarian collectors. These donors include Professor Kelsey (who began collecting glass in North Africa and Europe in the 1890s), William Flinders Petrie, Peter Ruthven, Dr. David Askren, Father Giuseppe De Criscio, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, the Reverend Camden McCormack Cobern, and the industrialist Henry Osborne Havemeyer (the only person we have not already encountered). Additionally, a small assortment of glass



Fig. 7.32. Egyptian heart amulet (1570–1070 BCE); Ruthven collection (KM 1970.3.394).



Fig. 7.33. Long-necked green glass beaker with trail decoration (7th–8th centuries CE); Ruthven collection from Egypt (KM 1968.2.184).

objects in the Kelsey was acquired through an object exchange with the Toledo Museum of Art in 1977.

Glass-making is known as early as about 2500 BCE from Mesopotamia. Although the Museum does not own any examples from that time period, it does possess several glass artifacts from the Egyptian New Kingdom, dating some 1,000 years later. This small assortment includes rods of deep blue glass fused with a white interior for furniture inlays, part of the Reverend Cobern's donation to the Bay View Association. Also from the New Kingdom is a core-formed "heart amulet" of blue glass with contrasting zigzags collected by Peter Ruthven (fig. 7.32). At the other end of the temporal spectrum are modern glass vessels from Egypt and Iran extending through the 19th century CE (fig. 7.33; see also fig. 7.46 below). While the Museum has numerous examples along this continuum of 3,000 years, the donated collections are best represented by Roman imperial through late antique/early Islamic pieces. The finds derive from a broad geographic range, including Germany, Italy, Egypt, North Africa, Cyprus, the Levant, and across western Asia.²¹⁷

Karanis and Seleucia

Michigan's excavations at Karanis in the Egyptian Fayum yielded hundreds of complete glass vessels, many of them perfectly preserved, without a trace of weathering. Thousands of small glass fragments complete the corpus. The Karanis discoveries emerged primarily from domestic contexts, providing rich documentation on aspects of social function and chronology. Additionally, most of the glass excavated at Karanis was made locally, with only a small assortment of fragments of luxury wares imported from the cosmopolitan setting of Alexandria. Thus we glean important information on how glass was produced and then marketed within the Fayum region. The glass from the first five seasons at Karanis was published in the 1930s by Donald Harden in a book that remains a classic even though dated.²¹⁸

Thanks to the dry climate and desiccating sands of Egypt, much of the glass from Karanis looks pristine. Its mint condition, combined with the modern look of some vessel shapes, never ceases to amaze visitors to the Museum. The glass decanter with fiber stopper and stemware group of the 4th–5th centuries CE is a particular favorite (fig. 7.34). The set was found together, with the decanter containing dried traces of wine.²¹⁹

A common glass shape at Karanis is the conical form, created in several decorative variations. Some of these may have been used as drinking vessels; others were certainly used as lamps—either suspended by chains or set into stands. The translucent cones held oil topped with a floating wick. In one case, the conical lamp had been chipped at the rim and repurposed as a dice shaker for games of chance. (Now we know what the Roman soldiers garrisoned in the town did in their free time.) The vessel was discovered in House C84 with four bone dice inside it (fig. 7.35).²²⁰ Cone-shaped examples of glass were also popular in late antique Egypt and the Near East, used as lamps that emitted a mystical glow when lit.



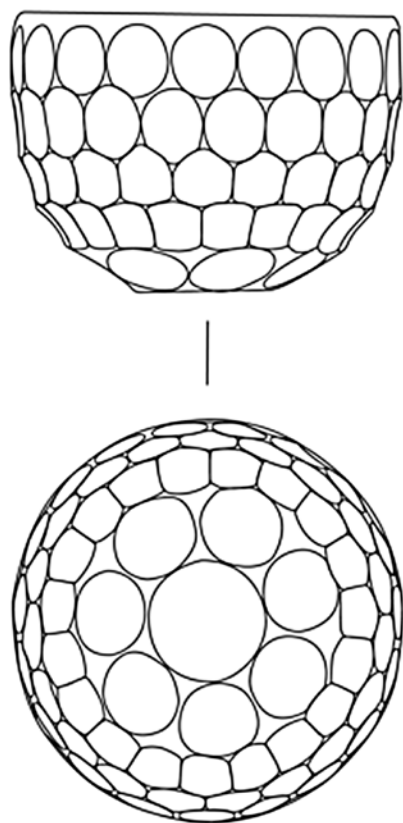
Fig. 7.34. Decanter and two of a set of four glasses found together (1st–4th centuries CE); Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 5936 [decanter]; KM 5965 and KM 5966 [two glasses]) (photo, R. Stegmeyer).



Fig. 7.35. Conical glass lamp reused as a dice shaker, with dice (1st–4th centuries CE); discovered in House C84 with the four bone dice inside the lamp; Michigan excavations at Karanis, Egypt (KM 5930 [lamp] and KM 22782–KM 22785 [dice]; photo, R. Stegmeyer).



Fig. 7.36. Decorative wall revetments of elaborately inlaid glass, embedded in brick (248 BCE–226 CE); American excavations at Seleucia (Toledo Museum of Art 1931.118).



Excavations at Seleucia on the Tigris in Iraq yielded relatively little glass; but the finds hold substantial interest. Fragments of colorful glass paneling discovered fused to brickwork provide evidence of elaborate wall treatments in sumptuous palatial establishments (fig. 7.36). Some Seleucia discoveries also offer insight into specialized glass techniques and patterns of trade. A surface find preserving the bottom half of a spherical faceted cut-glass bowl of Sasanian date (fig. 7.37a–b) exemplifies an important luxury type that was coveted both West and East—all the way to China—for its weightiness and transparency. Although the Kelsey's example from Seleucia has devitrified to an opaque brown, it is strikingly similar to one represented on a painted silk banner of the 7th century CE (now in the British Museum) from a Buddhist

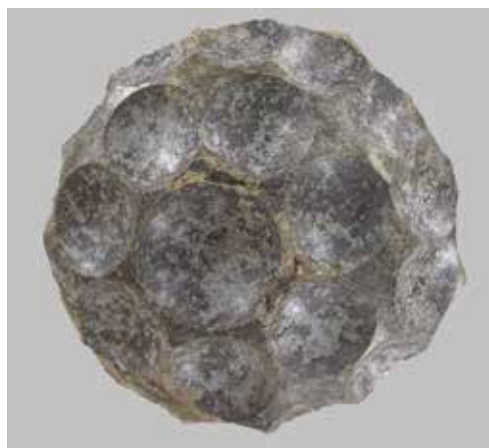


Fig. 7.37a (near left). Base fragment of a Sasanian faceted glass bowl (226–642 CE); a surface find of the American excavations at Seleucia (KM 36358).

Fig. 7.37b (far left). Reconstruction drawings of a similar vessel showing side and profile views, adapted by Lisa Padilla from Fukai 1977, fig. 20.



Fig. 7.38. Large glass cinerary urn (2nd century CE), said to be from Italy; Havemeyer (ex-Cesnola) collection (KM 88860).



Fig. 7.39. Watercolor facsimile by Maria Barosso of mural on east wall, Room 5, Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii (ca. 60–40 BCE); detail showing a spherical glass bowl similar to fig. 7.38 (KM 2000.2.3a).

cave at Tun Huang, along the Silk Road in western China. The banner depicts a Bodhisattva holding one of these cut-glass vessels. It is so translucent that the figure's fingers show through the facets. A pristine example of a comparable Sasanian vessel was buried with the emperor Ankan of Japan in a tumulus at Osaka in the 6th century CE.²²¹

Beyond the small number of Egyptian Dynastic glass fragments alluded to above, the early (pre-Roman Empire) glass in the Kelsey from gifts, purchases, and exchanges includes excellent examples of core-formed glass vessels of the 5th century BCE, probably from Syria and acquired from the Toledo Exchange. Complete molded conical bowls of Hellenistic date also derive from the Toledo Exchange and the Havemeyer collection, complementing the Museum's extensive collection of diagnostic rim fragments from excavated corpora.

The Havemeyer (ex-Cesnola) Collection

Henry Osborne Havemeyer (1847–1907) was a New York City industrialist who inherited a sugar refinery business from his father (the Brooklyn firm of Havemeyers and Elder) at the age of twenty-two. The refinery was devastated by fire in 1882—an event that ironically led to extraordinary success for the company. Havemeyer, who became known as the Sugar King, and his brother rebuilt the refinery and made it the largest in the country. At the time of his sudden death, his company, which had been renamed the American Sugar Refining Company, controlled 80 percent of the sugar refining output in the United States. Perhaps it is no coincidence that at the apogee of the Sugar King's career (and just shortly before his death), a raid on the Brooklyn docks, where the ASRC plant was located, revealed that their scales were rigged so that import duties were vastly underreported.

As a fabulously wealthy man, Havemeyer was able to cultivate a lavish lifestyle and an expansive and expensive penchant for collecting. Among his passions was a keen interest in glass—from ancient vessels to modern works of Tiffany and Favre. Upon the death in 1929 of Havemeyer's widow, Louise Havemeyer, the most prized art works in the family collection were donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The rest, including substantial works in glass, were sold at auction in 1930, where Emil Lorch (then Dean of the Michigan College of Architecture) acquired choice artifacts—including ancient ones as well as a selection of Tiffany masterpieces. Eventually the ancient objects passed to the Kelsey. Some of these originally derived from the Cesnola collection, Havemeyer having purchased them when the Met sold off much of Cesnola's collection (chapter six).

A large spherical cinerary urn of greenish transparent glass, said to be from Italy of the 2nd century CE, exemplifies the Havemeyer legacy (fig. 7.38). A fine piece in its own right, it is also interesting for its connections with a painting from the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii. A similar glass vessel is depicted on the east wall of Room 5, where it was likely used for divination (chapter five) (fig. 7.39).



Fig. 7.40. Field photo (detail) of Peter Ruthven with workmen at Michigan excavations in Egypt; 1931 (Kelsey Museum Archives).



Fig. 7.41. Pen and ink sketch by Peter Ruthven of a house in the Fayum (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

The Ruthven Collection

The Ruthven collection of more than 3,000 antiquities was donated to the Kelsey Museum by Dr. Alexander Grant Ruthven (1882–1971), a prominent scientist and the University of Michigan’s seventh president from 1929 to 1951. These objects were not, however, collected by him but rather by his son, Alexander Peter Ruthven (1912–1965) (fig. 7.40). Peter Ruthven amassed a broad corpus of material in the 1930s that included bone artifacts, wood, textiles, magical amulets, beads, bracelets, papyri, small sculptures in stone and bronze, glazed ceramics, and especially glass vessels and other glass artifacts. The chronological span of the antiquities focused on the later Roman to Byzantine and Islamic Periods (ca. 2nd–12th centuries CE) and often reflected a predilection for small, colorful, and intricately decorated pieces.²²²

The son of an adventurous and pioneering zoologist, Peter Ruthven had an unusual childhood, sharing his home with two siblings, an array of birds, salamanders, 742 goldfish, an alligator, a turtle, and a dog. A stream of eminent visitors and college students frequented the family residence—the stately president’s mansion on South University in the center of campus. As a child he accompanied his father and other staff members from the University’s Museum of Natural History on several collecting expeditions, delighted to study and draw the various faunal samples. A letter from his father to a close friend reports that Peter, then aged twelve, “feels like a real collector as he has all the shells to clean. He has just finished drawing a hundred and twenty seven snails.”²²³ Even from a young age, Peter was an excellent draftsman and a creative artist who loved to sketch what he observed on his travels (fig. 7.41).

At nineteen he was hired by his uncle, Professor E. E. Peterson (see fig. 4.8 above), to serve as an artist for two expeditions in Egypt—at Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos. He also catalogued the mass of small beads unearthed at these sites and served as chauffeur and supervisor of the excavations’ cars. Peter continued to work at Karanis for a number of years, shouldering increasing responsibility and honing his skills as an archaeologist and researcher. After earning a BA from the University of Michigan in 1933, he decided to continue graduate studies in Islamic art while also working at the newly established Museum of Classical Archaeology in various curatorial capacities. Though a person beset by psychological difficulties, he remained industrious, well organized, and enthusiastic within the embrace of the Museum and the expeditions he participated in under his uncle’s wing. He is reported, for example, to have curated more than a dozen exhibitions between 1940 and 1941 at various venues on campus.

While working at Karanis, Peter accompanied his uncle, who visited dealers in order to purchase items for the University. Peter also seems to have embarked on several solo purchasing sojourns to Cairo, carefully selecting pieces that he thought would fill gaps in the University’s ancient collections or would contribute material toward a more representative assemblage of artifacts from the late antique period into the modern era. He kept meticulous accounts, noting whenever he could the costs, dealers’ names, and provenances of his acquisitions. Not surprisingly, given his childhood trips with his



Fig. 7.42 (*left*). Mosaic glass inlay fragment of a wall decoration, depicting the head of a fish (1st century BCE–1st century CE); Ruthven collection, acquired in Egypt (KM 1965.3.135).



Fig. 7.43 (*center*). Interior medallion of a glazed ceramic bowl, displaying a grooming water fowl (12th–13th centuries CE); Ruthven collection, acquired in Egypt (KM 1971.1.63).



Fig. 7.44 (*right*). Rim fragment from an enamel-painted glass vessel, displaying a fish motif (13th–14th centuries CE); Ruthven collection, acquired in Egypt (KM 1970.3.654).

father on zoological expeditions and the household menagerie of pets, a number of his objects depict animals, charmingly portrayed in various media. Of particular note are Peter’s purchases of glass objects and brightly glazed ceramics (figs. 7.42–7.44).

During his father’s term as president, many of Peter’s carefully selected artifacts were displayed in the president’s mansion. Peter seems to have been actively involved in the installations—determining selections and placement and designing and building the display cases, many of them highlighting his collection of glass (figs. 7.45–7.46). President Ruthven’s bimonthly “Ruthven Teas” for students, faculty, and University personnel sometimes attracted hundreds of visitors and featured tours of the antiquities.

Peter had always planned to leave his collection to the University in the hopes that it would inspire Michigan students of art and archaeology. When Alexander Ruthven retired in 1951 and moved to Dexter, Michigan, the antiquities that had once graced the president’s mansion remained in Ann Arbor, shuttled into storage at the Kelsey Museum. The process of accessioning them did not, however, begin until six years had passed. From 1957 to 1971, a few boxes were opened annually, each item accessioned into the Museum. Peter Ruthven himself had in the meantime suffered serious illness and prolonged institutionalization. He died in 1965. The Ruthven donations were a fitting tribute to Peter’s youthful visions, aesthetic discernment, and wishes to further the education of the public and Michigan students alike.

FINE ART PHOTOGRAPHY AND PRINTS

Photography

The Kelsey is home to thousands of photographs reaching as far back as the 1870s. Not surprisingly—given the long history of expeditions, fieldwork, and collecting—many of

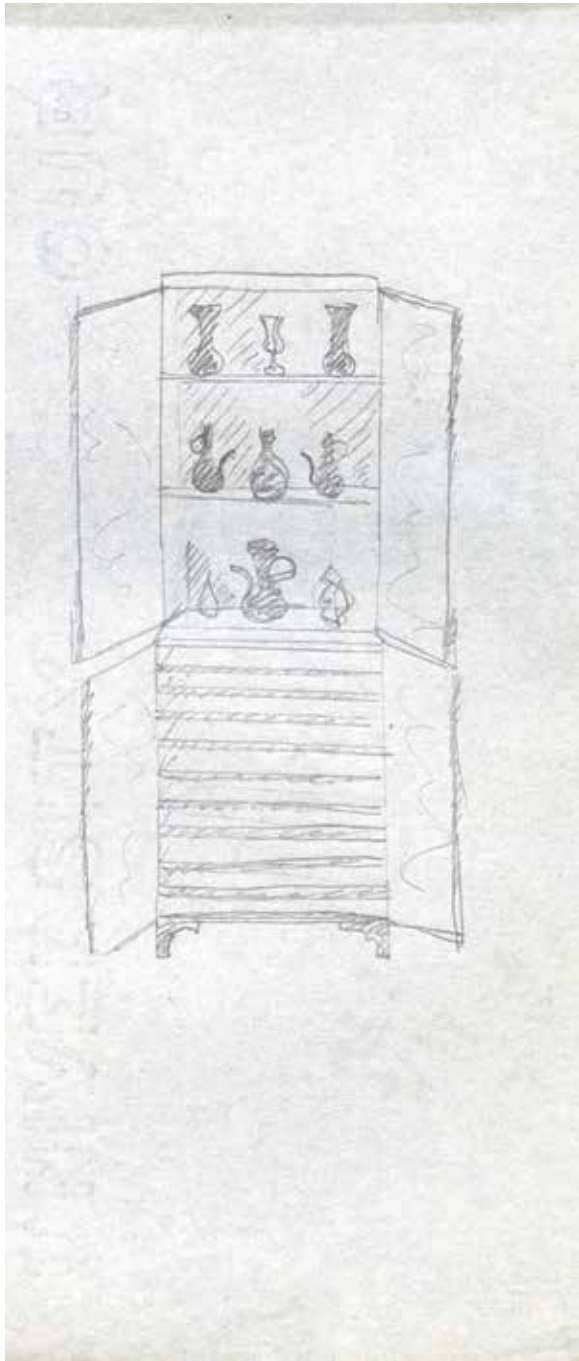


Fig. 7.45. Pencil sketch by Peter Ruthven for design of one of the glass display vitrines in the president's mansion on South State St. (Kelsey Museum Archives).



Fig. 7.46. Blue glass ewer (19th century CE); Ruthven collection; from Iran, acquired in Egypt (KM 1969.3.45).

these images are documents of record, detailing excavation work, objects unearthed on sites, and items in the collections. A rough estimate in 1998 placed the overall number at 90,000, including old black-and-white prints and negatives, 35-mm color photos and slides, and a burgeoning collection of digital images. The earliest material, generated by large format cameras, produced 5" × 7", 8" × 10", and 7" × 11" black-and-white prints. The Museum also holds approximately 5,800 small Kodaks from the 1920s, a modest sample of early and often colorized glass negatives, and 78 panoramics (taken between 1924 and 1925) that were produced by a special circuit camera. Many of the older black-and-white images only exist on paper, with no original negatives surviving.

A subgroup of all these images comes under the heading of fine arts photography. Among these are approximately 7,500 albumen prints from the late 1800s that seem to have been purchased in Europe for teaching purposes in University classes. Many were acquired from large European photographic firms—such as Alinari in Florence (founded in 1852)—which supported a growing demand by scholars for professional and artistically framed photos of historical monuments, archaeological sites, and major works of art in museums. The Kelsey's albumen prints include examples by several well-known 19th-century photographers, including Pascal Sebah, Félix Bonfils, Giorgio Sommer, and Michele Mang. Additionally, a small but important collection of black-and-white photographs was produced by University of Michigan photographer Fred Anderegg, a member of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expeditions in 1958 and 1960 to the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai (chapter four). His images, which feature in prominent academic and popular publications, not only capture the architecture, icons, and mosaics of that extraordinary site but also include vivid portraits of the resident monks and the local Bedouins.

Taken in aggregate, the many images now stored in the Kelsey Museum provide an important record on the social history of archaeological photography. Especially noteworthy are the images from the Mediterranean and the Near East from early in the 20th century that speak to issues of colonialism, the role of men and women on early excavations, and the buying strategies of early Western collectors.²²⁴

Here, out of this abundance of riches, we focus on our holdings of the work of two particularly renowned photographers, each of whom occupies a distinguished place in the history of archaeological photography.

The Photographic Collection of John Henry Parker (1806–1884)

Among its many treasures, the Kelsey is fortunate to count some 3,300 19th-century photographs of Roman monuments in the Parker collection. The development of photography in the 1840s opened up a new world, not least to archaeologists, art historians, and architects. It suddenly became possible to document an endless array of ancient architecture and spaces, works of art, and artifacts in more detail and, in some cases, with more veracity than through drawings. Although antiquarians in Rome were slow to exploit this new tool, by the 1860s the new medium was being widely used, particularly



Fig. 7.47. Photograph of John Henry Parker (Parker 1876, frontispiece).

by John Henry Parker, one of the first scholars to understand the great potentials that the camera held for systematically recording the ruins of Rome (fig. 7.47). Many of the great and longstanding buildings of that city were increasingly subject to destruction by modernization, and Parker was strongly committed to creating a photographic record of classical and medieval architecture not only in Rome but throughout Italy. Although Parker rarely took the photographs himself, he commissioned the specific views (and in some cases purchased existing negatives) from at least seven different photographers.

John Henry Parker was the son of a British merchant. He entered into his uncle's Oxford bookseller business in 1821, at the age of fifteen, and a decade later assumed sole control of the firm. Highly successful in the book trade, he was also an outspoken advocate for restoration of ecclesiastical buildings and frequently published major works on Gothic architecture in England. In the 1870s, he turned his attention to the history of Rome, producing a number of classic volumes on the archaeology, topography, and architecture of Rome.²²⁵ These publications were labors of love, carefully recording and interpreting the history of "the Eternal City" through its early monuments. No architectural detail was too trivial, and each of his volumes is illustrated with abundant photo-engravings, plans, and elevations. Today his photographs provide not only minute details of the buildings, some no longer standing, but also a window onto a critical period in the history of photography. In recognition of his efforts, Parker was decorated by the king of Italy and received a medal of merit from Pope Pius IX.



Fig. 7.48. Parker collection photograph 620 (late 19th century): Parker caption reads: Catacomb of S. Domatilla—Brickwork at the Entrance, c. A.D. 100; Charles Smeaton, photographer (KM 2000.1.62).

Fig 7.49. Parker collection photograph 3212: Parker caption reads: Sculpture—Excavations, 1874—Another View of remains of Sculpture, &c., found and preserved in the warehouse of the Municipality; photographer unidentified (KM 2000.1.321).



The breadth of his collected photographs is impressive, ranging from well-known buildings such as the Colosseum, to excavations in progress, to close-ups of colossal sculptural fragments that appear almost surreal, to studies intended to provoke contemplation of man's pursuit of an understanding of the past (figs. 7.48–7.49).²²⁶

The Kelsey's collection of Parker's Roman photographs is almost complete. As such it is unique outside of Europe. It came to Ann Arbor through the tireless efforts of Professor Kelsey. In July 1925 Kelsey had noticed an advertisement for the sale of approximately 3,300 of Parker's photographs in Oxford, England. His energetic fundraising ultimately enabled the University to acquire the entire lot. The cachet of the set was enhanced by the fact that it was understood to have been Parker's personal portfolio, which he had used for study purposes. Unfortunately, Kelsey died soon after the purchase, and twenty-two years passed before further mention of the photographs appears in the University's archives, when it is noted that they were transferred from the attic of the University Library to the attic of the Kelsey Museum. Not until 1979 were they rediscovered. They now hold a special place in the collections of the Museum—a precious record of 19th-century Rome viewed through the eyes of a Victorian scholar.²²⁷

The Photographs of George R. Swain (1866–1947)

The Kelsey Museum is also home to approximately 12,300 black-and-white images taken and developed by George R. Swain, a commercial photographer in Ann Arbor and a



Fig. 7.50. Photograph (detail) of George R. Swain with his camera at the pyramids in Giza, Egypt; March 26, 1920 (photo, Easton Kelsey; Kelsey Museum neg. no. KK 090).

long-time collaborator of Professor Kelsey (fig. 7.50). After receiving both his BA (1897) and MA (1900) from the University of Michigan, Swain accepted various teaching positions in California, Montana, Ohio, and Illinois. In 1913 he returned to Ann Arbor, where he started his own private photographic business and simultaneously worked as one of the University photographers. In that same year he began his long and fruitful association with Kelsey, traveling with him on several trips abroad.

Physically, Swain presented a stark contrast to Kelsey. Eight years younger and a strapping 6 feet 3 inches tall, he towered over his senior and more portly associate. Despite their outward appearances, however, Swain and Kelsey had much in common. Like Kelsey, Swain was an educator at heart; both shared a passion for antiquity and an interest, among other things, in the life and battles of Caesar. Swain's fascination with this quintessential Roman military man found its most direct expression in a trip he undertook in 1899. That year he bicycled 2,000 miles through France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, capturing hundreds of images of Caesar's battlefields.

A man of many talents, Swain had a fine photographic eye. Although many of his black-and-white images document the ongoing progress of excavations and could thus be classified as dig shots, additional images focus on four trips that Kelsey and Swain undertook together to Europe, the Near East, and Egypt from 1919 to 1926. These four journeys stretched over seven years. The first lasted for approximately one year, September 1919 to August 1920; the second for eight months in 1924; the third for an additional seven months, February through September 1925; and the last for five months in 1926. The particular routes varied each year, but they often covered similar ground, retracing some of their footsteps from the previous year. The trip in 1919–1920, for example, started in London, moved through France, Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey, then into Syria and Palestine, down to Egypt, back up to Patmos and Turkey, then to Greece, Italy, Germany, and Belgium, and finally back to France.

At least on the surface, these trips were organized for three interlocking reasons: (a) to find archaeological sites to excavate, (b) to collect antiquities and ancient manuscripts, and (c) to amass a photographic archive of known archaeological sites for University teaching. Although many of the thousands of photographs that Swain took in those years do, indeed, show archaeological sites, ancient manuscripts, and ancient finds, Swain often focused his talents on scenes of local daily life and documentation of large social concerns roiling in the region. Kelsey and Swain traveled to Greece, Turkey, and other areas of the Near East and North Africa during years that would, in retrospect, be seen as pivotal in world history. Swain was constantly turning his camera to document conditions in the immediate aftermath of World War I and the impending collapse of the Ottoman Empire. His non-archaeological photographs provide a precious ethnography of the early 1920s. Just as importantly, nearly all of his photographs are carefully captioned and can often be linked, almost by the day, to numerous letters he sent home to his family. A series of unpublished essays by Swain, now housed at the University of Michigan, adds another layer of insight to his photographic oeuvre.²²⁸

Fig. 7.51. Photograph of monks on Patmos, Greece, playing the *semandron*; May 1920 (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. 7.422).



Among the compelling photos recording the contemporary scene are those that capture occupations soon to become extinct, images of ports and marketplaces that look picturesque to us now but reflect the tenuous economy of the day, and records of marginal populations and refugees, such as Armenians encamped in Turkey after the Ottoman genocide. Swain's image of monks on the island of Patmos and at Mt. Athos in Greece document worlds rarely seen by travelers (and in the case of Mt. Athos, places that women are still not allowed to visit). A photo of the monks on Patmos hitting the great *semandron* to call their brothers to service (fig. 7.51) is a striking example of a monastic activity that had endured for centuries. Swain's original caption helps explicate the image:

Monastery of St. John. Four monks playing with mallets on the great "semandron" in the court. A fifth monk beyond with a small semandron in his hand. The use of these wooden bars is said to have originated in a time when the use of bells was forbidden to monasteries. The great semandron is a bar of oak (25' 9" long, 2" × 6 ½" section. One wonders if it is some old ship timber).

Likewise, a 1919 photograph taken near the Spice Bazaar, or "Egyptian Bazaar," in Constantinople captures a society about to undergo searing changes (fig. 7.52). A young man, probably illiterate, leans forward to dictate a letter to a public scribe who will turn his words into Ottoman script. Both men, wearing fezzes, are completely absorbed in the moment, unaware of the life-altering Turkish revolution that will soon erupt and ban the wearing of the Ottoman fez.

Fig. 7.52. Photograph of two men in Constantinople, Turkey; December 9, 1919; Swain caption reads: Young man having a letter written by the old public letter writer, near the Egyptian Bazaar (photo, G. R. Swain; Kelsey Museum neg. no. KS47.10).



During these trips Swain also composed poetry and lengthy musings about his experiences. From his perch in Tunisia, for example, he writes about the profusion of colors that his black-and-white photographs cannot capture, reflecting how attuned he is to the polychromatic richness of the region:

I have found where the sample set of colors used on all the Mediterranean are located—the Gulf of Tunis. Due to varying depths, changing character of the bottom, clouds, sky, and atmosphere there is here to be seen a marvelous display of color—all shades of blue from warm purplish through chilly cobalt to greenish, and even shades of green—it is never twice alike and would, I think be the inspiration or despair of a marine painter flaunting their magenta banners. . . . The amount of raw color, so to speak, in the landscape at times is simply incredible, not to be imagined by anyone who has not traveled outside the central west.²²⁹

Like many American travelers in his day, Swain also noted those things he found frustrating about the “Oriental” cultures of the Ottoman Mediterranean and Near East. Commenting on the particular sense of time and scheduling in the region, he writes, “We had hoped to reach Athens by 11:30 but, alas, the regular recurrence of the irregular may confidently be predicted—especially in the Near East.”²³⁰

The photographs and writings of Swain are a rare and instructive collection of a worldly American sojourner in the early 1900s. They provide a unique blend of one

man's personal and professional journey at a time when important archaeological discoveries were being made and significant political events were reshaping the region.

Prints

The Lithographs of David Roberts

In 2013 the Kelsey community was delighted to learn that Eugene and Emily Grant intend to donate to the Museum their rare edition of the two-volume book of lithographs by David Roberts. A University of Michigan undergraduate, Eugene M. Grant went on to earn a law degree from Columbia University in 1941. He served as a US Air Force pilot in World War II and eventually founded Eugene M. Grant & Company, a Manhattan-based real estate investment and development firm. Often described as a legendary powerhouse in this field, he is also a respected civic leader. This extensive set of Roberts prints will join eight individual Roberts lithographs previously given by the Grants and a single print depicting the Monastery of St. Catherine's at Mount Sinai donated by Ann Arbor philanthropists of the arts Robert and Pearson Macek in 2002. The latter piece evocatively depicts the early Christian religious enclave (chapter four; compare fig. 4.28) clinging against the majestic but formidable desert terrain (fig. 7.53).

The artist David Roberts (1796–1864) emerged from humble beginnings as the son of a Scottish shoemaker to become a commercially successful and much-sought-after artist in his own day (fig. 7.54). He exhibited talent at a young age, imitating and copying any picture or engraving he could procure. Encouraged by his parents, he left school at eleven and apprenticed to an Edinburgh house painter. Although his seven-year apprenticeship was harsh and exacting, it allowed the young Roberts time to hone his considerable skills. Unlike house painters of today, those of the early 19th century were involved in imitative painting, often asked by wealthy clients to transform flat walls into *trompe l'oeil* renderings of marble staircases, elegant pavements, and tracery panels. His apprenticeship completed, Roberts found work as a scenic painter in the theater, working first with a strolling company, then with the greatest theatrical and operatic productions on the London stage, where his designs drew lavish praise.

As was the custom of the times, many artists traveled abroad on sketching tours. While Italy had long been a hunting ground for painters, Roberts decided to visit Spain. Between 1823 and 1833 he made several trips there, producing a number of splendid lithographs, whose success surprised him: 1,200 sets of his lithographs were sold in the space of only two months. But it was a trip in 1838–1839 that changed his life and the course of his career as a painter. Since childhood, he had dreamed of seeing Egypt and the Holy Land. This yearning finally came to fruition with a tour of Egypt followed by a tour of Palestine. After his travels, Roberts abandoned his busy theatrical career completely to devote himself to painting and print-making. He embarked upon a new adventure as a European sojourner in Egypt and the Near East, producing thousands of drawings, sketches, lithographs, and paintings, including detailed depictions of ancient monuments.

Fig. 7.53. Lithograph by David Roberts showing a view of Mount Sinai (1840s); gift of Robert and Pearson Macek, 2002 (KM 2002.1.1).

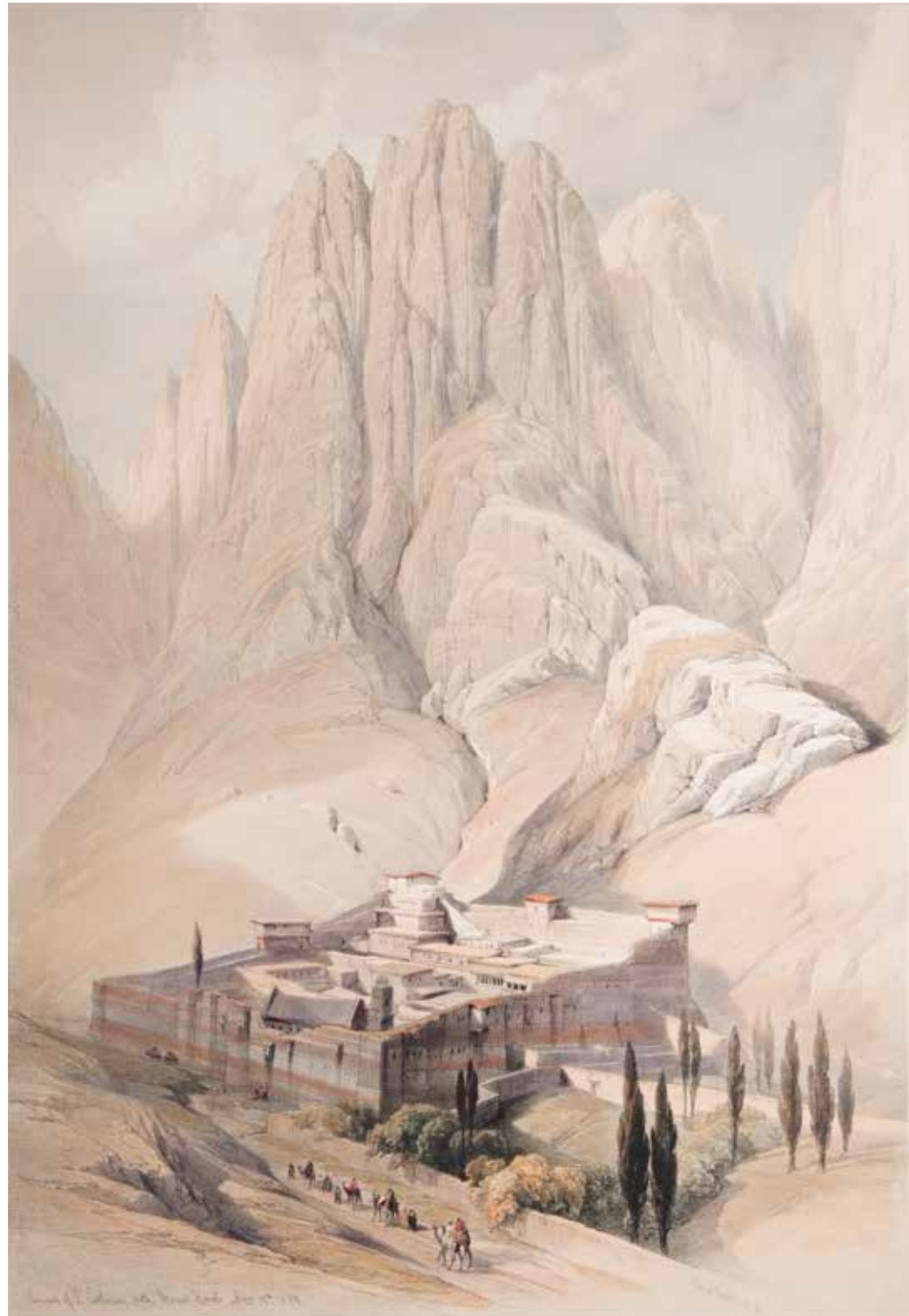


Fig. 7.54. Oil painting portrait of David Roberts in Arab dress by Robert Scott Lauder (1840) (PG 2466, courtesy of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery).



His legacy is unparalleled—no other single artist has left such a compelling visual record of these lands in the mid-19th century.

In addition to his painterly output, Roberts was a compulsive writer of journals and letters. His descriptions of the exotic places he visited were often vivid. Although widely read, he was a poor speller, possibly the result of his limited formal education. His spelling varied widely and became worse when he was excited. A letter to a close friend provides an insightful account of his boat trip up the Nile:

... and with the exception of Mosquitos, myriads of flies, fleas, bugs, lice, lizards, and ratts, I was tollerably well off—with these accompaniments you may be shure all was not pleasure—add to which the Thermometre at 100 in the Shade and sometimes higher. . . . But that is of no consequence. . . . I cannot say [that my sketches have] done justice to [ancient Egypt], for no painting can do that . . . and no artist that ever lived could come near—the sunrising and setting are the most glorious, perhaps in the world and these glorious ruins, ruins still retaining the brilliant colours with which they were decorated.²³¹

Leaving Egypt, he and his few fellow travelers rode by camel across the Sinai desert into Palestine, disguised in Eastern dress and carrying pistols, rifles, and sabers for protection. Arriving during Holy Week, Roberts joined throngs of pilgrims who had journeyed from all over the world to celebrate Easter. His images of this experience captured the world's imagination, and this last stop on his artistic pilgrimage was a fitting end to his exceptional journey.

After his return to England in 1839, Roberts spent the next ten years producing drawings (based on his sketches) for a series of lithographs. The works were produced as a multivolume set containing 248 hand-painted lithographs. The series, which was sold by subscription and published on a monthly basis for seven years, was an immediate success; Queen Victoria and Charles Dickens were among the subscribers. It remains coveted today; and complete sets are difficult to find.

The Roberts lithographs provide a valuable companion to the Kelsey's edition of the *Description de L'Égypte*, to which we now turn. Both works were instrumental in shaping early Western perceptions of the East as exotic, strange, and romantic—starting with the *Description de l'Égypte* at the beginning of the 19th century and reinforced by the oeuvre of David Roberts at mid-19th century.

The Description de l'Égypte

In 1953, Dr. Otto O. Fisher, MD (1881–1961) gave the Kelsey a great treasure: his complete deluxe first edition of the *Description de l'Égypte*, the foundational publication in the history of Egyptology. This *magnum opus* runs to thousands of pages. The first edition of the *Description* was released in stages over a span of nineteen years (1809–1828). The final publication helped spawn the phenomenon of “Egyptomania,” the 19th-century fascination with Egypt and its antiquities that swept through Europe and North America. In a very real sense, it thus sowed the seeds of the Egyptian collections in the Kelsey, as elsewhere.

Fisher was born in Shelby County, Ohio, and grew up on a farm. Educated by a private tutor and teachers at the local schoolhouse, he eventually earned a BA from Miami University of Ohio and a medical degree from the Johns Hopkins University. He interned in surgery at the Ford Hospital in Detroit in 1922–1923 and then practiced in that city, specializing in industrial surgery for injuries involving heavy machinery until his retirement in 1945. Fisher established a pioneering industrial medical unit for the Hudson Motor Car Company of Detroit, complete with instruments and protocols designed by Fisher himself. His prototype ultimately became a model for comparable units in many industries. In addition to being a prominent professional and citizen (serving in both world wars), Fisher pursued several nonmedical passions and curiosities. In 1943 and 1944, for example, he joined an expedition cosponsored by the American Museum of Natural History, the University of Michigan, and the Miami University of Ohio to study the Parícutin volcano in Mexico. By avocation Fisher was, however, first and foremost an astute, learned bibliophile. His internationally known

collection of rare books and other forms of written documents at one time numbered more than 20,000. His holdings ranged from Sumerian clay tablets to leaves from a Gutenberg Bible.

The *Description de l'Égypte* has a long and illustrious history. In 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) embarked on a bold (though ultimately failed) military campaign to conquer Egypt for France. The destination of the mission was kept secret from all but a few until the moment the ships set sail. Napoleon's ambition was not only to conquer Egypt militarily but also to colonize the country and to attach and co-opt its ancient heritage to the glory of France. Toward these ends, the young empire-builder intended to launch a complete, scientific investigation of Egypt, demanding the participation of a corps of specialists. These *savants* (as they are called in French) were first and foremost charged with developing a systematic infrastructure to support the colonization of the land and its people. Included among a cadre of mathematicians, scientists, and engineers would also be a number of humanists and draftsmen.

The man Napoleon picked to bring all these specialists together and to lead the mission was Gaspard Monge (1746–1818), the inventor of descriptive geometry. Son of an itinerant knife-grinder, Monge went on to be interred in the Pantheon, to have his name inscribed at the base of the Tour Eiffel, and to have the rue Monge (Paris, 5th Arrondissement) named after him. The *savants* he supervised conducted topographical regional surveys, studied the native animals and plants, collected and classified the local minerals and geomorphology, and recorded Egypt's trades and daily life. Most importantly for archaeologists, they also recorded the magnificent remains of ancient Egypt in descriptions, measurements, and drawings.²³² Before that time, most of what was known about Egyptian archaeology in Europe was confined to the pyramids and select sculptures. Many of the grand temples and tombs had yet to become part of Egypt's celebrated past. And hieroglyphs had not yet been deciphered. Indeed, it was one of the invading soldiers who discovered the Rosetta Stone, which ultimately became key to that momentous scholarly achievement by Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832).²³³ In many other ways as well, Napoleon's campaign forever changed the world's perception of Egypt's antiquities.

Napoleon's draftsmen often had to work fast, filling their notebooks in short bursts of time with ground plans, architectural details, scenes from wall paintings, and transcriptions of texts in a still-mysterious language. Although they were noncombatants, some were inevitably caught up and killed in the relentless military skirmishes. Even without those stresses, conditions were difficult for the draftsmen in the field. At one point, with the artists' supply of pencils exhausted, soldiers had to melt some of their lead bullets to produce more.

The *savants* returned to France after a long three years in the field. They then worked diligently with some 2,000 artists and engravers for nearly two decades to produce the stunning, monumental *Description* (fig. 7.55). By some accounts nearly a million large sheets of an extremely heavy handmade paper were used, and five paper manufacturers



Fig. 7.55. Colorized lithograph of a Hathor column from the Temple of Hathor at Dendera, Egypt (332–30 BCE); *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquities*, vol. IV, pl. 12; gift of Dr. Otto O. Fisher, 1953 (KM 2003.4.1n). The temple complex at Dendera, south of Abydos in Upper Egypt, is one of the best preserved in the Nile Valley and is the subject of many illustrations in the *Description*.

were kept busy on this for the duration of the project. A special printing press had to be designed to handle the dimensions of the volumes.

While there is some variation in the different editions, the deluxe color version usually consists of nine folio volumes of text, eleven folio volumes of plates, three elephantine-folio volumes (which include maps), and over 837 copper engravings, many of which contain multiple images on one page, for a total of approximately 3,000 drawings. The volumes are divided into three major categories: *Antiquities*, *Natural History* (the flora and fauna of Egypt), and the *Modern State* (Egypt between 1798 and 1800). The composite design of the frontispiece and many of the architectural ruins portrayed in the *Antiquities* volumes created lush templates for a European Egyptianizing style that reverberated in popular culture through fashion, furniture, architecture and architectural decor, works on paper, and stage sets. Along with the theme of the romance of ancient Egypt represented by Verdi's opera *Aida* (first performed in 1871), its stage settings were classic reflections of the Egyptomania inspired by the *Description*.

Among the plethora of beautiful renderings of ancient monuments and architectural details, there are also images that carry more documentary archaeological significance. One example is the pair of views of the ruined Ptolemaic/Roman temple at Hermonthis (mod. Armant), just south of Thebes. Hermonthis was the site of the latest attested animal cult in Egypt—the worship of the Buchis bulls and their mothers, which were interred in the environs of the temple. The last recorded bull burial occurred in 340 CE. The temple itself was completely destroyed in the 1850s to make way for a sugar cane processing plant. Thus these images in the *Description* are among the only records surviving, along with a print by David Roberts.

In the volume on the modern state, the most often reproduced image depicts the fierce Egyptian resistance leader Murad Bey, who fought against Napoleon in the Battle of the Pyramids (July 1798) and then fled south to mount a brief but intense guerilla war against the French (fig. 7.56). It was in the pursuit of Murad Bey that the *savants* encountered and recorded all the sites and monuments of Upper Egypt, including Thebes (mod. Luxor) and Dendera. The lithograph by the painter André Dutertre shows Murad Bey reclining on the balcony of his home in Cairo rather than wielding the saber that he has let slip from his hand. This portrait illustrates the beautiful artistry in the *Description*; its iconic status as a rendering of a neutralized Murad Bey exemplifies the complexity of the political and cultural interests guiding the work.²³⁴ It is considered Dutertre's masterpiece.

The set of Napoleonic volumes given by Dr. Fisher to the Kelsey was bound at the Rowfant Bindery in Cleveland, Ohio, between 1912 and 1914 under Fisher's commission. The cover of each volume bears the Rowfant stamp. So far we have not been able to trace the history of how and from whom Dr. Fisher originally purchased the volumes before having them rebound. When he gave them to the Kelsey Museum in 1953, it was in exchange for his recall of the Fisher Papyrus (an impressive manuscript of the Egyptian Book of the Dead), which he had lent the Museum on a long-term basis but eventually wished to sell.

Fig. 7.56. Lithograph depicting an imagined view of the Egyptian resistance fighter Murad Bey at rest in his home in Cairo, Egypt; *Description de l'Égypte, Modern State*, vol. II, pl. G; gift of Dr. Otto O. Fisher, 1953 (KM 2003.4.1q).



There are no reliable estimates of how many complete volumes of the first, deluxe edition of the *Description* still remain in addition to that held by the Kelsey; but the number is small. One of the earliest sets, housed in Cairo's Institut d'Égypte (a research center established by Napoleon) initially stirred an international media frenzy when it was reported widely to have been destroyed in a conflagration ignited during the political clashes of December 2011. Fortunately, it now appears that the volumes were indeed damaged but not beyond repair.

In 1984, Dr. Fisher's set was appraised at over \$10,000. An auction in 2011 of an exceptionally lavish edition, bound in polished and richly decorated calfskin and originally owned by French Minister of Justice Jean-Joseph Courvoisier (1775–1835), sold at auction for over \$1,580,000.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Collectors, Dealers, Authenticity, and Ethical Quandaries



The urge to collect has existed for millennia, with stories of legendary collections filling the pages of history. King Nabonidus (r. 556–539 BCE), the last king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, allegedly created a corpus of antiquities nearly 2,500 years ago, and spectacular collections were amassed in the Renaissance. Dukes such as Jean de Berry (1340–1416) avidly collected jewelry, miniature sculptures of gold, manuscripts, and musical instruments, often giving them as gifts to solidify social relations. And today, wealthy individuals across the globe own art collections worth billions.

Attempts to understand the seemingly universal collecting impulse have engaged an impressive array of scholars, social historians, and psychologists—most famously, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), an avid collector himself as well as a self-described “archaeologist of the mind.”²³⁵ Over his lifetime Freud acquired some 2,000 objects, beginning in 1896—forty of which were displayed on his desk in Vienna. The heyday of his collecting was a period of personal and professional isolation, and his artifacts seem to have performed as spiritual surrogates and allies.²³⁶

While Freud may have sought, among other things, solace in his collections, others have been driven by different motivations, ranging from desires to assemble appealing objects, learned antiquarianism, and personal missions, to financial speculation and rivalry-ridden competition. Prestige has also long played a role in this urge to collect and display prized acquisitions. In 16th-century Venice, for example, the accumulation of personal holdings combined with their display to associates became a form of competitive consumption that enhanced one’s status and social distinction. Paradoxically perhaps, collection and display also served as a platform for community-building, creating an environment in which relationships were formed and some status differentials could be dissolved between the nobility and the bourgeoisie.²³⁷ A mutual curiosity might create a small space for dialogue in an otherwise stratified society, where people of widely divergent circumstances would not otherwise converse on a quasi-equal footing of shared interest.

But it is not just individuals who collect: state and imperial entities amass objects and works of art for a variety of reasons.²³⁸ In those cases, complex social vectors intersect with expressions of subjugation and political, military, and economic power.²³⁹ Whether one is a solitary collector or a representative of the larger entity, however, a collector often has to negotiate with dealers, evaluate the authenticity of purchases, and,

Fig. 8.1. Top part of receipt for Peter Ruthven's expenses at the Continental Savoy Hotel; Cairo, Egypt; January 1935 (Kelsey Museum Archives).



in certain circumstances, weigh ethical concerns. As a way of drawing together these disparate but interconnected threads, we conclude our book by discussing how these various factors and entities—the collector, the dealer, forgeries, and museum ethics—affected the creation and ongoing development of the Kelsey Museum.

COLLECTORS AND DEALERS

Whatever their motivations, collectors found fertile ground in the early 1900s, when, despite *partage* agreements that funneled vast quantities of antiquities to major university and civic museums, both the art market and various clandestine operations thrived (as they do today). Established professionals operated from prestigious shops in cosmopolitan settings, entrepreneurial adventurers moved along the fringes, and local people either occasionally or habitually sold found objects or systematically looted ones to eager Western buyers (archaeologists as well as tourists). Wealthy collectors and major museums weren't the only ones to snatch up prime choices across this spectrum of antiquity purveyors. Scholars like Francis Kelsey and Flinders Petrie also actively pursued collections by purchase, mostly from foreign-based dealers. In fact, Petrie was a famously regular visitor to antiquities shops in Egypt. Such visits allowed him to remain up to date on the latest market values of artifacts, crucial information for determining the remuneration he paid his field workers for reporting and handing over objects they discovered in and around his sites. His ongoing contacts with dealers also kept him informed on which sites were being looted to feed the increasingly hungry antiquities trade. At the same time, Petrie also bought antiquities for his own personal collection and for the Egypt Exploration Fund (as did other Egyptologists such as E. A. Wallis Budge and Charles E. Wilbour).

A long letter home written in 1920 from Cairo's Continental Hotel by the Egyptologist James Henry Breasted (1865–1935), founding director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, conveys a feeling for the scene of consorting, buying, and maneuvering in which academics of Kelsey's era engaged. The Continental, like Shepherd's,

Fig. 8.2. Photograph of Charles Lang Freer in Cairo, 1907. Freer is seated second from left, accompanied by (left to right): Dr. Frederick W. Mann of Detroit; Ibrahim Ali, Freer's longtime guide and facilitator (standing); and Ali Arabi, Freer's favorite dealer in Cairo (courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives).



was one of Cairo's famous hotels frequented by collectors (fig. 8.1). Breasted details the "very wearying" events over the course of his day, which begins with meeting the "Metropolitan Museum boys," followed by lunch, where he bumps into Howard Carter. Breasted is intrigued by a set of twenty-five "remarkable . . . IVth Dynasty tomb statuettes" that the dealer Tano has on offer. Clearly concerned about how best to approach this dealer, he discusses with Carter "the kinks and moods of our friend Tano." After lunch, Breasted rushes back to his hotel for a consultation about yet another potential purchase, and a late afternoon tea with "Kelsey of the University of Michigan . . . to talk with him about manuscripts and the source of the remarkable Greek manuscripts bought out here by Mr. [Charles Lang] Freer of Detroit" (fig. 8.2). It is early evening before Breasted finally meets Tano at his business establishment:



Fig. 8.3 (left). Terracotta figurine of the Levantine goddess Astarte type (ca. 1900–1625 BCE); John Khayat purchase, from Cyprus (KM 94586).



Fig. 8.4 (center). Photograph of Aziz Khayat as a prosperous connoisseur in New York (ca. 1940 or somewhat earlier) (after Bergman 1974, p. 241, in consultation with the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh).

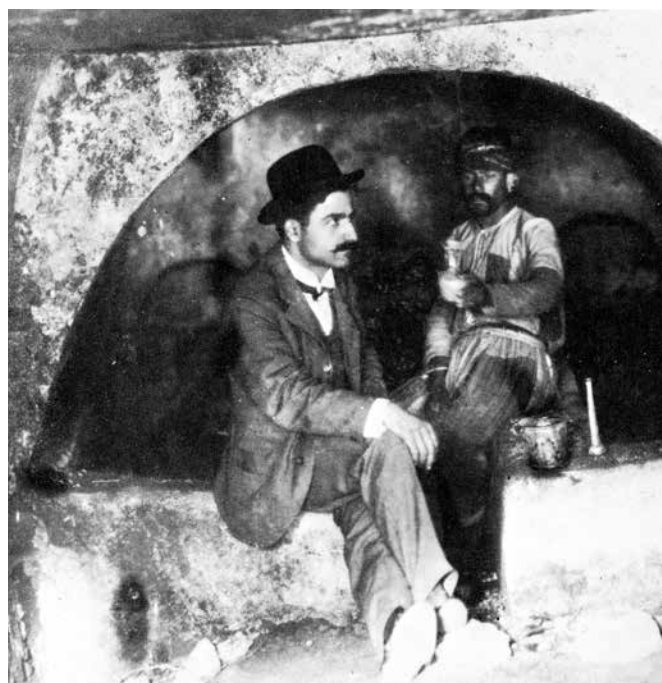


Fig. 8.5 (right). Field photograph of Aziz Khayat as a young man supervising “excavations” of glass in Turkey (n.d.) (after Bergman 1974, p. 240, in consultation with the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh).

I had arranged with Tano to inspect a black granite bust, in which I was only mildly interested, so I walked in and talked with him about the bust; but after he had waited in vain for me to mention the 25 tomb statuettes, he told me himself that they were now free for me to consider . . . Carter . . . said Tano could get 5000 pounds for the group if he sold them separately . . . My own judgment was that the group was worth his price of 4000 pounds. So . . . I offered Tano 3500 pounds. He expressed great disappointment and refused my offer.

Breasted continues to regale the reader with more meetings, conversations, and his final exhaustion at the end of the day: “I was ready to drop! Such was one day in Cairo.”²⁴⁰

Clearly, academic collectors of the Gilded Age like Breasted and Kelsey were, in their own way, wheeler-dealers, constantly negotiating to achieve successful transactions. Unlike the antiquities dealers, however, they operated under the cover of learned respectability. Dealers, on the other hand, frequently occupied more ambiguous social positions: their cosmopolitanism facilitated their success but, often as members of certain ethnic groups, they were vulnerable to a degree of cultural disdain. We focus here on some of the more famous dealers, several of whom were instrumental in helping to build the Kelsey’s collections at the turn of the last century.

Dealers: Selected Sagas

Aziz (Azeez) Khayat

The family antiquities establishment of Aziz (Azeez) Khayat (ca. 1875–1943) provides a telling example of the paradoxical social status of these foreign dealers. Born in

Syria, Aziz became a high-profile American dealer who operated a successful gallery on Fifth Avenue in New York City. Among the private clients he served were the wealthy industrialist and collector J. Pierpont Morgan and the legendary tenor Enrico Caruso (1873–1921). The younger brother of Aziz, John Khayat, is the dealer from whom, in 1935, the Kelsey Museum procured a figurine of the “Astarte” type from Cyprus (fig. 8.3), which now complements the Museum’s array of excavated terracotta figurines from the Near East.

The Khayat footprint is not large within the Museum’s collections, but the Aziz Khayat enterprise left a definitive mark on many American museums, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Toledo Museum of Art (fig. 8.4). Despite their success, the Khayat family was not immune to cultural prejudice, ethnic slander, and in some cases, xenophobia, as an incident reported on September 28, 1909, in the *New York Times* suggests. The headline for the *Times* article reads: “Azeez Khayat to Sue for Alleged Hold-up of His Family on *Adriatic* as Smugglers. STRIPPED: NOTHING FOUND.”²⁴¹ The report describes a strip search conducted by US customs officials as Khayat, his ailing wife, his young children, and his younger brother John were disembarking from an ocean liner after their annual visit to Syria. Although the degrading treatment of the Khayats rings of xenophobia, the customs agents may have had good reason to suspect that the dealer had illegal antiquities in tow. Allegedly Khayat’s yearly visits to his family in Syria also included intensive “private” excavations in Turkey and the Levant (fig. 8.5), which produced finds spirited away for sale in America.

Opinions vary on the assessment of Aziz Khayat’s methods, ranging from the warmly appreciative to the scathing.²⁴² These differences notwithstanding, the New York incident underscores an unpleasant reality for many of these dealers. Antiquities traders, especially in that era, were often openly reviled by Western collectors on the one hand and cultivated assiduously (even fawned over) on the other hand by collectors both private and institutional. Such perspectives were still in place twenty-five years later—reflected in Kelsey Museum correspondence of the 1930s discussing the doubtful trustworthiness of John Khayat, with a subtext of ethnic disparagement.

Although the Khayat connection with the Kelsey was limited in terms of its quantitative impact on the collections, the Khayats provide a good example of the complex axis along which foreign dealers, archaeologists, collectors, and academics moved. Two other dealers, who both set up shop in Egypt, played more major roles in the Museum’s early acquisitions: Maurice Nahman and the Tano family firm. Both offer additional insights into the close but often fraught relationships among collectors, dealers, and buyers at the turn of the last century.

Maurice Nahman

Dubbed the Lion of Cairo in his own day, Maurice Nahman (1868–1948) was, like Khayat, of Syrian ancestry. He initially held the prestigious position of head cashier for *Crédit Foncière* in Cairo, turning his talents in 1890 to creating an antiquities dealership called Maurice Nahman, Antiquaire (fig. 8.6). Nahman was eagerly sought after by



Fig. 8.6. Photograph of Maurice Nahman in his Cairo gallery in 1945 (courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum: *Maurice Nahman, Antiquaire. Visitor book and miscellaneous papers. 1909–2006*; Brooklyn Museum Libraries, Wilbour Library of Egyptology, Special Collections).

Fig. 8.7. Letter from Maurice Nahman to Francis Kelsey giving advice about difficulties in dating late antique textiles with precision (1920); cropped to display the letterhead of Maurice Nahman, Antiquaire (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).



Fig. 8.8 (left). Exterior of Maurice Nahman's mansion in Cairo (1920s) (Christie's 2004, p. 49, in consultation with Christie's and by permission of Manuele Wasserman).

Fig. 8.9 (right). Interior of one of the galleries of Maurice Nahman, Antiquaire, at the back of his Cairo mansion (1920s) (Christie's 2004, p. 48, in consultation with Christie's and by permission of Manuele Wasserman).

European and American buyers, and numerous items from his collection now reside in major civic institutions, including the British Museum, the Brooklyn Museum, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as well as university museums in Ann Arbor, Chicago, and New Haven (fig. 8.7).

Nahman published widely on antiquities and garnered significant respect as a learned discussant as well as a reliable entrepreneur. A player on the Cairo social scene, he built a Belle Époque mansion in the manner of Ottoman palaces in the heart of the city—with his vast business at the back (figs. 8.8–8.9).²⁴³ His clients included Breasted and Freer as well as Professor Kelsey (the latter, often through the intermediation of Dr. Askren). Nahman was key to Kelsey's acquisitions of hundreds of papyri, which



now reside in the Michigan Papyrology Collection. Indeed, Kelsey entered into an agreement with him to purchase whatever good papyri came the dealer's way. This arrangement has sometimes been characterized as a cartel operation, so aggressively did it circumscribe the initiatives of other collectors.²⁴⁴ It also suggests a high degree of mutual trust. On Kelsey's side, he clearly felt he could rely on Nahman's discrimination and discretion. On Nahman's part, he frequently shipped papyri from Cairo "on spec," expecting that the professor would somehow come up with funds for the purchases. The prime non-papyrus artifacts nominally from the Askren collection that are now in the Kelsey Museum were actually purchased on Francis Kelsey's behalf by Dr. Askren from Nahman, who had earmarked and held them specifically for Professor Kelsey. These include a significant number of Egyptian funerary cult figurines of wood.²⁴⁵ Although there was occasional tension when payments from Ann Arbor were late, the relationship remained a remarkable one.²⁴⁶

Despite these friendly terms, a letter from Askren to Kelsey (May 28, 1918) reasserts the ethnically biased disdain for dealers that characterized the discourse of the era:

I note what you say about Nahman and his manufactured book and I am not surprised, for I think a Syrian would do anything to make money, though Nahman does buy the cream of the stuff in Egypt and pays fancy prices for stuff that to my mind is absolute rubbish.

Nahman no doubt acquired the objects for sale in his gallery through various means, some more legitimate than others. An interesting letter to Professor Dennison dated March 17, 1933, which discusses Nahman's acquisition and sale of Byzantine gold, sheds light on some of his more clandestine means:

The whole treasure was brought direct to Nahman by the finder, who always came to the house about 6 in the evening and with only one piece concealed in a basket of fruit or something similar. . . . Nahman did not know even the name of the man for many months; never knew when [to] expect him or what he might bring.²⁴⁷

In 1947 Jean Capart, director of the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth de Bruxelles, a research center for the study of ancient Egypt, wrote a glowing obituary of Nahman. In fact, Nahman had not yet died; his death was a rumor. But Nahman must have been pleased to learn how well he was regarded by his scholarly colleagues. Ironically, when Nahman did actually pass away, Capart's obituary was republished posthumously, Capart having predeceased the Lion of Cairo.

The Tano Dynasty

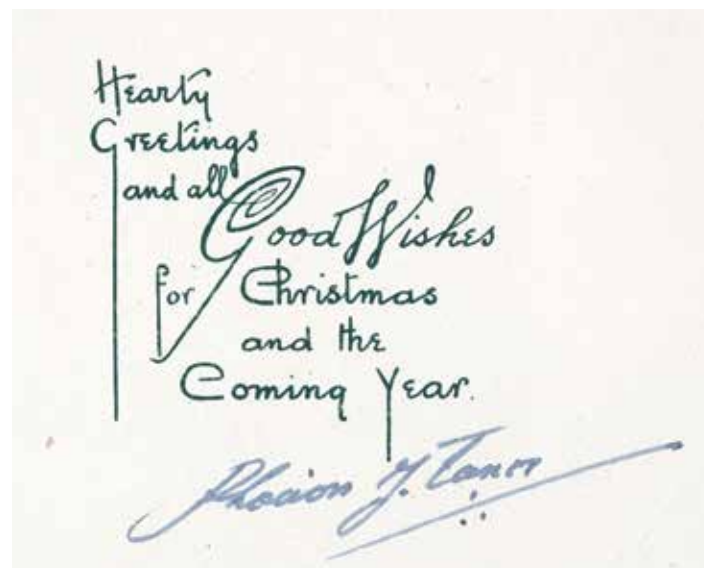
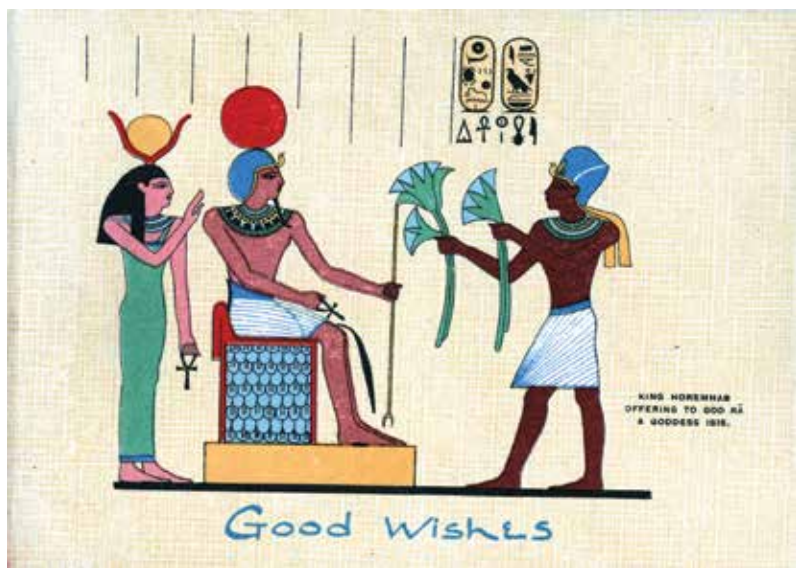
The Tano firm based in Cairo (1870s–1950s) was a Cypriot-Greek family business begun by Mariou Panayiotis Tanos, who opened his establishment in 1870. For a time, their



Fig. 8.10. Photograph of Phocion Tano, n.d. (courtesy of the Nag Hammadi Archive, Claremont Colleges Digital Library, Claremont CA).

Fig. 8.11a–b. Christmas card from Phocion Tano to the Kelsey Museum (1950s).

- (a) Exterior, Egyptianizing motif
(b) Interior, holiday salutation (detail)



thriving antiquities shop was strategically located across from the Shepherd's Hotel. Eventually Marious's nephew Nicolas (d. 1924) directed the business, succeeded first by his son Georges and then by Georges's nephew Phocion Jean Tano (fig. 8.10). Phocion then brought his own nephew, Frank, on board. The Kelsey Museum purchased 753 objects from the Tano establishment. Phocion Tano was the source of the Kelsey's entire collection of fifty-seven Gujarati textiles as well as a substantial number of late antique/Coptic textiles (chapter seven). Other museums, including the Louvre, were equally invested in business with the Tanos.

The early years of the Tano firm (perhaps into the regime of Nicolas) involved its own fair share of intrigue and controversy. One tale revolves around the so-called Amarna Letters, which represent informative diplomatic correspondence on clay tablets between western Asiatic royalty and the New Kingdom Egyptian court late in the reign of Amenophis III and through the short subsequent reign of Pharaoh Akhenaten, the "heretic king." The letters provide unparalleled glimpses of an international age in which princesses and princes purveyed in marriage were used to solidify bonds and obligations between courts.²⁴⁸

Well over 400 tablets were discovered accidentally in 1887 by a local peasant woman digging for fertilizer in an area later known as Akhenaten's capital city of Akhetaten (mod. el-Amarna). Allegedly, she destroyed a number of them (not realizing that they would be marketable); but she eventually sold the remainder to another local woman for a pittance. The tablets entered the art market and were dispersed around the world. At first, scholars doubted their authenticity, although E. A. W. Budge, the British Museum's eminent Egyptologist, argued that they were genuine. The American Egyptologist and collector Charles Wilbour wrote letters in 1887–1888 outlining his suspicions that Tano had seeded the site of Amarna with these cuneiform tablets in order to create a market feeding frenzy: "I am inclined to think that Tano planted them. He has for many years



Fig. 8.12. Mummy portrait of a young woman on wood with encaustic and gold leaf (1st–2nd centuries CE); N. Tano purchase, 1935 (KM 26801).



Fig. 8.13. Stone statue of the seated priest Ren-seneb of Adydos, Egypt (2040–1650 BCE); P. Tano purchase, 1952 (KM 88808).

been buying such tablets from Baghdad. He made the most fuss about them and his ways are devious.”²⁴⁹

Later, Flinders Petrie returned to the place where the initial discovery occurred, excavating more letters from an archive chamber and from refuse pits. Eventually, Wilbour’s charges against Tano turned out to be unfounded. More than 380 Amarna tablets are known and documented today—although additional uncounted examples probably reside in private collections.

Again, like the Khayats, both Nicolas and Phocion were targets of thinly veiled ethnic stereotyping by their clients. A letter from Charles Breasted to Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson of Greenwich, Connecticut (December 10, 1919), for example, gives her account of his efforts to procure a papyrus on her behalf from “a particularly hard-headed Greek with an Italian name, [Nicolas] Tano.”²⁵⁰

Phocion developed a longstanding relationship with the Kelsey Museum, demonstrated by his friendly correspondence and thoughtfully chosen Christmas cards (fig. 8.11a–b). One letter recounts his hopes to visit Ann Arbor in the fall of 1950; the response from Michigan warns him against attempting to come on a football Saturday. In the end, his much-anticipated visit had to be cancelled when his nephew Frank entered into shady dealings that forced Phocion to intervene. A temporary break between uncle and nephew ensued. In 1951 Phocion Tano wrote to Professor Peterson, then director of the Museum, asking him to refrain from any more business with Frank. The rift was not repaired until 1954.

Phocion Tano’s correspondence with the Kelsey Museum was always lively. He spoke many languages, and his spellings and idioms sometimes seem drawn from sources that are not English. He also had a flair for the dramatic, meant to pique the interest of potential buyers. In one letter to Professor Peterson, Tano described coins that he could offer the Museum. The coins came from a hoard, and Tano wrote on August 28, 1952: “[The hoard] seems to be part of the treasury [*sic*] of the Persian Military station and if you are interested about it, I am alone who knows exactly the story.” Tantalizing as the dangled opportunity may have been, Peterson seems not to have risen to the bait on this occasion.

The artifacts that were purchased from Phocion Tano for the Kelsey include a particularly fine mummy portrait of a young woman from Roman Period Egypt offered in a letter from Frank Tano to Professor Peterson for \$225 in 1938 (fig. 8.12). It has featured in several special exhibitions and is a glowing presence in the Museum’s Egyptian gallery.²⁵¹ Another Tano purchase is a complete and well-preserved Middle Kingdom block statue of a seated man purchased in 1952 (fig. 8.13). Carved of basaltic diorite, this votive statue incorporates an inscription, running down the figure’s garment-swathed lap and crossed legs. The inscription informs us that it represents Ren-seneb, son of the woman Hetepet, “mistress of the house” in a temple context at Abydos.²⁵² This city was the chief popular religious center in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and is now the focus of ongoing Kelsey-sponsored excavations that are yielding important insights into its cultic and social landscapes.²⁵³ Other Tano objects include fine examples of Predynastic Naqada I and Naqada II pottery,²⁵⁴ and an offering stela to the Mnevis Bull.²⁵⁵

Fig. 8.14. Woven wool and linen textile fragment of a hanging showing a female “goddess” figure holding a bowl with an attendant to her right (5th century CE); N. Tano purchase, 1930s (KM 22710).



In the 1930s and again in the 1950s, the Tano firm was also the source of many Coptic and Islamic textiles from Egypt of significant and varied interest (fig. 8.14).²⁵⁶

A Tale of Three Dealers

One of the more controversial episodes in Egyptology to this day involves Phocion Tano, Maurice Nahman, and one M. A. Mansoor (1881–1968) in a high-stakes scandal of the 1920s, with accusations now hurled over the Internet rather than whispered behind potted palms in the lobby of Shepherd’s Hotel. Mansoor, a highly educated Egyptian Copt, first established himself in the social circles of wealthy collectors visiting Cairo by securing two lobby vitrines at Shepherd’s Hotel in 1904. He subsequently expanded his operations, opening other hotel shops—at the Semiramis and the Continental—followed by a gallery directly across from the Cairo Museum.²⁵⁷ Mansoor served as supplier and antiquities advisor to various royals, including Egypt’s King Farouk before the latter’s forced abdication in 1952.

In the 1920s Mansoor began amassing a large collection of stone sculptures in the distinctive Amarna style developed at the court of King Akhenaten. Maurice Nahman and Phocion Tano were outspoken in their assessment of the artifacts as forgeries. Mansoor accused them both of colluding to undercut his credibility in order to advance their own reputations as dealers. The academic community was initially deeply divided, with the weight of opinion at the time favoring Mansoor and authenticity. In more recent years the pendulum has swung back the other way, at least in academic circles. In 1995, a journalist member of the Mansoor family published an extended defense of Mansoor.²⁵⁸ The debate has raged on. What began as a saga involving Nahman and Tano and the politics of dealers on the Cairo scene is now a more convoluted tale of competing forces.

There are high stakes involved in undermining assessments of the genuine. In the Mansoor case, it is not just preserving the reputation of the family. Museums and

collectors that purchased costly pieces from the Mansoor Amarna collection risk losing both their prestige and the market value of their investments. Although the Kelsey does not house any of these objects, and is thus not involved in this still contentious drama, it did have a long and fruitful relationship with both Maurice Nahman and Phocion Tano.

QUESTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY

Most of us use the terms “fakes” and “forgeries” interchangeably. But strictly speaking, a fake antiquity is an imitation of an original artifact type that is not necessarily meant to pass as an authentically ancient work, while a forgery is an imitation that is crafted to be taken for (and marketed as) a genuine artifact of the original’s time and culture. Fakes include the myriad beads and scarabs offered at bazaars and touristic locations in Egypt along with higher-end products at museum gift shops around the world that do not purport to be genuine antiquities. We may purchase such things because they are visually appealing gifts, evocative of the ancient places (and museums) we visit; but we do so in full knowledge that these items are either cheap trinkets or expensive reproductions. Forgeries, in contrast, would include the substantial number of items that have been sold and bought as genuine antiquities—but probably are not. A knowledgeable private collector may sometimes buy a forgery despite knowing of its dubious status. Reasons for doing so are various: the buyer may simply find the item charming or amusing, may be calculating that it is worth the price to maintain a relationship with a business agent or dealer, or may be planning to resell the item to someone else as genuine.

By the beginning of the 20th century, if not before, a flourishing forgery industry in Egypt hoodwinked discerning dealers and collectors alike into purchases that later proved unwise. As early as 1912 T. G. Wakeling published a book to warn the unwary. His book also describes the methods of forgers who fabricated cuneiform tablets in Baghdad.²⁵⁹ The forgery business was indeed already thriving in Iraq and Iran in the late 19th century, spurred on by exciting discoveries of the day by European missions in those countries. No one was immune to the periodic bad purchase. In some cases detection of excellent forgeries can only now be verified as new evidence emerges or objects are subjected to scientific testing. In some other cases, increased knowledge about categories of antiquities and the techniques of their ancient manufacture through expanded sets of excavated (and demonstrably genuine) items enables scholars better to weigh the pros and cons of evidence in an ambiguous instance.

Most archaeological museums in which collections have grown over time, particularly from gifts and purchases of collections amassed early on, are bound to hold a few fakes and forgeries. The well-crafted forgery can deceive even the most discerning eye. Often, however, the fakes or forgeries in a large collection may go undetected for years, especially if the pieces are not particularly spectacular or have languished in storage, awaiting the attention of a specialist. The Kelsey’s collections are no exception.

Fig. 8.15 (*near right*). Forged Fayum mummy portrait of a mature bearded man (1920 or shortly before); acquired by Dr. Askren “from natives in the Fayoum”; presented to F. W. Kelsey in 1920 (KM 1797).

Fig. 8.16 (*center*). Forged Fayum mummy portrait of a woman (1920 or shortly before); acquired by Dr. Askren “from natives in the Fayoum”; presented to F. W. Kelsey in 1920 (KM 1798).

Fig. 8.17 (*far right*). Forged Fayum mummy portrait of a young man (1920 or shortly before); acquired by Dr. Askren “from natives in the Fayoum”; presented to F. W. Kelsey in 1920 (KM 1799).



The Case of the Family Ties

An unambiguous example of a forgery in our Museum is a set of three Fayum portraits purchased in 1920 by Professor Kelsey from Dr. Askren. In letters to Kelsey, Askren occasionally expressed distress about the number of forgeries glutting the antiquities market. Despite his concern, Askren did, however, continue to gather some highly questionable artifacts—most notably, a set of mummy portraits that he acquired not through Nahman but “from natives in the Fayoum” (figs. 8.15–8.17).

Mummy portraits in encaustic (wax-infused) paint or sometimes in tempera on thin slabs of wood were a highlight of ancient Egyptian mortuary tradition as it evolved in Egypt under Roman rule. Their compelling frontal faces combined with their portability (once removed from the mummy wrappings) made them extremely popular on the art market (and among forgers) beginning in the late 19th century. The triad we consider here certainly represents the oeuvre of one studio manufacturing panels embellished with the same face in slightly different guises on an assembly-line basis.

This workshop sameness about the visages does not in itself automatically disqualify these three portraits as genuine antiquities. Although a study of ancient crania from the Hawara cemetery, in combination with their associated mummy portraits, demonstrated to Flinders Petrie’s satisfaction that the paintings reflected the actual idiosyncratic facial features of the dead, many genuine ones must have been produced formulaically, with only minor variations added to suit the individual customer. But taken together with features of materials and technique, the physiognomic sameness of the Kelsey triad puts another nail in the metaphorical coffin. In particular, the paint (a matt tempera) has been applied directly to the wood without the standard intervening coat of gesso. The wood is young, its grain not mellowed. And the panels are unusually long and narrow.

A notation by Professor Kelsey in his accessions record indicates that he was aware that they were probably modern. He bought them anyway—perhaps because he imagined their usefulness in teaching, perhaps also because he did not want to disappoint Askren.²⁶⁰ Of the nine mummy portraits in the Kelsey collections, only these three are connected to Askren; and they are the only ones considered suspect. That Askren may have been generally too eager to buy such dubious items (and to turn a profit) is suggested by a letter from Charles Lang Freer to Kelsey in 1917:

[T]here seems to be some sort of microbe in all parts of Egypt that penetrates into the physical and mental machinery of every foreigner who attempts to collect Egyptian art. The earliest symptoms of the working of the microbe is the craze to get hold of the other fellow's money and Dr. Askren, although a friend of yours, is, I fear, already suffering from the ravages of the microbe.²⁶¹

Of course, even Freer was susceptible to the occasional bad purchase.

The Case of the Blues

A second case is more professionally challenging to adjudicate: a blue frit stamp seal in the Waterman collection showing a worship scene with an Aramaic inscription in the lower zone (fig. 8.18a–b). Until some years ago, it had with it a notation “From Babylon” on a slip of paper (presumably written by Waterman). We do not know if the note meant that Waterman picked it up at the site of Babylon, bought it in the area of Babylon, or purchased it somewhere from someone who told him it was “from Babylon.” If genuine, the seal should date roughly to the mid-1st millennium BCE. The imagery and carving style reflect iconographic traditions of the Neo-Babylonian Period, the production of which continued into the Achaemenid Persian Empire. An important corpus of seals blending Babylonian imagery with Aramaic inscriptions is associated with the Levant in this era. As we know, Waterman worked both at Seleucia near Babylon and at Sepphoris in Palestine (chapter four). Thus “From Babylon” means little in the circumstances because (a) it would be common for a genuine antiquity of this era to move about with its owners between the Levant and Babylon—so that a Levantine seal actually discovered in Babylon would not be suspicious; and (b) a forged seal produced either in the Levant or Mesopotamia might easily be taken to market in Baghdad irrespective of where it was produced.

The bright freshness of the object and the unusual material for a seal of this type have raised curatorial red flags for years; but until recently, the artifact had not been investigated seriously. It had been consigned to storage, thought of with a wink as “the Blue one from Babylon.” One difficulty in studying it is that very few similar seals come from excavated contexts. On what basis can we call an item forged—when it floats in a sea of unprovenanced companions?

As of this writing, the piece will be published as a problematic artifact, offering the scholarly community an opportunity to reach their own conclusions.²⁶² Physical



Fig. 8.18a–b. Blue frit Babylonian stamp seal showing worshiper before enthroned deity, with Aramaic inscription (ca. 612–539 BCE); Waterman collection, “from Babylon” (KM 26830).

(a) Seal face

(b) Drawing of impression by Lisa Padilla

Fig. 8.19. Drawing of the impression of the green jasper stamp seal impression in the British Museum displaying the reverse image of fig. 8.18 (ca. 612–539 BCE) (after BM ANE 48508; drawing by Lisa Padilla).



examination revealed that the seal matrix was mold-made and baked hard before being carved like stone. This is not an unknown process. And the carving technique displays no warning signs of an artifact not produced in the ancient environment of its purported era. The dimensions and structure of the imagery are also fully consonant with known types. The inscription does not appear so “wrong” that we could dismiss the seal.

As we looked for the closest possible comparanda for imagery and inscription, we made a startling discovery. A stamp seal almost twice as big as the Kelsey seal and made of green jasper (a precious stone) was purchased by the British Museum in 1772 from the collection of Sir William Hamilton (fig. 8.19). Our first impulse was to assume that the Kelsey seal was a cheap forgery of this surely genuine item for the art market, manufactured on the basis of the BM seal—but reversing the imagery on the seal, either deliberately to obscure the deception or because unthinkingly the forger worked from an impression of the BM seal rather than the actual seal face. Yet this issue raised further considerations. We now know from several excavated ancient administrative contexts that multiples of a high-level seal were sometimes produced in courtly contexts to facilitate work on behalf of an individual in power by his surrogates, who might be operating far afield. With varying distinctive differences to ensure tracking of the relationship between the original seal and the surrogate seals, such items were produced as legitimate tools to stand in for the deluxe originals.²⁶³

Thus, the Kelsey’s “Blue from Babylon” cannot be dismissed out of hand as a modern forgery just because it is so evidently a copy of a grand original. A relationship that might in an earlier age have indicated beyond question that the Kelsey seal was not a genuine antiquity today raises fresh interest for the study of a new kind of genuineness. Thanks to research on Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid Persian imperial seal protocols used in

archival contexts, we now know that secondary artifacts were made to serve legitimate purposes as adaptations of the prototype object. A different category of secondary artifact in antiquity is one produced to deceive rather than to serve a legitimate administrative purpose. Certain coins have been identified as ancient forgeries meant to pass in the market place as officially minted issue. The Gillman collection includes an excellent example (p. 41 above). Such coins are characterized as ancient forgeries in the scholarly literature; but they are at the same time genuinely ancient, albeit with particular stories to tell.

ETHICAL QUANDARIES

Ethical matters are of paramount importance to all museums, embedded in almost every aspect of their existence, and shaped by a complex set of social, geopolitical, economic, and legal vectors. For archaeological museums, the current landscape is especially untidy, littered with contentious debates about ownership of the past, collecting practices, looting, and repatriation. Dealers, archaeologists, museum directors, and private collectors often hold conflicting views about the global trade in antiquities, the best practices for collecting and acquiring artifacts, and the management of ancient heritage. Disputes rage on, and simple solutions remain elusive.

What we provide in this last section is not an attempt to condense the arguments or unduly to vilify particular stakeholders. Rather, we spotlight some fundamental issues that we hope will alert the reader and museumgoer to seminal concerns, especially those that institutions like the Kelsey Museum confront as part of their commitment to the responsible acquisition of material and to their ongoing role as custodians of irreplaceable antiquities. We briefly explore three questions: What guidelines currently shape museum acquisitions policies for antiquities? Why is looting and the loss of archaeological context so important? And finally: who owns the past?

Ethical Guidelines for Acquiring and Collecting Archaeological Material

Positions on collecting antiquities have changed dramatically over the past century. Rarely a topic of discussion in the Gilded Age, the issues of museum ethics, moral economies of collecting, and the vexing question of what is meant by collecting have now produced a substantial literature.²⁶⁴ The means by which men like Cesnola, De Criscio, De Prorok, Kelsey, Askren, Herzfeld, and others obtained antiquities were, in their day, generally viewed as acceptable and in some instances commendable. By today's standards, however, Cesnola's wholesale dismantling of sites, Herzfeld's harvesting of ancient artifacts, and some of Kelsey's early negotiations and purchases facilitated by Dr. Askren would be seen as far from respectable, let alone legal.

Ethical guidelines recommending how museums can or should acquire antiquities have been debated by various controlling authorities and professional organizations, particularly over the last few decades. In the 1990s the bar was set fairly low in many

US museums.²⁶⁵ By 2004, more rigorous standards and guiding principles were established. In that year, the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD)—an alliance of approximately 200 major museums in North America and Mexico—officially advocated that ancient items purchased or otherwise acquired by museums should be accompanied by papers documenting that the objects had left their source countries ten years prior to the museum's date of acquisition. Various archaeological organizations roundly criticized both the specifics and the spirit of AAMD's guidelines, arguing that by adhering to these weak standards museums would still encourage the sale of looted antiquities rather than curb their trade.²⁶⁶ These organizations exhorted museums to abide, instead, by the 1970 UNESCO *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*. This complicated document, finally signed by the United States in 1983, states, among other things, that any antiquity acquired must be shown to have legally left the country of origin before 1970. Eventually, AAMD revised its standards, adopting the fixed 1970 date. AAMD's amended standards notwithstanding, its overarching guidelines still allow for what many see as questionable flexibility. For example, as stated in an updated 2008 AAMD document, museums

should have the right to exercise their institutional responsibility to make informed and defensible judgments about the appropriateness of acquiring . . . an object. . . . The museum must carefully balance the possible financial and reputational harm of taking such a step against the benefit of collecting, presenting, and preserving the work in trust for the educational benefit of present and future generations.

These guidelines therefore provide a fair degree of latitude that can, in practice, nullify the fixed 1970 UNESCO date.

While the Kelsey's current acquisitions policies adhere to the 1970 UNESCO convention, we, like other museums, are not protected from the possibilities that provenance of an object on the market has been deliberately obscured by the dealer. Nor are we exempt from requests by source nations for the repatriation and restitution of material that may have been in our collections for many decades. For all museums, these requests often call into question an institution's early history, sometimes forcing an institution to determine whether a permit of sale from, for example, the 1800s or early 1900s should be considered acceptable in today's context, or asking a museum's governing body to weigh the validity of early acquisitions obtained by royal sovereigns or through war.²⁶⁷

In the last few decades, Turkey, Italy, Egypt, Greece, and Peru have made front-page news with their repatriation requests to the United States and other nations. One of the more high-profile cases, involving a request from Italy to the United States, focused on the return of the so-called Euphronios krater. This extraordinary monumental vessel for mixing wine with water, decorated in the red-figure technique, bears

the signature of the Attic pot painter Euphronios. Produced in Athens during the 6th century BCE, it was exported in antiquity to Italy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased it in 1972 for 1.2 million dollars, an unprecedented price at that time. The journey of this “hot pot,” as it was nicknamed by the press, could fill the pages of an international thriller, replete with dodgy dealers, police raids in Geneva and Paris, and faked documents. In the early 1970s the director of the Met, Thomas Hoving, initially claimed that the Euphronios krater had been bought legally from an English dealer who had acquired it from a Lebanese dealer (whose family was said to have possessed the piece since the 1920s). Many doubted Hoving’s account, skeptical that such an exceptional piece could have remained hidden for more than half a century. The Italians began their own detective work and ultimately were able to prove that the vessel had, in fact, been excavated illegally in December 1971 by tomb robbers near Cerveteri. During a routine investigation, the Italian police uncovered a clandestine network of robbers, international dealers, and museum personnel, all of whom were complicit in extensive trafficking of illicit antiquities. The Euphronios krater was only one of many artifacts that moved through this criminal system.

For decades, the stunning vessel had served as the centerpiece of the Met’s Greek galleries. Finally, nearly sixty years after it was illegally excavated, it was repatriated, with much international fanfare, to Italy. The principal Italian dealer involved in the Euphronios case, Giacomo Medici, was sentenced to ten years in prison and fined €10 million in 2004 by the Italian courts. The case against the American dealer also involved in the transactions, Robert Hecht, collapsed in January 2012 after the statute of limitation had been reached.²⁶⁸

While it sometimes appears easy to take sides in these ongoing cases of repatriation, the issues are far from simple, presenting a tangle of legal, ethical, and philosophical difficulties. Questions abound. For example, if an artifact was extracted from the host country under contemporary laws or guidelines that allowed for such acquisitions, how valid is it to contest the legality of those earlier policies? How can museums best respect national sovereignty within the parameters of international law? And how does one mount a reasonable case for restitution when evidence that an object was indeed looted is often so difficult to gather? Repatriation is not, however, just about “giving back” artifacts and juggling often competing legal guidelines. It is also about recognizing the deep taproots of the issues involved and the often detrimental effects of (neo-) colonialism and early Eurocentrism. The late 19th and early 20th centuries were rife with archaeologists, scholars, powerful individuals, and museum directors who believed that the early civilizations of the Near East and Greece rightfully belonged to the West. According to those individuals, the West, in effect, could appropriate these objects as part of their own patrimony. How does one properly redress the consequences of such attitudes that now seem mistaken, if not immoral?

There is, in addition, a human side to the dilemma that does not excuse ongoing looting but should be added to the many vectors that shape the current situation.

Individuals who report on the chain of traffic often mention that locals who are paid to protect archaeological sites (as well as the tomb robbers) usually live a meager existence; they “sometimes end up ransacking their own national treasures in order to put food on the table for their families.”²⁶⁹

Many believe that repatriation should be an international affair. As one scholar observed, “The ethical responsibility for safeguarding history must be shared by all: indigenous cultures whose heritage should be sacrosanct from ransacking, as well as scholars, collectors, dealers, museums, and institutions.”²⁷⁰ Whether such an ideally constructed assembly can successfully forge workable solutions remains to be seen.

Looting and the Loss of Archaeological Context

Among museum directors, archaeologists, and collectors there is universal, public condemnation of looting and wanton destruction of archaeological sites. Despite such agreement and strenuous efforts to stem the tide of destruction, traffic in illicit antiquities thrives. Looting of archaeological sites throughout the world is extremely profitable, aptly described as a “tidal wave . . . tied to sleazy big business measured in hundreds of millions of dollars (second only to the drugs and arms trade),”²⁷¹ often flourishing especially during the upheavals of war. To the uninitiated, the ransacking of sites may seem haphazard. In fact, it is often supremely well organized, with savvy practitioners monitoring current trends in the market, changing their searches opportunistically to tap into those trends.²⁷²

The loss of an object’s archaeological context has both material and intellectual consequences.²⁷³ Looted antiquities retain none of their context, stripping away a good deal of their scientific value. Art historians and archaeologists have written extensively about the problem, pondering the loss of evidentiary value when an artifact is removed clandestinely from its archaeological context, with no meaningful documentary trail preserved.

Jane Waldbaum, a former president of the Archaeological Institute of America, has effectively summarized the main opposing points of view on this debate, using the case of the Euphronios krater as her example:

Philippe de Montebello, director of the Metropolitan, doesn’t think much information was lost because the Euphronios vase was looted. “Ninety-eight percent of everything we know about antiquity we know from objects that were not out of digs,” he told *The New York Times*. “How much more would you learn from knowing which particular hole [it] came out of? Everything is on the vase.” Nothing could be further from the truth. . . . So what could we learn if we knew more about its original context? Context refers to the entire assemblage of things found together in a particular setting. Knowing this provides crucial information and allows us to ask further questions. For example, who was the owner? The Euphronios krater was imported from Greece, and its Etruscan owner thought enough of the vase to include it in his or her burial. Was he a local warrior who identified with the hero depicted on the vessel? What else could have been

found with it? Was it part of a set of related vessels? If so, were they all made and decorated by the same artists or by different ones? Had they been used in a ritual meal or other funerary ceremony, as indicated by other artifacts or traces of organic materials found in the tomb? Were there paintings on the walls of the tomb and did they relate to the funerary scene on the vase? . . . [W]e know very little about the nature of Greek trade with Etruria and why this style of pottery was so popular there. This is because the looting of Etruscan cemeteries that began centuries ago is still going on and the contexts provided by individual tombs and by entire cemeteries have been destroyed, obliterating precious evidence of how and why two ancient peoples interacted. We are left with many beautiful objects, like the Euphronios krater, decorating the shelves of museums, but robbed of their larger stories.²⁷⁴

Who Owns the Past?

A seminal concern raised by the marketing of antiquities can be posed with a deceptively simple question: “Who actually owns the past?” Debated for decades, this question has yet to produce a consensus. Brian Fagan offers a succinct set of queries summarizing this troubling matter:

Who . . . owns the archaeological record? An individual landowner, the descendants of those who created it, the nation, or does it form part of the common cultural heritage of all humankind? Do people have the right to collect artifacts, even from privately owned land, and to excavate for personal profit and gratification? Or should all artifacts be deposited in museums for the common enjoyment of everyone? What about the export of artifacts from one country to another? Should all archaeological finds remain in their country of origin, even if there are inadequate museum facilities available there?²⁷⁵

James Cuno, current president and CEO of the J. Paul Getty Trust, is perhaps the most vocal advocate arguing that “antiquities are the cultural property of all humankind.” In his view, the past belongs to the world, not to a particular modern nation, and thus “antiquity knows no borders.”²⁷⁶ Given those parameters, Cuno believes that source-nation retention of artifacts and demands for repatriation are misguided. For Cuno, the issues have become deeply politicized and contribute to the endangerment of antiquities if nationalistic entitlement trumps the best care of the objects. He further argues that most modern nation states have only tenuous connections to the ancient cultures that once inhabited their land, undermining the validity of claims based on ethnic heritage. Many scholars find Cuno’s arguments untenably reductive. Counterarguments suggest that modern nation states, even if they are newly created, have a right to a legitimate and well-defined sense of patrimony and respect for their heritage laws.

Museums will inevitably continue to be caught up in the cat’s cradle of these debates, and their conflicting directives. While there are no easy answers, the current

state of looting, particularly in the Near East, suggests that, regardless of who we think “owns the past,” the preservation and protection of antiquities should become of prime importance for the world.



OUR JOURNEY behind the scenes at the Kelsey Museum has taken us in various directions, exploring the many entities involved in building the collections: the collectors, the donors, the dealers, the bankrollers, the excavators, the objects themselves—and even the museum edifice. What has become clear in our wanderings is that embedded in every object owned by the Museum is a complex biography, a narrative of how each piece arrived at its final resting place, who purchased or acquired it, and what social, historical, ethical, and political factors, or perhaps even scandals, accompanied its entry into our collection. Each object is a material member of a community that reflects the long history of its networks and relationships from antiquity to the present. Today those objects dwell and sleep in the Museum vitrines and storerooms, awaking and whispering when we—with our own entangled lives, passions, and curiosities—engage with them. To be sure, their life tales are far from over. As research continues, curatorial interests shift, and geopolitical events in the world alter, every piece is destined to have more stories to tell as its life extends into the future.

APPENDIX

Antiquities Legislation



umerous publications offer overviews of legal frameworks for controlling the export of cultural property in different countries. Below we sketch important features of legislation in lands particularly germane to the history of the Kelsey collections.²⁷⁷

GREECE

Greece had legislation on the books by 1834, when the Greek Archaeological Service was founded, several years after the country's liberation from Ottoman rule. Since then, additional laws have been enacted, the most important ones ratified in 1899, 1932, and 2002. Each one of these laws stipulates that the state has absolute right to possess and protect all antiquities found on Greek soil or in Greek maritime environments. Despite a history of restrictive laws, however, late 19th- and early 20th-century guidelines allowed for the exportation or sale of antiquities to various individuals or scientific institutions. Parts of the laws written in 1894, 1899, and 1932, for example, specified that objects deemed “duplicates,” “insignificant,” “superfluous,” “useless,” and “valueless” could be legally exported.²⁷⁸ The adjudication of that status was determined by an antiquities council within the government. In the early years of archaeological expeditions to Greece, research permits also granted the exportation of antiquities to foreign countries conducting excavations on Greek soil if they met certain standards for educational and research purposes. More recent laws have altered these guidelines; current Greek laws are stringent, with strong protection of their antiquities and cultural heritage, and severe consequences for violating these laws.

EGYPT

The Department of Antiquities in Egypt, now known as the Supreme Council of Antiquities, was inaugurated in 1859. Before that, there were already codes in place to protect ancient monuments and artifacts from being pilfered or dismantled. Mummies were not, however, considered antiquities until 1851. Even then, they continued to be marginalized in comparison to ancient objects and structures, categorized as the bodies

of infidels.²⁷⁹ Regulations enacted in 1912 required all dealers to be licensed and imposed strict enforcement of export protocols. Theoretically, any ancient artifact proposed for export had to be approved by the Cairo Museum. If the export request was rejected, the item could be seized with no compensation to dealer or purchaser. While these guidelines may in certain cases have encouraged clandestine export, in the majority of cases the museum oversight operated under a generous interpretation of national interest in maintaining ownership of cultural property. Indeed, the Cairo Museum itself ran a sales room (*Salle de Vente*) that sold “duplicates” of genuine antiquities held in multiple examples by the museum after they had been reviewed and declared dispensable. Some of the pieces now in the Kelsey came from this source.

TUNISIA

Tunisia had enacted an initial decree by 1886 on the protection and preservation of antiquities and works of art. This act prohibited the export of antiquities unless authorized by and bearing a certificate signed by the director of the Service of Antiquities and Arts. Additional legislation of 1920 added even more authority to the application of these laws, and amendments were added in 1986 regarding the protection of archaeological objects, historic monuments, and natural and urban sites. The 1986 law considers archaeological property part of the domain of the state of Tunisia except where private ownership has been legally established.

IRAN

Although Iran created a Department of Antiquities within its Ministry of Education in the late 19th century, events involving Western powers deflected the force of the national legislation for a considerable time. Legal protections preventing antiquities from unlawful export were neutralized by separate legislation of 1900, which awarded France an exclusive monopoly over all fieldwork. For their excavations at the city of Susa, for example, the French received full rights to all finds; yields from other sites were to be divided equally between France and Iran. In order to resist this monopoly and its concomitant weakening of Iranian control over its heritage, the Iranian National Relics Society was formed in 1922. In 1925 the Society drafted a law concerning the regulation of archaeological work in Iran based on the laws already in effect in Greece and Egypt. As a result, the French monopoly on excavation (*le droit exclusive*) was annulled in 1927. A law for the Protection of National Vestiges, passed in 1930, empowered the Iranian state to protect and oversee all antiquities and archaeological work, and to regulate the division of finds between Iran and foreign archaeological expeditions.²⁸⁰

IRAQ

Unlike Greece, Egypt, Tunisia, and Iran, Iraq lacked early 19th-century guidelines for the protection of antiquities found on its land. Its Department of Antiquities and its Law of Antiquities were not established until 1924. Gertrude Bell (1868–1926), a much romanticized pioneering female archaeologist known as the “Queen of the Desert,” was instrumental in these developments. Recruited by British Military Intelligence soon after World War I, she was the main author of the country’s first antiquity laws and, at the request of King Faisal I, established the National Museum in Baghdad, which officially opened in 1926. Bell helped pass legislation that regulated both the export and excavation of antiquities.²⁸¹ Although she worked tirelessly to protect Iraq’s rights to its past, many of the laws she helped implement were beneficial to foreign archaeologists, allowing the extensive export of antiquities to Western museums. In 1936 the Iraqi government, enacted more stringent laws stipulating that all antiquities were the property of the state.

ITALY

Italy did not become a unified nation until 1861. During the middle to the end of the 19th century enforcement of export regulations was limited, and it was quite easy for foreign collectors to buy antiquities from citizens who had amassed private collections. Despite the existence of fairly high tariffs on exported archaeological objects, masses of antiquities left the country. In 1909 an antiquities law laid initial groundwork for what became a national property decree of 1939, called (in English translation) Regarding the Protection of Objects of Artistic and Historic Interest. The 1939 legislation was intended to protect from export any antiquities found on Italian soil after 1902. It also stated that illegal excavation and unauthorized exportation of ancient artifacts was subject to prosecution. Today antiquities legislation is overseen by the Ministero per il Beni e le Attività Culturali (The Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities). In 2001 Italy and the United States signed a bilateral memorandum of understanding (MoU) that restricts the import of antiquities into the United States. The MoU has been periodically updated and extended since then.

TURKEY AND THE LEVANT

Turkey, Syria, and the entire Levant were all part of the extraordinarily long-lived Ottoman Empire (1299–1922). As modern nation states were carved out of this empire, each eventually developed antiquities laws.

The Republic of Turkey (established officially in 1923) has a complex, much-discussed relation to archaeology as both scientific and political practice.²⁸² It operated for many years under the antiquities protection of an Ottoman decree of 1906 before enacting in 1983 a new Law on Protection of Cultural and Natural Antiquities. This legislation claimed Turkish ownership of all antiquities found within its borders since 1906—adding force and specificity to the old decree. Although the Turkish government carefully guards its cultural heritage, currently select antiquities can be bought from authorized dealers who are licensed by the state and provide a museum certificate for every item they sell.

With the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, France and Great Britain were essentially given colonial control over a large, strategic, and antiquities-rich sector of the empire's former holdings—the region often called the Levant, comprising a zone of western Asia along the eastern edge of the Mediterranean Sea and extending eastward toward the Euphrates. The French holdings encompassed the two contiguous states of Syria and Lebanon. Syria's Department of Antiquities was put in place in 1919, and Lebanon's National Museum was founded in Beirut in 1920. Syria's 1963 antiquities law, amended in 1999, states that export of its antiquities is banned, although an export license can be granted for certain antiquities to museums and other scientific institutions. Lebanon's archaeology is governed by 1933 laws that have been modified and amended over the years and, like Syria's legal guidelines, have stringent penalties for the export of antiquities.

Great Britain's share of the Near East focused on another important sector of the Levant—including Palestine (equivalent to modern Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip) and Jordan. Under the British Mandate of 1923–1948, several key antiquities laws were established in this region. Israel itself was officially created in May 1948, and two months later the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel was born, based on the protocols put in place under the previous British Mandate. In 1978, Israel passed a comprehensive new Antiquities Law stipulating that: “Where an antiquity is discovered or found in Israel after the coming into force of this law, it shall within the borders fixed by the Director [of Antiquities] become the property of the State.” Although in theory all artifacts recovered since 1978 are the property of (and protected by) the state, in fact, the government permits the sale of these artifacts almost without restriction. The government sanctions the sale of cultural heritage through a Ministry of Tourism seal of approval applied to authorized private shops (despite the knowledge that many illegal excavations fill the coffers of these stores).²⁸³ And sadly, as in other parts of the Mediterranean and the Near East, illicit digging and looting continue even in the face of best efforts by government and antiquity authorities to stem the tide of destruction and exportation.

Simplified Timelines for Kelsey Collections

<i>Date</i>	<i>Egyptian</i>	<i>Near Eastern</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Roman</i>
ca. 4800–2900 BCE	Predynastic Period: 4800–3100 BCE Early Dynastic Period: 3100–2700 BCE (Dynasties 0–2)	Late Prehistoric Period: 4500–3800 BCE Protoliterate Period: 3800–2900 BCE		
ca. 2900–2000 BCE	Old Kingdom: 2750–2260 BCE (Dynasties 3–6) First Intermediate Period: 2260–2040 BCE (Dynasties 7–10)	Early Dynastic Period: 2900–2350 BCE Akkadian Empire: 2350–2193 BCE Third Dynasty of Ur/Neo-Sumerian Period: 2112–2004 BCE	Early Bronze Age: 3000–2000 BCE	
ca. 2000–1500 BCE	Middle Kingdom: 2040–1650 BCE (Dynasties 11–13) Second Intermediate Period: 1650–1570 BCE (Dynasties 14–17)	Old Babylonian Period: 2000–1600 BCE	Middle Bronze Age: 2000–1550 BCE	
ca. 1500–1100 BCE	New Kingdom: 1570–1070 BCE (Dynasties 18–20)	Kassite Dynasty: 1595–1158 BCE	Late Bronze Age: 1550–1100 BCE	
ca. 1100–700 BCE	Third Intermediate Period: 1070–664 BCE (Dynasties 21–25)	Neo-Assyrian Empire: 911–612 BCE	“Dark Age” and Geometric Period: 1100–700 BCE	Villanovan Period: 1100–700 BCE
ca. 700–500 BCE	Late Period: 664–332 BCE • Saite Period: Dynasty 26 (664–525 BCE) • 1st Persian rule: Dynasty 27 (525–404 BCE) • Egyptian rule: Dynasties 28–30 (404–343 BCE)	Neo-Babylonian Period: 612–539 BCE Achaemenid Persian Empire: 550–330 BCE	Orientalizing Period: 700–600 BCE; Archaic Period: 600–480 BCE	Etruscan Period: 750–510 BCE
ca. 500–300 BCE	• 2nd Persian rule: Dynasty 31 (343–332 BCE)	Empire of Alexander: 330–323 BCE	Classical Period: 480–323 BCE	Roman Republic: 509–27 BCE
ca. 300 BCE–300 CE	Ptolemaic Period: 332–30 BCE Roman rule: 30 BCE–395 CE	Seleucid Kingdom: 312–248 BCE Parthian Empire: 248 BCE–226 CE	Hellenistic Period: 323–31 BCE Roman rule	Roman Empire: 27 BCE–393 CE
ca. 300–640 CE	Late Antique–Early Christian (Coptic) Period	Sasanian Empire: 226–642 CE Byzantine Empire: 355–641 CE	Byzantine Period	Late Antique– Early Christian Period
ca. 622–	Spread of Islam/emerging dynasties	Spread of Islam/emerging dynasties		

Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

- 1 Rorschach 2012, 1–2.
- 2 Kasson 1990, esp. 21–72.
- 3 Schwarzer 2006, reviewing these trends.
- 4 Mallampati 2010 and Brush 2003, respectively.
- 5 Sinopoli 2013, 13.
- 6 Root 1986–1987; Peckham 1994, 35–57.
- 7 D'Ooge 1906.
- 8 Frothingham n.d.
- 9 Noble 1959; Beard 1993; Wallach 1998, 49–56.
- 10 Report to the President of the University 1948–1949.
- 11 Root 2005b, 87–99.
- 12 Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, 159–162; Thomason 2005; Root 1994, respectively.
- 13 Meskell 1998.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

- 14 Pedley 2012, *passim*, and 399–402, for a selection of memorial tributes to Professor Kelsey.
- 15 Pedley 2012: see, e.g., the index for the Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments.
- 16 Gazda, Finerman, and Reister 1983.
- 17 Gunter 2002.
- 18 Saarinen 1958, 135.
- 19 Thomas 1990.
- 20 Bodel 1983, 1–15, placing the Kelsey stamps in a larger interpretive context; Graham 2014 for a case study using network analysis.
- 21 Bodel 1983, 69 (cat. no. 139: KM 399); Bodel 1983, 37 (cat. no. 49: KM 1248); Bodel 1983, 23 (cat. no. 13: KM 1142), respectively, for these three stamps.
- 22 Bodel 1983; for more recent research, see, e.g., Anderson 1991, esp. 1–11.
- 23 De Grummond catalogue entries in Gazda 2000, 169–172.
- 24 Koepfel 1980 for the full inventory and discussion of the purchases.
- 25 Gazda and Haeckl 1996.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

- 26 Whitcomb 1985, 11.
- 27 Gazda and Ng 2011 is the permanent record of the 2005 interactive exhibition.
- 28 Rubin 2011, esp. 37, 44, and fig. 3.15.
- 29 Bruehl 1997–2000, esp. fig. 7 and cat. no. 21.
- 30 Dixon 2013.
- 31 Pedley 2012, 338.
- 32 Harvard, Horton O'Neil Archive, vol. 8.
- 33 They are the focus of a current publication project by Helen Dixon, emphasizing their problematic past and the ethical issues they highlight, especially for a university museum of archaeology.
- 34 Root 1979, 56.
- 35 Hyatt 2014; Claytor 2014.
- 36 Root 1979, 56–57.
- 37 Corcoran 1995, 75–76; Trimble 1997, 59–60. Walker and Bierbrier 1997, 121, with illustration.
- 38 Gazda 1978; Wilfong 2014, 47–48.
- 39 Wilfong 2014, 25–34.
- 40 Ullman 1923.
- 41 Hooper 1961; Thomas 2002, e.g., 15–16, 19, 22–24.
- 42 McCleary 1987; Richards and Wilfong 1995, 45–46.
- 43 Hopkins 1972.
- 44 E.g., Herbert 2004–2005.
- 45 Torino 2007, esp. 107–145.
- 46 Van Ingen 1939; Root in press a. The figurine illustrated in fig. 4.19 is mistakenly cited as in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, in an interesting interpretive article on its iconography and its utility as an exemplar in historiographic discourses on nudity and fetishism: Bahrani 1996. See also an interpretation of the erotic pose from the perspective of a deep Partho-Sasanian representational tradition that includes monumental versions of the motif: Azarnoush 2008.
- 47 Langin-Hooper 2007; Menegazzi 2012.
- 48 Talalay 1987; 1993.

- 49 Menegazzi 2014; Madeleine Neiman, 2014–2015 pigment identification and treatment project supported by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.
- 50 Naveh and Shaked 1985; Bohak 2008; Bohak, Harari, and Shaked 2011.
- 51 Fino 2005.
- 52 Nagy, Meyers, Meyers, and Weiss 1996.
- 53 Stolper 1996, on the KM 90109 inscription. Curtis and Tallis 2005, 129, for well-known comparanda.
- 54 Garrison 2014; Gunter and Root 1998; Nimchuk 2002.
- 55 Bentley Historical Library, Waterman papers, box 1, January–July 1929, letter to Donald Waterman dated January 7, 1929.
- 56 Yeivin n.d., 3.
- 57 Root in press b.
- 58 Root 2013.
- 59 Pope 1999, 85–122.
- 60 Cameron 1960.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

- 61 Bentley Historical Library, Orma Fitch Butler Papers Section III: Collections/89487 Bimu C450 2/box 9, folder 16.
- 62 Tuck 2005.
- 63 All quotations are from Walter Dennison's *In Memoriam* booklet; Kelsey Museum Archives.
- 64 Van Ingen 1933.
- 65 Todd 1920.
- 66 Czestochowski 2000, 47 (biographical information assembled by Elizabeth Yochim).
- 67 D'Ooge 1906, 33–34.
- 68 Wilfong 2013, figs. 158 and 160: Todd child mummy; fig. 161: Todd mummy mask; passim for photos and commentaries on the coffin.
- 69 Czestochowski 2000, 134.
- 70 Shearman 1983, 144–148, cataloguing the Renaissance painting, its collection and exhibition history; Schmitter 2004, contextualizing the portrait as a representation of collecting practices.
- 71 Czestochowski 2000, 33–43 on Todd's generally anti-modernist taste in European painting.
- 72 Camard and Belfort 1974, 295–296.
- 73 Czestochowski 2000, color pl. p. 49.
- 74 Bentley Historical Library, F. W. Kelsey Papers, Kelsey to D. L. Askren, February 11, 1915, 851721 Aa 2, box 1—Correspondence 1915–1918.

- 75 Van Ingen 1933 for the Askren vessels; Root 1979, 29–30 for the gilded mummy mask.
- 76 Walker and Bierbrier 1997, 110–111 for the oft-illustrated shroud in the Louvre; Wilfong 2014, 55 and fig. 24 for the watercolor facsimile of the Karanis mural (KM 2003.2.1), produced in 1925 by Hamza Carr.
- 77 Rondot 2013. See also useful commentaries in Walker and Bierbrier 1997 and Thompson 1982.
- 78 Perry and Challis 2013 is fascinating on Petrie and his head(s). Root 2004, 13–15 and 21–24, on Petrie as the Great Man at Abydos in relation to Hilda Petrie and Margaret Murray.
- 79 De Grummond 2000, 131.
- 80 Gazda 2000 for a full account.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

- 81 Van Ingen 1933 for the pottery; Albertson 1991 for sculpture: cat. nos. 1 and 29 for KM 29108 and KM 29131 from Golgoi.
- 82 Cesnola 1878, 118 and 120–123.
- 83 Root 2004.
- 84 Welch 2004, 73–75.
- 85 Welch 2004, 98–99 and n. 121.
- 86 Fant, Long, and McAlpine forthcoming.
- 87 Wheeler 1950; Doerr 2010.
- 88 Hall 1889, 4.
- 89 Hall 1889, 3.
- 90 Massie 2010, 25.
- 91 Massie 2010, 26.
- 92 Colla 2000.
- 93 KM 1971.2.159 and KM 1971.2.160.
- 94 Cobern 1913, 1047.
- 95 Wilfong 1997, 18–19 and 51.
- 96 Estep 1992–1993.
- 97 James 1981, 25.
- 98 Capart 1936, 347.
- 99 Budge 1920, 341–342, n. 4.
- 100 Watson 1898, 347.
- 101 Watson 1898, 348 (quoting p. 157 of the *Evangelical Repository*, October 1982).
- 102 Douglass journal entry for February 23, 1887 (Library of Congress). Douglass 1892 (2nd ed. 1962), describes his trip to Egypt but does not note Hattie Conner by name.
- 103 Capart 1936, 580.
- 104 Capart 1936, 583–584.

- 105 Kark 1994, including biographical sketch: 327–329.
 106 Obenzinger 1999.
 107 Forder 1905.
 108 For a seminal exploration of Orientalism in 19th-century literature, see Said 1978.
 109 Kark and Oren-Nordheim 2001.
 110 Marquis 1908, 188; Strauss 1922, esp. 78–84.
 111 Visonà 1983.
 112 Popović 2012.
 113 Sweeney and Visonà 1991 (cat. no. 1).
 114 Berman, ed., 1994, esp. 1–89.
 115 Garrison and Root 2001; Root 1990.
 116 Root 2003.
 117 Root 1982b, 36; Grunow 1995, 43–44, scaraboid acquired in 1931 from Feuarent Frères, Paris.
 118 Sullivan 1978; Bederson 2008, a detailed biographical memoir for the scientific community.
 119 Goudsmit 1947, 46–49 on The Hague; 123–125 on Berlin; Wilfong 2013, at figs. 39 and 77 on the cartonnage imagery.
 120 A two-part *New Yorker* profile of Goudsmit recounts this and other reminiscences: Lang 1953, part II, 46.
 121 Goudsmit 1972; Root 1982b, 13–14; KM 93766.
 122 Root 1982b for an introduction to Goudsmit and a catalogue of the entire collection donated to the Kelsey.
 123 Price 1897, 284: cat. no. 2403a, with drawing.
 124 Root 1982b, 18–19; Allen and Dix 1991, 76–79; Richards and Wilfong 1995, 31–32.
 125 Goudsmit 1974; KM 1974.1.1.
 126 Wilfong 2013, 60–88, discussing the Goudsmit papyri in the context of other funerary texts.
 127 Tait 1963 on the distinctive vessel type. The fragment was included in Root 1982b, 23, no. 10, as KM 1981.4.16.
 128 Hardwick 2011.
 129 Retired Met head curator Christine Lilyquist is creating an international database on all the dispersed fragments.
 130 Root 1982b, 14–15; Richards and Wilfong 1995, 24–25, fig. III.9; Hayes 1953 [1978], 90–94 and fig. 51.
 131 Peck and Ross 1978; Hayes 1959, 390.
 132 Bentley Historical Library, Waterman Papers, “Leroy Waterman, 1875–1972, Early Life,” written jointly by Mabelle Alice Waterman and Leroy Waterman between 1960 and 1965 and edited by their daughter, Dorothea Waterman Ragland, “after repeated request and urgings by members of their family,” (p. 14 for this quotation).
 133 Friedland 1997.
 134 Lunn 1951.
 135 <http://cdli.ucla.edu/collections/kelsey/kelsey_intro.html> for an introduction by N. Brisch.
 136 Moore 1939, 22–26; Stolper 1990 (listing known locations on p. 196).
 137 Budge 1920, 316–322.
 138 Rich 1818.
 139 Rogers 1915, 308–312 for a colorful account of Banks’s exploits by a distinguished American Orientalist.
 140 Banks 1923, 3.
 141 Kelsey Museum Archives: Kelsey to Waterman, October 28, 1921.
 142 Kelsey Museum Archives: Banks to Waterman, October 18, 1923.
 143 Allen and Dix 1991, 62–66 for selected Waterman tablets plus the macehead.
 144 Garrison 1989.
 145 Root 1984 catalogues many Waterman seals.
 146 Root 1991; Garrison and Root 2001.
 147 Herbert 2004–2005. For recent research on the sealings from Karanis held in the Kelsey that focuses on storage practices and protocols, see Gates-Foster 2014.
 148 Bonner 1950.
 149 The Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database: <<http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/>>. An updated electronic edition of Bonner’s seminal book is in progress under the aegis of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, and the University of Fribourg. See Verter 1990 for an object index that improves upon the research apparatus presented in Bonner 1950.
 150 Entwhistle and Adams 2011; Faraone 2012.
 151 Bonner 1950, no. 172.
 152 Wilburn 2005; Johnson 2005.
 153 Bonner 1950, 252; Mouterde 1942–1943.
 154 Bonner 1950, 251.
 155 Sinopoli 2013.
 156 Koelz 1983, 49 and 95. Bentley Historical Library, Koelz Collection.
 157 They have since been transferred to the University of Michigan’s Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, Department of Special Collections.
 158 Root 2013 on Tutanaphsum’s crenelated crown; Suter 2007.
 159 Gunter and Hauser 2005.
 160 Root 2005a, 21.
 161 Gunter and Root 1998, Garrison and Root 2001, and Dusinberre 2005 for perspectives on Herzfeld’s actions in Persepolis.
 162 Root 2005a, 128.
 163 Muehsam 1947.

- 164 Crittenden 1947. This press write-up proposed that the use of the “buttons” was restricted to men—an idea for which there is no archaeological support.
- 165 Albert and Adams 1951, 14.
- 166 Root 1997–2000 for a full account of the circumstances.
- 167 Root 2005b, 165 (cat. no. 90) and 87–99.
- 168 Root 2005b, 163 (cat. no. 85) and 49–64.
- 169 Root 2005b, 149 (cat. no. 30). Wilburn 2005, 65–71 on shamans.
- 170 Rowling 2005 (book 6 of the series).
- 171 Root 1997–2000, 16–22.
- 172 Root 2005a and 2005b; Gunter and Hauser 2005 for studies of all facets of Herzfeld’s intellectual and personal saga.
- 173 Annual lists of all Kelsey acquisitions appear in every issue of the *Bulletin. University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology*, now online.
- 174 Root 1984–1985.
- 175 TePaske-King 1989–1991.
- 176 Kurtz 1983.
- 177 We thank Jenifer Neils for this observation.
- 178 <www.nottshistory.org.uk/Jacks1881/kingston.htm>.
- 179 Kurtz 1983, 117–123, indexing collections holding works by the Berlin Painter.
- 180 Pedley 1989–1991.
- 181 Gazda 1980.
- 182 Johansen 1967, 127–138.
- 183 The sarcophagus is now in the Freud Museum, London: acc. no. 4381. See Gamwell and Wells 1989, 114–115; Engelman 1976, 61 and pl. 17.
- 184 Joyce 1980, Taf. 100 and fig. 1 for the fragment now in the Kelsey when it was still housed in the Stark Museum of Art in Orange, Texas. Bettina Bergman has now created a more complete photographic reconstruction.
- 185 Root 1981.
- 192 Thomas 1997–2000.
- 193 Illustrated in Thomas 1997–2000, figs. 5, 6 (fig. 5 is mislabeled as KM 26602b).
- 194 For two variant interpretations of these events, see Todd 1968 and Wright 2002.
- 195 Kelsey Museum Archives: letter from Atiya to Boak, February 7, 1953.
- 196 Kelsey Museum Archives: letter from Peterson to Niehuss, February 20, 1953.
- 197 Kelsey Museum Archives: letter from Atiya to Peterson, August 23, 1953.
- 198 Gazda, Haidler, Rosenberg, and Van Rosevelt 1980, 28 (no. 75): the accession number is given incorrectly as KM 93768, and its date similarly refers to KM 93768 rather than 93767.
- 199 Soucek 1978; Gruber and Dimmig 2014.
- 200 Gruber and Dimmig 2014, 19 and 82 (cat. no. 59); Beardsley and Sinopoli 2005 for Koelz.
- 201 Gruber and Dimmig 2014, 72–73.
- 202 Barnes 1993.
- 203 Barnes 1993, cat. no. 7 (KM 22694) and cat. no. 52 (KM 22731).
- 204 Markham 1949. Karanis: Haatvedt and Peterson 1964; Wilfong 2014, 53–54, 71–72, 75–76, 102–105. Seleucia: McDowell 1935b.
- 205 Excavated coins can provide crucial dating evidence for archaeological contexts, although the interpretation of such evidence is not always as definitive as we might wish. See Lockyear 2012 on overarching factors; Root in press a on some of the frailties of coins as definitive dating tools in relation to the Seleucia excavation records.
- 206 Hopkins 1972, 114.
- 207 McDowell 1935b.
- 208 McDowell 1935a and 1935b.
- 209 Freeman 2007; Robert Harbold McDowell Papers 1940–1969, Hoover Institution Archive, Stanford University.
- 210 Kelsey Museum Archives: letter from Dr. Arnold H. Price (UM PhD in history 1942) of June 1995 to director of the Kelsey Museum, with reminiscences as a member of the WPA project.
- 211 Markham 1949.
- 212 <www.davidrsear.com/about.html>.
- 213 Grabar 1967. Root 2012 for a memoir on Grabar’s years in Ann Arbor; Talalay and Alcock 2006, 40–43 and 96 for Grabar’s Michigan excavations at Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, Syria, in the 1960s.
- 214 Gordus 1974.
- 215 E.g., Gordus 1995.
- 216 Grose 2012.
- 217 Root 1982a on Roman glass in the Kelsey.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

- 186 Wilson 1933; Thomas 2001.
- 187 Gazda, Haidler, Rosenberg, and Van Rosevelt 1980.
- 188 Richards and Wilfong 1995, 38–39; first displayed in the 1988 Kelsey exhibition *Ancient Mummies: From Ancient Cult to Modern Science*, soon after its donation to the Museum.
- 189 Kark 1994, 193–196.
- 190 Colla 2000, 121.
- 191 Thomas 1997–2000, 91. Her figs. 3–4 are from Gayet 1902, figs. on his pp. 35 and 37.

- 218 Harden 1936.
 219 Root 1982a, pl. 14.
 220 Root 1982a, 10 and pl. 3.
 221 Fukai 1977, 38–39.
 222 Allen 1990.
 223 Bentley Historical Library, Alexander Ruthven letter to Bryant Walker, August 12, 1924, Ruthven Papers, 53.1, Michigan Historical Collections.
 224 Baird 2011; Leontis and Talalay 2006.
 225 Parker 1874–1883 is the most monumental of these works; Keller and Breisch 1980, 24–26 for Parker’s full bibliography.
 226 Keller and Breisch 1980, cat. nos. 11 and 24.
 227 Keller and Breisch 1980, 4–26.
 228 Swain 1925, Notes and Comments of a Wolverine Abroad II. Tunis and the University of Michigan at Carthage.
 229 Swain 1925, Notes and Comments of a Wolverine Abroad II. Tunis and the University of Michigan at Carthage, 1–2.
 230 Swain 1925, Notes and Comments of a Wolverine Abroad IX. Patmos to Naples via Greece and Malta, 1.
 231 Sim 1984, 124.
 232 Solé 1998.
 233 Pope 1999, 11–84.
 234 Strathern 2007.
- NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT**
- 235 Gamwell 1996.
 236 Gamwell 1996, 7 and ill. 1; Gamwell and Wells 1989; Barker 1996.
 237 Schmitter 2004, 914.
 238 Macdonald 2006, 89–90.
 239 E.g., Thomason 2005 on royal collecting in Mesopotamia; Barringer and Flynn 1998 for classic essays on modern colonial collecting (on which the literature is vast); Finn 2006 for the context of personal collecting and gifting within the official colonial enterprise of British India.
 240 Breasted letter, February 11, 1920: <<http://blogs.uchicago.edu/oi/1920/02/hotel-continental-cairo-egypt.shtml>>.
 241 <<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/OceanicSteamNavigationCo?message/4711>>.
 242 Scott 1999 for the disparaging versus Bergman 1974 for the appreciative.
 243 Christie’s 2004, for an array of photographs and a concise characterization of Nahman and his personal collections.
 244 Choat 2006; Clarke 2006; Hurtado 2006.
 245 E.g., Richards and Wilfong 1995, 39.
 246 Pedley 2012, 298–299.
 247 Bentley Historical Library, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Papers, Walter Dennison, box 10.
 248 Moran 1992; Huehnergard and Izre’el 2003.
 249 Capart 1936, 439, 441, 461.
 250 <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/nn/fal94_breasted.html>.
 251 Root 1979, 52.
 252 Jho 1995, 24–25.
 253 Richards 2005.
 254 Richards and Wilfong 1995, 27.
 255 Wilfong 1997, 22 and fig. 1.
 256 E.g., KM 22710 (late antique/Coptic): Gazda et al. 1980, 16, fig. 26; KM 88026 and KM 88027 (13th–15th century CE Islamic): Gruber and Dimmig 2014, 76–77, nos. 53–54.
 257 Humphreys 2011 for an in-depth discussion of all these establishments.
 258 <<http://www.mansooramarnacollection.com/scandal.chapter3.html>>.
 259 Wakeling 1912, 123–124.
 260 Root 1979, 58–60; Kelsey Accessions Book 1–5000, 72.
 261 Gunter 2002, 114–115.
 262 Root and Dixon in press.
 263 As explicated in Root and Dixon in press.
 264 Macdonald 2006, 81.
 265 Barker 2010, 301.
 266 Barker 2010, 301.
 267 The ethical and legal entanglements of repatriation are deeply controversial, and the literature on repatriation and cultural sovereignty over multiple pasts has become vast and contentious. For areas covered in this book, see St. Clair 1998; Renfrew 2000; Brodie, Doole, and Renfrew 2001; Brodie, Kersel, Luke, and Tubb 2006; Brodie and Gill 2003; Atwood 2004; Watson and Todeschini 2006; Cuno 2008; 2009; 2011; and Waxman 2008. Online sources include: <Lootingmatters.blogspot.com>; <www.savingantiquities.org>; Who Owns the Past Symposium, Oriental Institute May 2001 (available on YouTube); and *Culture without Context*, online from 1997 to 2006.
 268 Contel, Soldan, and Chechi, June 2012.
 269 Hunt 2010, 81.
 270 Hunt, 2010, 81.
 271 Broodbank 2013, 48.
 272 Lobay 2006, 30.
 273 Muscarella 1977; 1980; 2014; Gill and Chippendale 2000; Proulx 2013.

- 274 Waldbaum 2006, letter from president, *Archaeology* (July/August 2006).
- 275 Fagan 1989, xvii.
- 276 Cuno 2008, 146.
- NOTES TO APPENDIX**
- 277 E.g., Prott and O'Keefe 1988.
- 278 <<http://wp.chs.harvard.edu/chs-fellows/2012/12/31/insignificant-superfluous-and-useless-legal-antiquities-for-export/>>.
- 279 Colla 2000, 119–127.
- 280 Gunter and Hauser 2005, 15–16; Mallampati 2005; Mousavi 2005, 452–457.
- 281 Asher-Greve 2004; Root 2004, 19.
- 282 Özdoğan 1998.
- 283 Blum 2002.

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Concordance of Museum Object Accession Numbers to Figure Numbers

Abbreviations

KM = Kelsey Museum

KVM = Kalamazoo Valley Museum

TMA = Toledo Museum of Art

UMMA = University of Michigan Museum
of Art

KM 1	Fig. 3.8	KM 5965	Fig. 7.34	KM 29131	Fig. 6.5
KM 89	Fig. 3.11	KM 5966	Fig. 7.34	KM 33670	Fig. 4.38
KM 91	Fig. 3.10	KM 6657	Fig. 6.10	KM 33756	Fig. 1.9
KM 928	Fig. 5.4	KM 6785	Fig. 6.8	KM 35705	Fig. 4.16
KM 1084	Fig. 5.2	KM 7692	Fig. 4.10	KM 36358	Fig. 7.37a-b
KM 1142	Fig. 3.12	KM 8151	Fig. 4.9	KM 40993	Fig. 7.21a-b
KM 1429	Fig. 5.6	KM 8218	Fig. 4.12	KM 75273	Fig. 7.24a-b
KM 1445	Fig. 6.9	KM 14098	Fig. 4.20	KM 75938	Fig. 7.31a-b
KM 1461	Fig. 5.7	KM 14315	Fig. 4.18	KM 81672	Fig. 7.25a-b
KM 1774	Fig. 3.13	KM 14400	Fig. 4.18	KM 85379	Fig. 6.27a-b
KM 1797	Fig. 8.15	KM 16059	Fig. 4.19	KM 86294	Fig. 6.26
KM 1798	Fig. 8.16	KM 16372	Fig. 4.18	KM 87016	Fig. 6.28a-b
KM 1799	Fig. 8.17	KM 16672	Fig. 4.15	KM 87140	Fig. 6.29a-b
KM 1874	Fig. 1.3	KM 18312	Fig. 4.22	KM 88617	Fig. 5.19
KM 1899	Fig. 5.22	KM 19504	Fig. 4.21	KM 88681	Fig. 7.20
KM 1900	Fig. 5.22	KM 21179	Fig. 4.14	KM 88808	Fig. 8.13
KM 1901	Fig. 5.22	KM 22520	Fig. 7.17	KM 88860	Fig. 7.38
KM 1904	Fig. 5.22	KM 22558	Fig. 7.3	KM 89401	Fig. 6.41
KM 2425	Fig. 3.15	KM 22618	Fig. 7.2	KM 89533	Fig. 6.40a-b
KM 2430	Fig. 3.14	KM 22701	Fig. 7.19	KM 90109	Fig. 4.25a-b
KM 2569	Fig. 5.8	KM 22710	Fig. 8.14	KM 91162	Fig. 6.15
KM 2590	Fig. 5.11	KM 22782	Fig. 7.35	KM 91614	Fig. 7.18
KM 2601	Fig. 5.9	KM 22783	Fig. 7.35	KM 93767	Fig. 7.16a-b
KM 2604	Fig. 5.10a-b	KM 22784	Fig. 7.35	KM 93768	Fig. 7.15
KM 3648	Fig. 4.11	KM 22785	Fig. 7.35	KM 93898	Fig. 4.1
KM 4651	Fig. 5.18	KM 25747	Fig. 4.13	KM 94418a-d	Fig. 7.12
KM 4733	Fig. 4.4	KM 25869	Fig. 4.13	KM 94586	Fig. 8.3
KM 5930	Fig. 7.35	KM 26054	Fig. 6.46a-b	KM 1963.3.108a-b	Fig. 4.36
KM 5936	Fig. 7.34	KM 26578	Fig. 6.2	KM 1963.6.111	Fig. 4.37
		KM 26606a	Fig. 7.11	KM 1963.6.32	Fig. 4.35
		KM 26606b	Fig. 7.10	KM 1963.7.2	Fig. 4.29
		KM 26801	Fig. 8.12	KM 1965.3.135	Fig. 7.42
		KM 26827	Fig. 6.44a-b	KM 1968.1.6	Fig. 3.6a-b
		KM 26830	Fig. 8.18a-b	KM 1968.2.184	Fig. 7.33
		KM 28802	Fig. 3.2	KM 1969.3.45	Fig. 7.46
		KM 29108	Fig. 6.4	KM 1970.3.394	Fig. 7.32

KM 1970.3.654	Fig. 7.44	KM 1981.4.47	Fig. 6.30a-c	KM 2000.2.3a	Fig. 7.39
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KM 1971.1.33	Fig. 4.32	KM 1985.4.116.5	Fig. 4.17a-b	KM 2001.1.1	Fig. 6.34
KM 1971.1.63	Fig. 7.43	KM 1986.10.1-3, 5-6, 8, 10, 12	Fig. 4.43	KM 2002.1.1	Fig. 7.53
KM 1971.2.169	Fig. 6.12	KM 1987.4.1	Fig. 6.61	KM 2003.2.1	Fig. 5.20
KM 1971.2.170	Fig. 6.12	KM 1988.1.1a	Fig. 7.8a	KM 2003.3.10	Fig. 4.7
KM 1971.2.179	Fig. 6.18	KM 1988.1.1b	Fig. 7.8b	KM 2003.4.1k	Fig. 1.11
KM 1971.2.183	Fig. 6.16	KM 1989.3.1	Fig. 5.14	KM 2003.4.1n	Fig. 7.55
KM 1971.2.190	Fig. 6.14	KM 1989.3.2	Fig. 5.15	KM 2003.4.1q	Fig. 7.56
KM 1971.2.250a-b	Fig. 4.33	KM 1991.2.1	Fig. 7.27a-b	KM 2004.3.1	Fig. 2.9
KM 1971.2.278b	Fig. 7.5	KM 1991.2.66	Fig. 7.28a-b	KM 2009.1.221	Fig. 7.29a-b
KM 1974.6.1	Fig. 6.58	KM 1991.2.232	Fig. 4.27	KM 2009.1.590	Fig. 7.30a-b
KM 1977.7.1	Fig. 6.56	KM 1991.2.973	Fig. 7.26a-b	KVM 1932.239	Fig. 5.16
KM 1979.3.1	Fig. 6.59	KM 1991.3.74	Fig. 6.52a-b	TMA 12.1.31	Fig. 4.34
KM 1979.5.1	Fig. 6.57	KM 1991.3.91	Fig. 6.54a-b	TMA 1930.149.1	Fig. 4.23
KM 1980.1.1	Fig. 6.62	KM 1991.3.158	Fig. 6.53a-b	TMA 1931.303	Fig. 4.24a-b
KM 1981.4.1	Fig. 6.36	KM 1992.2.19	Fig. 6.47	TMA 1931.118	Fig. 7.36
KM 1981.4.18	Fig. 6.37	KM 1992.2.117	Fig. 4.26	TMA 1931.407a-b	Fig. 7.22
KM 1981.4.22	Fig. 6.35	KM 2000.1.321	Fig. 7.49	UMMA 1975.2.1	Fig. 6.58
KM 1981.4.29	Fig. 6.31	KM 2000.1.62	Fig. 7.48		
KM 1981.4.31a	Fig. 6.32	KM 2000.2.1a	Fig. 5.26		
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About the Authors



Photo S. Bank

Lauren E. Talalay is former Associate Director of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, and is currently Curator Emerita and Research Associate at the Museum. She has written or collaborated on five books and numerous articles and has conducted fieldwork and research throughout the Mediterranean and the Balkans, most recently on the early prehistory on the island of Euboea, Greece. Her research focuses on the Neolithic period of the Mediterranean, particularly Greece, with an emphasis on figurines, gender, and the human body as a symbol. She also publishes on contemporary issues, such as the use of archaeological images in modern advertising and political cartoons. Her coedited book on the Greek poet Constantine Cavafy was voted one of the best books of 2002 by the *Times Literary Supplement*, and she is the recipient of external grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Michigan Humanities Council, and the Chrysler Foundation Fund. Her current project is a book on unpublished photographs, letters, and essays by the American photographer George R. Swain, who undertook several trips to Europe and the Mediterranean during the pivotal years after World War I.



Photo B. Root

Margaret Cool Root is a Curator of Collections at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology as well as Professor of Near Eastern and Classical Art and Archaeology in the Department of the History of Art, University of Michigan. Her first book, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (1979) was transformative in her field. It explored the official representational strategies of the Achaemenid Persian Empire as productions of an ideologically coherent program that recast antique and foreign imagery and styles to serve a new paradigm of world order. A major funded research project documents and interprets art as social history via seals used on the thousands of administrative records of the Persian Empire excavated at the site of Persepolis in the 1930s. More broadly her scholarship consistently probes the production of visual and material culture and the multiple reinventions objects may undergo in their subsequent lives. She has received fellowships and grants from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and the Iran Heritage Foundation.