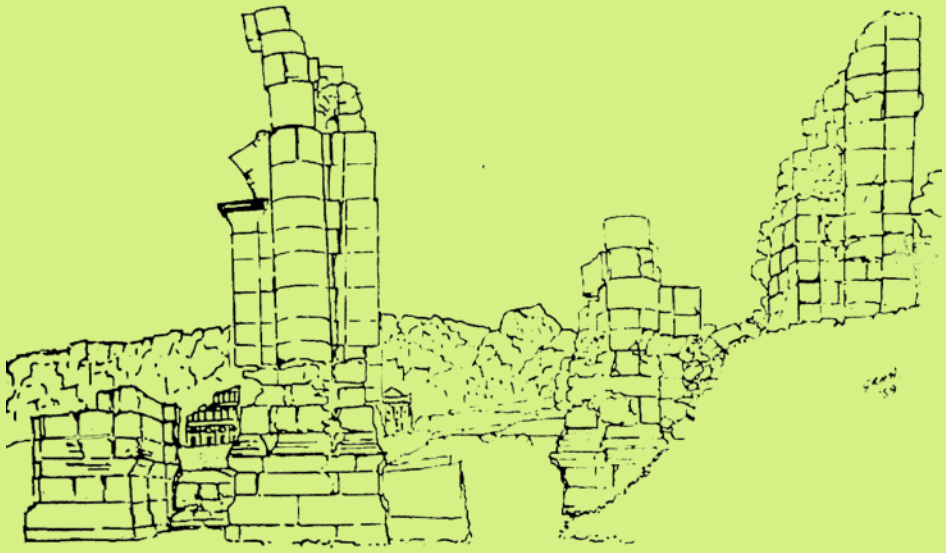
Buried History

The Journal of the Australian Institute of Archaeology



2017 Volume 53

Buried History

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

Published by:
The Australian Institute of Archaeology
ACN 004 246 682 / ABN 23 004 246 682

Address:
Australian Institute of Archaeology
La Trobe University
Victoria 3086
Australia

Email: director@aiarch.org.au
Website: www.aiarch.org.au

Print Post Approved by Australia Post No. pp. 343214 / 00003

Printed by Kosdown Printing Company Pty Ltd,
10 Rocklea Drive, Port Melbourne, Victoria, 3207

2017 *Buried History* subscription:
Australia $30.00; N.Z. A$35.00; Other Overseas A$35.00

Cover: Petra Temenos Gate drawn by GRH Wright,. Image from Wright (1970b)

Buried History

Journal of the Australian Institute of Archaeology

Volume 53

2017

Table of Contents **Page**

ISSN 0007-6260

Editorial

This edition of *Buried History* begins with a tribute to Emeritus Professor Tony Sagona who sadly died during the year. We are indebted to Dr Andrew Jamieson, a colleague of Tony's at The University of Melbourne, for preparing the tribute and to Tony's wife, Claudia, for providing many appealing images.

As a Melbourne-based scholar working on Middle Eastern subjects, Tony was a regular user of the Australian Institute of Archaeology library. He also directed his students to use the library and to work with the Institute as volunteers. His support and advice will be greatly missed.

The first paper is by Dr Albrecht Gerber, who has been a regular contributor to *Buried History*. Albrecht lives in rural Victoria where he has managed to maintain a scholarly program in classical studies. His paper draws attention to the existence of a Gospel Lectionary held by the University of Sydney and ponders why it has not been subjected to the study and analysis it deserves. It is a question that we often ask about the Institute's collection. University researchers are forever going overseas, at considerable expense, to study material held in foreign museums, while much material in the Institute collection remains unresearched and unpublished. Instead we find that it is often overseas scholars and Australian scholars from outside academia who take the lead in studying and publishing our collection.

The next paper by Susan Balderstone continues this trend. Susan was until recently was an Adjunct Professor in Heritage Management at Deakin University and is now a Research Fellow of the Institute. Her paper is based on a study of the G.R.H. Wright Archive, held by the Institute, to assess Wright's understanding of and contribution to the conservation and restoration of the ancient built environment. Susan originally studied architecture and worked on excavations in the Middle East as an archaeological architect. More recently she has consulted in heritage management and has acted as a reviewer for UNESCO where she is actively involved with the charters and protocols associated with architectural heritage management.

Dr Scott Charlesworth is a past contributor to *Buried History* and has recently had his PhD published, *Early Christian gospels: their production and transmission* (Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli, 2016). His contribution to this edition relates to the research that he undertook for his doctorate. Scott is a papyrologist associated with the University of New England, Armidale NSW, and has been supported by the Institute when travelling to overseas destinations to examine papyri. His paper demonstrates that papyrology is not only linguistic but also involves the study of the physical characteristics of documents. This paper contains a number of papyrological conventions that may at first be off-putting but those who persist will find themselves engaging with practices that early Christians adopted to read the New Testament and that now need to be recognised when studying such documents.

Dr Luis Siddall is another Australian scholar who maintains an academic program outside the university environment. We are pleased to have his review of a recent book on Neo-Assyrian State ideology. Luis's doctoral studies focused on this period of ancient history. Readers will remember, from previous editions of *Buried History,* that he is involved in the publication of the Institute's cuneiform material.

Dr David Saunders is a retired research metallurgist who is now a Research Fellow of the Institute. His review of *Archaeometallurgy in Global Perspective* is a useful contribution to the Institute's metallurgical research program, which has focussed on the metalwork held by the Institute.

My review of the intriguingly titled *Three Stones Make a Wall* was prompted by the subtitle indicating that it dealt with the story of archaeology. This was found not to be strictly true, but then maybe it is also not entirely true that three stones make a wall.

As always, we acknowledge our reviewers, who have spent much time on our behalf. Their scholarly endeavour has added significant value to the papers here published.

Christopher J. Davey
Editor

2012 courtesy Claudia Sagona

Emeritus Professor Antonio Giuseppe Sagona

FSA FAHA AM 1956–2017: portrait of a scholar

Andrew Jamieson

Introduction

The death of Antonio (Tony) Sagona on 29 June 2017 deprived the field of Near Eastern archaeology generally, and the University of Melbourne in particular, of a most distinguished scholar.

Tony played a crucial role in promoting and developing the study of archaeology at the University of Melbourne. His unwavering commitment to research, combined with rigorous archaeological fieldwork techniques, an engaging teaching style and remarkable personal generosity, transformed the discipline. When Tony was appointed to the faculty in 1984, archaeology at the University of Melbourne was scattered across History, Middle Eastern Studies and Classics (Davey 2014; Sagona 1988). In a few short years, he consolidated the discipline and introduced the archaeology major which would attract a legion of students over the next three decades.

Tony was the recipient of many grants over the years, including a good number from the Australian Research Council. Other honours and awards included being elected a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities in 2005 and of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 2004. In 2013, he became a Member of the Order of Australia (AM), 'for significant service to tertiary education in the field of archaeology', an honour of which he was immensely proud.

Early years

Tony was born on 30 April 1956 in Tripoli, Libya, and from a very young age was intrigued by the ancient world. His parents, Salvatore and Maria, made the momentous decision to migrate to Australia in 1960 in search of opportunities and a better life. Tony had vivid memories of the sea voyage, recalling that while most passengers on board were feeling seasick down below, he and his father were above deck enjoying salami sandwiches and filled with anticipation and excitement at what awaited them. They arrived in Melbourne on 19 January, and the family settled in Williamstown.

Tony excelled at Emmanuel College, Altona, and then at the University of Melbourne, where he was awarded a

***Figure 1**: Excavating at Tell Nebi Mend, Syria, directed by Peter Parr. Photo: 1978 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

BA (Hons) in 1977. His honours thesis was supervised by William Culican, who would become his great mentor and model. Its subject, *The Development and Expansion of the Early Trans-Caucasian Culture during the Third Millennium BC: The Khirbet Kerak Problem*, remained an enduring research interest. He was awarded high first-class honours by his examiners, Dr John Thompson (University of Melbourne) and Professor David Ussishkin (Tel Aviv University).

The other great success of his undergraduate career was to meet his wife and lifelong collaborator Claudia, also an archaeologist, in the lift on their way to a first-year class.

A PhD in the History department, also completed under the supervision of Culican, followed in 1983. Like his fourth-year thesis, Tony's doctorate examined Caucasian Early Bronze Age Kura Araxes material culture (Sagona 1983). The examiners, James Mellaart (University of London) and Professor Machteld Mellink (Bryn Mawr College), praised the research highly, and the dissertation was quickly accepted for publication, with the title *The Caucasian Region in the Early Bronze Age* (Sagona 1984a). Reviewers called it a 'milestone' and 'tour de force' (Harding 1984:224–225), and 30 years on, it is still considered foundational. Throughout his candidature (1978–1983), Tony also tutored in the department, launching a brilliant teaching career that would span more than three decades.

William 'Bill' Culican

Tony was much influenced and inspired by his supervisor Bill Culican, a reader in the Department of History from 1972 onwards. Culican was well known for his powers of exposition, which made him a most entertaining speaker (Clarke 1984, 1986:27–34; Sagona 1984b:11–18). His interests encompassed the archaeology of the Old World generally, and the Near East in particular. Above all, it was Culican's ability to synthesise and interpret data, and to formulate concepts, that established his reputation—and these were traits which Tony inherited. Tony would also carry forward a number of Culican's research interests and teaching areas; for example, Culican was fascinated by the Phoenicians, Medes and Persians, and these cultures would figure prominently in Tony's own syllabi.

When Culican died suddenly and unexpectedly in 1984, Tony, his most promising graduate student, stepped in to run his courses.[1] Tony was almost immediately appointed a lecturer in archaeology. In 1985, his position was made ongoing and in 1989 he was promoted to senior lecturer. In 1995, he became an associate professor and reader and in 2006, a full professor. In 2017, shortly before his death, Tony was awarded the title of Emeritus Professor.

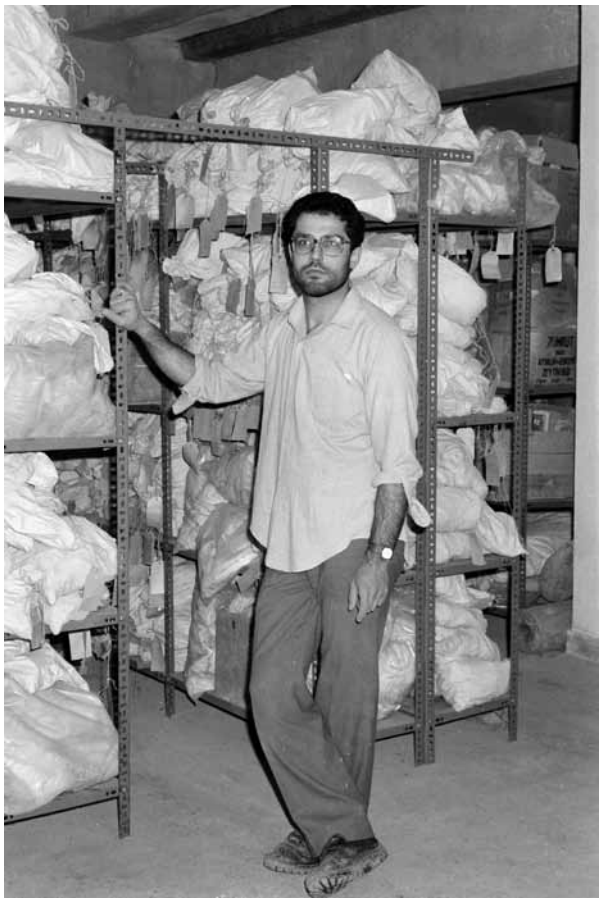


***Figure 2**: Elaziğ Museum stores, Turkey, taken after Tony and Claudia had worked through the many bags of finds from Aşvan Site 3, Keban Rescue Excavations, a British Institute of Archaeology project. Photo: 1982 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

The archaeology programme

One of Tony's greatest achievements was to establish and consolidate the discipline of archaeology at The University of Melbourne. Michael Osborne's time as Professor of Classics (1983–1988) saw new opportunities emerge in this area. Osborne's interest in Greek epigraphy brought the material evidence of antiquity into sharper focus in the Classical Studies department. He identified Tony as the future of archaeology at Melbourne, and also felt that archaeology and classics should combine (Mackie 2018). Tony agreed to join the Classical Studies department, and a short time later its name changed to Classical and Near Eastern Studies, then to Classics and Archaeology (Scott 2016:132).

With Osborne's support, Tony capitalised on the chance to advance his discipline, realising that the courses in classics would provide sufficient subjects to offer students a major in archaeology with a focus on the ancient world. Archaeology at Melbourne quickly flourished under Tony's guidance, with the support of several strong collaborators in those early days: the Belgian Assyriologist Guy Bunnens, the American archaeologist Elizabeth Pemberton, and British-born classicist Peter Connor, as well as Michael Osborne himself (Mackie 2018). The programme was further enhanced by the archaeologists' fieldwork activities: Tony's project at Sos Höyük in Turkey, Guy's at Tell Ahmar (ancient Til Barsib) in Syria, Elizabeth's in Corinth in Greece, and Peter's at Jebel Khalid in Syria.

In 1989, Tony oversaw the introduction of the new archaeology curriculum. A bright orange booklet, its colour appropriate to the prevailing sense of optimism, was produced to promote the new initiative. The booklet listed Tony as the co-ordinator for a range of undergraduate subjects, as well as the honours programme. While some classes were based on Culican's curriculum, *Theory, Method and Techniques of Archaeology* and *Archaeology Research Tools* were Tony's own innovations, designed to furnish students with advanced archaeological research skills.

Over 32 years, Tony's subject offerings always featured material culture. It was not uncommon for him to arrive at classes with a box of artefacts. These 'hands-on' sessions brought the ancient world to life and were extremely memorable for the students. In fact, this form of pedagogy significantly influenced the development of my own teaching praxis, which integrates object-based learning.

A kind and generous supervisor

Tony nurtured many students as principal or co-supervisor for 27 PhD theses, including six from overseas, and 28 Masters theses. In addition, he supervised 76 honours and other graduate theses between 1984 and 2016. Near Eastern archaeology, material culture, the Bronze Age, and Anatolia and the Caucasus were common research themes.

Figure 3: *The area Tony excavated at El-Qitar, Syria, directed by Tom McClellan and William Culican. Photo: 1982 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

His graduate students remember Tony as a kind and generous advisor, always constructive and encouraging. When my own supervisor, Guy Bunnens, left the university in 1999, Tony stepped in at the last minute to oversee the completion and examination of my PhD—not an easy task, but one he took on without hesitation.

Students were always Tony's first priority, and he was dedicated to supporting the next generation of scholars. Many students benefited from being included in his field expeditions to Turkey and Georgia, where they were able to increase their practical knowledge and skills.

Tony invested in all his students, but one in particular comes to mind. Jessie Birkett-Rees was just 15 years old when she first met Tony as an enthusiastic Year 10 work experience student. Tony clearly made an impression. Years later, Jessie went on to do her PhD with him, tutored for him, and worked with him on many of his research projects in Turkey and Georgia. They co-authored a number of articles. After completing her doctorate,

Figure 4: *Den Plain, Tasmania. Attempts to replicate ballywinne grinding stone fragments fractured from the disc-like, river worn cobbles from the Mersey River, south of the Toolumbunner red ochre site once mined by the indigenous Tasmanians. Photo: 1986 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

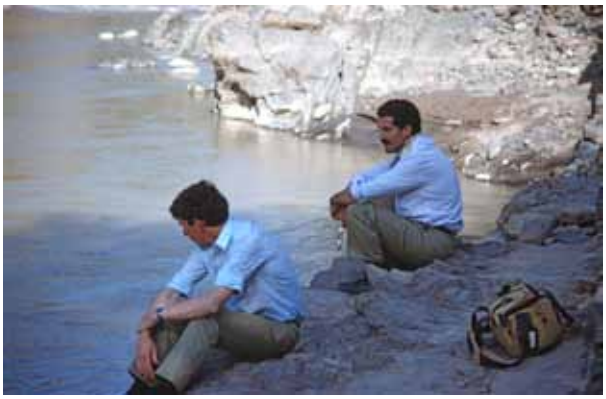


Figure 5: *Tony and surveyor, Kepell Turnour, by the Çoruh River, Bayburt region. Photo: 1987 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

Figure 6: *Tony with Tamaz Kiguradze, Georgian archaeologist and friend in Tbilisi, Georgia. Photo: 1987 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

Jessie became a Faculty of Arts Postdoctoral Fellow at Melbourne and was then employed as a lecturer at La Trobe University. She is now a member of the academic staff at the Centre for Ancient Cultures at Monash University, teaching students and directing field projects of her own.

Forty-one years of archaeological field-work

Tony's fieldwork simultaneously produced invaluable information on local cultures and contributed to broader understandings of regional developments. Along with a reputation for keeping records of the highest calibre, Tony was admired for his expansive knowledge and keen perspective on site formation and cultural change, especially in the regions from the Mediterranean to the Caspian Sea.

With 41 years of experience in the field, 31 of them as director, Tony's knowledge was vast. His fieldwork began in Australia, at Lake Bolac (1975), and in 1985–1986 he would dig at the important ochre mining site of Toolumbunner in Tasmania. He also excavated in Syria, first with Peter Parr at Tell Nebi Mend in 1978 and then at El-Qitar in 1982 and 1984 with Bill Culican and Tom McClellan.

His main interest, however, lay in the Near East, as his postgraduate research had shown. In his own words, Tony had been 'a Melbourne University PhD student, completely immersed in the complexities of the Kura-Araxes,' and in 1981, he and Claudia had visited Georgia for the strictly enforced 12-day period allowed to foreigners (Menabde 2018).

As his position on the faculty became more secure, he turned to his own fieldwork projects. In Turkey, he co-directed major initiatives at Sos Höyük (1994–2003) and Büyüktepe Höyük (1988–1993). More recently he completed a seminal, large-scale investigation of the Anzac battlefield at Gallipoli with the Joint Historical and Archaeological Survey (JHAS), including five years of field survey (2010–2014). His Georgian-Australian Investigations in Archaeology (GAIA) project commenced in 2008, with work taking place at Samtavro (2008–2010), Tchkantiskedi (2011) and Chobareti (2012–2016), and also encompassing field surveys in southwest Georgia.

Figure 7: *Tony recording sites during the Bayburt survey. Photo: 1988 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

I joined Tony in the field at Gallipoli in 2014. I had travelled to Turkey to select objects for an exhibition called *The Anzac battlefield: Landscape of war and memory*, which was to commemorate the 2015 centenary of the Gallipoli landings. One afternoon Tony suggested we return to the survey site, as he wanted to take more photographs while the light was best. He was a fine photographer, always keen to capture the perfect picture. Most of the photographs that appeared in his publications were his own. He believed that high quality illustrations were no less important than text for elucidating archaeological finds.

Tony's standards in the field were famously exacting. The baulks of his trenches were razor sharp, field notebooks were meticulously maintained, and top plans and section drawings were rigorously made. Contexts were carefully and stratigraphically defined, and artefacts judiciously bagged and tagged. In short, Tony was a brilliant field archaeologist and excellent director. Elizabeth Pemberton recalls that 'he was careful to build teams that worked together and he fostered collegiality. It is no wonder that so many students sought to continue working with him' (Pemberton forthcoming). His attention to detail extended beyond the site: a recent meeting with staff in the faculty finance office revealed that Tony was well known—and a great favourite—for his meticulous bookkeeping.

Research on the material culture of ancient highland communities of Anatolia and the Caucasus

The unifying theme in Tony's research was how fieldwork on the material culture of ancient highland communities of Anatolia and the Caucasus could broaden our archaeological knowledge more generally, extending our understanding of cultural dynamics in mountainous landscapes and answering questions that ranged across history, the natural sciences, and physical and cultural anthropology.

Tony's approach necessitated working on several levels at once, employing a broad range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches. At one end, he had three decades of continuous involvement in detailed archaeological fieldwork; at the other, he explored the broader conceptual questions his data raised, concerning ethnicity and group identity, boundaries and frontiers, the construction of social and religious landscapes, and the relationship between nomadism and sedentary lifestyles.

As Charles Burney has noted, Tony 'approached the ancient Near East on a wide front, eschewing the narrow specialisation favoured today by all too many… academics'. Although his projects were based in Georgia and eastern Turkey, his focus was wider. 'He has shown a breadth of vision together with keeping his nose to the ground, undistracted by diversions into theoretical archaeology' (Burney 2018).

Figure 8: *In the early days of excavation at Büyüktepe Höyük. Photo: 1990 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

Author and editor

Tony was the author of eight books, and editor of another eight. He also wrote over 100 chapters, journal articles, records of conference proceedings, and encyclopaedia entries. His key works include *Ancient Turkey*, co-authored with Paul Zimansky and published in 2009, and *Anzac Battlefield: A Gallipoli Landscape of War and Memory* (2015), edited with Mithat Atabay, Chris Mackie, Ian McGibbon and Richard Reid. Sadly, Tony did not live to see his final book, *The Archaeology of the Caucasus*, in print, but his wonderful ability to evoke a landscape and skill as a writer are preserved in the words he used to open its narrative:

On a clear day in the southern Caucasus, standing on a vantage point along the middle Kura Basin, the immense horizon becomes an irresistible attraction. There, dim in the remote distance, towering high above the foothills is the mighty range of the Greater Caucasus Mountains. Their lower slopes are usually veiled in cloudy vapours, while their snow-clad peaks glitter in the sunlight, suspended between earth and sky. Over the ridge is another world, one of mighty river valleys and foothills that merge imperceptibly with the vast European steppe lands beyond (Sagona 2017:1).

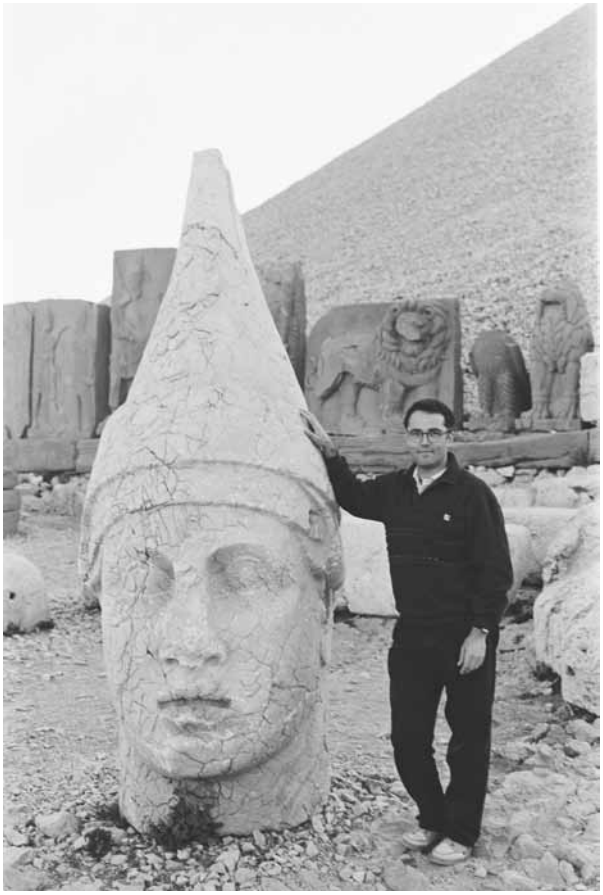


Figure 9: *Tony at Nemrut Dağ beside the carved head of Antiochus; taken while conducting an archaeological tour in eastern Turkey. Photo: 1999 courtesy Claudia Sagona*

Tony derived great enjoyment from writing, and somehow managed to find time for it almost every day. While his subject matter was diverse, his publications had in common that they successfully merged meticulous research and scholarship with an ability to communicate his enthusiasm for his work and bring the ancient world to life for his readers.

Ancient Near Eastern Studies

In 1999, Tony assumed the editorship of *Abr-Nahrain*, an annual journal originally produced under the auspices of the Department of Semitic Studies and established in 1959 by Professor John Bowman.[2] In his first year as editor, and in a rather bold move, Tony changed the journal's name to *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* (*ANES*), which he felt 'better reflected the contemporary identity and future of the journal as a modern and lively forum for scholarly studies on the ancient Near East' (Sagona 1999). Further changes initiated by Tony reflected his talent for visual design: in 2006 he overhauled the cover art, introducing the distinctive dark blue theme; in 2012, colour plates were added; and in 2013, a new larger-scale format appeared.

In addition, Tony and Claudia embarked on a most ambitious editorial role in overseeing the production of more than 40 monographs in the *ANES* supplement series. As in all other aspects of his work, Tony was a great supporter of emerging talent in his role as publisher. He extended invitations to numerous graduate students and early career researchers, in Australia and abroad, to submit their work to be considered for the journal or supplement series. One of his final contributions was to see monograph no. 53, *Metal Jewellery of the Southern Levant and its Western Neighbours*, through to completion. Written by Josephine Verduci, it was based on her PhD, successfully completed at Melbourne in 2015. This part of Tony's legacy will continue when volumes based on doctoral dissertations by Giorgi Bedianashvili (École pratique des hautes etudes, Paris) and Jarrad Paul (University of Melbourne) are published in years to come.

Context and Connection

In 2014, work commenced on a Festschrift to commemorate Tony's 60th birthday and celebrate his myriad achievements. The volume is a testament to the esteem and affection in which Tony was held around the world. It contains 64 chapters by 86 colleagues and students, past and present, from Turkey, Georgia and Australia, as well as Armenia, Azerbaijan, France, Israel, Italy, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States. While it is most unfortunate that Tony did not live to see the Festschrift in its final form, he was kept well informed of progress and furnished along the way with the table of contents and other parts of the manuscript. The good opinion of his colleagues was of immense importance to Tony and he was genuinely moved by this tribute.

As Aleksandra Michalewicz and her co-authors observe in the preface of the Festschrift, 'Tony demonstrated that someone from Australia, a country thousands of kilometres away from the Near East, can make a profound and lasting impact on studies in that region. Moreover, beyond his academic contributions, he firmly established himself as someone who has gained the respect and fondness of colleagues the world over. This is no simple success' (Batmaz et al. 2017).

Figure 10: *Tony recording sites, Gerda Kaya, Erzurum Survey. Photo: 2003 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

Figure 11: *Tony on the highland plain south of Chobareti in the Akhaltsikhe region of southern Georgia; waiting for the perfect lighting. Photo: 2012 courtesy Claudia Sagona.*

Final words

Put simply, Tony will be remembered not only as a great academic, but also as a good person. Many will remember his wicked sense of humour. Elizabeth Pemberton recalls his ability to mimic could be devastating – never vicious, but incredibly clever (Pemberton forthcoming). His kindness and generosity were universally acknowledged. He was a dedicated family man, always constant and reliable in an unpredictable world. He was delighted to be a father and, recently, a grandfather. He loved to cook and to entertain visitors to Melbourne, and enjoyed being chauffeured around town by Claudia locally, and hop-on hop-off bus drivers in the many cities he visited as a passionate world traveller.

It has been my privilege to have been first Tony's student, then his colleague and finally his friend. Let me finish with memories of Tony from each of these eras and in so doing, bring together some different aspects of his wonderful career and many achievements as archaeologist, teacher and publisher.

As a student, I recall his evocative lecture on the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, a poem from ancient Mesopotamia, miraculously preserved in clay tablets dating from the third millennium BC. As a brilliant and an engaging teacher, Tony introduced legions of students to the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and brought the ancient world to life for us through his passion for archaeology—the material culture of the past—and his interest in historical texts and traditions.

As a colleague, in 2016 I remember him surrounded by a throng of admirers at ICAANE,[3] the most important international meeting of scholars of Near Eastern archaeology, beside a table set up by Peeters and straining under the weight of all the monographs in the *ANES* supplement series. It was a very proud moment in recognition of Australia's contribution to the scholarship of Near Eastern archaeology under Tony.

As a friend, I was inspired by his words about why ancient world studies were important. '[They] lie at the heart of the humanities,' he said, 'and … explore what it is to be human. Whereas it would possible to live in a world without the humanities and, in turn, classics and archaeology, what a boring and meaningless world it would be – bereft of memory or imagination, or any understanding of the cultural environment that has shaped all our lives.'

Antonio (Tony) Giuseppe Sagona died on 29 June 2017 from complications of Chronic Lymphocytic Leukemia. His family was by his side just as he wanted. He was 61 years of age and is survived by his wife Claudia, daughter Amadea, son-in-law Ryan and grandson Harland.[4] To commemorate Tony's significant legacy, a named scholarship is being established in his memory, to be awarded to students undertaking Near Eastern archaeological research.[5]

Andrew Jamieson
Classics and Archaeology Programme
School of Historical and Philosophical Studies
The University of Melbourne
asj@unimelb.edu.au

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62614/g4r3gb42

Acknowledgement

The author would like to express his sincere thanks to Tony's wife, Dr Claudia Sagona, for providing and clarifying details contained in this obituary. He also wishes to thank Abby Robinson for her contributions. For other obituaries on Tony see Pemberton (forthcoming) and Ridley (forthcoming).

References

Batmaz, A., G. Bedianashvili, A. Michalewicz and A. Robinson eds 2018 *Context and Connection: Essays on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of Antonio Sagona,* Leuven: Peeters.

Burney, C. 2018 Reflections, in Batmaz, A. et al. eds *Context and Connection: Essays on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of Antonio Sagona,* Leuven: Peeters.

Christesen, N. 1996 Goldman, Maurice David (1898–1957), Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/goldman-maurice-david-10319/text18263, published first in hardcopy 1996, accessed online 3 October 2017.

Clarke, G.W. 1984 William Culican 1928–1984, Australian Academy of the Humanities, Proceedings 12, 1982–1983 https://www.humanities.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/AAH-Obit-Culican-1984.pdf, accessed online 3 October 2017.

Clarke, G.W. 1986 William Culican (An appreciation given at the Requiem Mass), in Culican, W. ed. *Opera Selecta: From Tyre to Tartessos*, Göteborg: Paul Åstroms Forlag, 27–34.

Davey, C.J. 2014 The Australian Institute of Archaeology and the beginning of ancient world archaeology at the University of Melbourne, *Buried History* 50:21–30.

Harding, A.F. 1985 Book Review, A.G. Sagona The Caucasian Region in the Early Bronze Age, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 214, 1985, *Antiquity* 59/227:224–25.

Mackie, C. 2018 Reflections, in Batmaz, A. et al. eds *Context and Connection: Essays on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of Antonio Sagona,* Leuven: Peeters.

Menabde, M. 2018 Reflections, in Batmaz, A. et al. eds *Context and Connection: Essays on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of Antonio Sagona,* Leuven: Peeters.

Pemberton, E. (forthcoming) Antonio Sagona 1956–2017, Australian Academy of the Humanities.

Ridley, R.T. 2007 Culican, William (Bill) (1928–1984), Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/culican-william-bill-12377/text22243, published first in hardcopy, accessed online 5 October 2017.

Ridley, R.T. (forthcoming) Antonio Sagona 1956–2017, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 55.

Sagona, A.G. 1983 The Caucasian Region in the Early Bronze Age, unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Melbourne.

Sagona, A.G. 1984a *The Caucasian Region in the Early Bronze Age,* British Archaeological Reports International Series 214, 3 vols, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Sagona, A.G. 1984b William Culican: Portrait of a scholar (1928–1984). In *Opera Selecta: From Tyre to Tartessos*, 7–26. Paul Göteborg: Åstroms Forlag.

Sagona, A.G. 1988 Archaeology at The University of Melbourne: A short essay, in A.G. Sagona and J.K. Zimmer eds *Images of the Ancient World: Archaeology at the University of Melbourne*, Caulfield, Melbourne: Chisholm Institute of Technology, 11–18.

Sagona, A.G. 2017, *The Archaeology of the Caucasus: From Earliest Settlements to the Iron Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sagona, A.G. 1999 Editorial, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 36.

Sagona, A.G. and P. Zimansky 2009 *Ancient Turkey,* London: Routledge.

Sagona, A.G., M. Atabay, C. Mackie, R. Reid and I. McGibbon eds 2016 *Anzac Battlefield: A Gallipoli Landscape of War and Memory,* Cambridge, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Scott, R. 2016 After Hunt to Current State of Classics, in R. Scott ed. *Towards a History of Classics at the University of Melbourne: Papers celebrating the sesquicentenary of the University of Melbourne and the Centenary of the Classical Association of Victoria*, IRIS Journal of the Classical Association of Victoria 25:109–37.

Endnotes

1 Culican is commemorated in a Fourth-Year scholarship in archaeology, known as the William Culican Memorial Award, which Tony was very involved in establishing and overseeing.

2 The publication of Abr-Nahrain, and subsequently Ancient Near Eastern Studies (ANES), an annual, refereed journal, published by Peeters, Leuven, has been made possible by the Maurice Goldman Trust. On Maurice Goldman, foundation professor of the Department of Semitic Studies, see Christesen 1996.

3 In 2016 the 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (ICAANE) was in Vienna, organised by the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

4 A funeral service celebrating Tony's life was held at St. Carthage's Church, Parkville on Friday 7 July 2017.

5 For information about the scholarship please contact the author.

An Unexplored 11th Century Gospel Lectionary in Sydney

Albrecht Gerber

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62614/tae6z859

Abstract: This paper draws attention to an unexplored document of historical significance, namely the Codex Angus. It is a 1000-year-old Greek parchment lectionary held by the archive of the Sydney University's Rare Book and Special Collections Library. The codex was brought from Germany to Australia in 1936 and although at that time it was lauded in *The Sydney Morning Herald* as 'of marvellous beauty of workmanship, and in perfect condition,' it remains almost completely unknown and has never yet been seriously analysed. This paper investigates the checkered history of the manuscript's journey to Sydney and signals its potential usefulness to codicology, textual criticism, palaeography, or even social anthropology.

1. Introduction

All around the world, numerous yet potentially valuable objects of as yet unexplored scholastic significance can sometimes become all but lost to research due to overcrowded archival storage[1]. This happens particularly with seemingly lacklustre items; for example: prosaic ostraca (Gerber, 2011), disjointed pieces of ancient codices, or even certain types of papyri fragments. The reason for this is that some of these objects may be deemed by curators, librarians and the like, to generate little academic or public interest because of an apparent lack of visual or contextual exhibition appeal, due perhaps to fragmentation, poor material or textual preservation, or even physical size. Furthermore, such 'uninteresting' items can then become inadequately or obscurely catalogued (a case in point is n. 6) and may thus end up lying packed away for decades in boxes or drawers, deep inside congested museum or archival stockrooms. There, forgotten over time, they become downgraded into what might metaphorically be termed 'archival detritus', rendering them not only invisible, but for all intents and purposes practically non-existent.

Yet without careful analysis of such 'remnants' it is not really possible to know for certain what their potential scholastic merits might be. Although this implies an initial value judgment that is both relative and subjective (depending on what one is looking for), it is often possible to extract from these kinds of disregarded items surprisingly enriching rewards. Indeed, were this not a realistic possibility, the practice of keeping so many of them in permanent storage would logically seem to be a inappropriate waste of space.

One of the most celebrated discoveries in this respect would have to be that which the Danish philologist Johan Ludwig Heiberg (1854-1928) first made more than a hundred years ago in the archive of the Istanbul Metochion of the Jerusalem Holy Sepulchre, yet which then took another century before its momentous significance became fully revealed. For in 1906, during an examination of what was believed to be a 13th century prayer book in the form of an unattractive velum codex, Heiberg discovered that this religious work was actually a palimpsest that concealed a far more important secular text beneath its visible letters. Indeed, the text of much of the book's 174 folia had been written over the top of a partially erased and hitherto lost 10th century copy of several previously unknown mathematical treatises by Archimedes (Netz/Noel 2007: 131-132). To be sure, this is not the place to elaborate further on the subsequent colourful history of that truly exceptional codex, suffice it to say that not until the early years of the 21st century, when spectral imaging technology and modern digitalisation techniques could be brought to bear on its pages, were scholars finally able to 'read what they literally had not dreamed of reading [before]' (Netz/Noel 2007: 205).

The aim of the present article is to draw attention to another long forgotten, but in some respects quite similar liturgical parchment codex. While this is not a palimpsest, it is an approximately 1000-year old Greek gospel lectionary held in the archive of the Sydney University's Rare Book and Special Collections Library, where it has been designated as Codex Angus, although I shall here use the terms 'codex' and 'lectionary' interchangeably.

Since Codex Angus is named after its onetime owner, Samuel Angus – thus linking his name permanently with this Byzantine manuscript – the following short biographical digression will help to contextualise it, although some of what follows here supersedes my erstwhile perception of Angus (Gerber 2011).

2. Samuel Angus

Samuel Angus (1881-1943) was born and raised on a farm near Ballymena in Ulster, and in 1903 graduated at Queen's College Galway with a Master of Arts in Classics. To advance his academic career he subsequently moved to America, where he enrolled for a year at New

Figure 1: *Folium 1, Codex Angus, Image: courtesy Rare Books and Special Collections, the University of Sydney Library.*

Jersey's conservative Princeton Theological Seminary, but simultaneously took a part-time course at the (by then) more progressive Princeton University. However, he soon became disenchanted with the Seminary's dogmatic theology and resolved to switch over to fulltime academic studies at the University. Three years later he earned his PhD with a treatise on St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, yet shortly thereafter suffered a 'nervous breakdown from overwork' (Emilsen 1991: 61).

In 1907 he married the wealthy American, Katharine Walker-Duryea (1879-1934). The following year the couple travelled to Germany to enable Angus to study a semester of advanced Greek philology at the University of Marburg under the Indologist and Hellenistic Greek philologist Albert Thumb (1865-1915).

Thumb introduced him to a newly published book, entitled *Licht vom Osten* (Deissmann 1908),[2] an innovative and popularly accessible philological work by the German theologian and philologist, Gustav Adolf Deissmann (1866-1937). It turned out to be precisely what Angus had long been searching for. This was not theology for theology's sake, but rather an academically objective philological approach to the study of the koine Greek language, with a Cartesian focus on the writings of the New Testament and chronologically related texts.

The premise of this book so exercised Angus that two years later he enrolled once more at a German university, this time for a winter semester at the Theological Faculty of the prestigious Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin (renamed Humboldt-Universität in 1949). Here he came under the mentorship of Deissmann himself, 'the professor', he declared later, 'whom I adored' (Angus 1943: 157).

A few months after Angus had again returned to Einburgh, Deissmann came to Scotland to represent the Berlin University at the quincentenary celebrations of the Saint Andrews University, but also used the opportunity to visit Angus for a couple of days at his home. As his former teacher, Deissmann had gained such a high regard for Angus' philological aptitude that he took him along to the festivities, where he acquainted him with 'some of the world's greatest Continental scholars and scientists.' (Angus 1943: 157).

Despite this high-profile networking, no permanent academic position became available to Angus for another three years, even though he was prepared to go almost anywhere. Almost – 'but', he writes, 'my dreams of the future never envisaged Australia, except that I was determined never to set foot in a land which seemed so remote from the scenes of human thought and action … [and] away from libraries, museums and friends' (Angus 1943: 174-5).

That said, in 1914, when the Sydney University's Saint Andrew's College offered him the chair of New Testament exegesis and theology, he did accept – albeit with great reluctance – and arranged to emigrate with his wife to Australia.

Some fifteen years later, Angus' professorial career began to be plagued by ongoing religious controversies relating to his liberal theology.[3] Founded, as it was, on the bedrock of his intensive philological studies, it never really sat easily with New South Wales' conservative Presbyterian orthodoxy who, over a period of more than a decade, kept pursuing him for alleged heresy. The relentless psychological stress Angus had to endure, became greatly exacerbated by the death of his wife, and led (or at least contributed) to a sever stroke that resulted in temporary facial paralysis and associated speech dysfunction.[4] The thirties were therefore extraordinarily trying for Angus – both physically and emotionally – so much so that he, according to his memoirs, at times almost lost his life: 'In 1935 a severe illness confined me to bed for months, during which I was on at least three occasions given up as beyond recovery.' (Angus 1943: 187). It bears noting that Angus wrote his book during months of ill health from cancer of which he died in Nov. 1943 (Angus 1943: vii-viii).

As part of Angus' convalescence, he travelled to Europe where he was able, among other things, to visit his friend and mentor, Adolf Deissmann, at his home in Wünsdorf near Berlin. It was there where Angus first set eyes on the ancient lectionary to which we now can turn our attention.

3. The German connection

The precise provenance and early history of this fairly well crafted 11th century liturgical book can no longer be established with certainty. According to Angus, it had originally been made 'in a scriptorium of Constantinople' (Angus 1943: 158) and later became 'the property of the Greek church of Bulgaria for centuries'. But when or how it came into their possession in the first place remains equally murky, and neither the Sofia University's Theological Faculty Archive, nor Sofia's Church Museum at the Holy Synod were able to provide further information to my enquiries.[5] What is clear, however, is that in 1929 ownership of this codex was transferred to Adolf Deissmann via a process that is worth noting here, as this has never been made public.

During the latter half of the 1920s he had become pivotal to the archaeological excavations of ancient Ephesus, led by an Austrian archaeological team, and was a leading member in four of their annual expeditions (1926-29) (cf. Gerber 2006). On his periodic journeys from Berlin to Ephesus, he made regular stopovers at Sofia, where he visited his friend and fellow ecumenist, Prof. Stefan Zankow (1881-1965), protopresbyter of the Bulgarian Church, and gave occasional public lectures.[6] As a strong advocate of a mutually beneficial East-West national dialogue, Deissmann had established himself at the forefront of this initiative well before the outbreak of the First World War. Using his high international profile, he attempted to foster a growing rapprochement across the nations by cultivating mutual understanding between the disparate but socio-politically widely influential Eastern Orthodox and Western church traditions.[7]

Accordingly, in September 1929, while Deissmann was on his way to Ephesus for what would turn out to be his last journey to that site, he made a three-day stopover at Sofia because Zankow had invited him to study some ancient manuscripts and a Byzantine New Testament miniscule (Nr. 2424), which were held at the city's Museum of the Holy Synod. Even though no record exists of their conversations, Deissmann's diary (held privately) indicates that as a token of the Museum's gratitude for his philological work on their behalf – and perhaps also in appreciation for his ongoing efforts to bridge the gap between East and West – he was presented with the gospel lectionary that we now know as Codex Angus. This is also supported by a letter Angus wrote to the Sydney University's Vice-Chancellor on 3.11.1939 (cf. Bibliography). For the next six years Deissmann kept this medieval book in his extensive private library, but never got around to subjecting it to the academic scrutiny it deserves.

Then, on Thursday 24 October 1935, Angus arrived in Berlin and two days later, during dinner with the Deissmann family, he lamented 'that Australia had appeared too late on the scene to acquire a share of such archaeological materials as enrich the museums of Europe and America.' (Angus 1936). Serious research in Classics, he explained, was therefore extremely difficult for Australian academics, unless they were prepared (and able) to travel overseas.

Deissmann could sympathise with this dilemma from personal experience, for early in his career he was posted as Vikar to the remote parish of Dausenau on the river Lahn, where he felt similarly isolated, and later wrote, 'I had to learn the hard way that one cannot work satisfactorily as an academic without easy access to decent library resources.' (Deissmann 1891).

Now, more than four decades later, Angus' complaint sounded all too familiar. Thus, he led the Irishman to his private library, an overwhelming collection containing thousands of books, many rare and valuable, among them at least one 3rd century Septuagint papyrus (cf. Horsley 1993a), the 1000-year old lectionary under discussion, and even a compilation of 117 Greek ostraca ranging from the third century BC to the third century AD (cf. Gerber 2011).

Figure 2: *Typical folium of Codex Angus, Image: courtesy Rare Books and Special Collections, the University of Sydney Library.*

Deissmann was less than a fortnight away from his 69th birthday and had for some time toyed with the idea of offering part of his *Bibliotheca* for sale. Potential buyers, particularly for the ostraca, were not lacking and came from as far away as America; nonetheless, his library represented a great deal more to him than the possibility of financial gain. Much of it symbolised or reflected his intimate connection with, and lifetime achievement in, ancient Greek scholarship. Thus, he had stipulated that if he were to sell anything at all from his collection it was

to go to an academic institute where one of his former students was teaching (Angus 1936).

Appreciating Deissmann's sentiments wholeheartedly, Angus realised that his mentor was offering him a chance to acquire at least a little of that precious 'archaeological material' for which he had long envied European and American institutions.

4. From Berlin to Sydney

Some ten months later, Angus published the first of a two-part article in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, explaining that:

> *During a recent visit to Germany I had the rare opportunity of securing for Australia two invaluable archaeological treasures of great historical interest and importance, a well-known collection of Greek Ostraka from Egypt and an ancient Greek biblical manuscript ... I took steps to secure the collection, not on the ordinary commercial system of "on credit," but by the superior non-commercial method of faith – faith in the generosity of certain Australian friends* (Angus 1936).

Regrettably, there are no records which deal specifically with the financial transaction of either the ostraca or the biblical manuscript, that is to say, the lectionary. The most probable reason for this is that the two friends came to a private arrangement, whereby Deissmann took Angus at his word that he would find an Australian patron for the purchase of the ostraca (cf. Gerber 2011: 24-5).

However, the lectionary was a different matter; for it transpires that Angus bought this primarily for himself (contrary to Emilsen 1991: 253). This is made clear in his letter, dated 3 November 1939 and addressed to the Vice Chancellor of Sydney University, Sir Robert Strachan Wallace (1882-1961), in which he states:

> *In order to increase the teaching facilities of the Nicholson Museum and to encourage classical students in the use of MSS [manuscripts] and the study of palaeography, I have decided to offer for a period on loan to the museum my Greek parchment MS known since 1935 as codex Angus. This MS is a Greek Lectionary, inscribed on parchment, dating from the end of the XI or beginning of XII century. It consists of 122 sheets with two columns to the page. Evidence of the work of several scribes is clearly indicated. The MS, written in one of the scriptoria* [cf. Mugridge 2007] *of Constantinople, was the property of the Greek church of Bulgaria for centuries before passing into the possession of my teacher Professor Deissmann of Berlin University, from whom I procured it in 1935. I should be pleased to place this example of Greek calligraphy, the only MS in Australia, as loan without delay, on the understanding that it shall be returned to me on request or on my instruction* (Angus 1939 underscores added).

This revealing letter leaves no doubt that Angus obtained the lectionary primarily for himself and not so much 'for Australia' as he had claimed in *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Nonetheless, his use of the rather ambiguous term 'procured' makes it difficult to determine precisely how the ancient book's transaction actually took place. It is quite conceivable that Deissmann had decided to donate it to Angus upon listening to his 'lamentations'; perhaps with the proviso that he would, as it were, 'do something useful with it', since he himself seemed not to have subjected it to critical studies and certainly never published anything on it.

Another open question this letter poses is whether it was Deissmann or Angus who named the lectionary 'Codex Angus', although, as the senior academic, it seems likely that it was Deissmann who suggested it to mark the transaction. However, the most intriguing aspect of Angus's letter is surely his oddly ambiguous claim that the lectionary was 'the only MS [i.e. manuscript] in Australia'. If true, this might have been noteworthy; but his assertion – as it stands – is quite ill founded.

Figure 3: *The front cover of Codex Angus, Image: courtesy Rare Books and Special Collections, the University of Sydney Library.*

The first purchase of any ancient manuscript made by a public Australian institution was that by the State Library of Victoria in 1901 – almost four decades prior to Angus' letter. It consisted of a modest 16th century antiphonal, followed the year after by a 15th century commentary on Isaiah, by St Jerome. After receiving an unprecedented bequest in 1904 from the wealthy entrepreneur Alfred Felton (1831-1904), the National Gallery of Victoria[8] was able to expand its collection of medieval manuscripts, and by 1935 possessed more than a dozen (*The La Trobe*

Journal 2008: 91-6). Even in Western Australia, the State Library there had acquired a 15th century Latin brevarium as early as 1907 (Sinclair 1969: 413). Moreover, there was also a number of privately owned collections of medieval manuscripts, such as that of the Adelaide lawyer, James Thompson Hackett (1858-1924), from whom the Mitchell Library (Sydney) purchased three 15th century Latin manuscripts ('Books of Hours' from Ghent, Arras, and Bruges) at an auction in 1918, with a fourth acquired from Hackett's widow eight years later by the State Library of Victoria.[9] Or – to cite just one more example – the three illuminated manuscripts (Manion/Vines 1984: 15), owned by the enigmatic bibliophile, David Scott Mitchell (1836-1907), who bequeathed his huge private library, including these three manuscripts, to the State of New South Wales in 1907, where it formed the foundation of what is now the Mitchell Library.

For all that, what seems even more ironic, is that when Angus wrote his letter to the Sydney University's Vice Chancellor, the university's own Nicholson Museum – whose teaching facilities Angus purportedly wished to increase – had itself also long been in possession of a sizable collection of medieval manuscripts, acquired by bequest from the estate of Sir Charles Nicholson (1808-1903), as the following inventory shows.

> *A number of medieval and renaissance documents and a Hebrew twelfth-century manuscript, an early copy of Magna Carta, important illustrated manuscripts (thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth-century), an ikon (probably) as well as collections of wax impressions of English historical seals and some original historical seals were all given by Sir Charles. Of the thirty-three medieval and renaissance documents received, six were given by Sir Charles Nicholson in his lifetime, these are all in Latin, three dated from the thirteenth century and three from the fifteenth century. They include land grants, letters patent and theological treatises. The balance of twenty-seven manuscripts was received by the university from Sir Charles Nicholson's estate in 1924 and 1937. Amongst a group received in 1924 is a twelfth-century florilegium in Latin, a fifteenth-century Italian translation of La Prima Guerra Punica and educational tracts by renaissance scholars including Aeneas Silvius Piccolomeni who was to become Pope Pius II in 1458.*[10]

Thus, after serving for twenty years as professor of theology at the Sydney University, it is inconceivable that Angus would not have been aware of the existence of at least some of those valuable texts. However, it is important to bear in mind that most of these works were written in Latin – not in Greek. It stands to reason, therefore, that Angus almost certainly meant to say that his lectionary was the only medieval Greek manuscript in Australia – and in 1935 this seems indeed to have been the case.[11]

5. The Codex Angus

As indicated earlier, Angus has published two lengthy overviews on Deissmann's ostraca collection in *The Sydney Morning Herald* (8 and 15 August 1936), yet made only brief reference to the lectionary in the introductory paragraph of the first instalment explaining that he was 'reserving for a later article an account of the Bible manuscript'. Regrettably, as with Deissmann (see above p.13), this also failed to come to fruition. Notwithstanding, Angus did write a few striking words about the codex's overall appearance as it looked at that time, describing it as 'of marvellous beauty of workmanship, and in perfect condition' (Angus: 1936). Thus, Angus has left us with a rudimentary yardstick that provides a comparative measure of the lectionary's state of preservation (or decay) over the past three-quarters of a century.

Today, this ancient liturgical codex remains generally well preserved. But if Angus's description is correct – and there is no reason to doubt it – the same cannot be said for the book's external condition. Both wooden front and back covers have deteriorated considerably during the intervening decades, with numerous wormholes clearly visible (Figure 3), and its erstwhile ornately designed linen enwrapping now in such poor condition that the front board's lower third has completely perished. Even so, its once finely woven red and gold designs remain more or less intact in the upper part.

In the centre of the front cover is what appears to be an affixed yet badly decayed decorative parchment panel, measuring approximately 80 x 100 mm, although this

Figure 4: Folium 74, Image: courtesy Rare Books and Special Collections, The University of Sydney Library.

is possibly a later addition – perhaps an imaginative replacement of an earlier ornamental insert. It was originally attached by ten hand-worked metal studs, of which three remain in situ. The artistic motif on this inset is now difficult to identify, yet appears to depict a haloed central figure sitting on or above a green trefoil – symbolic of the trinity – with illegible graphemes in each lobe. The vague outlines of lesser figures can just be made out on either side of the central shape, one in an apparent suppliant position, thus suggesting the middle one to represent Christ.

The overall external dimensions of the lectionary itself are ca. 266 mm x 206 mm. It consists, as Angus correctly wrote, of 122 parchment folia, each measuring about 264 mm x 200 mm and made of fine sheep- or goatskin, with the hair pores still clearly visible in places. The text is divided into two roughly 80 mm wide columns of between 27 and 33 lines, with minimal inner- and an approximately 50 mm wide outer margin. The lectionary's content is entirely made up of gospel pericopes, written on both the recto (i.e. right) and verso (i.e. left) sides, in clearly legible accented Greek minuscules of 8 to 10 mm height, with surprisingly few scholia (eg Figures 2 & 4). The lettering is in black ink, but the initial pericope characters, incipits and gospel identifiers are variously rubricated, with the ornamental headpieces dichromatically adorned in red and black. Even so, the stylistic standard of all these embellishments lack both consistency and artistic finesse. Therefore, notwithstanding the fact that Angus extolled the aesthetics of this lectionary as of 'marvellous beauty of workmanship', its technical qualities are, in fact, far from flawless.

The upshot of this is that while the general appearance of the script itself is basically neat and pleasing to the eyes, this lectionary was clearly not intended for display purposes. The writing styles betray several different yet relatively swift hands (e.g. Figure 5); diacritical marks are frequently wrong, or ambiguously placed and orthographical errors, erasures, overwrites, or corrections are not uncommon. It is quite evident that the language proficiency of those scribes who in some way (and over time) have left their marks on this codex, varied considerably.

Interestingly, though, the text lacks any ekphonetic notations – a system of mnemonic voice-modulation marks, usually in red ink, to guide the (audible) reader's intonation, tempo, or pitch. As Christopher Jordan pointed out in his unpublished PhD dissertation on gospel lectionaries:

> *Most lectionaries contain ekphonetic notations and the emergence of this kind of musical notation was probably closely related to the emergence of the Middle Byzantine lectionary. The presence of ekphonetic notations in most lectionaries is proof that lectionaries were recited in public. ... The absence of ekphonetic notations in continuous text manuscripts that date from the post-7th century*

Figure 5: *detail of Figure 4, Image: courtesy Rare Books and Special Collections, the University of Sydney Library.*

> *period signifies that they were not used [or more accurately, produced] for public recitation but rather for private reading (Jordan 2009: 89-90).*

A cursory examination of Codex Angus reveals that all its pericopes derive from a thus far undetermined New Testament gospel tradition. It deserves repeating here that 'lectionaries are valuable in preserving a type of text that is frequently much older than the actual age of the manuscript might lead one to suspect' (Metzger/ Ehrman 2005: 47). The individual extracts in this codex vary considerably, ranging from an unusually disproportionate 25-folia section from the gospel of John, to just a paragraph or two from some of the Synoptics.

As one might expect, the lectionary begins fairly typically with a special Easter to Pentecost pericope from the first chapter of the gospel of John (Figure 1). It is entitled, *ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ιωαννην ἁγίον* (i.e., from the [gospel] according to St. John), a paratextual gospel identifier formula that is repeated 52 more times throughout the book, although with the relevant evangelists' names changed and the frequent omission of the attributive adjective. A total of 15 pericopes are Johannine, whilst 38 are drawn from the Synoptics – 17 from Matthew, 12 from Luke and 9 from Mark. Codex Angus is therefore a synaxarion, which is to say, it offers (besides the Easter-Pentecost section) a prepared and sequenced pericope reading for each week (Sunday) of the year.

The original purpose of this lectionary was primarily for personal, that is to say, devotional use, as a kind of 'work copy' for cenobitic monks or even consecrated anchorites. A contemporaneous example of exactly such ecclesiastical books is preserved for us in the *Diataxis*, an 11th century inventory of books and lectionaries in the Constantinople Monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon, compiled by the prominent Byzantine lawyer, Michael Attaleiates (ca.1022-1080). Still, exactly when, where and for what type of monastery the Codex Angus was initially produced remains undetermined.

Despite the fact that this Greek gospel lectionary is around a thousand years old, it remains almost completely unknown and has never yet been properly analysed. To a small degree, this neglect may be due to the fact that it receives no mention in Sinclair's Descriptive catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Western Manuscripts in Australia, nor (although somewhat less surprisingly) in Manion/Vines, Medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts. But a rather more compelling reason for its continued scholarly neglect must surely lie in the complete absence of even a single reference to it in any academic or ecclesiastical literature. Granted, it is indeed listed briefly in Kurt Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* – a work that has to date catalogued more than 2450 lectionaries worldwide – but under the *Liste's* caption 'Primary Name' one finds only the cryptically anonymous code l 2378, which renders this codex quite unrecognisable (see Aland 1994).

However, during the process of researching and writing this paper (2016/7), the Münster Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung has serendipitously uploaded onto their website an old black and white microfilm version of Codex Angus. The Institute had acquired it from the Sydney University Library as far back as 1993, yet made it public only now. It must be noted, though, that access is 'restricted to expert users only',[12] and that while the text itself is readable, the microfilm's poor overall quality is not suitable for serious academic work. For the codex seems to have been photographed in considerable haste, as evidenced, for instance, in the prominently intruding fingers of the copyist on most pages; or the unreliable (i.e. incorrect) pagination; the absence of some folia, and occasionally obscured texts or margins due to poor lighting.

Although the Sydney University's Codex Angus is a thousand-year old gospel lectionary, that is to say, it is a medieval 'religious' book, its manifestly spiritual purpose should in no way diminish its academic value to codicology, textual criticism, palaeography; or even social anthropological aspects such as this lectionary's underpinning theological and cultural assumptions. For that reason, a fully digitised diplomatic version of this codex, under the aegis of the Sydney University, would surely be a desirable addition to Byzantine studies everywhere, as it would provide convenient access to an international platform of Greek scholarship.

Albrecht Gerber
School of Classics, History and Religion
University of New England
Armidale, NSW

Acknowledgements

I thank the Rare Books and Special Collections, the University of Sydney Library, for their kind assistance and for providing the images of codex Angus.

Bibliography

Aland, K. et al., eds, 1994 *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin: INTF, http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste.

Angus, S. 1936 Ostraca: Relics of Ancient Greece, I, *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 8.8.1936.

Angus, S. 1939 Letter to Sydney University Vice-Chancellor, R.S. Wallace, 3.11.1939, University of Sydney Archives, G3/13/348.

Angus, S. 1943 *Alms for oblivion: chapters from a heretic's life*, Syndey: Halstead Press.

Attaleiates, M. 2001 Rule of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople, A.M. Talbot, transl., in J. Thomas and A.C. Hero eds, *Byzantine monastic foundation documents. A complete translation of the surviving founders' typika and testaments*, vol. 1, Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 326-76.

Deissmann, G.A. 1891 Lebenslauf, 14.4.1891, Zentralarchiv, Evangelische Kirche in Hessen und Nassau, Best. 120 A/ 98.

Deissmann, G.A. 1899-1937 Deissmann's personal diary, i.e. *Amtskalender* (held privately).

Deissmann, G.A. 1908 *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.

Deissmann, G.A. 1910 *Light from the Ancient East. The New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Graeco-Roman world*, L.R.M. Strachan, transl., London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Dougan, A.A. 1979 Angus, Samuel (1881–1943), *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://

adb.anu.edu.au/biography/angus-samuel-5032/text8379, published first in hardcopy.

Emilsen, S.E. 1991 *A whiff of heresy: Samuel Angus and the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales*, Kensington: University of NSW Press.

Gerber, A. 2006 Gustav Adolf Deissmann (1866–1937) and the revival of archaeological excavations at Ephesus after the First World War*, Jahresheft des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*, Bd 75, 39-46.

Gerber, A. 2010 *Deissmann the Philologist*, Berlin: De Gruyter.

Gerber, A. 2011 The Deissmann Ostraca after 75 Years in Sydney, *Buried History* 47, 21-34.

German Consul in Sofia, 1928 Letter to Auswärtiges Amt Berlin; 27.11.1928, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin, HA i, Rep. 76v a, Sek. ii, Tit. iv, Nr. 55, Bd vii, Blt. 471.

Horsley, G.H.R. 1993a An unpublished Septuaginta papyrus from the Nachlass of Adolf Deissmann, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 39, 35–8.

Horsley, G.H.R. 1993b Classical manuscripts in Australia and New Zealand, and the early history of the codex, *Antichthon* 27, 60-83.

Jordan, C.R.D. 2009 *The textual tradition of the gospel of John in Greek gospel lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine period (8th-11th century)*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham.

Manion, M.M. and V.F. Vines 1984 *Medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts in Australian collections*, Melbourne: Thames and Hudson.

Manion, M.M. and B.J. Muir, eds 1991 *Medieval texts and images: studies of manuscripts from the Middle Ages,* Sidney: Craftsman House.

McBee, S. 1914 Letter to G.A. Deissmann, 14.7.1914, Bundesarchiv Berlin, N 2046/1 S 90.

Metzger B. and B. Ehrman 2005 *The text of the New Testament: its transmission, corruption, and restoration* (4th edn.), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mugridge, A. 2007 What is a Scriptorium?, in J. Frösén et al. eds, *Proceedings of the 24th international Congress of Papyrology*, Helsinki, 1-7 August, 2004, vol. 2, Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2781-92.

Mugridge, A. 2016 *Copying early Christian Texts: A study of scribal practice*, WUNT I/362, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Netz, R. and W. Noel 2007 *The Archimedes codex: how a medieval prayer book is revealing the true genius of antiquity's greatest scientist*, Philadelphia: Da Capro Press.

Reeve, E. 1870 *Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities of the Sydney University*, Sydney: Cunningham & Co, Steam Machine Printers.

Sinclair, K.V. 1969 Descriptive catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Western manuscripts in Australia, Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Turner, E.G. 1971 *Greek manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sir Charles Nicholson: The first patron, p. 97-8. http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/ 2123/397 /4/adt-NU1999.0021bell04.pdf.

The La Trobe Journal, State Library of Victoria, Nr. 81, 2008, 91-6.

Endnotes

1 Between 2002 and 2008, while working on my PhD in Greek and subsequent book, Gerber (2010), I have drawn material from some 25 archives in 8 different countries and not infrequently encountered what I refer to in this paragraph, either first-hand or anecdotally from archivists.

2 The most polished and rewarding edition of this book is his considerably revised 3rd/4th edition, Tübingen (1923). English version, Deissmann (1910).

3 Angus provides useful insight into the extremes of Sydney's conservative religious fervour during the 1930s; Angus (1943: 183-6).

4 Angus had been caring for his sickly wife until her death on 24 November 1934. Further to this, see Angus (1943: 187); Emilsen (1991: 253); *ADB* (1979: 73-74).

5 Emails between Sofia theological library and Gerber, 17.8.2016, 14.11.2016, 18.1.2017.

6 Letter from German Consul in Sofia to Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin; 27.11.1928. Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin, HA i, Rep. 76v a, Sek. ii, Tit. iv, Nr. 55, Bd. vii, Blt. 471.

7 The editor of *The Constructive Quarterly* (an American ecumenical journal to which Deissmann contributed regularly), wrote in a personal letter to Deissmann (dated 14.7.1914), '… [you] have opened the eyes of Westerners who are wholly ignorant of the reality of the religion of the Orthodox Christians' (McBee 1914).

8 Until 1944 the same Board of Trustees controlled both the State Library and the National Gallery.

9 Email, State Library NSW to Gerber, 24.4.2015.

10 *Sir Charles Nicholson: The first patron*, p. 97-8. http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/ 2123/397 /4/adt-NU1999.0021bell04.pdf.

11 While the Sydney University's Rare Books and Special Collections Library has also a 16th century (1524) Byzantine lectionary (337 paper folia, 25.4 x 13.4 cm), there is no record of its acquisition, although it occurred almost certainly post 1935.

12 Email, Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung to Gerber, 20.7.2016.

Postscript:

Shortly before going to print, the Sydney University Library Rare Books and Special Collections made a commitment, in response to this article, for the Codex Angus to be made available online by January 2018.

G.R.H. Wright and the Restoration of Ancient Monuments

Susan Balderstone

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62614/65pnp956

Abstract: G.R.H. Wright worked in the Middle East and India on the restoration of ancient monuments during a period when principles for conservation and restoration practice established in Europe following the Second World War began to evolve to accommodate the needs of fast-developing Asia. The paper describes his experience as he learned on the job in the Middle East and tried to forge his way through the cultural complexities in India providing an early illustration of the issues that have come to the fore in recent years regarding authenticity as it relates to reconstruction.

Introduction

Recent destruction of world heritage listed sites due to natural disasters and armed conflict has brought restoration and reconstruction issues to the forefront of concerns for the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in its capacity as advisor to UNESCO on World Heritage. There is an ongoing debate regarding permissibility and standards, particularly in relation to authenticity, raising the question: when and how can a destroyed world heritage site be reconstructed and still retain its Outstanding Universal Value?

The problem of destruction due to war is not new, and some countries, notably Poland had previously adopted wholesale reconstruction of bombed out historic centres after the Second World War. Previously concerns with ruined ancient monuments had been mostly to do with preserving sites for tourism purposes and a body of conservation and restoration practice had built up in Europe from which a philosophy and guidelines could be formulated. These were essentially based on the desire to preserve or recover the art-historical interest of the monument or site, and were particularly concerned with authenticity so reconstruction (involving the addition of new material) as distinct from preservation and restoration could be problematic.

The introduction of the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (the *Venice Charter*) which developed out of the *Athens Charter* of 1931 and was adopted by ICOMOS in 1965, limited restoration to *anastylosis*, which means only the reassembly of existing but dismembered parts, and required that it must be based on precise and indisputable documentation (ICOMOS 1964). This charter was the product of the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments at Venice in 1964 and while expressing a purely European philosophy became universally influential.

There were obvious difficulties in applying the *Venice Charter* in places like Australia to historic urban centres and Aboriginal sites, so in 1979 the Australian chapter of ICOMOS adopted its own *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* (the *Burra Charter*). It has since been revised several times (Australia ICOMOS 2013).[1] This developed the concept of establishing first what was significant about a place, before deciding how it should be conserved. And the different aspects of conservation were clearly defined as including preservation, restoration and reconstruction.[2] The concept of establishing significance in a clear statement resonated elsewhere and subsequently evolved into the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value required for monuments and sites inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List (ICOMOS 2016: § 49-53, 154 &155).

The G.R.H. Wright archive held by the Australian Institute of Archaeology (AIA) offers considerable scope for research into some contemporary field experience at the time of these developments. From the 1960s to the 1980s Wright carried out or made proposals for conservation and restoration works at Kalabsha in Egypt, the Mausoleum of Oljaytu in Iran, the Srirangam Temple and Rameswaram Temple in Tamil Nadu; the Amiri Palace, in Doha, Qatar; Meda'in Saleh in Saudi Arabia, and the Ma'rib Dam in Yemen (Davey 2013). In the process he developed his own approach to conservation and restoration on which he published several articles including the entry for the *Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Near East* (1997).

George Roy Haslam Wright (1924–2014) was not trained in conservation and restoration when he began working on the restoration of monuments. After serving in the RAAF during the Second World War he completed a BA in History at the University of Western Australia in 1947 followed by an LLB in 1949. He then worked as a site surveyor on various archaeological excavations during the 1950s until 1958-9 when he completed the Certificate of Architecture course at the Bartlett School of Architecture, University of London. He subsequently joined the British School of Archaeology's excavations at Petra later in 1959 (Davey 2013: 37-41).

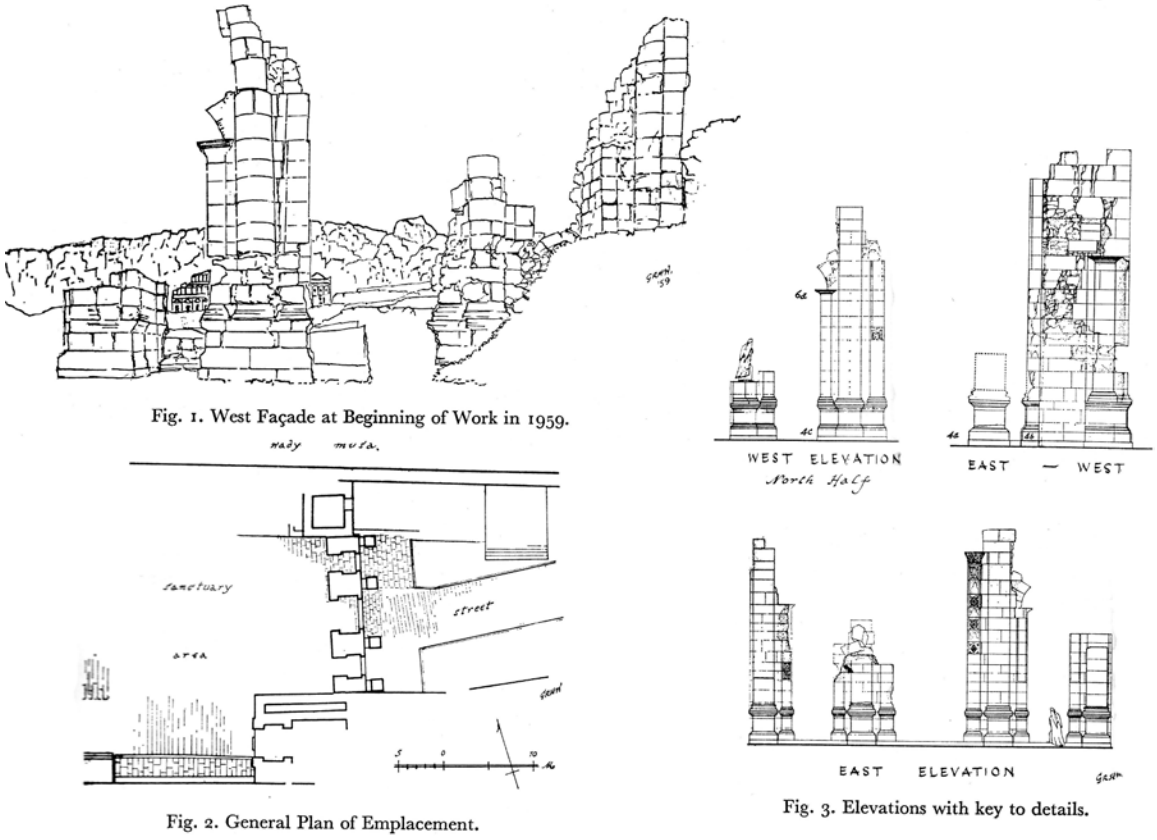


Figure 1: *Petra Temenos Gate. Image from Wright (1970b).*

Petra

During 1959 and 1960 while working with British archaeologist Peter Parr, Wright made studies of the temple known as Qasr el Bint or Bint Far'un and the arched Temenos Gate leading from the colonnaded street to the temple area. Later in 1960 he was engaged by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities to work with Professor H. Kalayan, 'distinguished engineer of the Lebanese Department of Antiquities' (Wright 1962: 48 n.2)[3] on the reinstatement of a damaged, fallen column at the Khasne. It seems that it was from Professor Kalayan that he learnt about the practical aspects of restoration works organisation and the equipment needed to undertake the work, as well as techniques of consolidation with cement mortar matched to the stone by the use of coloured sand. Wright went on to supervise the building up and consolidation of the base of the Temenos Gate piers and the erection of the remains of columns along the colonnaded street, noting that the columns were erected from drums lying at random in the street. 'These were considerably eroded and it was sought to retain the somewhat picturesque ruinous appearance of the columns which resulted from their re-erection' (Wright 1961: 25-31).[4] In 1970 he published some additional drawings of the Temenos Gate (Figure 1), noting that since the work done in 1961 other clearing and minor works had been carried out by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities and it was now possible to see that it accommodated a change in the orientation of the civic plan (Wright 1970: 111-4).

Iain Browning noted in his 1973 volume on Petra that the soft, pink ashlar of the Qasr el Bint had been considerably restored and was a credit to the Department of Antiquities and to 'Mr G.R.H. Wright who directed the work'. He considered that they had achieved a happy medium between blending in new stonework so that it was not obtrusive while 'not faking it up so that it attempts to deceive' (Browning 1973: 147; Figure 2). Wright published further articles on the Qasr in 1973 and 1974 revising the date first proposed for the temple and in 1985 published an article proposing a higher roof over the pronaos in line with other temples he had been studying in Palestine.

Figure 2: *Petra Temenos Gate. Image: 1975 CJ Davey.*

He acknowledged the 1982 preliminary report of Dr Fawzi Zayadine following excavation of the interior of the temple in 1979-81 under architect François Larché. However, Zayadine and Larché conducted further work in 1983 and 1984 from which they concluded that Wright's proposition regarding the roof did not hold. The temple was subsequently further consolidated with ten courses of one wall being dismantled and rebuilt by the Department of Antiquities under local architect Abdel-Majid Mjelli (Zayadine 1985: 246).

The whole site of Petra was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1985. It was noted in the statement of authenticity that 'Stabilization of freestanding monuments including the Qasr al Bint temple and the vaulted structure supporting the Byzantine forecourt to the Urn Tomb Church was carried out prior to inscription' (UNESCO 1985).

Figure 3: *Kalabsha Map. Image from Wright (1976: 230).*

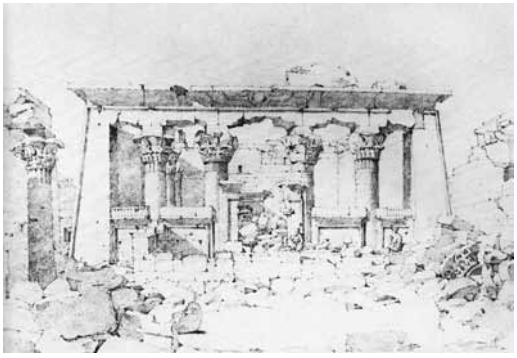


Figure 4*: Kalabsha, Temple of Mandulis by Charles Barry 1818. Image from Clayton (1982: fig.71).*

Kalabsha

At Kalabsha in Egypt Wright was engaged as deputy archaeological supervisor (Wright 1972: 23) by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo for the West German Government's contribution to UNESCO's campaign to save the Nubian monuments from flooding by the Aswan High Dam. This involved dismantling the Roman period Temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha (ancient Talmis) and its re-erection at a new site south of the west abutment of the High Dam in 1962-3 (Figure 3). Wright was part of a team which included Dr H. Steckeweh[5] as archaeological supervisor, Herr Andorf who directed the dismantling and recording operation, and W. Ianders as surveyor (Wright 1972: 24-5). The project was carried out by the large German civil engineering firm Hochtief of Essen who were at the time constructing a power house for the Egyptian government at Aswan.

The temple had been previously 'consolidated' during 1907-9 under the direction of conservator-restorer Alexandre Barsanti when it became apparent that it would be seasonally flooded due to the building of the Aswan Dam at the beginning of that century. The new High Dam would cause permanent submergence 60 meters beneath Lake Nasser. Barsanti had used steel girders embedded in concrete to support the collapsed lintels and roof beams of the hypostyle hall, and the lintels of the portal entranceway. As Wright noted the temple had then withstood 50 years of almost total inundation (Figures 4 & 5).

Figure 5: *Kalabsha, entrance to hypostyle hall 50 years after Basanti's work. Image from Wright (1972: pl.7).*

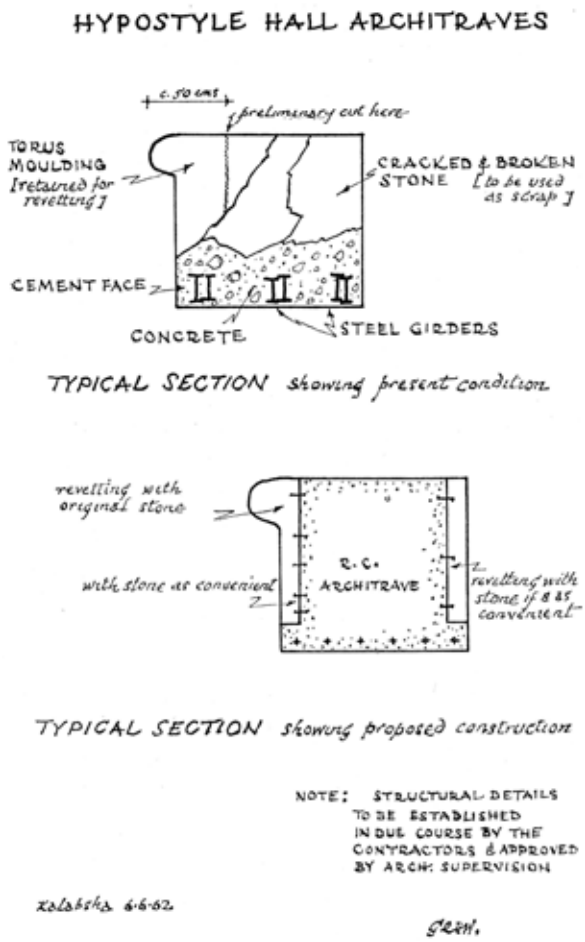


Figure 6: *Kalabsha, detail drawing by Wright of proposed architrave construction. Image from Wright (1972: fig.18).*

Wright documented in thorough detail the whole process of the relocation and reconstruction of the temple on its new site in his 1972 publication *Kalabsha II, the preserving of the temple*. He took over the archaeological supervisor's role when Steckeweh was called away at the end of 1961. It appears that the role was renegotiated at this stage and Wright was made responsible only for the appearance and disposition of the monument (Wright 1972: 29). The structural stability was the responsibility of the contractors. They were to work in cooperation with Wright on the planning and execution, and would be advised by the German Nubian Committee of the German Archaeological Institute. Ultimate responsibility lay with the German ancient monuments authority (GAWI) as the agent of the German Foreign Ministry (Wright 1972: 23).

Wright recorded that in the re-erection process steel was used as reinforcement in columns, but set in mortar or cement grout to obviate later difficulties from expansion of the steel (Wright 1972: 30). The impact of steel corrosion when embedded in stone would have been clear to the team from Barsanti's work – cracking of his consolidated architraves can be detected in the photographs taken prior to dismantling. However, it is unlikely that setting the steel in mortar or cement grout would mitigate damage. Documents in the Wright archive (box 28) include blueprints of structural details by Hochtief showing the pre-stressed steel rods used vertically through the stone columns of the hypostyle hall and steel cramps along the stone courses of the pylons.

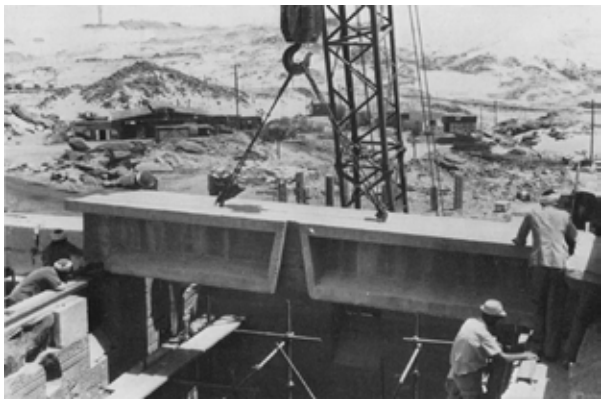


Figure 7: *Kalabsha, placing reinforced concrete roof beams. Image from Wright (1972: pl. 79a).*

Barsanti's treatment of the architraves, lintels and roof beams meant that they could not be reused (Wright 1972: 58). However, Wright detailed the reconstruction of the architraves and lintels in reinforced concrete with the original stone profile attached as facing (Figure 6). He attempted to do something similar to conceal the roof beams over the three chambers of the sanctuary but was over-ruled by the new advisor to the German Nubian Committee Dr K.G. Siegler who advocated the use of pre-fabricated concrete beams (Wright 1972: 40; Figure 7). The appearance of these was subsequently ameliorated by finishing and patinating, and wiring was included for electric lighting of the decorated friezes to the direction of a scholar appointed by GAWI, Dr W. Clasen. Wright continually attempted to prevent excessive reconstruction (1972: 60-4) but lost over reconstruction of the missing cavetto cornice of the north tower. Having stated that he could find no definitive evidence for its original profile, but could come up with appropriate dimensions, he was ordered to implement it in prefabricated concrete as for the sanctuary roof beams (1972: 63-7).

Figure 8: *Kalabsha, transporting stones up the Nile by felucca 1974. Image from Wright Archive Box 38.*

Figure 9: *Kalabsha, reconstituting the Ptolemaic sanctuary 1975. Image from Wright Archive Box 38.*

The dismantling operation gave him the opportunity to study the construction of the temple and the way in which it had been originally put together. He noted that the Egyptian system of large block masonry, as distinct from the Greek system of smaller block orthogonal stone masonry, allowed the stones to be held by their dead weight without mortar, and proposed that the blocks were placed undressed except on the bedding face, with dressing being completed in situ as a separate exercise (Wright 1996: 143-54).

Eleven years later Wright supervised the restoration of the Ptolemaic remains of a sanctuary which had been discovered during the dismantling of the Roman temple to have been used as part of the later construction. In 1963 these Ptolemaic stones decorated in relief had been recorded by dimensional sketches and photographs and transferred from the original Kalabsha Temple site to the new site under the direction of Professor H. Stock, then Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, assisted by Dr. D. Arnold but without Wright's involvement. Some that had been part of a gate were given by the Egyptian government to Germany in 1972 as thanks for that government's contribution. Others including the sanctuary stones were subsequently transferred to Elephantine Island further south of the new Roman period temple site under the direction of Ahmad Loutfi of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities (Wright 1987: 19, n.3). There in 1974-5 they were erected under Wright's supervision based on a reconstruction drawing made by Dr. D. Arnold (Wright 1976: 229). Wright recorded that some new stone was used and left roughly dressed to distinguish it from the old, while the base structure needed to hold the recovered decorated stones was constructed in sandstock brickwork of similar colour and texture but clearly different from the recovered stones (Wright 1977: 156-8; Figure 9).

This was a far smaller project than the previous Kalabsha work but not without its difficulties (Wright 1987: 42). Its execution shows Wright's awareness of the current European principles of restoration. By this stage he had been well indoctrinated in these, having followed his earlier work at Kalabsha with research in Rome prior to undertaking a joint mission to Iran with other UNESCO experts. He had noted in his response to the invitation from UNESCO that he was interested in 'working and associating from time to time with European authorities in Europe' (Wright 1967a: 1) as he was conscious of having been 'de-Europeanised' after 17 years in the Middle East and it was important when working in the Middle East to be able to communicate European standards. These comments suggest that he thought the previous work at Petra and Kalabsha left something to be desired in terms of these standards, possibly in relation to the degree of reconstruction carried out, particularly at Kalabsha - although there the standard-setters were in fact Germans. However, a slight note of sarcasm can be detected in Wright's account of being required to place a stone stele near the reconstructed Ptolemaic sanctuary on Elephantine Island recording the nature and limits of the reconstruction[6] (Wright 1976: 229-231).

The ICOMOS evaluation of the Nubian monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae at the time of their inscription on the World Heritage List in 1979 recognised them as 'masterpieces of the creative spirit of man' (UNESCO 1979: 2). Since this assessment included the temples on their new sites, their re-siting and reconstruction was clearly accepted as not detracting from their recognised Outstanding Universal Value.

Iran

During the negotiations over Wright's participation in the Iran mission, he noted in his letter to Conrad Wise (Wright 1967b: 1)[7] that he would be attending a colloquium in Rome where 'the question of the weathering of brickwork is being discussed'. He also attended an ICOMOS meeting on 'The problems of humidity in historic monuments' held at the Villa Farnesina, Rome 11-14 October 1967 as indicated in the archive file 'Restoration of Monuments' (Box 38), which contains a programme brochure annotated in his hand with inserted sketches and notes. There are also several practice notes from the U.K. Building Research Station including one on 'Cracking in Buildings' (1966).

The Iran mission included four other experts as well as Wright albeit on separate (parallel) missions. It was led by Mr. R. Curiel as Administrative Advisor and included Mr. R. Lafrancesca on road access problems in relation to monuments and Mr. G. Shankland on the town planning programme for Isfahan with a view to preservation of the historic city.

Wright's mission was to review and report on restoration work being undertaken at several monuments with a view to their preservation for the purpose of cultural tourism. These included the congregational mosques at Veramin and Isfahan, the Mausoleum of Oljaytu at Soltanieh (Figure 10), the Sassanian palaces at Sarvistan and Firuzabad and the Sassanian Castle at Qala'-I-Dukhtar.[8]

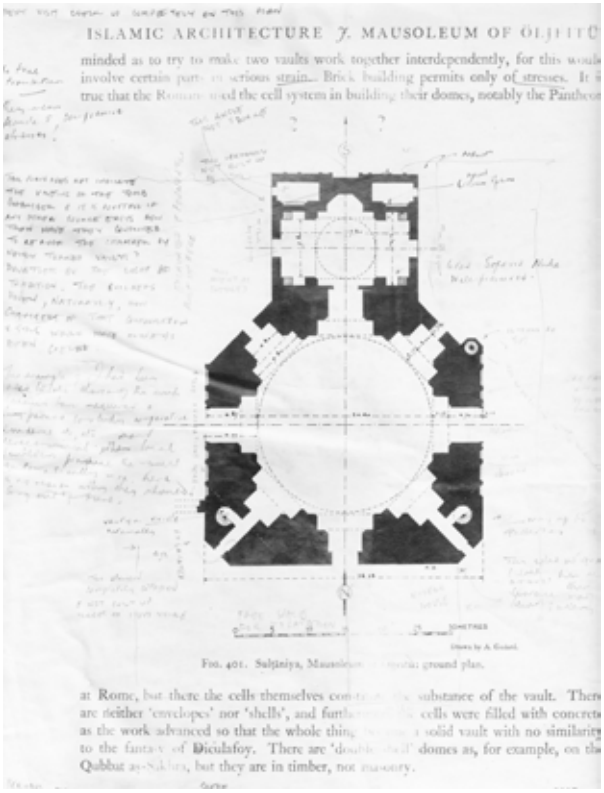


Figure 10: *Iran, Mausoleum of Oljaytu, plan annotated by Wright. Image from Wright Archive Box 31.*

As a guide to what was required, he was given a copy of a 1966 UNESCO report on the theatre of Sidé in Turkey and as background for UNESCO's concern in the field of preservation of monuments associated with cultural tourism, a copy of the 1966 Secretariat's report on the Iranian government's plan for the restoration or *mise-en-valeur* of historic monuments in four priority areas of the country. Due to extreme weather in the latter half of the period of the mission, Wright was only able to complete his tasks at four of the monuments allocated to him, and in fact the combined report of the mission includes only three – Veramin, Soltanieh and Sarvistan (Curiel et al 1968: II-1).

'Soltaniyeh' was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2005. Under 'Conservation' in the ICOMOS evaluation report, it is noted that the 'Mausoleum of Oljaytu was subject to a restoration campaign from 1969 to 1979 jointly with an Italian team, directed by Prof. Sanpaolesi. At this time, major attention was given to structural stabilisation' (UNESCO 2005: 69). Wright had been provided with an earlier report by Sanpaolesi and had been informed that Prof. Sanpaolesi would be undertaking the work there. He was advised that the purpose of his own report was to review the then state of conservation and outline what works he considered were needed. So, it seems that UNESCO had wanted a 'second opinion' on this major architectural monument.

Wright's reports demonstrate his awareness of current European approaches in terms of *Venice Charter* principles, but he doesn't refer to it[9]. He strongly recommended that full documentation of the current state of each monument was required both as a basis for understanding the different periods of construction and as a basis for future work. At Soltaniyeh he commented favourably on the structural repairs that had been done using traditional materials and techniques and noted that it was unlikely that any 'foreign structural devices' would be needed to ensure the structural stability of the monument. At Veramin a considerable part of the monument had already been rebuilt. There he was concerned with how this could be distinguished from the original structure by means of its 'finish', and stressed that in the case of new plaster, it should be separated clearly from the old while still creating an acceptable visual effect.

Tamil Nadu

Following the Iran mission Wright undertook further research before taking on the Indian work for UNESCO in 1968. The file 'Restoration Training' (Wright archive: box 38) includes information on the Conservation of Historical Monuments course at the University of London's Institute of Archaeology as well as details of the six-month course run by the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property in Rome (ICCROM). There is also a full set of lecture notes for the course run by the U.K. Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings 7-12 October 1968. This comprised lectures and site visits covering 'History and Principles of the S.P.A.B.'; 'Repair and Conservation Methods – the Need for a Survey'; 'The Repair and Preservation of Stonework'; 'The Aesthetics of Stone Repair'; 'Structural Repair'; 'Repair of Timber Structures'; 'Timber in Health and Decay- Remedial Treatments and Conservation', and 'Historic Buildings Legislation'. It is not clear whether Wright undertook the course before going out to India to report for UNESCO on the Srirangam Temple but the existence of the course timetable and lecture notes in the file suggests that he did. A cutting from *The Indian Express* Madurai of Oct 28 1968 reports that 'two UNESCO experts Mr George Wright and Madame Jeannine Auboyer have just completed a survey of the Sri Ranganathaswami temple at Srirangam with a view to suggesting steps for its renovation and conservation', which indicates that if he did do the course he must have left for Madras immediately afterwards.

While following Western approaches to conservation and restoration, Wright was intensely aware that the intangible aspects of Hindu monuments would impact on how they could be treated. In his report for the Srirangam Temple (Wright 1969), he was at pains to point out that there were several conflicting issues in relation to the restoration. He recognised then the conflict what would later give birth to the *Nara Document on Authenticity* in 1994 (ICOMOS 1994) – that the significance of a living monument which according to Western notions would reside in its fabric – its design and construction, could be heavily impacted by the religious procedures and rituals

Figure 11: *Tamilnadu, Rameswaram Temple. Image from Wright (1973: pl. 1).*

associated with its ongoing use. While he understood that it was the architectural/art qualities that made it significant to westerners (including himself as he made clear in his report), he also recognised that it was the associated social and religious life that was of significance to the local community (Wright 1969: 3-5, 22-3). In this he anticipated the ongoing conflict between East and West over what constitutes the heritage values of a place.

Nevertheless, he condemned the impact of the practice of ongoing renewal of elements and finishes where they detracted from the integrity of the monument through obscuring its form and were of lesser quality than those they replaced. He was particularly scathing about the practice of introducing pointing to stone walls that previously had none, together with the application of cement or lime washes or paint to the stone surfaces. These were frequently applied over layers of dirt to the extent that the form of mouldings and decorative details was eventually smothered (Wright 1969: 24-6). However, these practices were part of a religious tradition of temple renewal and enhancement whereby local donors within the community showed their veneration of the deity and they continued in spite of *The General Principles for the care of Ancient Monuments* published by the Government of India following promulgation of the *Ancient Monuments Act* in 1904. The *Principles* proscribed such actions as the use of whitewash or paint, especially on sculptures.

Wright was the third of three experts engaged by UNESCO to report on the Srirangam Temple in 1968. As recorded in the Indian Express article mentioned above, Patrick Faulkner visited the Temple in 1966 and prepared a comprehensive report on how he thought the numerous structures could be preserved. Subsequently an expert from the UNESCO mission to Delhi also inspected the site. As indicated by Wright's own report, he had access to Faulkner's earlier report and as in Iran, had again been asked to review the programme. Wright's summary of recommendations explained that the initial programme of conservation should be restricted to a section of the complex only, with a view to determining whether Western programmes of conservation and restoration were applicable to Srirangam Temple. He referred to the administrative difficulties in relation to the work – the settlement within the temple which had occupied the outer three *prakara* or corridor rings since the late 19th century (and which he described as comprising poor, modern housing and squatting, encroaching on the ancient masonry) being under municipal control, whereas the religious centre (not accessible to non-Hindus) was administered by the religious authorities (Wright 1969: 42-3). Wright was engaged again by UNESCO in 1970 to provide a similar report on the Rameswaram Temple, discussed below under Theory (Figure 11).

Doha

During 1973-4 Wright was engaged by the Beirut architectural firm 'D C G' to work on the restoration of The Old Amiri Palace in Doha for the ruler of Qatar. He was commissioned to 'study the buildings from the historical point of view so as to guarantee the authenticity of the restoration' and also to provide a Guide Book to the restored complex when it was put into commission as the National Museum premises (Wright c.1975:1). The Guide Book appears to have been his main interest, necessitating research into South Arabian domestic architecture. It was

Figure 12: *Meda'in Saleh, tomb. Image from Wright Archive Box 26.*

published in 1975. It was through this project that he met Michael Rice, a British museum consultant working on the museum programme in Saudi Arabia who several years later was instrumental in getting him work as a site supervisor at Meda'in Saleh.

Meda'ín Saleh

In 1984 Wright was contracted to the Edinburgh firm of Robert Hurd Overseas Limited on the recommendation of Michael Rice, to work with the Saudi Arabian Department of Antiquities at Meda'in Saleh as project manager for the restoration of the rail buildings and Islamic castle and the cleaning out of rock-cut tombs; and to advise on cleaning and protection of the facades of tombs and develop landscaping and viewing points (Mansouri 1985: 1; Figures 12, 13 & 14). He was required to provide a curriculum vitae and details of his educational qualifications before being signed up for this contract. He was contracted at US$5000 per month plus expenses for twelve months from 1 May 1984 but exchanges of correspondence (Wright archive: box 26) indicate that the project was problematic and payments were not forthcoming. He resigned from the project in January 1985, and was then required to sign an agreement not to publish or lecture on the antiquities of Meda'in Saleh without the permission of the Saudi Arabian Department of Antiquities and Museums or Robert Hurd Overseas Limited. The site was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2008 as 'Al-Hijr Archaeological Site (Meda'in Saleh)'. The ICOMOS evaluation noted that 'in the 1980s, excavation campaigns led to cleaning operations inside the tombs and the removal of burial vestiges. Today it is very difficult to find any such vestiges in their original state at Al-Hijr' (UNESCO 2008: 12). The evaluation also noted that 'since 2001, a cooperation agreement has been in force between France (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Centre national de la recherché scientifique-CNRS) and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Ministry of Antiquities and Museums, King Saud University Riyadh) for the study of the Al-Hijr site'.

Yemen

In August and September 1986 Wright was engaged through the German Archaeological Institute by the Department of Antiquities in Sana'a for advice on possible restoration work to remaining sections of the ancient Ma'rib Dam and structures associated with the irrigation system. His report set out his views on which structures could be advantageously restored for tourism presentation purposes and gave details on how a works contract could

Figure 13: *Meda'in Saleh, Wright photographing the Islamic castle. Image from Wright Archive Box 26.*

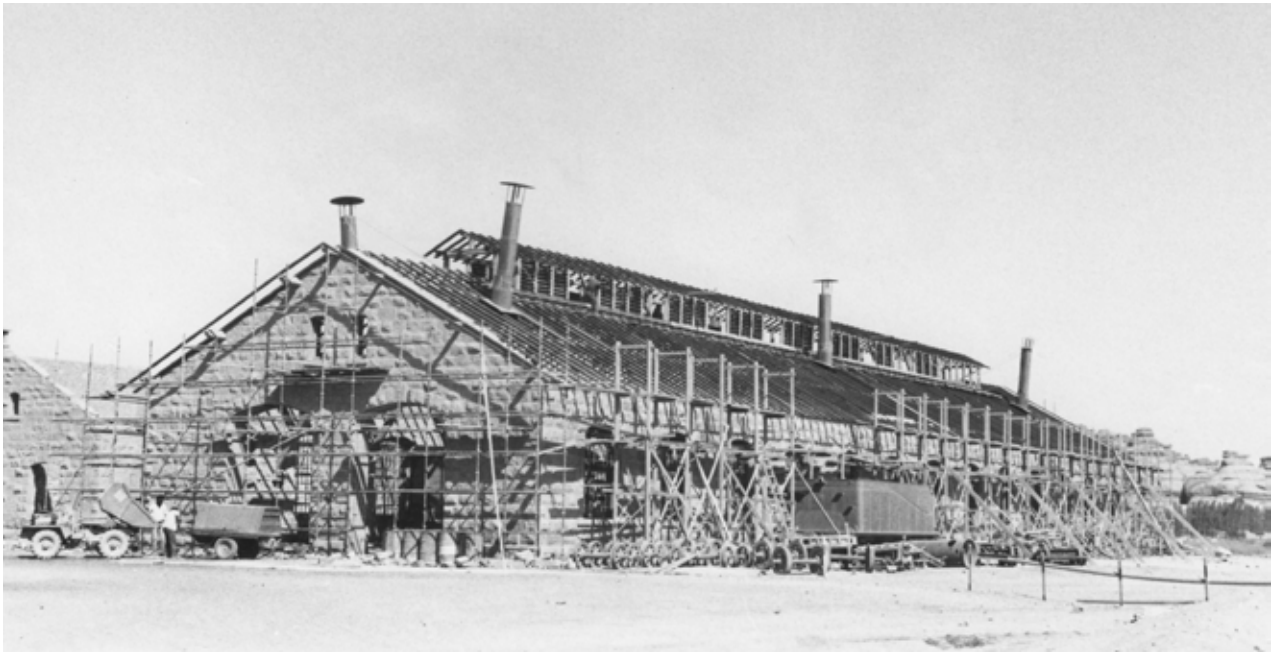


Figure 14: *Meda'in Saleh, restoration of Hejaz railway building. Image from Wright Archive Box 26.*

be set up using a Turkish company which was already on site for work to the new dam. Six months later he was asked for advice on the possibility of moving the remains of another associated structure lying in the bed of Wadi Dhana upstream of the new Ma'rib dam which would be flooded on completion of the new dam. In fact, this site was flooded before any removal work could be undertaken. At this time he had a professorial appointment at Munich University and was granted two periods of absence to undertake the work in Yemen (Wright archive: box 42). The 'Archaeological Site of Marib' was submitted to Yemen's World Heritage Tentative List in 2002 (UNESCO 2002: 1).

Theory

During these years, Wright was clearly developing his own philosophy of conservation and restoration which culminated in his contribution to the *Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Near East* (Wright 1997). In his Srirangam report he suggested that in the case of monuments different approaches would apply, depending on whether the place was a ruin or 'living' – that is, still in use. In a lecture given at Kancheepuram in 1970 he proposed that a monument by its nature calls to mind history and art, often in the service of religion, and that anyone involved in caring for an ancient monument needed to be proficient in these three areas. He expanded his concept to cover four categories: Archaeological Ruins, Ruined Monuments, Living Monuments and Modern Monuments (Wright 1970: 1-2).

In the same lecture, he proposed that a monument has two attributes; the structure and the aspect and that 'if the monument is structurally sound and there is nothing unsatisfactory about its appearance, no intervention is required' (Wright 1970: 2). He noted that these were Western ideas developed during the last few generations of which the first principle was not to harm the monument.[10] He considered that the evolution of Indian culture might find expression in its own way of caring for its monuments but that this should follow the same principle. He had referred to the fact that Indian culture already had its own way of caring for its Hindu monuments - as set out in several Sanskrit treatises (Moschini 2008: 393-400) - in his two UNESCO reports (1969 and 1971), but he did not discuss this in the lecture. In his report for UNESCO on the Srirangam Temple he referred to the fact that in certain circumstances it was considered unbecoming for the Deity to be manifested in spoiled and broken images and that they should be removed and replaced with new ones. In the Rameswaram Temple report he noted that there existed in India 'sacred writing' (Wright 1971: 11) which prescribed that 'worn-out' elements may be replaced in the same material or in a material of a higher virtue on exactly the same plan, as an exact replica of the original.

However as he pointed out in that report, comparison with the remaining parts of the original second corridor at the eastern end with new work at the western end showed that such a replica was not achieved in that instance (his plates I[a] and I[b], see Figures 15 & 16) . He suggested that respect for the earlier work by those who came to replace it or 'renew' it in the name of religious imperatives could be encouraged by 'a most stringent and forceful programme of instruction to make it public that such activity is a displeasing affront to the deity, that it is *tamasic*' (Wright 1971: 20). His frustration was expressed in his rhetorical suggestion that since various monuments in other parts of the world were being moved from their original locations including to other countries for display (referring to the Egyptian and Nubian monuments), perhaps it would be appropriate for nations who liked

Figure 15: *Tamilnadu Rameswaram Temple original second corridor east end. Image from Wright (1971: pl.1a).*

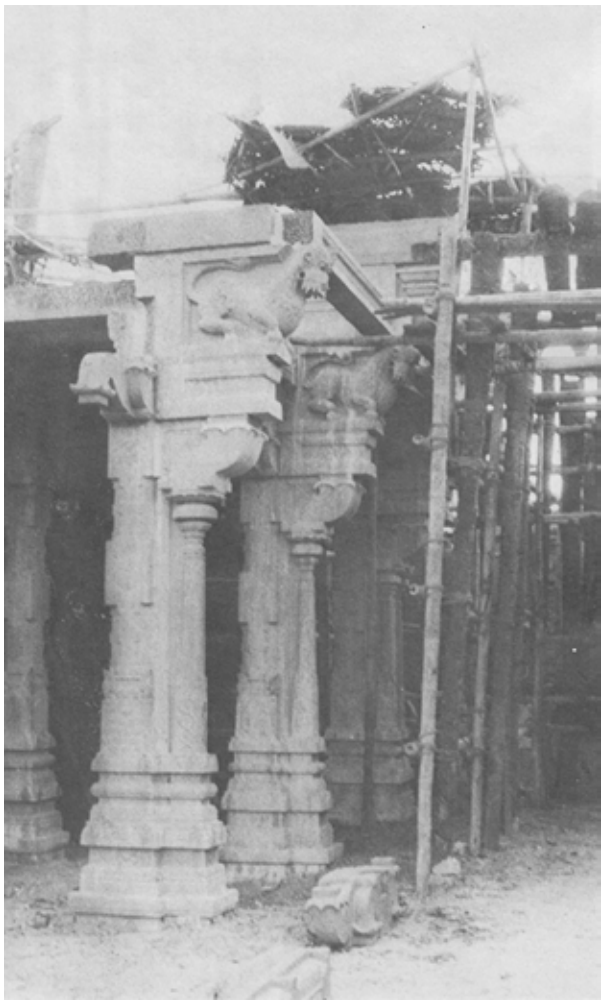


Figure 16: *Tamilnadu Rameswaram Temple new work second corridor west end. Image from Wright (1971:pl.1b).*

antiquities to pay to obtain discarded Indian sculptures – thereby funding conservation in India. On the other hand he recognised that there were still local practitioners with traditional roofing skills able to repair or replace terrace roofs, achieving a satisfactory long-term result so long as ongoing maintenance and removal of debris build-up was carried out (Wright 1971: 17).

Wright appears to have found a sympathetic hearing for his views from the Director of Archaeology in Madras, Mr. Thiru R. Nagaswamy. An exchange of letters between the two between February and May 1969 discussed the possibility of setting up a training course in conservation and restoration at the Institute of Religious Art at Mahabalipuram (Wright archive: box 38). Wright suggested in his UNESCO report that instruction in the principles and practice of conservation and restoration could be introduced to the final year of the course already taught there, which covered building and decorating Hindu temples in the traditional manner (Wright 1969: 54-5). In a further letter from Wright on 8th July 1969 he offered to provide a monograph on the nature and purpose of the conservation and restoration of monuments and its practical application as relevant to stone temples in southern India, based on Part II of his Srirangam Temple report to UNESCO. This was accepted and published by the Madras State Department of Archaeology that same year as: *A background to restoration of monuments in Southern India.* In this publication, he argued for the removal of infills to colonnades, partition walls, barriers, enclosures and accretions including 'village-style' decoration on the basis that in Hindu culture there is justification for revealing the essence or true nature of the monument (Wright 1969a: 182-3).

Wright was of the view that those put in charge of conservation and restoration work should be made aware of current ('modern') principles and practice and that they should be provided with literature to guide them in their work (Wright 1971: 6). He backed this view in both UNESCO reports by reference to the Indian government's own guidance documents, which dated back to the early twentieth century and were developed during Lord Curzon's time as Viceroy. That these might be disregarded as colonialist interference did not apparently occur to him. He did his best to promulgate European principles within

the region. His article on 'The Development of the care of Ancient Monuments in Tamilnadu' was published by the Journal of the Department of Archaeology (Wright 1970a: 105-110) and a similar one on the 'Restoration of Hindu Temples in South India and its Conceptual Background' was published in the 80th Birthday Felicitation Volume for Professor K.A. Nikilanta Shastri (Wright 1971a: 315-21). The latter article was published again thirty years later in *East and West* (Wright 2001).

It is notable that in none of his reports or articles to this point was there any reference to the *Venice Charter*. His eventual 1997 exposition on conservation and restoration in the *Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Near East* lists a UNESCO publication of 1950 in its Bibliography, but there is still no direct reference to the *Venice Charter*, which was the definitive set of principles used by ICOMOS as advisor to UNESCO. He referred to principles developed by 'men of great practical experience and/or acute analytical disposition' during the middle years of the century – presumably meaning the *Venice Charter* – and went on to outline his understanding of them (Wright 1997) before leading into the categorisation of archaeological ruins, ruined monuments, living monuments and modern monuments that he had developed previously in his Indian articles. Under 'Restoration practices in the Middle East' he pointed out that the Ottoman and then European colonial administrations set the intial framework for excavation and restoration work, followed by an influx of international experts on aid-funded projects in the 1960s. He could also have mentioned that Western influence came too with local professionals who returned home to work after studying in the West.

The archive holds some evidence of research used for the first part of his *Encyclopaedia* entry. In the archive box 38 the file labelled 'The basis of restoration of Monuments in Western Philosophy' includes two extracts from *The Dictionary of Art*, WJ Turner London 1996 Vol. 32. One is on Architectural conservation and restoration, §2: c. 1800-c.1900 p.319 and the other is on Viollet-le-Duc, Eugene-Emmanuel, pp.596–7 by Françoise Bercé. On the latter, in the margin of the section Aesthetics and style, Wright's handwritten note refers to a section of text which says: 'restoration: both the word and the activity are modern. To restore a building is not to repair or rebuild it, but to re-establish its original state which must at a certain moment in time, have existed'. Wright noted: 'This says nothing positive and avoids many actualities – eg the question of different (and conflicting) periods in the fabric of ancient monuments – also the part played by time in the existing monumentality'. The file also contains notes about the anti-scrape approach of William Morris and John Ruskin.

The file labelled 'Restoration of Monuments' contains a copy of the publication of papers given at a conference in Cyprus in 1984: *Conservation on Archaeological Excavations* (ed. N.P. Stanley Price 1984, ICCROM Rome); *The Treatment of Stone*: Proceedings of the Meeting of the Joint Committee for the Conservation of Stone Bologna October 1-3, 1971 (ICOM, ICOMOS, International Centre for Conservation – Working group on the treatment of stone) Centro per la Conservazione Delle Sculture All'Aperto Bologna 1972; a US/ICOMOS newsletter of 1992 by their Committee on Earthen Architecture and various technical pamphlets on chemical treatments. However, in his conclusion to the *Encyclopaedia* entry he recommended against the use of any such chemical treatments.

The Issue of Significance

The issue of significance was not discussed in the *Encyclopaedia* entry.[11] However Wright had shown an early appreciation of this issue, which later became the guiding principle of work on heritage places generally – that is to establish what is the significance of the place. In his lecture at Kancheepuram he acknowledged that what was important in the West –'the historical and artistic significance of the monument' - was not necessarily what was important in India. But he did not make the jump to appreciating that what was important in India might come to have equal relevance to what was important to the West.

With Australia ICOMOS' *Burra Charter* first adopted in 1979 (latest edition 2013), *The Nara Document on Authenticity* of 1994 and UNESCO's *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2003 the concept of significance broadened. This is clearly evident in India's World Heritage Tentative statement for the Sri Ranganathaswamy Temple, Srirangam – the subject of Wright's first Indian report for UNESCO. The statement considers the temple as testimony to the living *Vaishnava* cultural tradition and an exemplar of a Temple-town, representative of Tamil culture over the centuries, as attributes of its proposed Outstanding Universal Value, as well as its 'astounding architecture and ornamentation' (UNESCO 2014).

It had taken years to get to that point however. The issue was eventually given a more-or-less official airing by ICCROM – one of the three advisors to UNESCO nominated in the World Heritage Convention - which held a forum in Rome in 2003 on 'Living Religious Heritage: conserving the sacred'. Participants who gave papers came from Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe, Denmark, Greece, the Vatican, Japan, Israel, Italy and New Zealand. It was suggested by Nobuko Inaba and Gamina Wijesuriya that attention to the 'living' aspects of religious heritage should go beyond the 'material-oriented conservation practice of monumental heritage' and consider 'human-related/ non-material aspects of heritage value' linking with the surrounding societies and environments (Stovel 2005: 1).

Three years later the International Network for Traditional Building, Architecture & Urbanism (INTBAU) held a conference in Venice in 2006 with the aim of situating the text of the *Venice Charter* in the context of its times

(Hardy 2008: xv). Five papers by practitioners in India were included in the conference publication[12] but the general gist was as presented by A.G. Krishna Menon, an Architect, Urban Planner and Conservation Consultant who had been practising and teaching in Delhi since 1972 and within the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), authored *The Charter for Unprotected Architectural Heritage and sites in India*, 2004 (Hardy 2008: 748). He believed that in spite of the subsequent charters the *Venice Charter* still had too much influence in India. He claimed that while it is accepted that the Japanese may rebuild the Ise shrine periodically in Japan, in accordance with traditional religious principles, it was not acceptable to rebuild a ruined monument in India. And while indigenous tribes may follow their pre-historic traditions in tribal lands, it was not accepted that master-builders in urban India should follow their traditions in reconstructing historic buildings built by their forefathers. He put this down to the impact of colonialism and the fact that from the 1970s Indian practitioners were encouraged to take courses in the West where they imbibed 'universal' conservation principles which they now insisted must be applied (Menon 2008: 18-23). This is of course exactly what Wright and others who were dismayed at what they saw in the 1960s and '70s as the destruction of India's heritage, had hoped for (Mennim 1997: 170-1).

Management of Outstanding Universal Value

The above illustrates the fact that in this ongoing debate relating primarily to World Heritage properties, insufficient attention has been given to the real purpose of conservation as applied under the World Heritage Convention, which is to manage the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the inscribed property (ICOMOS 2016: § 49-53, 154 &155). The fact that more social groups and communities now participate in identifying and establishing OUV and its management is already reflected in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.*[13]

Study of how OUV has been managed in World Heritage properties that have undergone restoration and/or reconstruction can illuminate and clarify directions for the future of properties such as the Indian 'living monuments' that Wright encountered, as well as for properties that have suffered damage and destruction due to armed conflict. For example, while the Ise shrine mentioned by Menon above is not inscribed on the World Heritage List, other Shinto shrines in Japan with a similar religious imperative for periodic reconstruction are inscribed, such as the Kasuga-Taisha Shinto shrine included in the Historic Monuments of Ancient Nara. The statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV) for the Kasuga-Taisha shrine records that 'The Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines of Nara demonstrate the continuing spiritual power and influence of these religions in an exceptional manner' (UNESCO 1998).

The statement of authenticity for this property records that:

> *The Kasuga-Taisha Shinto shrine has maintained its tradition of routine reconstruction. The level of authenticity of the various buildings on the property is high from the view of form and design, materials and substance, traditions and techniques, and location and setting. Japanese conservation principles have ensured that replacement of damaged or degraded architectural elements has respected the materials and techniques used by the original builders* (UNESCO 1998).

Similarly for the Itsukushima Shinto Shrine, the SOUV records that:

> *Even though the buildings of Itsukushima-jinja have been reconstructed twice, this was done in a scrupulously accurate manner preserving the styles that prevailed from the late 12th century to the early 13th century* (UNESCO 1996).

Valetta (Malta) was inscribed in 1980 (UNESCO 1980) despite considerable postwar reconstruction, because this was not considered to impact on the attributes of its OUV, which were its late Renaissance urban plan, fortified and bastioned walls modelled around the natural site, the voluntary implantation of great monuments and its association with the Knights of St John of Jerusalem.

In fact, issues relating to postwar reconstruction have also received a thorough airing – again courtesy of ICCROM, which held a forum in Rome in 2005 on 'Armed conflict and conservation: promoting cultural heritage in postwar recovery'. Participants from different backgrounds presented their experience related to the topic in places such as East Germany, Palestine, Mexico, Sri Lanka, Laos, West Africa, Belfast, Jerusalem, Mostar and Nicosia.

Sultan Barakat described the first instinct of outsiders as being to restore the built environment, including significant monuments but advised that rushing this in an environment of insecurity is not a good idea, particularly before properly understanding the society (Barakat 2008: 36). Neal Ascherson noted that where the citizenry were not much consulted (as in Frankfurt and West Berlin) modern cutting edge replacement opera houses were proposed whereas in Munich they were consulted and the result was an opera house rebuilt to its last detail (Ascherson 2008: 24).

The involvement of the community of Kandy, Sri Lanka in the restoration of the Singhalese Buddhist Temple of the Tooth Relic complex after it had been bomb-damaged in 1998 reflected the issues that bothered Wright in India. The community's first goal was to revive the function of the Temple. This was of prime importance to the community in maintaining continuity in their lives. The conservation specialists wanted to remove certain buildings which were later additions in foreign styles but the

community of religious leaders, politicians, administrative authorities and local representatives refused, and the decision-making power rested with the religious authority (Wijesuriya 2008: 90-3). Wijesuriya concluded that the conventional (for which read ICOMOS) conservation approach had to be modified in order to achieve a result that would satisfy the community. He explained this as because the 'function value' deserved primary consideration, while conceding that secondary values could also be encompassed as evidenced by the fact that the Temple had been inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1988. However, in fact the ICOMOS evaluation of the Temple prior to inscription makes no reference to any art-historical values or what he might consider to be 'secondary values', but rests almost entirely on its 'function value':

> *Built to house the relic of the tooth of Buddha, which had come from Kalinga, India, to Sri Lanka during the reign of Sri Meghavanna (310-328), when it was transferred a final time, the Temple of Kandy bears witness to an ever flourishing cult* (UNESCO 1988a).

So, there should have been no conservation imperative to remove the later additions.

In the case of Aleppo, the desire to rebuild its architectural heritage to its pre-crisis situation as outlined by Dr Anas Soufan in his paper to the meeting convened by the Arab States Unit of UNESCO 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction in the Middle East Context and in the Old City of Aleppo in Particular' (UNESCO 2015) would appear to be primarily for reasons of civic pride given the complex issues of identity. He suggested that any reconstruction would require oversight by a multidisciplinary committee, with a plan of intervention instituted by experts and Syrian administrators involving residents and users of the old city.

Aleppo was inscribed in 1986 under criteria (iii) and (iv) (UNESCO 1986). The attributes of its OUV include the architectural fabric of the city comprising evidence of many periods of history. The Great Mosque and the Madrasa Halawiye which incorporated remains of Aleppo's Christian cathedral are specifically mentioned under criterion (iii), as part of 'the diverse mixture of buildings' including 'other mosques and madrasas, suqs and khans which represents an exceptional reflection of the social, cultural and economic aspects of what was once one of the richest cities of all humanity'. The walls, glacis and gateway of the Citadel are specifically mentioned under criterion (iv) as is the Madrasa al Firdows. According to the 2009 statement of authenticity, the layout of the old city in relation to the dominant Citadel had remained basically unchanged, and conservation efforts within the old city had largely preserved the attributes of Outstanding Universal Value, while the historic and traditional handicraft and commercial activities had continued as a vital component of the city sustaining its traditional urban life. Today some key attributes described in the SOUV have been destroyed, particularly the 'evidence of many periods of history', and the Great Mosque. Nevertheless, reconstruction of the Great Mosque has apparently begun (Mottram 2017).

In the background document for the UNESCO meeting cited above, Nada al Hassan noted that by comparison with the passionate discussions on the Bamiyan Buddhas' possible reconstruction, the full reconstruction at Timbuktu following the 2012 conflict did not raise any controversy, and 'seems to have full consensus among specialists or stakeholders so far'. This is not surprising since the SOUV described the buildings as 'exceptional examples of earthen architecture and of traditional maintenance techniques, which continue to the present time' (UNESCO 1988). The 'traditional characteristic construction techniques' are mentioned in the justification for criterion (v). It is clear from the investigation of the State of Conservation (UNESCO 2016) preceding Decision 40COM 7A.6 that the reconstruction was carried out using traditional practices developed through ancestral knowledge passed on through the generations by the Corporation of Masons of Timbuktu and was preceded by compilation of archival material and detailed documentation of the destruction, thereby conserving the OUV set out in the justification of the criteria for which the property was inscribed. So, there was no conservation imperative to take any other approach.

By comparison the SOUV for the Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley (UNESCO 2003) does not include the Buddhas because they were destroyed before the site was inscribed on the World Heritage List. The attributes do include the empty niches – so any proposals for future works to the niches such as reconstruction of the Buddhas must be considered in the light of the impact on the OUV of the property overall (ICOMOS 2016: §72-75), remembering that the attributes of OUV do not include the Buddhas. Hence the situation is considerably more complicated than at Timbuktu.

Conclusion

Provided the significance of a place is clearly justified and understood, reconstruction may not be an issue for authenticity. It will depend under which criteria and how the place has been justified, since authenticity relates to the attributes of OUV.[14]

It can be seen from the above discussion that this concept has taken years to be properly understood even by professionals. But it does enable all monuments - even 'living' ones to be treated on their merits.

It appears that it was only in India that Wright had to deal with the conservation and restoration of 'living monuments'. In relation to 'archaeological ruins' and 'ruined monuments' he learned on the job in the Middle East, before studying conservation procedures and attending seminars and courses in Europe as he became aware of the European standards adopted by UNESCO. He subse-

quently commended the procedures that had been carried to the Middle East with the colonial administrations and were based on the practice of the Ancient Monuments Service of Britain on which he commented favourably in his bibliographical reference to M. W. Thompson's *Ruins: Their Preservation and Display* (Wright 1997). His publication on 'The Care of Monuments in Cyprus' (1994) summarised this very succinctly (Wright 1994: 1-3).

In India Wright's approach was essentially to try to apply those same procedures. While he realised the importance of the religious practices to the local community, he didn't conceive of these as part of the significance of the temples. It remains to be seen whether renewal and reconstruction will become accepted ICOMOS practice in India as it has in Japan where appropriate to a place's significance. But Wright's recommendations for cleaning and removal of cement coatings at Srirangam were certainly taken up and indeed reported on in detail by a local newspaper. Whether his suggestion that would-be donors of renewal works at Hindu temples could be persuaded to instead contribute to the removal of accretions for the purpose of revealing the pure essence of the monument, is not evident. However, the newspaper article noted that it was hoped that given so much interest had been taken in the renovation of the shrine, 'devotees of Sriranganatha living all over the country will contribute their mite for the renovation' *The Hindu* (6 September 1970).

Susan Balderstone,
Research Fellow,
Australian Institute of Archaeology

Acknowledgements

Thanks to AIA Director Dr Christopher Davey for access to the G.R.H. Wright archive and to Wright's published articles and to Susan Walker who is cataloguing the archive with the assistance of Alysha Merrett.

Bibliography

Archive of G.R.H. Wright held at the Australian Institute of Archaeology, La Trobe University, Victoria 3086.

Ascherson, Neal 2008 Cultural destruction by war, and its impact on group identities, *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery,* Papers from the ICCROM Forum held on October 4-6, 2005, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price, Rome: ICCROM 17-25.

Australia ICOMOS 2013 *Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (the *Burra Charter*) http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf

Barakat, Sultan 2008 Postwar reconstruction and the recovery of cultural heritage: critical lessons from the last fifteen years, *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery,* Papers from the ICCROM Forum held on October 4-6, 2005, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price, Rome: ICCROM 26-39.

Browning, Iain 1973 *Petra*, London: Chatto & Windus Ltd.

Curiel, Raoul; Wright, G.R.H.; Siroux, Maxime; Shankland, Graeme; La Francesca, Roberto 1968 *Programme spécial de préservation et de mis en valeur de l'héritage culturel en liaison avec le développement du tourisme – conclusions d'un groupe de cinq consultants: Iran – (mission) décember 1967- avril 1968*, Paris: UNESCO (809/BMS RD/CLT).

Davey, Christopher J. 2013 G.R.H. (Mick) Wright: A remarkable Australian archaeological architect, *Buried History* 49, 37-52.

Denslagen, Wim 1994 *Architectural restoration in Western Europe: controversy and continuity,* Amsterdam: Architecture and Natura Press.

Clayton, Peter A. 1982 *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt,* London, Thames and Hudson

Edwards, Amelia B. 1888 *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, 2nd ed. London: Longmans, Green and Co, http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/edwards/nile/nile.html, accessed 2 Dec. 2017.

Hardy, Matthew 2008 Editor's Preface, *The Venice Charter Revisited: Modernism, Conservation and Tradition in the 21st Century* ed. Matthew Hardy, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing xv-xvii.

ICOMOS 1964 *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (the *Venice Charter*) https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

ICOMOS 1994 *The Nara Document on Authenticity* https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf.

ICOMOS 2016 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/.

Mansouri, Dr. A.H. 1985 Memorandum to Professor G.R.H. Wright 20th January 1985, Wright archive box 26.

Mennim, A. Michael 1997 *An Indian Odyssey*, York: Croft Press.

Menon, A.G. Krishna 2008 The Afterlife of the Venice Charter in Postcolonial India, in Matthew Hardy ed. *The Venice Charter Revisited: Modernism, Conservation and Tradition in the 21st Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 16-23.

Moschini, Michele 2008 The Restoration of Hindu Temples and the Venice Charter, in Matthew Hardy ed. *The Venice Charter Revisited: Modernism, Conservation and Tradition in the 21st Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 393-400.

Mottram, Mandy 2017 Archaeology, Heritage and Destruction: decolonising Syria's cultural heritage, paper given at *Syria Ancient History – Modern Conflict Symposium*, University of Melbourne, 13 August 2017.

Stovel, Herb 2005 Introduction, *Conservation of Living Religious Heritage*, papers from the ICCROM 2003 Forum on Living Religious Heritage: conserving the sacred, eds Herb Stovel, Nicholas Stanley-Price and Robert Killick, Rome: ICCROM 1-11.

UNESCO 1979 The Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae inscribed on the World Heritage List (WHL) 1979, Advisory body evaluation (ICOMOS) http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/88/documents/88-ICOMOS-94-en.pdf, 2.

UNESCO 1980 Valetta, Malta inscribed on the WHL 1980 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/131.

UNESCO 1985 Petra, Jordan inscribed on the WHL in 1985 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/326.

UNESCO 1986 Aleppo, Syria inscribed on the WHL 1986 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21.

UNESCO 1988 Timbuktu inscribed WHL 1988 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/119.

UNESCO 1988a Sacred city of Kandy inscribed WHL 1988, Advisory body evaluation (ICOMOS) http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/450/documents/450-ICOMOS-522-en.pdf, 2.

UNESCO 1996 Itsukushima Shinto Shrine, inscribed WHL 1996 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/776.

UNESCO 1998 Historic Monuments of Ancient Nara, inscribed WHL 1998 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/870.

UNESCO 2002 Archaeological Site of Marib Tentative List 08/07/2002 http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1717/.

UNESCO 2003 Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley, inscribed WHL 2003 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/208.

UNESCO 2005 Soltaniyeh inscribed WHL 2005, Advisory body evaluation (ICOMOS)

http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1188/documents/1188-ICOMOS-1365-en.pdf.

UNESCO 2008 Al Hijr Archaeological Site, inscribed WHL 2008, Advisory body evaluation (ICOMOS) http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1293/documents/1293-ICOMOS-1524-en.pdf.

UNESCO 2014 Sri Ranganathaswamy Temple, Srirangam Tentative List 20/04/2014 http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5894/.

UNESCO 2015 Historiographical Overview on the Post Conflict Reconstruction in Syria: From the mid-19th Century to the 2011 Crisis, 18-19 June 2015 http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/1286/.

UNESCO 2016 Timbuktu, State of Conservation http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/3335.

Wijesuriya, Gamini 2008 The Restoration of the Temple of the Tooth Relic in Sri Lanka: a post-conflict cultural response to loss of identity, *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery,* Papers from the ICCROM Forum held on October 4-6, 2005, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price, Rome: ICCROM 87-97.

Wright, G.R.H. 1961 Reconstructing Archaeological Remains, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 24 (i), 25-31.

Wright, G.R.H. 1962 The Khasne at Petra: A Review, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* VI & VII, 24-54.

Wright, G.R.H. 1967a Letter to Mr. J. Hardouin, Section for the Development of the Cultural Heritage, U.N.E.S.C.O. 24th July, Wright archive box 31.

Wright 1967b Letter to Mr. Conrad Wise, Section for the Development of the Cultural Heritage, U.N.E.S.C.O. 12th October, Wright archive box 31.

Wright, G.R.H. 1969 *Proposals for work at Srirangam Temple*, Paris: UNESCO (1222/BMS.RD/CLT).

Wright, G.R.H. 1969a *A background to restoration of monuments in Southern India,* 1st ed., Madras: State Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu.

Wright, G.R.H. 1970 *The Conservation and Restoration of Religious Monuments in South India*. Lecture given at Kancheepuram on 6.9.1970 at Vidwat Sadas Field, Wright archive box 38.

Wright, G.R.H. 1970a Development of the Care of Ancient Monuments in Tamilnadu: some preliminary considerations, *Damilica* 1, 105-10.

Wright, G.R.H. 1970b Petra-The Arched Gate 1959-60: Some Additional Drawings, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 102 (2), 111-15.

Wright, G.R.H. 1971 *Proposals for restoration work at Rameswaram Temple*, Paris: UNESCO (2325/RMS RS/CLP).

Wright, G.R.H. 1971a Restoration of Hindu Temples in South India and its Conceptual Background , in K.A. Nikilanta Shastri Volume, Madras, 315-21.

Wright, G.R.H., 1972 *Kalabsha. The preserving of the temple*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.

Wright, G.R.H. 1973 *Sri Ramanatha, A Pilgrimage Centre on the Island of Rameswaram in Tamil Nadu*, Paris: UNESCO (2856/RMO RD/CLP).

Wright, G.R.H. c.1975 'The Old Amiri Palace', report typescript in Wright archive box 26.

Wright, G.R.H. 1975 *The Old Amiri Palace Doha, Qatar* Institut Français d'Archéologie Beirut, Qatar National Museum.

Wright, G.R.H. 1976 Kalabsha Temple Resited, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, *Abteilung Kairo* 32, 227-32.

Wright G.R.H. 1977 Ptolemaic Remains from Kalabsha Temple reconstituted on Elephantine Island (1974-1975), *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 63, 156-58.

Wright G.R.H. 1985 The Qasr Bint Fira'un at Petra, *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2, 321-25.

Wright, G.R.H., 1987 *Kalabsha 3, The Ptolemaic Sanctuary of Kalabsha: its reconstruction on Elephantine Island*, Mainz: von Zabern.

Wright G.R.H. 1994 Care of Monuments in Cyprus, *Archaeologia Cypria* 3, 1-3.

Wright, G.R.H. 1996 The works organisation of a major building project in Roman Egypt, in Donald M. Bailey ed., J*ournal of Roman Archaeology,* Supplement No 19, 143-54.

Wright, G.R.H. 1997 Restoration and Conservation, in E.M. Meyers ed. *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Near East*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, Vol 4, 424-27.

Wright, G.R.H. 2001 Restoration of Hindu Temples in South India and its Conceptual Background, *East and West* 51 (1/2), 179-84.

Zayadine, Fawzi 1985 Recent Excavation and Restoration at Qasr el-Bint of Petra, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* XXIX, 239-49.

Endnotes

1 Since then other national committees of ICOMOS have adopted their own charters including China, Indonesia, Canada, New Zealand and Brazil.

2 Preservation means maintaining a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration; Restoration means returning a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing elements without the introduction of new material; Reconstruction means returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material (Australia ICOMOS 2013).

3 It is notable that in his earlier (1961) account of the Petra restoration he did not acknowledge Prof. Kalayan's involvement – it appeared from that article that it was all his own work. However, in this note to his 1962 article he acknowledged Kalayan's cooperation throughout the project, stating that he acted as consultant in all matters and 'in the final critical lifts assumed full responsibility'. While Kalayan's engineering ability was not in doubt, the degree of reconstruction he thought appropriate was considered excessive post-*Venice Charter.*

4 There is no mention in this article of the process of recording and numbering fallen or dismantled stones prior to reinstatement. In fact, prior to the ratification of the *Venice Charter* in 1964, detailed documentation and analysis of the architectural elements was not always undertaken.

5 Wright notes that Dr Steckeweh was previously in the service of the Oriental Institute of Chicago and was a member of the German Archaeological Institute.

6 'The reconstruction thus effected at Elephantine Island was the truth, and virtually nothing but the truth, however it cannot be asserted that it was the whole truth concerning the Sanctuary building at Kalabsha. Inevitably, since one thing which is certainly known concerning the Ptolemaic Sanctuary at Kalabsha is that the whole truth is not known. Therefore lest it should be charged that "suppressio veri" amounted to "suggestio falsi", a stone stele was set up…."

7 Wise became Wright's chief contact in the Section for the Development of the Cultural Heritage at UNESCO.

8 Correspondence records that the list changed a few times before he arrived in Iran.

9 The combined UNESCO report is in French but the reports on individual monuments are available in English in the Wright archive, box 30.

10 Here he is reflecting the principles of S.P.A.B.

11 Wright was not alone in that. *The Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* published by ICCROM in 1998 made a similar omission.

12 None of whom cited any of Wright's publications.

13 Signatory States who nominate places for inscription agree a Statement of Outstanding Universal Value and are encouraged to take into account the views of all stakeholders (ICOMOS 2016: §12). This does not generally include stakeholders within the wider 'world' community although sometimes comments from 'world experts' are included in the nomination dossier. The process of evaluation by ICOMOS addresses this lack through inviting 'desk reviews' of the nominations from acknowledged international experts (ICOMOS 2016: Annexe 6 A2). Integrity and Authenticity are related to the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the property.

14 Processes exist within the Operational Guidelines to address the fact that OUV may change over time (ICOMOS 2016: §155), and also for the removal of properties whose OUV is irreversibly compromised (ICOMOS 2016: §192).

A reused roll or a 'curious Christian codex'? Reconsidering British Library Papyrus 2053 (P.Oxy. 8.1075 + P.Oxy. 8.1079)

Scott D. Charlesworth

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62614/21ppa442

Abstract: Recently, Brent Nongbri has proposed that British Library Papyrus 2053 came from a codex and not a roll. His primary concern is codicology and he pays no attention to scribal tendencies, including the implications of the palaeographical characteristics of the hand. In a careful reassessment that takes into consideration codicology, palaeography, scribal tendencies, and the physical condition of the papyrus itself, Nongbri's argument is found to be flawed in a number of ways which speak directly to the possible origins of BL Pap. 2053. All indications are that a third-century Christian used the back of a roll containing Exodus to produce a copy of Revelation for 'private' use.

Introduction

In a recent article, Brent Nongbri (2013) argues against Arthur S. Hunt (1911: 5-6, 13-4) that British Library Papyrus 2053 (BL Pap. 2053)[1] is from a codex and not a reused roll. The papyrus preserves the end of Exodus (P.Oxy. 8.1075 [Rahlfs 909])[2] on its 'recto' (→) and the beginning of Revelation (P.Oxy. 8.1079 [𝔓^{18}])[3] on its 'verso' (↓) (Figures 1 & 2). Because confusion can result from the different traditional and papyrological meanings of recto and verso, the symbols → and ↓ respectively are used in what follows as indicators of the direction of the fibres on each side of the papyrus (cf. Turner 1978: 8–25, 54–60, 63–5).

Scholars are divided on the merits of Nongbri's proposal: van Minnen (2013: 245), Blumell and Wayment (2015: 91), and Mugridge (2016: 175-76 [no. 36], 278-79 [no. 255]) have or appear to have rejected it, while Bazzana (2016: 16-7) and Cate (2016: 42 n. 36) are more positive. Nongbri's argument has several strands. (1) The amount of and format of the text are not inappropriate for a codex leaf. (2) There is now evidence for Christian codices containing an eclectic combination of texts copied by different scribes. One such codex, the Bodmer 'Miscellaneous' or 'Composite' codex, contains a comparable page because, like BL Pap. 1053, the new text that begins overleaf encroaches on the inner margin of the codex page. (3) When the backs of rolls were reused, the roll was often rotated so that the text on the ↓ was upside down relative to the first text written on the →, but this is not the case with BL Pap. 2053. This essay challenges these claims, as well as the overarching contention that 'there is nothing about the physical characteristics of Pap. 2053 that would definitely oppose its identification as a leaf of a codex' (Nongbri 2013: 78).

1. The 'Codicology' of the leaf

The place to begin is the size of the hypothetical codex leaf (Figures 1 and 2). Reconstruction of the text block is best done by using the text of P.Oxy. 8.1079 (Rev. 1:4-7c) because, after leaving aside possible but unlikely variants, the number of letters missing from the beginning of Revelation (1:1-3) can be quantified. The reconstructed text block has an average of 23.82 letters per line. Based on the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* text (Aland et al. 2012) and allowing for *nomina sacra*,[4] there are 282 letters missing, which means that there were *c.* 12 lines (the exact figure is 11.84) on the top part of the papyrus. Thus, there was a total of *c.* 29 lines, or *c.* 30 lines if there was a title, on the ↓.[5] Working from high quality digital images of the papyrus, the height of the text block would thus have been about 23 cm for 29/30 lines. Likewise, based on *ll*. 5-10 where the text is almost fully preserved, the width of the text block was *c*. 9.3 cm.[6]

The extant bottom margin is 1.6 cm at its longest point. However, because no part of the bottom edge of P.Oxy. 8.1079 is horizontal, it cannot be assumed, as Nongbri does, that 1.6 cm was the full extent of the bottom margin. The location of the title of Exodos at the bottom of P.Oxy. 8.1075, the letters of which sit on a notional line 1 cm below the notional line on which the last line (*l.* 17) of P.Oxy. 8.1079 sits, supports this inference. It is likely that the margin extended another 1-2 cm below the εξοδυς colophon. Using Eric Turner's (1977: 25) rule of thumb that the proportion of upper to lower margins is generally 2:3 respectively, a 1 cm upper margin should have a 1.5 cm lower margin (total 2.5 cm), and a 1.6 cm upper margin should have a 2.4 cm lower margin (total 4 cm). Therefore, in the absence of physical evidence 2.5 cm, the hypothetical lower limit, and 4 cm, the hypothetical upper limit, should be added to the above estimate of column height. Thus, the page height was about 25.5-27 cm (cf. 26.38-27.16 cm, Nongbri 2013: 80).

No side margins are preserved on the ↓, so Nongbri turns to P.Oxy. 8.1075 to reconstruct the width of the hypothetical codex page (2013: 80). His justification for this approach is that 'a left margin is preserved' on that side of the papyrus. But the dimensions of the hypothetical codex page might just as easily be estimated by adding 3 cm (as another general rule of thumb) to the reconstructed size

of the text block of P.Oxy. 8.1079, so there is no warrant for assuming that P.Oxy. 8.1075 should determine the dimensions of the codex page. The more likely reason for this approach is that the claim that the papyrus came from a codex necessitates a presupposition, for which there is no basis, that P.Oxy. 8.1075 was the correctly formatted side of the codex leaf, in terms of text block and margins, and P.Oxy. 8.1079 was not.

Leaving that aside and working from *ll*. 12-16 of the extant text of P.Oxy. 8.1075, the width of its text block was 8.4 cm.[7] At its widest point the left margin of P.Oxy. 8.1075 is 1.5 cm, so the proposed codex page containing P.Oxy. 8.1075 would have been about 11.5 cm wide (cf. 11.6 cm, Nongbri 2013: 83). Significantly, as mentioned above, similar calculations based on *ll*. 6-11 of P.Oxy. 8.1079 produce a text block width of *c.* 9.3 cm[8] and a page width of about 12.5 cm, which is approximately 1 cm wider than the width of both the text block and the page of P.Oxy. 8. 1075. In a normal codex, calculations of page size based on the text blocks on each side of a codex leaf should be about the same. Text blocks on opposite sides of a leaf usually exhibit such variance in width only when the scribe's hand was hindered by writing into the centre fold of a pre-assembled codex.[9] There is no sign of that here, a point that will be revisited when the relative 'footprints' of the two text blocks are compared.

In summary, if BL Pap. 2053 came from a codex, its page would have measured 11.5 × 25.5-27 cm (allowing, for the sake of argument, that P.Oxy. 8.1075 was the correctly formatted side and, hence, that the text of P.Oxy. 8.1079 extended into the margin).[10] But a codex of this size would not fit into Turner's Group 8 proper, a size category in which breadth is half height, as Nongbri asserts (2013: 83). It would either fit into a sub-category of Turner's Group 8 in which the codices are less than 12 cm broad, or into his Group 8 Aberrant 1 category in which the codices are much higher than broad (Turner 1977: 20-1). Although the codices in the less than 12 cm broad category of Turner's Group 8 are variously dated (AD II, II/III, IV-V, V?, VII [2]), most of those in the Group 8 Aberrant 1 category are dated AD III or IV (III [5], IV [2], IV-V). If the hypothetical codex was from the latter category, then there is some support for the contention that a codex of this size is consistent with the dates assigned by Hunt to P.Oxy. 8.1075 (III) and P.Oxy. 8.1079 (late III or IV). (Note: When listing dates as given by editors, centuries are abbreviated as: I = first century; II = second century; III = third century; and so on. MSS can be dated to the turn of century: e.g., III/IV = end of the third or beginning of the fourth century (meaning, approximately, the last and first decades of those centuries); or across a number of centuries: e.g., II-III = second or third century.)

But it should also be noted that 25.5-27 cm falls within the normal height range for book rolls in the Roman period, 25-33 cm (Johnson 2004: 141-43). Nongbri (2013: 83 n. 12) acknowledges this, but discounts the possibility because 'a column breadth of over 8 cm, while attested in prose papyrus rolls from Oxyrhynchus, sits outside the normative range for such rolls (4.3 to 7.5 cm)'. However, he overlooks the fact that a sizable proportion of canonical gospel codices have text blocks wider than the normative column size of literary book rolls (Charlesworth 2016: 34 n. 32). When copying a canonical gospel,

> *scribes were not copying a classical text into a literary book roll, but something like a sub-literary or para-literary text into a non-literary codex (i.e., a book format not preferred for classical literature). Yet [canonical] gospels, like literary book rolls, were meant to be (or, at least, were usually) read aloud […] The priority, apparently, was not narrow columns that would assist reading, but the functional use of writing space* (Charlesworth 2016: 34).

The same can be said of the codex or roll from which BL Pap. 2053 came.

Comparison of the scripts and scribal tendencies in P.Oxy. 8.1075 and P.Oxy. 8.1079 also raises questions. In contrast to the slightly forward sloping, bilinear, semi-literary hand of P.Oxy. 8.1075, P.Oxy. 8.1079 is written in an uneven, heavy, upright, informal hand. The hand has been described as untrained (Aland 1976: 238), which is true when compared to literary and semi-literary book hands; but, in terms of other semi-cursive documentary hands, it is not unpractised. Irregularity in the formation and placement of letters and lines are indicative of a copy made for 'private' use rather than public reading. Three other factors point to production for 'private' use.

(1) The singular transposition (το κρατος και η δοξα, *l.* 13), almost certainly a harmonisation to Matthew 6:13 (ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα, which is part of a later addition to the verse: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν K L W Δ Θ *f*[13] 33 288[c] 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 *l*844 𝔐 f q sy[h] bo[pt] [g[1] k sy[c.p] sa] ¦ *om*. ℵ B D Z 0170 *f*[1] *l*2211 lat mae bo[pt]; Or), was very probably the work of the scribe, who was, consequently, a Christian. The same four words (βασιλεία, κράτος/δύναμις, δόξα, αἰῶνας) occur in Revelation 1:6 and Matthew 6:13.

(2) After writing του θυ (*l.* 12), the scribe crossed out the second υ, wrote ω beside it, overstroked all three letters, and then added a small ω above του without crossing out ου. The resulting Greek, και εποιησεν ημ[ι̅ | [βα]σ[ιλ-] ειαν ἱρεις τω θω̅[11] και π[α]τ̣ρι | [αυτο]υ (and he made a kingdom for us, priests to God and his Father), is awkward enough to have invited the use of the genitive, 'priests of God and his Father'. But the scribe must have had second thoughts and reverted to the dative by means of rough corrections commensurate with the semi-cursive hand.

(3) The unusual *nomina sacra*, ιη̅ χρ̅ (*l.* 6) and suspensions[12] rather than contractions are probably also the work of the scribe. 𝔓[45] (P.Beatty 1 and P.Vindob.G. 31974) is the only codex containing one or more of the canonical gospels to use the suspensions ιη̅ and χρ̅. Instead of

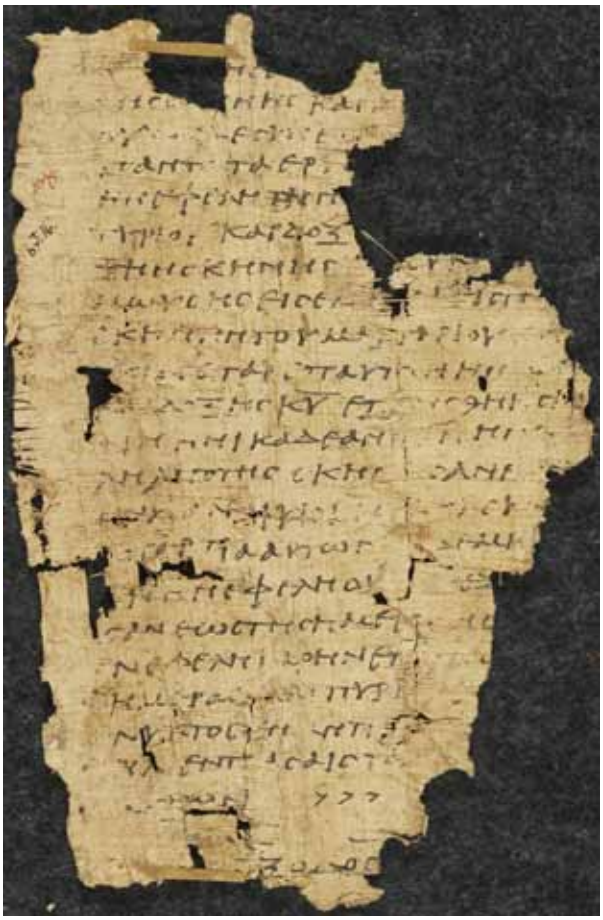


Figure 1: *P.Oxy. 8.1075, end of Exodus (→ BL Pap. 2053). Image: by permission of The British Library © British Library Board.*

Figure 2: *P.Oxy. 8.1079, beginning of Revelation (↓ BL Pap. 2053). Image: by permission of The British Library © British Library Board.*

changing the long contractions (ιης̄, ιην̄, ιηῡ, etc.) in his exemplar to short contractions (ις̄, ιν̄, etc.), the scribe changed all but two long contractions to suspensions at a time (*c*. 250) when short contraction was becoming standard in canonical gospel manuscripts produced for public reading. In contrast, the scribe of 𝔓[75] (P.Bodmer 14-15), which is dated to the beginning of III, changes all but two of the long contractions in his *Vorlage* to short contractions.[13] Indeed, the suspension ιη̄ is a particular feature of early Christian gospel-like texts that were produced for 'private' use.[14] Thus, regardless of whether the two suspensions were created or retained, they are another sign of copying for personal or 'private' use.

Finally, while the high and medial points (*ll*. 6, 13) and the diaereses over initial υ (*l*. 2) and ι (*ll.* 12, 14) may have been in the scribe's exemplar, the enlarged initial letter of the first word of v. 7 (Ἴδου, *l*. 14) and the preceding space were probably supplied *in scribendo* (as with the three changes discussed above) to mark the sense break. However, this apparent incongruity need not detract from the 'private' designation given to P.Oxy. 8.1079. The enlargement of the first letter of the first word in a clause, new section, or text and the practice of 'leaving spaces between words or more often groups of words' were scribal practices used in documentary texts (Roberts 1979: 14-8). Enlargement of initial letters also accentuates lines in some school texts written by teachers (Cribiore 1996: 99). Rather than showing that the text was copied to be read publicly, the vacant space and enlarged letter may be additional evidence that P.Oxy. 8.1079 was made for 'private' use.

The point is that if a 'private' text like P.Oxy. 8.1079 came from a reused roll, then it is in good company. Gamble observes that 'not many early Christian texts were transcribed on rolls rather than in codices, but of those that were, most are opisthographs', that is reused rolls. He goes on to provide three '[g]ood examples' – P.Oxy. 8.1079; P.Oxy. 4.657 + PSI 12.1292 (𝔓[13]), portions of several chapters of Hebrews (2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17) written on the ↓ of an epitome of Livy;[15] and P.Mich. 2/2.130, parts of two Mandates (2.6-3.1; 3.2) of the *Shepherd* of Hermas written on the ↓ of a land register[16] – and concludes by saying that '[s]uch texts were probably private copies made for personal use' (Gamble 1995: 236). Several other early Christian texts written on the back of reused rolls can be added to this list: P.Oxy. 4.654, the beginning of the *Gospel of Thomas* (Incipit and Sayings 1-7) written on the ↓ of

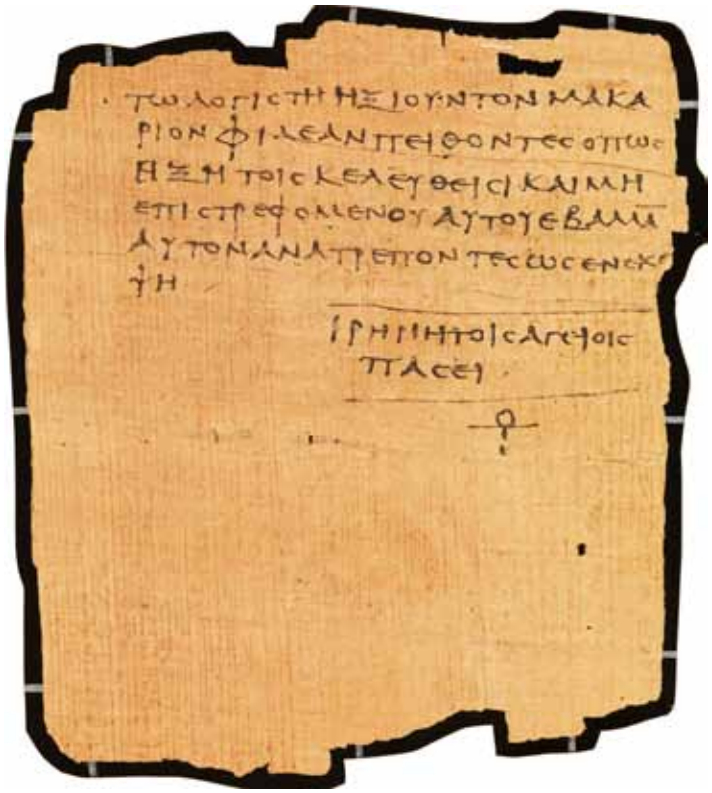


Figure 3: *P.Bodmer 20, Apology of Phileas (→ 17).*
Image: courtesy of the Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny (Genève)

a survey list of parcels of land;[17] P.Oxy. 10.1228 (𝔓[22]), two fragments from adjacent columns of the Gospel of John (15:25-16:2; 16:21-32) written on the ↓ of a 'blank' roll;[18] and P.Amh. Gr. 1.3c (Rahlfs 912), Genesis 1:1-5 written on the ↓ of a Christian letter from Rome (P.Amh. Gr. 1.3a), which has P.Amh. Gr. 1.3b (𝔓[12]), Hebrews 1:1 from both the Septuagint (LXX) and Aquila, written on top of its second column.[19]

2. The text blocks, and the 'miscellaneous' or 'composite' codex hypothesis

If the fibres of the sheets in the quire(s) of the hypothetical codex were ordered in the 'normal' manner ↓→ to the middle of the quire, and then →↓ to the end of the quire (Turner 1977: 65), then BL Pap. 2053 was a right-hand leaf in the quire (→ P.Oxy. 8.1075, ↓ P.Oxy. 8.1079). If the quire(s) began →↓, then BL Pap. 2053 was a left-hand leaf in the quire (→ P.Oxy. 8.1075, ↓ P.Oxy. 8.1079). The same is true if single sheet quires ordered in these two respective ways were used. Finally, if the quire was arranged with 'like' fibres facing 'like' (↓→→↓↓→→↓ or →↓↓→→↓↓→), BL Pap. 2053 was a right-hand leaf in the quire. In all of these hypothetical quires, because the end of Exodus must precede the beginning of Revelation, the margin of P.Oxy. 8.1075 (Exodus) was an inner margin close to the centre fold of the codex. This means that the written text on the first page of P.Oxy. 8.1079 extended into the inner margin of the hypothetical codex with the result that the two text blocks do not have a complementary 'footprint' (Figures 1 and 2). Ordinarily, a scribe copying a codex, even a second scribe as here, would want to maintain the uniform appearance of the codex by producing a leaf with text blocks that were as complementary as possible.

Nongbri addresses this problem as part of his argument that BL Pap. 2053 is another example of a Christian codex with an 'eclectic combination of contents' and with different 'scribes working on the same codex, indeed on opposite sides of the very same page'. He points to the Bodmer 'Miscellaneous' or 'Composite' codex as a parallel and one leaf as 'especially informative' (Figures 3 and 4). The final page of P.Bodmer 20 (*Apology of Phileas*, → 17) and the first page of P.Bodmer 9 (Psalms 33 and 34, ↓ 33:2-10)[20] were copied by different hands, and the 'scribe of the Psalms wrote lines extending to the very edge of the inner margin, a somewhat unexpected feature that would also be true of the scribe of P.Oxy. 8.1079, if it is indeed a leaf from a codex' (Nongbri 2013: 83-4).

However, a significant difference between this leaf and BL Pap. 2053 is overlooked. The script of the first page of P.Bodmer 9 (↓ Ps. 33:2-10) gets smaller and more cramped towards the end of *ll*. 5, 8-9, 12-14 and the last word of each of *ll*. 12-14 is written in small letters above the ends of those lines. Although the scribe's hand does not appear to have been hampered by the centre fold, this is indisputable proof that he was writing into the fold of a codex (either before binding or, more likely, after the binding had been loosened deliberately or through use). The same cannot be said of BL Pap. 2053. Of the lines

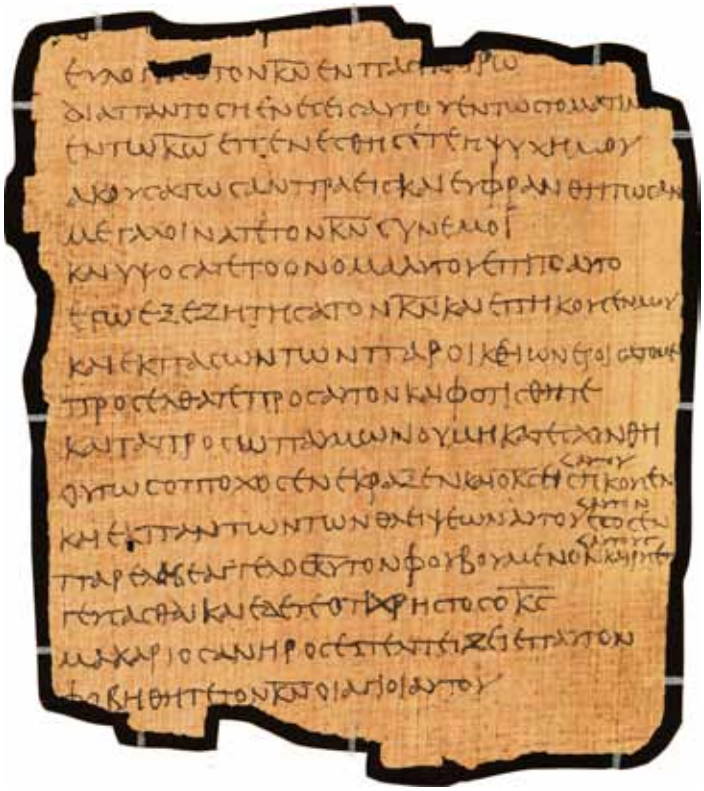


Figure 4: *P.Bodmer 9, Psalms 33 and 34 (↓ 33:2-10).*
Image: courtesy of the Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny (Genève)

that encroach on the hypothetical margin (*ll*. 8-14), only the end of *l.* 8 (της γης) – which coincides with the first lacuna on the right-hand side of P.Oxy. 8.1079 – is written in what might be a smaller and more cramped script. But that possibility is ruled out by the similarly formed end of *l*. 2 (ειρη) where there was space to write in larger letters. Therefore, the size of the script at the end of *l*. 8 is within normal range in terms of variation in the size of the semi-cursive letters. It very probably results from the lack of care with which the documentary hand was written, and not from the proximity of a centre fold. Consequently, it is unlikely that the ends of the lines of P.Oxy. 8.1079 were written in the margin of a codex.[21]

Moreover, Nongbri's comparative argument loses its force entirely in view of the fact that the scribe did the same thing on every page of Psalms 33 and 34.[22] The Hebrew counterpart of Psalm 33 (LXX) is Psalm 34, a poem with an acrostic structure in which each section (comprised of two clauses) begins with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The LXX reflects this structure by translating each section as two clauses. In order to maintain the same structure, the scribe of P.Bodmer 9 makes each clause fit on a single line, even at the expense of writing into the margins and above the ends of lines, and then does the same with Psalm 34. The latter poem is not acrostic but has the same one-section-in-two-clauses structure (cf. also Psalm 35 in the Hebrew). Thus, there is a reason why the scribe of P.Bodmer 9 wrote into the margins of all of the pages of Psalms 33 and 34; and so the leaf singled out for comparison is unrepresentative in this regard.[23]

3. The fibres on the ↓ of the papyrus

In a response to Nongbri's article, Peter van Minnen asks whether BL Pap. 2053 is a 'fragment of a reused roll (so the editor) or of a codex (so Brent Nongbri)?'

> *If the former, the text on the back of the roll would not have been written immediately following but long after the text on the front, and one should be able to tell this from the writing on the back: the back of reused rolls is damaged from use, and writing on it is a struggle. If the latter, the writing on the back should not show signs of struggle. What Nongbri raises as an alternative possibility can be definitely settled with the papyrus in hand, and I have no doubt that the editor was right* (van Minnen 2013: 245).

Subsequent autopsy confirmed van Minnen's initial appraisal of images of the papyrus,

> *The ink on the back is occasionally in 'crevices' where the strips of papyrus do not join. This may have been very bad papyrus to begin with, but it is far more likely that the ink was applied only after the front had been used for quite a while, that is, after the papyrus had been unrolled and rolled up hundreds of times. The strips on the back then start to crack, leaving crevices. What I saw is typical of rolls that are reused on the back after some time of use. On the back, the strips run vertically and the 'rolling' pulls them apart. On the front, the strips run horizontally and the 'rolling' presses*

> *them closer together but does not break them. In codices, front and back are put in place at the same time and, after the quires are put together, the strain on either side of the papyrus is the same, actually minimal (another advantage of the codex form).* (van Minnen, *per litt*., 15 August 2017)

While autopsy reveals more than examination of high resolution digital images of the papyrus, several vertical crevices are visible in the digital image, one of which runs down the length of P.Oxy. 8.1079. In addition, it is clear that the ink was applied after the crevices had formed. The question then is: how much time might have elapsed before the roll was reused? Of P.Oxy. 8.1075, Hunt said that the script did 'not seem to be later than the third century', but dated the writing of P.Oxy. 8.1079 'to the fourth rather than the third century, though the latter is not at all impossible' (Hunt 1911: 5, 13). Recently, Orsini and Clarysse (2012: 459) have placed P.Oxy. 8.1079 in the third century on the basis of its resemblance to PSI 3.199, a documentary text dated to AD 203. While there are similarities, the hand of P.Oxy. 8.1079 is not as even or accomplished (cf. PSIonline n.d.: PSI III 199). In any event, if both sides of the papyrus were written in the third century, their writing might have been separated by a number of decades.

4. Rotation of reused rolls: Is BL Pap. 2053 an exception?

The final strand in Nongbri's argument is the tentative proposal that when rolls were reused, they were often rotated 180 degrees so that the text on the ↓ was upside down relative to the first text written on the →. Of the reused (privately produced for personal use) rolls listed at the end of § 1 above, P.Oxy. 4.657 + PSI 12.1292 (𝔓[13]) and P.Mich. 2/2.130 are mentioned as examples of this phenomenon, along with a number of Christian texts written on the back of papyrus rolls: PSI 8.921 (Rahlfs 2054), parts of two columns containing verses from Psalm 77 (vv. 1, 5-9, 18) written on the ↓ of a register of bank loans and payments;[24] P.Lips. 1.97 + P.Bonn. inv. 147 (Rahlfs 2013), Psalm 35:3-55:14 written on the ↓ of an agricultural produce account;[25] P.IFAO 2.31 (𝔓[98]), Revelation 1:13-20 written on the ↓ of a declaration of livestock;[26] and P.Oxy. 69.4705, a portion of the *Shepherd* of Hermas (Vision 1.1.8-9) written on the ↓ of an unidentified literary text.[27] Another of the 'private' reused rolls mentioned at the end of § 1 above – P.Amh. Gr. 1.3c (Rahlfs 912; Gen. 1:1-5) written on the ↓ of a Christian letter from Rome (P.Amh. Gr. 1.3a), which has P.Amh. Gr. 1.3b (𝔓[12]; Heb. 1:1) written on top of its second column – should be added to this list.[28] Interestingly, two of the inverted opisthographs listed by Nongbri, P.IFAO 2.31 and P.Oxy. 69.4705, have also been described as copies made for personal or 'private' use because texts written on the back of reused rolls 'can be associated with a set of socio-cultural practices that scholars often designate as "private" in opposition to the "public" functions of the literary book-roll' (Bazzana 2016: 16; cf. 23). While this rationale will often be right, particularly when supported by an informal or documentary script, it should be remembered that on occasion a text for personal or 'private' use might have been copied in a hand that is closer to semi-literary than documentary, and that intended 'private' use may only be signalled by scribal tendencies like those found in P.Oxy. 8.1079.[29]

The question at hand, however, is whether BL Pap. 2053 came from a codex because it does not conform to this general 'rule' of inverting rolls for reuse. Nongbri (2013: 87) can find only one exception, P.Oxy. 4.654 (*Gospel of Thomas*, Incipit and Sayings 1-7), another of the 'private' opisthographs discussed above. But P.Oxy. 10.1228 (𝔓[22]; John 15:25-16:2; 16:21-32) must be another because nothing is written on its →. Grenfell and Hunt (1914: 14) were of the opinion that 'no doubt in other parts the roll included sheets which had previously been inscribed', and Aland (1976: 242-43; 1967:167) speculates that the fragments may have come from the guard at the front or end of the roll or that the scribe reused a roll that was not long enough and so had to attach additional sheets. Finally, there is compelling evidence that BL Pap. 2053 also comes from a reused roll and is yet another 'exception'. Given the concession that this argument proceeds 'from an admittedly non-comprehensive sample' (Nongbri 2013: 84), it might have been better avoided.

Conclusion

The wider column of P.Oxy. 8.1079, the incompatible 'footprints' of the two text blocks, and the absence of any signs that the scribe was writing into a margin tell against the argument that BL Pap. 2053 came from a codex. The 'parallel' leaf from the Bodmer 'Miscellaneous' codex serves only to demonstrate what is lacking in P.Oxy. 8.1079. Similarly, instead of BL Pap. 2053 being the exception that proves the rule, it is one of several 'exceptions' that put paid to the idea that almost all rolls were inverted for reuse. Why did the scribe not rotate the roll containing Exodus 180 degrees before writing? Simply because he started at the end of the roll and not the beginning.[30] When early Christian texts were coped into a roll rather than a codex, they were often transcribed on the back of used rolls for personal or 'private' use. Thus, the pointers to copying for 'private' use – the irregular semi-cursive hand, the singular transposition, the rough correction, and the two suspensions – support the conclusion that BL Pap. 2053 did not come from a codex. All of this is confirmed by the pulling apart of some of the ↓ fibres on the back of BL Pap. 2053 and the fact that the text of P.Oxy. 8.1079 was written after that had occurred.

Scott D. Charlesworth
Adjunct Lecturer, University of New England
Honorary Research Associate, University of Divinity

Bibliography

Advanced Papyrological Information System, UM 2017 *P.Mich.inv. 44; Verso*, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-2206/44hv.tif, viewed 15 November 2017.

Aland, B., K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C.M. Martini & B.M. Metzger 2012 *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th rev. edn, Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, Münster/Westphalia, under the direction of H. Strutwolf, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

Aland, K. 1967 *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes*, ANTF 2, Berlin: de Gruyter.

Aland, K. 1976 *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, vol. 1, *Biblische Papyri: Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen*, PTS 18, Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.

Aland, K. & H-U. Rosenbaum 1995 *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, vol. 2, *Kirchenväter-Papyri*, part 1, *Beschreibungen*, PTS 42, Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.

Avi-Yonah, M. 1974 Abbreviations in Greek inscriptions: the Near East, 200 B.C. - A.D. 1100, repr. in A.N. Oikonomides, *Abbreviations in Greek inscriptions, papyri, manuscripts and early printed books*, Chicago: Ares, vii–125.

Bartoletti, V., N. Terzaghi & M. Norsa 1951 *Papyri greci e latini*, vol. 12, Firenze: Felice le Monnier.

Bazzana, G. 2016 "Write in a book what you see and send it to the seven assemblies": ancient reading practices and the earliest papyri of Revelation, in T.J. Kraus and M. Sommer eds, *Book of seven seals*, WUNT 363, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 12–31.

Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 2010a vol. 2, *Graeca biblica et christiana*, Munich: K.G. Saur.

Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 2010b vol. 4, *Graeca biblica et christiana*, Munich: K.G. Saur.

Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 2010c vol. 8, *Planches, Abbildungen, Reproductions*, Munich: K.G. Saur.

Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 2010d vol. 9, *Planches, Abbildungen, Reproductions*, Munich: K.G. Saur.

Blumell, L.H. & T.A. Wayment 2015 *Christian Oxyrhynchus: texts, documents, and sources*, Waco: Baylor.

Bonner, C 1927 A new fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas (Michigan Papyrus 44-H), *Harvard Theological Review*, 20 (2), 105–16.

British Library n.d., *Papyrus 2053*, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_2053, viewed 8 November 2017.

Cate, J. 2016 The curious case of $\mathfrak{P}^{43}$: another New Testament opisthograph?, in T.J. Kraus and M. Sommer eds, *Book of seven seals*, WUNT 363, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 33–49.

Charles, R.H. 1920 *A critical and exegetical commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, vol. 2, Edinburgh: T & T Clark.

Charlesworth, S.D. 2016 *Early Christian gospels: their production and transmission*, Papyrologica Florentina 47, Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli.

Colomo, D. & R. Scholl 2005 Psalmen und Rechnungen: P.Bonn. inv. 147 + P.Lips I 97, *Zeitshcrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 153, 163–67.

Cribiore, R. 1996, *Writing, teachers, and students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, ASP 36, Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Crum, W.E. & H.I. Bell 1922 *Wadi Sarga: Coptic and Greek texts from the excavations undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account*, Hauniae: Gyldendal.

de Bruyn, T.S. & J.H.F. Dijkstra 2011 Greek amulets and formularies from Egypt containing Christian elements: a checklist of papyri, parchments, ostraka, and tablets, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 48, 163–216.

Emmenegger, G. 2007 *Der Text des koptischen Psalters aus al-Mudil. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der Septuaginta und zur Textkritik koptischer Bibelhandschriften, mit der kritischen Neuausgabe des Papyrus 37 der British Library London (U) und des Papyrus 39 der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek*, TU 159, Berlin: de Gruyter.

Gamble, H.Y. 1995 *Books and readers in the early church*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gonis, N. 2005 4705. Hermas, *Visio* I 1.8-9, in N. Gonis, D. Obbink, D. Colomo, G.B. D'Alessio, & A. Nodar, *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, vol. 69, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1–3.

Grenfell, B.P. & A.S. Hunt 1900 *The Amherst papyri*, vol. 1, *The Ascension of Isaiah and other theological fragments*, London: Henry Froude.

Grenfell, B.P. & A.S. Hunt 1904 *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, vol. 4, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Grenfell, B.P. & A.S. Hunt 1914 *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, vol. 10, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Hagerdorn, D. 1992 P.IFAO II 31: Johannesapokalypse 1,13-20, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 92, 243–47.

Head, P.M. & M. Warren 1997 Re-inking the pen: evidence from P.Oxy. 657 (P13) concerning unintentional scribal errors, *New Testament Studies* 43, 466–73.

Heinrici, C.F.G. 1903 *Die Leipziger Papyrusfragmente der Psalmen*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testamentes* 4, Leipzig: Dürr.

Horsley, G.H.R. 1993 Classical manuscripts in Australia and New Zealand, and the early history of the codex, *Antichthon* 27, 60–83.

Hunt, A.S. 1911 *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, vol. 8, London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) 2017, *Doc ID 10018*, http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste/?ObjID=10018, viewed 8 November 2017.

Johnson, W.A. 2004 *Bookrolls and scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) 2017 *Leuven database of ancient books*, http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab, viewed 8 November 2017.

Luijendijk, A. 2010 Sacred scriptures as trash: biblical papyri from Oxyrhynchus, *Vigiliae Christianae* 64 (3), 217-54.

Málik, P. 2016 Another look at P.IFAO II 31 (𝔓^{98}): an updated transcription and textual analysis, *Novum Testamentum* 58 (2), 204–17.

Martin, V. 1964 *Papyrus Bodmer XX: Apologie de Philéas*, Cologny-Genève: Bibliothèque Bodmeriana.

Morgan Library and Museum n.d., *Amherst Greek Papyrus 3*, http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=350198, viewed 21 November 2017.

Mugridge, A. 2016 *Copying early Christian texts: a study of scribal practice*, WUNT 362, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Nongbri, B. 2013 Losing a curious Christian scroll but gaining a curious Christian codex: an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of Exodus and Revelation, *Novum Testamentum* 55 (1), 77-88.

Norsa, M. 1926 Papiri del Museo greco-romano di Alessandria. 1, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 22, 157–64.

Orsini, P. & W. Clarysse 2012 Early New Testament manuscripts and their dates: a critique of theological palaeography, *Epheremides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88 (4), 443–74.

Oxrhynchus Online n.d., *P.Oxy. LXIX 4705*, http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?e=q-000-00---0POxy--00-0-0--0prompt-10---4------0-1l--1-en-50---20-about-4705--00031-001-0-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=POxy&cl=search&d=HASH018809463faf5de352b51ac3, viewed 19 November 2017.

Paap, A.H.R.E. 1959 *Nomina sacra in the Greek papyri of the first five centuries A.D.*, Leiden: Brill.

Papyrus und Ostraka Projekt 2003-2017, *P.Lips.Inv. 39 + P.Bonn.Inv.147*, https://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/UBLPapyri_schrift_00008710, viewed 17 November 2017.

PSIonline n.d., *PSI III 199*, http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;3;199, viewed 16 November 2017.

Rahlfs, A. & D. Fraenkel 2004 *Verzeichnis der griechische Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, vol. I.1, *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Supplementum, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Roberts, C.H. ed. 1938 *The Greek and Latin papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. 3, *Theological and literary texts (nos. 457-551)*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Roberts, C.H. 1979 *Manuscript, society, and belief in early Christian Egypt*, London: Oxford University Press.

Testuz, M. 1959 *Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX. VII: L'Epître de Jude, VIII: Les deux Epîtres de Pierre, IX: Les Psaumes 33 et 34*, Cologny-Genève: Bibliothèque Bodmeriana.

The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (CSNTM) n.d., *Manuscript Search*, http://csntm.org/Manuscript, viewed 16 November 2017.

Thompson, E.M., G.F. Warner, F.G. Kenyon & J.P. Gilson, 1913-1930 *The New Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts etc.*, Series 2, 2 vols in 13 parts, London: H. Hart & Oxford University Press.

Trismegistos (TM) 2017 *Trismegistos texts database*, http://www.trismegistos.org/index.html, viewed 8 November 2017.

Turner, E.G. 1977 *The typology of the early codex*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Turner, E.G. 1978 *The terms recto and verso: the anatomy of the papyrus roll*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 16, Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élizabeth.

van Haelst, J. 1976 *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, *Papyrologie* 1, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.

van Minnen, P. 2013 (2015) From Posidippus to Palladas: what have literary papyri done for us?, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 43, 243–61.

Wessely, C. 1924 Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus II, *Patrologia Orientalis* 18 (3), 345–508.

Endnotes

1 For high resolution images of the papyrus see British Library (n.d.: Papyrus 2053).

2 Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) 3477; Trismegistos (TM) 62314; Rahlfs & Fraenkel (2004: 295).

3 LDAB 2786; TM 61636; Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) n.d.: Doc ID 10018.

4 The genitive of the name Jesus Christ is abbreviated by suspension and overstroked with a supralinear line, ι̅η̅ χ̅ρ̅, while the dative of the word God is contracted and overstroked, θ̅ω̅. The same three words appear twice each in Rev. 1:1-3. Allowance might also be made for numerals. But none occur in vv. 1-3 and, in any case, ἑπτά in the first and fourth lines of the papyrus was written in full.

5 Nongbri (2013: 80) rounds up the average number of letters per line to 24 and arrives at '11 or 12 lines of text and perhaps a short title of some sort'.

6 Cf. Aland (1976: 238): 'rekonstruiertes Kolumnenformat: 22 × 9.3 cm; rekonstruierte Zeilenzahl: 29-30'.

7 Nongbri (2013: 83) measures the longest fully preserved line to arrive at the same figure.

8 Nongbri (2013: 80) measures the fully preserved *ll*. 8 and 9 of P.Oxy. 8.1079 to arrive at a figure of 9.4 cm.

9 For discussion of this issue see Charlesworth (2016: 43, 64, 78, 78 n. 393, 136-37, 145).

10 Cf. 'about 27 cm high by 11.6 cm wide' (Nongbri 2013: 83). Aland (1976: NT 18) and van Haelst (1976: no. 559) both estimate the roll to have been 25 cm high.

11 ω θ̅ω̅ : τ{ου}ˋωˊ θ̅[[υ]]ω̅ pap.

12 Suspensions occur mainly in inscriptions (Avi-Yonah 1974). According to Paap (1959: 107), 'ι̅η̅ and χ̅ρ̅ are parallel forms, suspended after the usual manner of inscription-writing [… which] have their origin in the non-literary branch of tradition'.

13 On scribal treatment of *nomina sacra* in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ see Charlesworth (2016: 106-11, 118-19).

14 See the discussions of P.Egerton inv. 2, P.Dura 10, P.Oxy. 2.210, and P.Oxy. 10.1224 in Charlesworth (2016: 135-49). The suspension ι̅η̅ is also found in P.Ryl. 3.464 which Roberts (1938: xvii, 24), after publishing the poorly preserved text with the title 'Apocryphal Gospel (?)', concedes (in the Addenda and Corrigenda of the same volume) 'is more likely to belong to an astrological work than an apocryphal gospel'. He then adds that the 'ι̅η̅ may be no more than the numeral 18 (it is not uncommon for lines to be placed over numerals)'. ι̅η̅ also occurs in P.Oxy. 17.2070, a Christian anti-Jewish text (Paap 1959: no. 51). For two other texts with the suspension χ̅ρ̅ see Paap (1959: nos. 283 and 421).

15 Grenfell & Hunt (1904: 36-48); Bartoletti, Terzaghi & Norsa (1951: 209-10); LDAB 3018; TM 61861. Cf. Head & Warren (1997) who conclude that the manuscript was not produced by a professional scribe; and Luijendijk (2010: 252) who thinks that the manuscript 'was intended for private use' not public reading.

16 Bonner (1927); LDAB 1096; TM 59984; Aland & Rosenbaum (1995: 275–79, no. 34). For an image see Advanced Papyrological Information System, UM (2017: P.Mich.inv. 44; Verso). According to Bonner (1927: 108), the reuse of a 'discarded roll' and the semi-cursive hand suggest that the copy was made 'for the writer's personal use'. Bazzana (2016: 21) reaches the same conclusion.

17 Grenfell and Hunt (1904: 1-22); LDAB 4030; TM 62840.

18 Grenfell & Hunt (1914: 14-16); LDAB 2779; TM 61629. After observing that the → of both fragments is blank, Grenfell and Hunt (1914: 14) state that 'no doubt in other parts the roll included sheets which had previously been inscribed'. On the 'private' features of P.Oxy. 10.1228 and P.Oxy. 4.654 see Charlesworth (2016: 74-5, 122-24).

19 Grenfell & Hunt (1900: 28-31); LDAB 3475; TM 62312. de Bruyn & Dijkstra (2011) put P.Amh. 1.3c (Gen. 1:1-5) in their list of possible amulets: see no. 155 (p. 208; cf. p. 177). Amulets 'were commonly used to invoke divine power for healing from sickness, protection against harm, malediction of adversaries, and success in a variety of affairs. These amulets were prepared by specialists who often followed pre-existing models. They were rendered effective by writing, recitation, and other rituals, and were then worn on one's body or fixed, displayed, or deposited in some place' (p. 164). See also Horsley (1993: 75-6).

20 LDAB/TM 220465. For transcriptions of the two pages from the editions of Martin (1964) and Testuz (1959) see *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (2000b: 699) and *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (2000a: 781) respectively. For the photographic plates see *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (2000d: 699) and *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (2000c: 297) respectively.

21 It is worth considering whether Revelation might have been started on the back page of a codex containing Exodus and then additional quires added to accommodate the rest of the text. This possibility is also ruled out by the dissimilar footprints of the two text blocks. The scribe writes as though he has plenty of room and there is little or no need to maintain a uniform margin.

22 *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (2000a: 781–85) (text); *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (2010c: 297–301) (plates).

23 'Another example of this phenomenon' taken from the Bodmer 'Miscellaneous' or 'Composite' codex (Nongbri 2013: 84 n. 17), the final page of the *Genesis of Mary* and the first page of apocryphal correspondence between the Corinthians and Paul, is not cogent. For the plates see: *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (2000c: 270) and *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (2000c: 302) respectively.

24 Norsa (1926); LDAB 3088; TM 61931. See also PSIonline (n.d.: PSI VIII 921). For an image see Thompson et al. (1913-1930: pl. 182).

25 Heinrici (1903: col. 7-34); Colomo & Scholl (2005: 163-67); Emmenegger (2007: 328–70); LDAB 3168. The Bonn fragment comes from the top of cols. 1 and 2 of the Leipzig roll. For images of both papyri see the Papyrus und Ostraka Projekt (2003-2017: P.Lips.Inv. 39 + P.Bonn. Inv. 147).

26 Málik (2016); Hagerdorn (1992); LDAB 2776; TM 61626. For an image see The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts ([CSNTM] n.d.: P98).

27 Gonis (2005); LDAB 10574; TM 69383. For an image see Oxrhynchus Online (n.d.: P.Oxy. LXIX 4705).

28 For images of P.Amh. Gr. 1.3a-c see the Morgan Library and Museum (n.d.: Amherst Greek Papyrus 3) and CSNTM (n.d.: P12). The black and white CSNTM images have greater capacity for zoom and the image of the verso has been inverted. The much later British Library inv. no. 2241 (Rev. 2:12-13; 15:8-16:2) might also be added to the list: see Cate (2016: 33-49); Crum & Bell (1922: no. 12); LDAB 2824; TM 61673. For images see CSNTM (n.d.: P43).

29 Cf. the descriptions of the scripts of the four additional papyri listed by Nongbri in Mugridge (2016): PSI 8.921 (no. 90); P.Lips 1.97 + P.Bonn. inv. 147 (no. 74); P.IFAO 2.31 (no. 256); and P.Oxy. 69.4705 (no. 313).

30 Cf. 'A roll that has *not* been rolled back up after reading will have the end of the recto (→) text as the outermost part of the roll. To begin writing on the verso, one need not rotate the papyrus at all but instead simply begin writing with the result that the beginning of the text of [*sic*] the verso (↓) will be at the same end of the roll as the conclusion of the text on the recto (→), and the two sides will be right-side-up relative to one another': WA Johnson, *per litt*., 7 September 2011, cited by Nongbri (2013: 87).

Reviews

Mattias Karlsson, *Relations of Power in Early Neo-Assyrian State Ideology,* Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 10, Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, pp. 507 + xiv, ISBN 978-1-61451-691-0, €129.95.

Reviewed by L. R. Siddall

The topic of Mattias Karlsson's study is long overdue. While there have been forays into the history and ideology of the so-called 'Early Neo-Assyrian Period' (934–745 BC), none in recent time has aimed to examine the entire period in a systematic way. This gap in Assyriological research is striking for, as Karlsson states, this is an era when Assyria's distinctive idea of imperialism emerged (pp. 2–3). The study, as it appears here, is a revised version of the author's Doctor of Philosophy thesis submitted to Uppsala University in 2013. The original study concentrated on Assyrian state ideology during the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) and his son and successor, Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC). Karlsson has expanded his study to include all ten kings of the Early Neo-Assyrian Period but the focus of the book remains on the reigns of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser. Anyone who is familiar with the 'long ninth century' will recognise why Karlsson's work still concentrates on these kings as the recovered evidence from the period overwhelmingly dates to their reigns: 73% of the texts and 79% of the iconography (p. 5)! Karlsson states that his overarching aim is 'to contribute to the description of Early Neo-Assyrian state ideology' (p. 4). His 'description' is derived from detailed catalogues of the different textual and iconographic motifs found in Assyrian royal inscriptions and art from the period. These catalogues are sizeable and appear as 16 appendices and lists at the end of the book, and come to total 128 pages (pp. 379–507). From these lists and appendices, Karlsson has developed seven studies of Early Neo-Assyrian state ideology. While *Relations of Power* is littered with a number of interesting observations on Assyrian state ideology, readers will be disappointed with the level of analysis and lack of historical interpretation. Karlsson's descriptive framework has resulted in a book that will be deemed useful to the field rather than ground breaking.

Karlsson begins his work with two introductory chapters that outline his aims and methods, the theories that have informed Karlsson's approach, summaries of previous scholarship and overviews of ancient sources used in the study. The discussions of ideology, propaganda, and critical theory will no doubt raise the eyebrows of a number of readers. Karlsson's work is decidedly ahistorical, both in terms of its approach to the study as a whole and his views on the importance of theoretical models, such as Neo-Marxism (*à la* Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser), postcolonialism, and gender theories. For Karlsson, theory is inevitable in the Humanities and there is a reasonable degree to which one must agree with this statement. However, in justifying the use of critical theory, Karlsson states that 'as long as there are criteria and the used theories are relevant for the study, there is no reason to speak of bias' (p. 27, n. 47). This is indicative of a misunderstanding of the nature of bias in the Arts, Humanities, and Sciences. Bias often operates as a limiting of a scholar's scope or perspective (rather than a prejudice), a point which Karlsson demonstrates in his discussions of Orientalism. However, it seems to the reviewer that it is the structuralist, rather than historical, approach that has limited the level of analysis in this study.

The bulk of the book is made up of the three chapters that chart what Mattias Karlsson identifies as the three-way relations of power in early Neo-Assyrian state ideology: between the great gods of Assyria and foreign lands (ch. 3), between the great gods and the Assyrian king (ch. 4), and between the Assyrian king and foreign lands (ch. 5). Each chapter is subdivided into sections detailing the ancient evidence for the various motifs that illustrate the respective relation of power, combined with a review of the existing literature on each topic. It is interesting that Karlsson rarely brings critical theory to the forefront of his discussion in these chapters. Instead, these chapters are driven by data from his catalogue of textual and iconographical sources. The detailed nature of Karlsson's descriptions will ensure that many will consult this book to find out how a particular motif is attested in the sources. However, most of the findings are not new, as such, rather they demonstrate how Early Neo-Assyrian state ideology conforms to what we know from later times. This is particularly the case in terms of the roles and character of the great gods, the main roles of the Assyrian king, and the recognition that Assyrian imperialism was not motivated by religious conversion of the conquered. What would have helped is an examination of *why* such ideas came to exist in the state ideology.

Karlsson gets closer to an analysis of the ideological development of Early Neo-Assyrian state ideology in the last four chapters of the book that look at particular avenues of ideological change: how it developed within the kings' reigns (ch. 6); variation between the propaganda at the centre and the periphery (ch. 7); comparing the ideologies of the kings (ch. 8), and how Assyrian state ideology developed from the Old Assyrian Period through to the later Neo-Assyrian Period (ch. 9). There are some rather important findings in these chapters. For instance, in Chapter Six Karlsson demonstrates how the prevailing idea in Assyriology that the kings' titles and epithets were earnt through deeds and accomplishments does not fit the data from Ashurnasirpal II's and Shalmaneser III's reigns. This is an important finding, but Karlsson does not look to explain why this was so. This is all the more curious since Karlsson makes a strong case in Chapter Eight that Assyrian kings shaped the ideological expressions of their times but he does not draw on this to account for the differences in the development of titles and epithets during the

reigns of ninth century rulers. From an historiographical point of interest, Karlsson shows in Chapter Eight that the scholarly interest in the imperialism of Ashurnasirpal has been misplaced, since it is Shalmaneser who was the chief architect of the Assyrian empire in terms of territorial expansion and ideological expression; though this point has largely been made by Shigeo Yamada in his 2000 study, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire*. Curious too is the omission of the antiquarianism evident in the reigns of Shamshi-Adad V and Adad-nirari III from the discussion of the individual ideologies of Assyrian kings in Chapter Eight.

Mattias Karlsson closes his work with a short, four-page chapter that, despite being entitled 'Conclusion of the study' (pp. 327-330), would be best described as a defence. Here, Karlsson takes aim at earlier scholars, labelling them 'naïve' (p.326) and 'haughty' empiricists and reduces them to a blind Rankean idealists who think the 'texts should speak for themselves' (p. 329). Karlsson goes on to defend his approach by reiterating the value of critical theory for understanding the relations of power. This is an odd way to close a study and such statements could be seen to betray his own naïvety of the nature of contemporary empiricism.

As I stated at the beginning of this review, Mattias Karlsson's *Relations of Power* is a useful addition to the study of Assyria in the ninth century. However, had Karlsson taken an historical approach to this study, far more could have been made of the interesting and important observations littered throughout. There is a simple reason for this: the historical method answers questions, the structuralist and theoretical approach, as employed here, makes observations. Those interested in state ideology deserve to find out *why* it was that the Assyrian rulers of the long ninth century expressed the relations of power the way they did. Karlsson's study, though detailed, will leave them wanting in this regard.

L.R. Siddall
Shore, North Sydney

Benjamin W. Roberts and Christopher P. Thornton, eds, *Archaeometallurgy in Global Perspective: Methods and Syntheses,* New York: Springer 2014, 861 pp, 28 Chapters, Index ISBN 978-1-4614-9017-3 Hard Cover AUD 216

Reviewed by David Saunders

I review this volume from the perspective of a metallurgist who has now ventured into the field of archaeometallurgy. For me it has been a long career journey - from blast furnaces to the application of fracture mechanics in structural management and using computer codes, electron microscopes and neutron diffraction. From a practical metallurgist's view, I wished to see if this volume actually took me into the field of archaeometallury and provided me the 'global perspective' that allows me to undertake new research into ancient metal artefacts and, further, to be able to contextualise the many journal articles published on the study of ancient metallic artefacts.

Of course, as a 'new player' in this field (the uninitiated? - this volume p3) I have to ask why yet another volume on archaeometallurgy? Does this volume add new perspectives to the seemingly vast number of published works? Significant and ongoing archaeometallurgical research is promulgated in *Der Anschnitt* volumes, proceedings of conferences such as the Archeometallurgy In Europe (AIE), and the Beginnings of the Use of Metals and Alloys (BUMA), conferences on specific sites (e.g. UCL Timna Conference) and specific subjects (e.g. The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining) and, of course, significant articles and monographs by technical experts such as Renfrew (1986), Muhly (1973) and more recently Weeks (2003) and Golden (2010). To this must be added the significant number of scientific journals that publish archaeometallurgical research. The AIE and BUMA conferences now tend to have a regional focus and so the current volume significantly differs from these conferences in that it attempts to present a global archaeometallurgical perspective, albeit incomplete. As discussed by Roberts and Thornton, (**Chap 1**) pp 1-2, the genesis of this volume from yet another archaeometallurgy conference is itself interesting in that it became more than a record of a significant conference of the Society of American Archaeology, SAA, and while [the] 'volume was never meant to be encyclopaedic or entirely definitive; it is meant to be an educational guide for the teaching of archaeometallurgy to an uninitiated audience'. I suspect this was not the intent of the original conference. It was, as Killick (2015: 298) says, 'archaeometallurgists talking to fellow archaeometallurgists'.

This significant volume is presented in roughly two parts; eleven papers deal with archaeometallurgical research methods, including nine on metallurgy, mining and experimental metallurgy methods and two other papers, one on conservation of metallic artefacts (**12**) and the other on enthoarchaeological research (**9**); and sixteen papers that focus on the current state of archaeometallurgical

study in loosely defined geographic regions – the 'Global Perspective'.

The editors (**1**), p4, make much of the emphasis, apparent in many of the papers, viz. the 'anthropological theories of technological behaviour and the social effects of/on technology'. It is interesting, then, to look at the departments of organisations with which the authors are associated. Twenty-three are associated with archaeology/anthropology/history departments, four are associated with materials science departments and others are associated with departmental laboratories or with government/museum laboratories. This in many ways attests to Killick's view, (**2**) p11, that 'archaeometallurgy is one of the most interdisciplinary of all branches of historical enquiry'. While the introductory chapter does not define 'archaeometallurgy', this volume demonstrates that archaeometallurgy uses technical data in the context of synthesised data from archaeological reports and papers. The sixteen (ethno)archaeological papers are largely presented in the context of four 'conclusions' from the original SAA conference, (**1**) p2. They are more nuanced discussions on the mechanisms of technological transfer, studies of a multiplicity of crafts, the need for proof of 'Childean associations' between production and elite dominance, and use of holistic study methods. Is this specialisation in its own right or is it, as I see it from reading this volume, 'archaemetallurgy as archaeology'? (Killick 2015).

The 'technical' papers cover mines and mining (**7**), extraction of metals from ores (**2**), metallurgical ceramics (**6**) and slags (**5**), properties of metals (**3**) and their microstructures (**4**) in sufficient detail to provide the reader with the background to understand the metallurgy of prehistoric mining, smelting and metalworking. Much of this information is adaptation of undergraduate metallurgy (perhaps less-so, materials science) taught for current industrial practice. I find it a little difficult to see this as anything more than just metallurgy. The chemistry does not change with time and the formation of alloys and deformation modes likewise do not change, as discussed by Muhly (1988: 2). However, our ability to understand metallic microstructures, ceramics and chemistry of slags does change. Physical metallurgy, physics and other fields allow such progress. Archaeometallurgy rightly draws on these fields. In this regard the papers dealing with chemical and isotope analysis (**10**) and provenance determination (**11**) summarise recent analytical methods that allow greater rigour in analyses using much less destructive analytical methodologies. In their paper on experimental archaeometallurgy (**8**) p184, Heeb and Ottaway discuss experimental processes that 'inform us of the multitude of choices open to prehistoric miners and smiths throughout the entire operational sequence' of mining, smelting and fabrication. The paper stresses that technical and contextual feasibility are the overlay of modern knowledge about ancient metallurgical processes. Much discussion on lead isotope ratio analysis (LIA) follows in many of the archaeometallurgical papers. It is sufficient to note here that the uniqueness of a LIA signature of an ore body is often equivocal and increasingly problematic, thus provenancing methodologies require further refinement or different approaches. Additionally, the ability to undertake compositional analysis (trace elements) of large numbers of artefacts and ore samples leads to problems of 'big data'. As Pernicka notes, (**11**) p 263, 'the more data we produce, the less (apparent) clarity we have'. This problem is discussed by Pollard and Bray (**10**), pp 234-5, and Bray el (2015) elaborate a methodology to create a 'history' of an individual artefact using the large corpus of legacy data, contra Pernicka, above.

The sixteen archaeological/archaeometallurgical papers are regionally grouped, by the Editors, into New World (**13**, **14** & **15**), European & Mediterranean (**16**, **17** & **18**), Southern and Eastern Africa (**19**), Asian (**20**, **21**, **22**, **23**, **24** & **25**) and Eurasian Steppe/East Asia (**26**, **27** & **28**).

One theme that comes through in many of the papers, e.g. of Golden (**21**), Thornton (**23**), Courcier (**22**) Kienlin (**17**) and Lehner and Yener (**20**), is the role that geography and geology (distribution of mineralisation deposits) play in the development of metallurgical 'traditions'. As the authors discuss, similarities in these traditions can be discerned over significant geographical regions, the Black to Baltic Sea, Keinlin (**17**) the Eurasian Steppe Doonan et al (**26**) and down into SE Asia White & Hamilton (**28**) while in other cases relatively confined regions such as Mesoamerica, Hosler (**14**). It would appear that the model of 'metallurgical provinces' proposed by Chernykh (1992), briefly discussed by Golden (**21**) p 562 and Courcier (**22**) pp581-2 provides a way of understanding the complexity and diversity of metallurgical endeavour and at the same time allowing for some 'commonality' (through adoption and adaptation). Clearly the 'metallurgical provinces' often have significant influences on the development of metallurgical 'trajectories', Bray et al (2015: 204-5). These influences, as discussed by many of the authors, arise from internal political and social organisation (class and status), religious perception of metals and metals as burial items. The editors of this volume, (**1**) p5, suggest 'the 'metallurgical province model' is perhaps the most influential theory on ancient metal production since Childe'. The papers in this volume clearly show coherence with this model although the model would seem largely descriptive, Chernykh (1992: 7-25).

Many of the papers move the discussion of metallurgical development based on evolutionist assumptions to purposeful indigenous development and diffusion of knowledge. As Kienlin (**17**) p448 states 'we cannot rely on inevitable "progress" and geological conditions as a guide to the development of early metallurgy anymore. The early use of copper and the subsequent development of metallurgy was the result of technological choices drawing upon and embedded in the respective groups' cultural and social texture'. The papers of Hosler (**14**) and Lechtman (**15**) discuss the 'feel' of metals (that is

their ability to be shaped, to provide colour for adornment and to create sounds of instruments, while Roberts (**16**), Kienlin (**17**), Courcier (**22**) and Doonan et al (**26**) discuss at length kinship and 'tribes' as vehicles for the transmission of metallurgical knowledge. This takes the discussions into the domains of collective memory and of indigenous landscapes, significantly different from the 'industrial' and/or Marxian-framed views of metallurgy (e.g. of V.G. Childe and T. Wertime). Indeed, many of the papers approach metallurgy from social/political or religious/status perspectives trying to establish whether the capabilities of metallurgy were developed to produce utilitarian or prestige items, Golden (**21**), whether it was family groups or specialists who produced these items, Thornton (**23** p688), and if metallurgy falls under the control of polities or chiefs on Inka political elites, Lechtman (**15** p409). In this regard, the paper of Iles and Childs (**9**) on ethnoarchaeological and historical methods provides the background to the 'post-processual' approaches of European and North American archaeometallurgy that frames much of the discussion in the papers of this volume.

The 'archaeological' papers show that there is no single societal feature associated with metallurgical endeavour. For example, this is discussed in the context of the development of distinctly different metallurgical capabilities and technologies on the Iranian Plateau Thornton (**23**) and in Southern India Gullapalli (**25**). Many papers in this volume present a challenge to the 'industrial' view of metallurgical development in India (**24, 25**) and the New World, Ehrhardt (**13**), Hosler (**14**) and Lechtman (**15**). Lehner and Yener (**20**) re-casts the perception of Anatolian metallurgy as a 'land bridge' through which metallurgical know-how travelled to one of 'regional development' where indigenous development probably occurred and where differences in tradition were the result of the geography of the highland regions of Anatolia and Mediterranean plains.

Another feature of the papers are the discussions on metallurgical fabrication technologies, casting e.g. Dolfini (**18**) pp486-95, and Courcier (**22**) p610, the use of oxidic, sulphidic and arsenic copper ores in Anatolia and the Levant and fahlore ores of the European Alpine regions Keinlin (**17**) pp458–62. Intentional use of 'alloying' elements such as arsenic and tin are discussed across many of the Chapters of this volume. Additionally, papers discuss the use of forging and hammering to create artefacts, which are, in modern times, placed in typological groups, that provide, or appear to provide, evidence of transmission of metallurgical knowledge, e.g. Dolfini (**18**), Courcier (**22**), Linduff and Mei (**27**) pp798-800, White and Hamilton (**28**) pp836-42.

Most of the archaeological papers attempt to address the vexed problem of indigenous development of metallurgy, appropriately taking the discussion outside modern political borders. It would seem that the holistic/ethnoarchaeological approach allows a balanced discussion that brings together typology, geography and social interaction. Those of Kienlin (**17**), Linduff and Mei (**27**) and White and Hamilton (**28**) clearly bring this to the forefront of current research and for future research. Metallurgical development is discussed in terms of the evidence for 'innovation', 'adaptation' and 'adoption', (**1**) p2.

This volume is an extensive overview of archaeometallurgy and, while claiming to be a global perspective, it still has not covered all aspects of the 'global perspective' – what a massive publication that would be! Instead we may recognise that this volume deals with the emergence of metallurgical capabilities principally covering the period 5,000 – 1,000 BCE in the European/Asian geographic regions from which we gain a significant summary of current thinking in archaeometallurgy. Additionally, the volume presents significant studies of New World metallurgy and African metallurgy Killick (**19**).

From a 'Global Perspective' the lack of discussion of, ancient Egyptian and Cypriot copper metallurgy and Anatolian (Hittite) iron is rather obvious. In the case of Cypriot copper metallurgy, there would be value in discussing this in the context of Anatolian metallurgy and also Cyprus as a significant supplier of copper in the Late Bronze Age and Roman period. While noting the comments by Killick (**19**) pp 509-10, the lack of any discussion of Egyptian use of metals, in particular copper, I regard as a significant omission, in the light of the new work of Marouard and Tallet (2014) dealing with exploitation of copper in the Sinai and Romer (2007: 110, 128ff, 164ff) on the use of copper in the Early Dynastic period; see also Ogden (2007).

The volume is well presented with clear maps, showing the sites and geographical regions, and appropriate illustrations of subjects under discussion. The strength of the publication is the subject detail provided by the experts in their fields and the extensive references, most of which are accessible to those who work in this field. One major criticism I have of this volume, noting the Editors' Introduction (**1**), is that it lacks a unifying view of archaeometallurgy, despite best attempts to present 'archaeometallurgy in global perspective'. The volume is a collection of papers by the world's experts in their respective fields but there is no final chapter that draws the papers together in terms of the 'global perspective' and what this actually means for the future of archaeometallurgy. It is difficult to bring together the significantly diverse geographical regions such as the Europe/Asia sweep and that of the New World, but it is important to discuss the 'global perspective' of archaeometallurgy from both scientific and anthropological perspectives. For example, LIA and trace element studies are only now being applied to a much wider geographical sweep than that of Europe/Steppe/ Mediterranean. Despite problems of characterisation of some ore sources, the global perspective **is** their wider application to new geographical regions of study; see for example the discussion by Weeks (2003: 199-202). Additionally, there are many comparisons that

can be made of sites across the world in terms of how metals are viewed in a socio/religious context and perhaps more could be made of the 'metallurgical provinces' of Chernykh, something that could be discussed in the global perspective now that we have better quantitative methodologies and data to enable extension of the model.

This volume is without doubt a valuable resource. However, it is a difficult and rather long read, and so many, I suspect, will only read those chapters of particular interest. For those who are prepared to read through this substantial compilation of papers a sense of interconnectedness can be garnered. Europe-Asian geographical regions are connected in some way by human movement, migration or conquest. This means, of course, that knowledge is also interconnected. In the case of the New World there is perhaps a less clear sense of 'wide sweep' interaction but certainly the papers that deal with this geographical region suggest the movement of metallurgical knowledge by trade (etc). 'Political' boundaries would, it seems have had some influence on whether a technology was always shared.

Finally, as I asked at the beginning of the review, does this volume add new insights to the already significant corpus of material on archaeometallurgy? I would have to say that it probably does not, particularly if one is familiar with the extensive literature available to most researchers. What it does provide, however, is an up-to date summary of archaeometallurgical work making it a good text book. It certainly brings new researchers in archaeometallurgy up to date with knowledge. The volume retains the strong dichotomy between 'hard' and 'soft' sciences, such as metallurgist vs. ethno-archaeologist as discussed by Killick (2008: 296ff) and also Killick and Fenn (2012: 569). Nine chapters provide significant discussion of analytical methodologies. The archaeometallurgical papers provide holistic ethno-archaeological discussions of ancient metallurgy, but they do not provide detailed physical analysis of metallurgical objects (or typological groups) or metallurgical discussion of the objects, with the exception of Lechtman (**14**), and Courcier (**22**). While not discounting the 'use[s] of rich data to engage with central issues in archaeology and anthropology', Killick and Fenn (2012: 596), it is important not to lose sight of significant technical developments, e.g. neutron-beam technologies, including diffraction and tomography, and significantly improved mass spectrographic techniques (etc) that can be brought to bear on archaeometallurgical studies. The first section of this volume is therefore an important summary by which archaeologists can become cognisant of such developments because it is these, coupled with numerical methodologies, which allow more quantitative data to be extracted from the site and material record. I am not certain that sound data becomes out of date, (**1**) p4; it may be re-analysed or combined with other data to build a much richer picture of the development of ancient metallurgy.

While his words do not tie all aspects of the current volume together, I feel David Anthony (2007: 435-7) says much about the interconnectedness that is so important to the discussion of metallurgy in the global perspective. 'The steppe world was not just a conduit, it also became and innovating center, particularly in bronze metallurgy and chariot warfare. The chariot-driving Shang kings in China, Linduff and Mei (**27** p789 etc) and the Mycenaean princes of Greece, contemporaries of the opposite ends of the ancient world at about 1500 BCE shared a common technological debt to the LBA herders of the Eurasian Steppe'. We might be about to enter even more exciting times as the interconnectedness of the pre-historic and early historic world is better understood through archaeological and archaeometallurgical studies. This volume most likely points to the next phase of the 'global perspective' of archaeometallurgy.

David Saunders
Research Fellow,
Australian Institute of Archaeology

References

Anthony, D. 2007 *The Horse, the Wheel and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bray, P., A. Cuénod, C. Gosden, P. Hommel, R. Lui and A.M. Pollard 2015 Form and Flow: the 'karmic cycle' of copper, *J. Archaeological Science* 56, 202–9.

Chernykh, E. 1992 *Ancient metallurgy in the USSR: the Early Metal Age,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Golden, J.M. 2010 *Dawn of the Metal Age: Technology and Society during the Levantine Chalcolithic*, London: Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Killick, D. 2015 Archaeometallurgy as Archaeology: A keynote lecture, Archaeometallurgy, in A. Hauptmann and D. Modarressi-Tehrani, eds, *Europe. III, Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference,* Bochum**:** Deutsches Bergbau-Museum.

Killick, D. & T. Fenn 2012 Archaeometallurgy: The Study of Pre-industrial Mining and Metallurgy, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 559 – 73. Doi:10.1146/annurev-anthro-092611-145719

Marouard, G. & P. Tallet 2014 The Habor of Khufu on the Red Sea Coast at Wadi al-Jarf, Egypt, *NEA* 77 (1), 4 – 14.

Muhly, J.D. 1973 *Copper and tin: the distribution of mineral resources and the nature of the metals trade in the Bronze Age*, Trans. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 43, 155 – 535.

Muhly, J.D. 1988 The beginnings of metallurgy in the old world: in R. Maddin ed. *The beginning of the use of metals and alloys*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2 – 20

Ogden, J. 2000 Metals, in Paul T. Nicholson and lan Shaw eds, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chap 6, 146 – 76.

Renfrew, C. 1986 Varna and the emergence of wealth in pre-historic Europe, in A. Appaddurai ed. *The Social Life of Things*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 141 – 68.

Romer, J. 2007 *The Great Pyramid,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Weeks, L. 2003 *Early Metallurgy of the Persian Gulf: Technology, Trade and the Bronze Age World,* Boston: Brill.

Eric H. Cline, *Three Stones Make a Wall: The Story of Archaeology,* with illustrations by Glynnis Fawkes, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017, ISBN-13: 978-0691166407, USD25

Reviewed by Christopher J Davey

Popular histories of archaeology tend to be coffee table books with many coloured images. Professor Cline's *Three Stones Make a Wall: Story of Archaeology* has returned to a nineteenth century format with high quality line drawings and an apparently undocumented text. If the reviews on Amazon are any indication, the modern generation appears to be quite partial to that arrangement, although it is probably the readability and relevance of the text that garners much of the support. The book however is far from being undocumented as nearly the last quarter comprises Notes, Bibliography and Index; interestingly the notes are identified by phrases from the text rather than superscript numbers so that the reader does not know from the text that there is a related note or reference. One suspects this to be a publisher's dictate rather than an author's choice.

The occasion for the book is said to be the increasing level of 'deliberate looting and destruction'. Cline explains, 'I hope that the material I have included in this book will remind us all of where we have come from and the fascination that it holds and will encourage a wide public audience to help protect our inheritance before it is too late' (xvii).

The book has nineteen chapters arranged approximately chronologically each dealing with a stand-alone 'account of the field's "greatest hits"', to quote Jodie Magnes' dust-jacket review, and there are four excurses about archaeological processes. The 'hits' include the tomb of Tutankhamun, Pompeii, Troy, Egypt, Ur, Yucatán Peninsula, European Prehistoric Caves, Near Eastern Neolithic, Mycenae, Akrotiri, Uluburun, Olympia, Rome, Megiddo, Dead Sea Scrolls, Masada, Ebla, Petra, Palmyra, Moche Sites, Tenochtitlán, US Sites Hunley (submarine) and Chaco Canyon. The Terracotta warriors, Őtzi, the bog bodies and the Sutton Hoo ship are mentioned in the chronology and conservation excurses. Cline expresses the view that the people in the stories 'are united by one goal that links them all – the desire to understand the human story, from its deepest past to the rise (and collapse) of its civilizations. Taken together, they are our story' (xix). This is open to question.

The arrangement makes for an uncomplicated treatment of the subject, which should get popular acceptance, but it is not really the story of archaeology. For example, Frederick Catherwood appears as a co-discoverer of the sites on the Yucatán Peninsula (68-79), however he did not undertake that work as a novice. He had had an earlier life in Egypt copying ancient tomb art with a group that had been encouraged by William Gell and included John Gardner Wilkinson and Joseph Bonomi.

In 1833, he travelled with the Bonomi to Jerusalem to carry out the first architectural drawings of the Dome of the Rock. They were later joined by an American, John Lloyd Stephens, who became Catherwood's partner on the Yucatán Peninsula. Cline mentions that Stephens was the first American to visit Petra (264), but does not refer to his companions.

Cline accepts Schliemann's claim that he discovered the site of Troy but in fact Edward Clarke, also connected with William Gell, identified Hissarlik as Troy in 1801. Gell published some of the first books about Pompeii, and his friend William Hamilton, the husband of Lord Nelson's mistress Emma, was responsible for the first collection of classical pottery to be received at the British Museum. It is these interconnections that comprise part of the story of archaeology and sometimes reveal the complex motives of the protagonists. The focus on 'hits' reinforces the public perception that archaeologists are driven to find the spectacular and have little interest in the mundane aspects of daily life, ancient and modern, and their meaning.

Cline follows the general belief that 'methodical archaeology' began with, Joachin Winkelmann (15) and he gives voice to Winkelmann's criticisms of the excavation of Herculaneum. Christopher Parslow (*Rediscovering Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) believes that the excavation records tell a different story. The excavations at Herculaneum (1738 – 1765) were directed by a series of trained engineers, Joaquín de Alcubierre, Pierre Bardet de Villeneuve and Karl Jakob Weber, all of whom used surveying equipment and recorded architectural finds; Weber also recorded find locations. Winkelmann by contrast was an art historian whose interest was limited to elite painted pottery and saw no value in non-monumental architecture, public space, accurate planning and recording of archaeological excavations, artefact provenance and presentation of archaeology to the general public.

The Egyptian chapter mentions only Belzoni, Lepsius, Mariette and Champollion, and thereafter there is a potted history of ancient Egypt; the story of archaeology does not make an appearance. Archaeology fares better in the chapter on Mesopotamia with the stories of Botta, Layard, Rawlinson, Rassam and George Smith, and more recently Woolley and Mallowan. Oddly, Seton Lloyd (*Foundations in dust: The story of Mesopotamian Exploration*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) and Morgens Trolle Larsen (*The Conquest of Assyria: Excavations in an antique land 1840 - 1860*, London and New York: Routledge, 1994) are included in the bibliography but Cline ignores them and maintains the generally held falsehood that Rawlinson deciphered Akkadian cuneiform using the Behistun inscription.

Rawlinson's treatment of Edward Hincks and Hormuzd Rassam, and Winkelmann's criticism of Weber, represent forms of elitist and colonial behaviour that parallel some aspects of the current East – West divide. By overlooking these situations, Cline demonstrates a lack of sensitivity to archaeology's colonial past and to some of the issues that lie behind the antiquities trade, looting and site destruction.

A refreshing engagement with local antiquity authorities comes with Cline's support for the creation of full-scale replicas at Lascaux, Altamira and Chauvet caves to promote tourism and protect the relics (113). He does not see this as 'Disney-fying' the sites. This approach affirms that it is the information that relics provide that is important and not the ownership of or engagement with the relics themselves.

The chapter on the Neolithic gives a summary of recently excavated Göbekli Tepe before moving on to Jericho and the latest work at Çatalhöyük. Up-to-date information such as this is a strength of the book..

In 1873 Schliemann, we are told, 'took a break' from excavating at Troy and began work at Mycenae instead (131). In fact, he was *persona non-grata* in Turkey after he had stolen what he called the 'Treasure of Priam'. While some of David Traill's publications are in the bibliography, his 1995 *Schliemann of Troy: treasure and deceit*, (London: John Murray) is omitted maybe because of its trenchant criticism of Schliemann. Cline could certainly have been a little more candid. He spends two pages criticising John Evans' reconstructions of Minoan frescos at Knossos, but unlike Schliemann, Evans did nothing illegal. Evans, however, is the most damned person in the book.

The description of the excavation of Akrotiri includes discussion of the eruption date and the implications it has for Mediterranean Bronze Age chronology and the legend of Atlantis. Those who seek to argue a link between the eruption and the biblical Exodus are referred to as 'pseudo-archaeologists' (154). Beyond this there is little comment about the possible consequences of the eruption of Santorini.

The chapter entitled *Do you get to keep what you find?* discusses looting rather than the control of archaeological excavation finds. It is a thoughtful piece explaining some of the dilemmas faced by archaeologists and epigraphists when confronted by looted objects but does not suggest ways of mitigating these circumstances.

The Uluburun ship chapter gives an interesting account of this most important piece of recent archaeology. We are told that George Bass undertook the first underwater excavation at Cape Gelidonya. I am sure that French and British maritime archaeologists would suggest otherwise with several earlier under-water excavations, beginning with the Grand Congloué near Marseille in 1952. Bass and his colleagues have made a prodigious contribution to maritime archaeology but that should not mean that other scholars go unrecognised.

The chapter on Classical Greece deals with Olympia, Delphi and Athens in the format of site visits with personal

reminiscences included, this is clearly Cline's home soil. Modern aspects, such as the Olympic games, are woven in and there are repeated comments to the effect that democracy was 'invented' in Athens. The chapter on Rome ventures wide enough to cover the removal of Greek antiquities not only to Rome but also to Constantinople.

The section on 'Unearthing the Bible' begins with the Megiddo excavations by Schumacher, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and those of Tel Aviv University, with which Cline was personally involved. The Dead Sea Scrolls are the second topic dealt with in the section.

The chapter on Masada is interesting, as it discusses the political motives of the excavator, Yadin, and the scholarly debate about his archaeological approach. Not mentioned are the nationalistic and methodological parallels between the ancient zealots and *Iscarii*, and the more recent ISIS, who appear in the next chapter, which deals with Ebla, Palmyra and Petra. Cline is still on home soil and makes these chapters live. He does not venture into the fraught discussion about the destruction and looting associated with the Syrian civil war and the possibilities of reconstruction, however he does mention 1960s Syrian reconstruction at Palmyra using concrete (262).

The chronology and conservation chapter surveys some dating techniques but does not mention techniques associated with magnetism. There is really nothing said about conservation and the issues associated with it. The bulk of the chapter is devoted to descriptions of the terracotta warriors, Őtzi, the bog bodies and the Sutton Hoo ship and this tends to mask the importance of chronological techniques and preservation. The final section of the book has chapters on the Nazca Lines, Moche sites, Machu Picchu, Teotihuacán, the Confederate submarine Hunley, and Chaco Canyon.

The penultimate chapter is entitled 'Do you get to keep what you find?' The dilemma facing museums that hold objects once looted is discussed alluding to examples such as the 'al-yahudu' tablets. There is some explanation of the UNESCO *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*, but no reference to the way it relates to United States' law and the fact that Israel is not a signatory. Cline strongly advocates against the purchasing of antiquities of any kind.

The concluding chapter, 'Back to the Future', speculates about the future of archaeology mentioning David Macaulay's *Motel of the Mysteries* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979). The only thing that Cline is certain about is that the best finds on a dig will always be discovered on the last day of the excavation season.

The information presented is uneven and works best when Cline is dealing with sites and material familiar to himself. There are no chapters on sites in Asia east of Iraq, the focus being the Mediterranean and the Americas. The periods covered do not include Byzantine and later, except in the Americas.

This book is often captivating and although it is clearly focussed on an American readership, others will benefit from it. As the title suggests, some of the most appealing parts describe modern archaeological folklore but unfortunately this includes many of the myths that bolster American self-importance in the history of archaeology. In reality, Americans were comparatively late coming to archaeology so that any reliable story of archaeology will include a significant European and British narrative.

The book's stated aim to 'encourage a wide public audience to help protect our inheritance before it is too late' requires a much more sophisticated account. It would need humbly to acknowledge the short-comings of some past western archaeology, encourage archaeologists today, whatever their nationality, not to repeat the mistakes of the past and to demonstrate the value of world archaeology to all humanity. This book is yet to be written.

Christopher J. Davey
Australian Institute of Archaeology

Notes for Contributors

General

Buried History is published in hard copy and is placed with searchable e-libraries. All Papers published by *Buried History* are refereed. Brief communications, book reviews are also invited for consideration.

Submissions

Copy should be provided to the editor electronically, preferably by email. The text of the paper should be supplied in Word and as a pdf. The Word file should not be formatted, tabs, indents and bold-face should not be used and there should not be an extra line spacing between paragraphs. The pdf must accurately convey non-English fonts and may contain formatting and illustrations. If such a pdf can not be provided, hard copy should be supplied.

Illustrations should be supplied separately from the Word file text and are requested in JPG, PNG, pdf or PSD file format at a size and resolution that can be published at 300 dpi for the size of illustration intended in the paper. Tables and charts should be in Excel or pdf. Illustrations and diagrams may also be provided in hard copy or as slides. Hard copy is requested to be larger than the size to be published, but no larger than A4.

Preferred fonts are Times New Roman, Arial and unicode based fonts. Contributors are asked not to use fonts that will not embed in pdf files.

Format for Papers

Papers should generally be between 3,000 and 10,000 words. Papers should be set out with:-

- Title
- Author's Name
- Abstract of about 150 words
- Text with headings and subheadings, preferably not numbered.
- Author's name and affiliation/contact details
- Bibliography
- A short biography of the Author should be included.
- References should follow the Harvard convention of in-text referencing, for example (Smith 1997: 32). Endnotes may also be used.
- Bibliographic format is as follows:

  Lambert, W.G. & A.R. Millard 1969 *Atra-Hasis: the Babylonian story of the flood*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
  Dever, William G. 1995 The Death of a Discipline, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 21 (5), 50–5.
  Meyers, C. & E.M. Meyers 2013 Sepphoris, in Daniel M. Master ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology,* Oxford: Oxford University Press Vol 1, 336–48.
- Captions for any illustrative material should follow.

Book Reviews

Book reviews should be between 800-3000 words. They should begin by referencing the book to include author, title, publisher, date, ISBN, pages, illustrations, cover type and price. The review should conclude with the name and affiliation/ contact details of the reviewer.

Brief Communications

Brief communications should have less than 3000 words and should address a specific issue or describe a particular situation. The arrangements for papers should be adopted.

Address

Material should be sent to:

The Editor, Buried History,
The Australian Institute of Archaeology,
La Trobe University,
Victoria 3086 Australia
Email: director@aiarch.org.au