THE GIFT
PRESENTS, OFFERINGS AND TRIBUTE
COVER PHOTO

Detail of the large relief frieze from the valley temple of the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur. The female figures bearing gifts are personifications of estates paying tribute to the pharaoh. The procession is ordered geographically and shows the organization of ancient Egypt into domains and nomes. The gifts depicted on the frieze are meat, fruit, cereals and spices, offered as provisions to the late pharaoh.

Photo: Ahmed Amin, DAI Cairo
DEAR READERS,

We have had occasion to reflect in recent weeks on what we, as members of a global community, owe to each other. Tracing the act of gift-giving back through the millennia, archaeology leads us to the realization that no culture could have reached its greatest flowering without the gifts of another or of many other cultures. This is true of sharing and exchange among contemporaries, and also of the inheritance that has come down to us, either unchanged throughout the ages or in much modified and adapted form. Even modern-day technologies and operations which sound more like science fiction than “simple” innovation and seem to have dislocated us from the recent past – they, too, would be unthinkable without cultural techniques developed thousands of years ago in the ancient world and handed down to us. Without number and writing systems, for instance, we wouldn’t be who we are. But all too often we forget that it wasn’t us who invented these gifts in the first place.

Writing and counting aren’t the only cultural techniques to which we owe our way of life and civilization as we know it. When people in the Ancient Near East thousands of years ago developed arable farming and animal husbandry, they laid the foundations of our culture too. Many fascinating ancient works of art, that often testify to lively cultural exchange, are today under special protection as world heritage – as gifts that remind us where we come from and how much we are in other people’s debt.

It may be that an awareness of owing something to others was more common in the ancient world than in today’s. Great importance was then attached to giving gifts and paying tribute, both on the international level and within one’s own community. Gifts to the gods were intended to ensure the stability of the universe, solicit protection, and win favour. They could equally serve to confer prestige on the donor, or serve as a kind of taxation enabling a society, though its government, to act in the manner of a state.

From the outset archaeology has been interested in gift-giving among humans, between humans and gods, between states and entire cultural zones, and has explored the full spectrum of its functions and meanings.

For this reason, gift-giving in all its facets has been chosen as the general theme of this issue of Archaeology Worldwide. Every day Archaeology takes a look at a programme being developed over several years whereby Iraqi and German scholars work and learn together. In the Cultural Heritage section we go inside Iranian archives, and in the Landscape feature we look down from dizzying heights.

I hope you enjoy reading this issue of our magazine!

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Friederike Fless
THE GIFT
PRESENTS, OFFERINGS AND TRIBUTE

EXCAVATION ASSISTANTS
Heavy equipment in archaeology

THE WIDE HORIZON
Remote sensing in archaeology
Focus

CIVIC DUTIES
Supporting the work of the DAI

10 NEWS
Civic duties
Supporting the work of the German Archaeological Institute

22 CULTURAL HERITAGE
Iranian archives – Cultural heritage groundwork

28 STANDPOINT
The wide horizon – Remote sensing in archaeology

38 THE OBJECT
Iconoclasm – A bronze statue in Tehran National Museum

42 TITLE STORY
The Gift – Presents, Offerings and Tribute
44 Tribute for the pharaoh – Amassing resources to build up the state
48 Gifts in abundance – Votive offerings at Greek temples
52 Votive offerings at Greek temples – Bosporan kings as Athenian dignitaries
56 Sacred nature – The rock sanctuaries of Pergamon
60 Elite benefactors – The cost of gaining prestige and influence
64 Gifts for the dead – Banquets for the dead, depicted in Roman catacombs
68 Church building in late antiquity – A continuation of Classical euergetism?

PORTRAIT
70 Josef Eiwanger
72 Jörg Linstädter

74 EVERYDAY ARCHAEOLOGY
Effective learning – The Iraqi-German Summer Programme

80 LOCATION
The Tehran Branch

84 LOCATION
The Tehran Branch

88 MASTHEAD
Unexpected revelations.
Aerial view of a field near Strakov in the Czech Republic.
Photo: Gojda, Universität Pilsen
An archaeologist’s workplace is no longer “only” the trench, the museum, the library and more recently the laboratory. Space has to some extent become his or her sphere as well now. In modern archaeology, data acquired by remote sensing is indispensable in finding, documenting and analysing archaeological features in the landscape.

In July 2015, a landscape archaeology study group from the DAI visited the Earth Observation Center (EOC) of the German Aerospace Center (DLR) in Oberpfaffenhofen, Bavaria. The purpose of the visit was both to learn about the various earth observation technologies and their potential applications in archaeology, and also to give the EOC specialists a demonstration of how remote sensing data are used in routine archaeological work.

“The remote sensing specialists showed a lot of interest in the way their data and methods can be utilized in an apparently distant discipline,” said Axel Posluschny from the DAI’s Roman-Germanic Commission (RGK). A spokesman for the landscape archaeology study group, he had jointly organized the meeting with Gunter Schreier, deputy director of the EOC. Archaeologists from Istanbul, Berlin, Rome and Frankfurt presented various projects to the DLR scientists to illustrate their work, and explained how and in what areas remote sensing data were applied. The EOC experts in return presented the latest developments in the field of remote sensing by satellite.

The view from above is a crucial tool in landscape archaeology, which seeks to identify the interaction of humans with their environment from various perspectives. Human interaction can pose a direct threat to the survival of monuments as a result of urban development, the extraction of resources, natural disasters and environmental factors. These threats can be detected at an early stage, documented and analysed using satellite imagery.

A priority at the present time is the documentation and monitoring of cultural assets in crisis zones. “Modern satellite sensing technology is vital if we are to document and, in the long run, preserve the priceless heritage of humanity,” the president of the DAI, Friederike Fless, declares.
The Kerameikos is a district of Athens north-west of the Acropolis. Its name derives from the pottery workshops of antiquity. The ancient cemetery of that name is one of the most significant burial grounds of ancient Greece. Over a hundred years ago, in July 1913, the excavation licence for the famous site was awarded to the German Archaeological Institute, which had been collaborating in investigations there for 40 years already. After all this time the necropolis still has surprises in store, as the latest discovery shows. The find is considered so sensational that it even occasioned a visit by the Greek Minister of Culture, Nikos Xydakis, accompanied by high-ranking ministerial colleagues.

South of the famous Street of the Tombs not far from the archaeological museum lie the ruins of the sanctuary of Artemis Soteira. Starting in 2012, two projects have been carried out here under the direction of Dr. Jutta Stroszeck, one dedicated to sanctuaries and ritual sites and the other exploring water management in the Classical city, focusing on the Kerameikos area.

The archaeologists examined a conical stone inside the sanctuary. It was found to seal a well approx. 9 metres deep whose shaft was faced with clay cylinders bearing inscriptions. The twenty inscriptions all had the same text and allowed the archaeologists to conclude that the well was sacred to Apollo Paian, “the helper”, who was invoked primarily by the sick. It is the only known oracular site in Athens.

The find-site is being prepared for public presentation and the original marble omphalos will go on display in the museum.
A LITTLE VILLAGE IN THE SOUTH: A HAVEN OF PEACE FOR TRAVELLERS. OR SO IT SEEMS.
Taking stock and making a written record of one’s possessions was no new idea. The inventory is a familiar feature of the ancient world – the Roman cadastral maps of Orange are a celebrated example. Nearer to our own time and better known in Germany are the inventorying efforts of architect Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841). Shocked by the dilapidated state of Cologne cathedral, for which he delivered several expert reports, Schinkel made a passionate appeal to save historical monuments from decay and demolition.

In 1815, Schinkel issued a memorandum on the “preservation of all monuments and antiquities of the country” in which he called for lists to be drawn up of buildings worthy of protection. So began the documentation and registration of heritage, which continues today in the form of UNESCO world heritage lists, and the concept is still at the heart of heritage preservation in Germany.

Lists of cultural assets are now kept in digital form mostly on the federal state level. Unfortunately this is not the practice in many countries of the world where there are significant heritage sites. Many historical monuments of inestimable value are not adequately documented. The setting up of “protective deputations” (i.e. administrative bodies) which Schinkel called for in his memorandum is still an urgent requirement around the globe which institutions and individuals must collectively address if world heritage is to be saved.

Schinkel’s evaluation of the importance of cultural assets for Germany and his calls for a nationwide register have been adopted in this country and are now a matter of course. And yet a number of questions surround the issue. What are the implications of establishing a canon of protected monuments, especially the requirement that they should not be altered in any way? Is such a canon unproblematic and feasible in our day and age? Are lists of monuments an appropriate way to protect cultural heritage? Are heritage data and classification systems that have evolved over time capable of being adapted to the complex demands of a globalized networked world? In view of the fragmentary state of information, does digitization open up new possibilities or merely propagate a European view?

These questions were discussed in a series of talks at a colloquium organized by the DAI, the Federal Foreign Office and the German UNESCO Commission at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities on 27 October 2015.
and one of the world’s most famous ancient monuments comes into view. The Acropolis, the “upper city” of Athens, was built between 467 and 406 BC, on a flat-topped rock 156 m high. The citadel in the heart of the city is dedicated to Athene, the city’s patron deity. To the left we see the gate that was built in honour of that far-travelled emperor Hadrian (AD 76 to 138). It was dedicated in 132 during his visit to the city.

The exceptionally clear image above dates from 1870. The glass plate negative is part of the impressive holdings of the photographic archive of the DAI’s Rome department. The collection was a bequest of Baron Paul des Granges, who took this photograph. The photographic, graphic and textual archives of the DAI are an important instrument in the protection of world cultural heritage. They are currently being fully digitized in order to make them accessible globally. A large-format print of this photo will be on display in Rome in 2016 at an exhibition to which the city’s major image archives will be contributing (details to follow).

Photo: Paul des Granges, photographic archive of DAI Rome
**FOCUS**

**Civic duties**

Supporting the work of the German Archaeological Institute

The good deeds that a benefactor did for his city or community are the root of the word *euergetes*. This designates a private individual who put up public buildings at his own expense, paid for festivals and games, and made endowments to promote his city’s welfare. The *euergetes* did all this not entirely selflessly. Euergetism was a ubiquitous feature of the rivalry amongst the urban elite. It was about prestige but also political influence and economic interest. Public office was commonly connected, in the ancient world, with an obligation to sponsor public works. Prestige and power came at a price.

The German Archaeological Institute itself came into being as a benefaction. Private scholars, diplomats, artists and antiquarians from several countries banded together in Rome to study the monuments of classical antiquity. Their work was supported by patrons, including crowned heads, industrialists and merchants, who made endowments of a different, less self-interested kind.

That patron of the arts Gaius Maecenas is an exemplar of this latter kind of patronage, which does not serve political or economic objectives primarily. Maecenas sponsored young poets – he gave Horace a complete country estate – after abandoning his own aspiration to become a poet. The men he patronized thanked him here and there with an ode. “Maecenas” is one term to describe a generous patron nowadays: one who doesn't expect services in return. Indeed, such modern-day patrons can be exceptionally discreet – some patrons of the DAI don't want to give their names. Foremost among the institute’s patrons was one “art-loving lady” of 1880 whose identity still isn't known.
FULLY FURNISHED
Her donation of the then astronomical sum of 20,000 marks went to the institute’s department in Rome, whose library today has an international reputation and is held to be one of the best of its kind. The library stock was in large part donated by publishing houses and booksellers, by royal and commercial benefactors; some works in the collection are extremely rare. Comparably spectacular is the Rome department’s collection of glass negatives, with priceless images of monuments and locales that are lost or unrecognizable today.

Many archaeological sites look more like building sites than places for the study of human history, especially when the work includes constructing shelters for the finds, re-erecting monuments or laying out tourism infrastructure. Heavy machinery is therefore practically indispensable at every archaeological site. Procurement is a difficulty, however, because the machines that are needed are expensive. Here societies and patrons help out, and so do, very frequently, the manufacturers of the various devices – cranes, forklift trucks, heavy motor vehicles – that are so important in excavation or restoration work.

The truck in use here – at the Red Hall in Bergama – was a gift from Daimler-Benz to the Pergamon Excavations in the early 1970s. Photo: Pirson, DAI Istanbul

1 Olympia, Greece. In 2015 the manufacturer Jungheinrich donated a forklift truck to the DAI’s Athens department for lifting and transport work on the archaeological site. Photo: DAI Athens

2 Tayma, Saudi Arabia. This heavy-duty portal crane was purchased by the Theodor Wiegand Gesellschaft. Photo: Wagner, DAI Orient department

3 Aizanoi, Turkey. The Theodor Wiegand Gesellschaft also bought this tractor fitted with multi-purpose equipment. Photo: Rheidt, BTU Cottbus
Facets of research support

A substantial part of the support the DAI receives is naturally for the purpose of research in all its facets. This embraces basic research, single excavations, large-scale regional studies, cultural preservation and data protection.

In the archaeological sciences and ancient studies, enquiry centres on technical innovations, the emergence and alteration of settlement sites, political contexts, sacred localities, everyday life, festivals, trade and transport routes, anthropogenic climate change and its effects. How arable farming and rearing livestock began, how cities, complex social systems and symbolic order evolved – these questions require intricate study and investigation that can last for many years and even decades. DAI researchers search for connections between countless individual finds and features in order to understand how humans transformed their natural environment into cultural landscapes, what social, cultural and political changes resulted from this, and how human developments were in turn affected by the environment.

Some 200 field research projects are currently being conducted by the DAI all over the world, almost all of them in cooperation with institutions in the respective host country. Most of the major projects benefit from generous support provided by private donors, whether individuals or corporate foundations that sponsor research institutes, or firms that carry out restoration work, companies in Germany and the host countries that make hardware and manpower available, or societies of friends of the DAI that offer material support to the institute’s research staff.

For many of the DAI’s complex projects, funding is provided by several parties. Research support, however, is for the most part publicly funded – for example by the German Research Foundation (DFG), which supports a large number of generally long-term DAI projects, and by the German Federal Parliament acting via the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF); the principal public donor is the Federal Foreign Office, which is the sponsoring department of the DAI.

FEDERAL FOREIGN OFFICE
The remains of settlements are not the only interest of landscape archaeology nor the only target of surveys. Economic questions also play a big role in archaeology. Investigation of the ancient industrial landscapes of central Asia requires complex concerted research across a range of fields – exploitation of resources, trade, culture and the environment. The project, under way at the DAI since 2013, also explores the long-distance international trading networks of the period. It is being funded by the German Federal Parliament and the Federal Foreign Office.

Photo: DAI Eurasia department

Photo: Pudelek, CC BY SA 4.0

Apollonia is a significant ancient site in Albania. The photo shows part of the bouleuterion.

Photo: DAI Eurasia department
Excavation remains a central archaeological technique, even though it has been joined by a host of other investigative methods. A “classic” excavation is in progress at the theatre of Apollonia in Albania. The project sets the theatre in the larger context of the urban structure and the ancient street grid. The theatre in the centre of Apollonia was built in the 3rd century BC and remained in use until the late Roman imperial period. Investigation of this remarkable specimen of Hellenistic culture in Albania is being financed by several donor agencies, especially in view of the extensive restoration work that needs to be carried out.

FRITZ THYSSEN FOUNDATION

Large-scale surveys and broad-based interdisciplinary regional studies are also part of modern archaeology. “Scanning” big geographical areas is costly and logistically daunting. The settlement mound of Buto (today: Tell el-Fara’în) in the north-west Nile Delta is one of the biggest archaeological sites in the region. In order to reconstruct its settlement history dating back to Predynastic times, a DAI survey has been in progress since 2010, funded by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation.

The flood plain around Buto.
Photo: Schiestl, DAI Cairo

GERMAN RESEARCH FOUNDATION (DFG)
REGULA PESTALOZZI FOUNDATION
BAVARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

GERDA HENKEL FOUNDATION,
GERMAN RESEARCH FOUNDATION

The Orkhon valley in the heart of Mongolia, about 300 kilometres west of the capital Ulaanbaatar, is the cradle of late nomadic urban culture and the most important late nomadic urban landscape in northern central Asia. Here Genghis Khan founded Karakorum, capital of the Mongol Empire, in AD 1220, while the Uyghur capital, Karabalgasun, was founded by Kutlug Bilge Khan in 744/745. Like Karakorum, Karabalgasun was founded with the aim of forming a state. The DAI has been working at this site since 2007 with funding from the Gerda Henkel Foundation and the German Research Foundation. It is investigating the city’s function as a political centre crucial to the emergence of territorial power structures. The cultural landscape of the Orkhon valley with its many ancient sites is now listed as UNESCO world heritage.

Archaeologists at work in Karabalgasun.
Photo: Franken, KAAK
Time

Time is of the essence in many archaeological projects. At some sites investigations have been going on for more than a hundred years, requiring exceptional staying power on the part of researchers as well as patrons. Some DAI sites have been declared world heritage by UNESCO, which always entails certain obligations.

A number of these long-term projects are so important and also so complex in the challenges they present that virtual consortiums of patrons and donors are formed to finance them. Some sites have become part of the collective memory outside the archaeological community because their significance transcends the scientific context. And at many sites efforts are undertaken to preserve at least portions of them for posterity, partly reconstructing edifices and opening the site up for tourism so that the people of today can learn about the cultures of the ancient world.

Olympia wasn’t only a location for contests. It was first and foremost a sanctuary covering a large area and boasting many significant monuments. The passing millennia have taken their toll on them and they now have to be secured, restored or re-erected in what is often an elaborate process. There are individual initiatives to sponsor specific projects like the re-erection of columns, the building and maintenance of protective shelters, the restoration of ancient architectural elements and the provision of concrete flooring. Devices like high-pressure cleaners and forklift trucks are commonly donations from the firms that manufacture them. Work at Olympia has been continuously funded by countless individuals and organizations big and small, in Greece and Germany.

1 This column of a peripteral temple has been re-erected with the assistance of the Theodor Wiegand Gesellschaft, the A.G. Leventis Foundation and the Regula Pestalozzi Foundation. Photo: DAI Athens

2 Restoration and erection of the north column of the votive monument of the Ptolemies, financed by the Regula Pestalozzi Foundation. Photo: DAI Athens
The Pergamon Excavation is one of the major DAI projects that several generations of archaeologists and donors have been involved in. Here too patrons continue to come forward and join together in support of the archaeological activities in and around the small modern town of Bergama. These include excavation, restoration, cultural preservation and tourism planning. One of the town’s remarkable ancient monuments is a colossal Roman-era temple for multiple gods, built on the orders of Emperor Hadrian. Many parts of the temple have now been carefully restored. One of the aims of the DAI project is to integrate the ancient monuments in a tourism plan for the whole town.

1 Reconstruction of the monumental lion-headed Egyptian goddess Sekhmet, an architectural support figure in the south side court of the Red Hall, was a particularly challenging project.

2 Funds from the Cultural Preservation Programme of the Federal Foreign Office, allocated by the Federal Parliament, made it possible to install lead cladding on the domed roof of the south rotunda of the Red Hall. Further support came from the Ernst Reuter Initiative and the Cultural Foundation of the German-Turkish Business Association. Photos: Bachmann, DAI Istanbul
When a dig is finished, the finds as a rule first go to a storeroom. Publishing them is a slow and costly process, even though it’s a key part of archaeological work. This means that many finds from the site of Baalbek, for example, still aren’t published. Currently a large-scale project is under way on the documentation of unpublished finds by the Orient department in association with the American University of Beirut.

Without publication there’s no science; without education and outreach activities there will be little understanding of science among the public at large. Good-quality, sufficiently comprehensive books are expensive to produce – and funding their publication is a classic way to support scientific research. Translation is another way of reaching a wide audience – tourists, for instance. Over 60,000 people visit the Kerameikos in Athens each year. They come from all over the world, and informative literature about the DAI’s work at the archaeological site is currently being prepared for them in several languages. Over the years many patrons have helped cover the cost of translating and printing the guide to the Kerameikos. All of the DAI’s donor organizations are strongly committed to this “classic” form of sponsorship: publicizing the work the DAI does. These patrons’ societies also organize lecture series and tours for their members. Accompanied on trips and excursions by DAI staff, the society members benefit from a direct insight into the work being done at excavation sites or on particular research projects.

Excursions and trips are part of efforts to publicize the DAI’s work. Here TWG members are shown round a site in Morocco.

Photo: Wittersheim, KAAK

Publication, education & outreach, museums

Supporting publications and availability of information is one of the aims of the “Freunde der Archäologie in Europa e.V.”, a society of patrons of the DAI’s Roman-Germanic Commission (RGK).

Photo: RGK

Left: From the collection of art historian Prof. Serafin Moralejo, bequeathed to the Madrid department library.

Photo: Patterson, DAI Madrid

Left: From the collection of art historian Prof. Serafin Moralejo, bequeathed to the Madrid department library.

Photo: DAI Architecture Section

Der Kerameikos in Athen
Geotext, Panos und Diskantier im archäologischen Park
Lisa Friesen

Photo: Der Kerameikos in Athen

Photo: DAI Architecture Section
Perhaps the most vivid way of disseminating research results and stimulating interest is the museum. The renovated museum on Elephantine Island in the River Nile, for example, displays weapons, pottery, utensils used in everyday life and religion in ancient Abu (Yebu), ancient Egyptian mummies and plans showing the development of Aswan over the centuries.

A new museum displaying important finds from Ethiopian-German excavations opened in Wuqro, Ethiopia, in October 2015. The museum is the product of cooperation between the Tigray Culture and Tourism Board, the Berliner Gesellschaft zur Förderung von Museen in Äthiopien e.V. (GFMA) and the municipality of Wuqro in the Ethiopian province of Tigray. Making up the core of the exhibition are artefacts found by Ethiopian and German archaeologists in one of the oldest monuments in Ethiopia, a temple to the Sabaean moon-god Almaqah from the 8th to the 6th cent. BC at Meqabar Gâewa, not far from Wuqro.

**FUNDING**
Berliner Gesellschaft zur Förderung von Museen in Äthiopien e.V. (GFMA)

Libation altar from the Almaqah temple at Meqabar Gâewa
Photo: Pawel Wolf, DAI Orient department

**GERMAN FEDERAL PARLIAMENT**
**THEODOR WIEGAND GESELLSCHAFT**
**FEDERAL FOREIGN OFFICE**
The Transformation Partnership of the Federal Foreign Office has promoted projects aimed at preserving cultural heritage and developing it for tourism purposes, ranging from archaeological site management to the drawing up of visitor plans for some of the major sites. One such project was the renovation and extension of the museum on Elephantine Island in the Nile.

Transporting material to the museum on Elephantine Island. Restoration of the museum is one of the projects funded as part of the Transformation Partnership between Egypt and Germany.
Photo: DAI Cairo
The digitization of analogue archive material is proceeding apace to prevent invaluable data from possibly being lost and to make this data available for research purposes internationally, thus preserving cultural memory. In 2014, the German Archaeological Institute entered into cooperation with the Qatar–Sudan Archaeological Project on the digitization of the Sudan archive of the German construction history scholar Friedrich W. Hinkel, who from 1960 onwards carried out essential research on the architecture and culture of the Middle Nile valley. When he died in 2007, he left behind the world’s largest archive on the archaeology and construction history of ancient Sudan. Digitizing Hinkel’s Sudan archive will bring a globally accessible, virtual research centre into being, endowed with physical facilities in two locations, Berlin and Khartoum. In Sudan it will form the basis for further digitization of its cultural heritage, an essential step on the way towards comprehensive protection of cultural heritage and an indispensable tool for every historical monument authority.

Cultural memory

QATAR-SUDAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

Meroë was the capital of the kingdom of Kush, a significant international power between the 8th century BC and the 4th century AD. Today this world heritage site needs to be protected from the grave risk of further deterioration. The basis for these conservation activities is the archive of the archaeologist and construction history scholar Friedrich W. Hinkel, which is currently being digitized at the DAI.
Howard Carter didn’t do it, and neither did subsequent generations of Egyptologists. The gold relief panels from the tomb of Tutankhamun have never been restored or scientifically analysed since their discovery in 1922. Archaeological, technological and archaeometric analyses are now belatedly taking place, with funding provided through the Transformation Partnership of the Federal Foreign Office and the German Research Foundation (DFG). The gold reliefs may once have served as plaques for chariots or quivers – experts have not yet arrived at an exact reconstruction of their original context and function.

Preserving cultural heritage

One means of preserving cultural heritage is the restoration and reconstruction of ancient clothing. Articles that are thousands of years old only survive in a few regions of the world. In western China the climate is so dry that clothing can be salvaged often fully intact from excavated graves – trousers, skirts, kaftans, boots and leather coats.

In the first millennium BC a far-flung communication network developed in eastern central Asia. The eastward advance of the Greeks, the westward expansion of the Chinese and the burgeoning of trade brought many Eurasian peoples into contact with one another. Mutual influence can sometimes be seen in their apparel. The aim of this sponsored project is to reconstruct technological know-how, knowledge of the body, social structures, resource availability, and trade links in eastern central Asia in the period from c. 1200 BC to AD 300.

The oldest trousers in the world belonged to a horseman from the region of Turfan in western China. Photo: Hosner, DAI Peking

Photo of a Hami horseman’s leather boot: Joy Zhou Zhou
A well established way of supporting the work of individual researchers and scholars is to award research and travel grants. The DAI awards its own travel grant, which has become an institution in itself. The DAI additionally bestows grants that draw on endowments made by organizations or private individuals. One of the latter is the Jacobi grant of the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy which is awarded to outstanding young researchers active in the commission’s fields of study. Another endowment is the Wülfing grant, which enables selected young researchers to spend eight months in “classical” archaeological countries, Egypt and the Ancient Near East.

Science prizes are a further means of promoting research. One of the most highly regarded and generous prizes for scientists in Germany is the Gerda Henkel Award. It is conferred every two years and has a value of €100,000. In 2014 the winner was Stephan Seidlmayer, director of the Cairo department of the DAI.
Who donates?

The list of patrons who have supported the DAI in its work, sometimes over decades, is impressive. It includes foundations big and small, public and private donors, societies of friends, clubs, associations and universities.

A particular type of private patron is exemplified by Hildegard Johanna Bühmann who bequeathed the DAI a sizeable sum from which work at Göbekli Tepe and Yeha is being funded. Many other donors have chosen their own “pet project” and support it with continual or one-off payments. But small donations are important, too, and most welcome!

Those who decide to join one of the DAI’s societies of friends and patrons will be kept informed regularly of the institute’s work so they don’t miss out on any major discoveries or exciting stories.

Friends

The oldest of the societies that support the DAI’s work is the Theodor Wiegand Gesellschaft. It was founded in 1929 on the 100th anniversary of the founding of the DAI. The DAI’s Roman-Germanic Commission (RGK) has been supported specifically by a society called “Freunde der Archäologie in Europa e.V.” since 2004.

Since 2007, the American Friends of the German Archaeological Institute have promoted deeper cooperation between German and US scholars of antiquity.

The newest society of patrons is the Asociación de Amigos del Instituto Arqueológico Alemán de Madrid, which began operating in 2008.

The support these friends give is wide-ranging and covers virtually all aspects of the DAI’s work. It includes purchasing photographic collections, libraries, posthumous papers, laboratory equipment and equipment for libraries, dig houses, storerooms and museums, not forgetting machinery, vehicles, devices and equipment for use in excavations and for restoration and structural consolidation measures on archaeological sites. It also includes publications and translations and support for archaeological conferences, symposia, education and outreach activities like lecture series, trips and excursions.

Archaeology Worldwide appears twice yearly. It contains features and reports on DAI projects around the world. Special editions focus on archaeology in the global political and cultural context.
IRANIAN ARCHIVES
Cultural heritage groundwork
Takht-e Soleyman, the throne of Solomon, is much more than a mere throne. The sprawling ancient site comprises a palace, a temple and fortifications. It was built during the late Sassanid period (c. AD 420–640) and lies in the province of West Azerbaijan, Iran. The Sassanid empire was the second great Persian empire of antiquity, a major power and rival of the Roman and later the Byzantine empire. The DAI has been active at the site since 1959. The first campaign lasted until 1966, the second from 1968 to 1975. There is a substantial archive of research documentation including photographs, excavation reports, correspondence and drawings.

Key DAI excavation sites in Iran: Takht-e Soleyman in the foreground and Zendan-e Soleyman in the background, photographed in 1976.
Photo: Kleiss, DAI Tehran
On 25 July 2015 a Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the German Archaeological Institute and the research department of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization. Among other things it was agreed that the archive at the DAI’s Tehran branch should be inspected and compared with the archives of Iranian institutions. The long-term aim is the comprehensive digitizing and collation of all archives in Tehran.

The DAI’s long-term excavations at notable sites like Takht-e Soleyman, Zendan-e Soleyman, Bastam, Bisutun and Firuzabad are of considerable archaeological and historical importance, transcending the region in which they are located. They have had a lasting impact on how history from the Urartian to the Sassanid period is viewed today.

**VALUE OF THE ARCHIVES**

Archives sometimes seem like the poor cousins of archaeological research – neglected, gathering dust and kept only for reasons of piety or sentimentality. Boxes and shelves full of letters, photographs, contracts, newspaper cuttings, research reports, minutes from meetings, sketches, squeeze copies, diaries and travel journals appear doomed to lead a shadowy existence on the fringes of real research activity.

Yet the true value of archives is coming to be appreciated more and more. Old collections of information often represent the foundations from which new research proceeds, initiated by new situations. They contain snapshots – graphic or photographic – of structures, landscapes or objects that no longer exist in that same form. They provide historical context, which is vital in efforts to protect cultural assets today.

The archives of the Tehran branch – until 1996 the Tehran department – comprise an extensive specialist library and a multifaceted photographic library. A sizeable stock of material was collected during Wolfram Kleiss’s term as department director.

**A LIFETIME’S RESEARCH**

Also in 2015 a book was published in Berlin that met with a fairly rapturous reception in Iran, as the new director of the Tehran branch, Judith Thomalsky, reports. The book is *Geschichte der Architektur Irans* (“History of the architecture of Iran”), published by Reimer Verlag; a Farsi translation is in preparation. The author is Wolfram Kleiss, director of the Tehran department from 1971 to 1986. The book is already regarded as an indispensable handbook on the history of Iranian architecture.

"The book is a summary of Wolfram Kleiss’s work since 1960," says Judith Thomalsky. "And in that sense it’s an archive as well." It contains nearly 800 drawings made by Kleiss and a number of his colleagues; many drawings are by Dietrich Huff who worked at the Tehran department for several years and took part in the DAI’s first campaigns in Iran alongside Wolfram Kleiss.

Rock-hewn monuments, sacred architecture, bazaars and palaces as well as modern public buildings were documented by Kleiss during his research career – 6,000 years of Iranian architecture, beginning with prehistoric times and spanning the Urartian, Median, Achaemenid, Parthian and Sassanid periods. Kleiss also considers the architecture of the Islamic period and continues into modern times.
A fortified island in Sefid river, Rudbar County, downstream from the dam.
Photo: Kleiss, from W. Kleiss, Geschichte der Architektur Iran (Berlin 2015), 326 Fig. F81 b

1 Wolfram Kleiss’s travel diaries and graphic documentation in the Tehran branch archive.
Photo: DAI Tehran
Kleiss, an architectural historian, first visited Iran in 1959 on a DAI travel grant. After a brief stint at the DAI in Istanbul, Kleiss was transferred to Tehran in 1962 – and stayed put. In the same year he was appointed deputy director and in 1971 First Director of the department. When he retired in 1995 the department became the Tehran branch of the newly established Eurasia department.

**COLLABORATION**

Fieldwork at Takht-e Soleyman has since resumed. One current objective is to publish the ceramic finds. Since 2003 the “throne of Solomon” has been a World Heritage Site, and was joined by Bisotun in 2006. Iran intends to submit further applications to UNESCO. It is possible, for instance, that the Sassanid site of Firuzabad, where the Tehran branch is also active, will be nominated for inscription in a bid jointly prepared by German and Iranian archaeologists. Another major collaborative task is the collation of the documentation of various archaeological and cultural historical projects. The archive at the DAI’s Tehran branch will be inspected; meanwhile inspection of the archives of the Iranian National Museum has reached archaeological excavations from the period before and after 1979. These activities lay the groundwork for compiling a list of Iran’s cultural assets and will furnish the data necessary for the important task of safeguarding its cultural heritage sites in the long term.
Long Lines

In the year Wolfram Kleiss first visited Iran, 1959, the Archaeological Institute was established at Tehran University. There was an upsurge in archaeological research in the country. Excavations were conducted with international collaboration, so the time was ripe for the DAI to set up a research facility there, which it did in 1961. The founding director of the Tehran department was the classical archaeologist Heinz Luschey. But that was not the start of German research in Iran.

When the exhibition “Tehran50” opened at the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, on 1 December 2011, the name that was most often mentioned at the inauguration was Ernst Herzfeld. Herzfeld, although not a member of the DAI, had been the first to propose the DAI should institutionalize its archaeological activities in Iran. His excavation assistant at the time was Friedrich Krefter, who left a stock of drawings and models of incalculable value to future generations of researchers. The curators of the Berlin exhibition were Barbara Helwing, then director of the Tehran branch, and Patricia Rahemipour, a member of the scientific staff of the DAI’s Eurasia department.

The exhibition showing the fruits of the long-term collaboration of German and Iranian researchers will soon be opening in Tehran, where it will be supplemented by previously unseen items and documents. “That way we can process our shared past simultaneously – which includes the collation of all archive material – and can view our work with the necessary detachment,” says Judith Thomalsky. “By doing this we can gain new perspectives, which in turn will lead to new focal points in research. That’s what I’m looking forward to the most.”

Unique documentation of Iranian architecture

1 Minarets
Drawings: Wolfram Kleiss

2 Reconstruction of the palace gate of Persepolis. From Friedrich Krefter’s sketchbook

3 Soltaniyeh, plan of the old town and the citadel
Drawing: Wolfram Kleiss

From: Geschichte der Architektur Iran
Culture as a human right

Our life today is inconceivable without the huge number of gifts from the cultures of the ancient world. More than 10,000 years ago early civilizations domesticated wild animals. In the Fertile Crescent ancient communities first learnt how to grow crops, laying the foundation stone for today’s agrarian economy. Our most important cultural technologies emerged in the cities of the Ancient Near East and Egypt. There more than 5,000 years ago number and writing systems were developed; without these systems and their subsequent modifications contemporary life with its digital global communications would be unthinkable. And it would be impossible, of course, to report in this magazine about the work of the German Archaeological Institute.

Key cultural technologies were not the ancient world’s only bequest to posterity. It also handed down to us works of art of inestimable value, which we still admire today for their artistry and expressive power. Virtually from the outset, it’s not just subsistence-securing activities that have shaped the course of human history. At the northern rim of the Fertile Crescent, people who were still hunters and gatherers built huge stone enclosures on Göbekli Tepe, where the reliefs carved on pillars give us an impression of the world people inhabited at that time. Art, education, religion and culture are consequently very early building blocks on which human society is erected.

Early civilizations recorded this thought in writing, too, as is attested by the aphorism that comes down to us via the Bible: “Man does not live by bread alone.”

The last concert the Berlin Philharmonic gave in war time took place on 16 April 1945 in the Beethovensaal. Just a few days after Zero Hour – when Nazi Germany capitulated – the orchestra was performing again, in Berlin’s Titania-Palast (Steglitz) on 26 May 1945. Culture has always played an important role in Germany, even in the darkest hours. Music, art and literature are self-evidently gifts that respond to a basic human need; and embodying freedom as they do, they are also a basic right. In crisis situations they immediately take on an urgent significance, along with humanitarian aid. They are part of humanity, in the full sense of that word.

In Germany, the experience of the Second World War and of the post Zero Hour period are firmly rooted in the collective memory. And so it comes as no surprise that the current political situation, which has brought the Middle East and us together again in dramatic fashion, should reawaken memories of the final months of World War Two. Of course the priority right now is to meet the basic needs of people from crisis zones who have had to flee to neighbouring states and are coming to Europe now after more than four years of war and insecurity. What is needed is accommodation, clothing, food. Humanitarian aid is called for, and most people in Germany are happy to give it. Many of them remember times when we ourselves were in need of help.

But beyond that a great deal more will have to be taken care of, including training and education, to ensure decent prospects for the future also in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. And including culture as a human right, since that must be provided too.
This is precisely where the DAI’s work begins. In archaeology there’s a long tradition, reaching back to the 19th century, of cooperation in research in the Ancient Near East. The work archaeologists do is really very concrete, consisting of joint excavation projects, the publication of finds, the teaching and training of the younger generation of researchers and specialists. Over the years and decades, this cooperation has given rise to stable structures and networks.

**EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR THE FUTURE**

One request that is repeatedly made is for us to get involved in training young researchers and specialists (see “Effective Learning”). Very well qualified young people are after all crucial to ensuring a livable future in crisis regions. If it’s not possible (for the time being) to train them on university courses in the home country, then it has to be done somewhere else. A host of initiatives by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) have opened up undreamed-of opportunities here. The German-Jordanian University in Amman as well as joint programmes of studies at German and Egyptian universities are some examples of this. These programmes have been running for years now and are well established and highly effective. In the current situation they offer educational opportunities to refugees, too, in their region, giving them the necessary qualifications to contribute to building a future in their home country. Furthermore the internationalization of universities in Germany has made it possible for institutions here to admit refugees to their study programmes – which they are doing with great elan and impressive flexibility. In order to help colleagues who have arrived in Germany as refugees and are condemned, initially at least, to inactivity, the DAI has teamed up with the Cultural Heritage Centre at Brandenburg Technical University in Cottbus (BTU) in an initiative that aims to bring Syrian colleagues together in a project in which they themselves plan a future for their home country.

Exactly 70 years ago the inhabitants of German cities, among them many refugees, stood before the ruins of their homes and once significant churches, palaces and museums – an experience that shaped our collective memory in Germany. We had to learn what decisions needed to be taken and how reconstruction efforts in a devastated town were to be organized logistically. On top of that, answers were sought to questions of an ethical nature such as which monuments should be left in ruins, which should be rebuilt and which should be consigned to history. It may be Germany’s historical background that led Syrian students at Cottbus to carry out a project on precisely these ethical questions. Culture can do something for refugees. We can contribute something by developing and supporting other similar projects that lead, collaboratively, to the identification of solutions for the refugees’ home countries. We can pass on what we have learned in our own history, and help them understand the convictions we have come to hold as a result of our experience.

To achieve all this, support is necessary. The Gerda Henkel Foundation is supporting a project in Jordan, while the Federal German Parliament has this year already clearly signalled its intended engagement in Lebanon and Jordan through the Cultural Preservation Programme of the Federal Foreign Office. Further donors, patrons and benefactors – further euergetai – are urgently needed.
THE WIDE HORIZON
Remote sensing in archaeology
Landscape is an ancient word, its Germanic cognate originally denoting a political entity. In modern parlance the word is pregnant with implications and connotations and, also, is more emotionally charged than it was in the 15th century, when it meant simply a section of scenery visible from a single vantage point. The emergence of landscape painting in the Renaissance shaped the way we see and conceive of the countryside. Romantic literature brought an exaltation of landscape. An example is Eichendorff’s famous poem “Abschied”, where the poet bids farewell to his beloved vales, peaks and forests; the aspect of distance is significant. In the early years of industrialization, the middle classes tended to see the countryside as a longed-for place of refuge. The concept of landscape utilized in geography is also relatively new and is open to a wide variety of interpretations and definitions.

How important landscape is both as space and as a phenomenon is shown by the European Landscape Convention, also known as the Florence Convention. Adopted in 2000 by the Council of Europe, this treaty enshrines the protection, management and development of European landscapes. The definition of landscape used in the convention is as follows: “Landscape means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors.”

As part of its Global Strategy promulgated in 1994, UNESCO widened its definition of cultural heritage by introducing “cultural landscape” as a subcategory of “cultural site”. In this sense, landscape is both a concept and an object of study in archaeology.
Landscapes are palimpsests.

When landscape becomes an object of study, it is surveyed.

Photos above: Posluschny, RGK
Photo below: Beusing, RGK

Photo: “Palimpsest of Street Posters – Granada – Spain” by Adam Jones, CC-BY-SA 3.0
“Landscapes are palimpsests,” says Alex Posluschny of the DAI’s Roman-Germanic Commission (RGK). “They’re like manuscripts that are changed over and over again, overwritten, laid out again, rewritten on. It’s only ever the newest layers that can be seen with the naked eye.” Traditional archaeology can expose underlying strata, bit by bit, until finally a fuller picture emerges, often thanks to the input of earth sciences. When what is being investigated are ancient cultural landscapes in their entirety it’s an intricate, protracted and ultimately expensive process.

MAKING THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE
The practice of investigating archaeological sites from the air originated about 100 years ago. It afforded the possibility of viewing a site in the context of the surrounding landscape and of making sense of natural features that are hard to distinguish when viewed from any other perspective than the bird’s eye view. Historical aerial photographs are of considerable value in reconstructing landscapes that have changed greatly or been destroyed. But photos alone cannot make the invisible visible.

In recent years the familiar image of known landscapes has in many cases had to be revised – as has the list of archaeological sites. Archaeology’s tools have been supplemented by new technologies: high-precision aerial photography and laser scanning from the air (Lidar). “In many parts of Europe, aerial photography archaeology has brought to light more unknown cultural heritage sites than any other method,” Posluschny says.
HOW LiDAR WORKS

A laser beam is directed at the earth and sensors register the reflection. The distance of a given object can be calculated by measuring the time a signal takes to return to its source. The technology is called LiDAR, i.e. light radar or light detection and ranging, and is popularly known as airborne laser-scanning. It works on the same principle as radar, but uses pulses of laser light rather than radio waves.

Laser-scanning technology makes it possible to survey the structures of a landscape and the resultant data can be used to create a digital terrain model. A good scanner can detect not only tree tops but also the ground underneath.

Vegetation can be filtered out of the model to produce a high-resolution, three-dimensional image of the terrain, clearly revealing archaeological features like ditches, ramparts and burial mounds.

Image: Heritage Conservation Agency of the State of Baden-Württemberg (Esslingen)
Landscape has become an established concept in modern archaeology. An individual object or building or even an ancient city is no longer considered in isolation but instead in the context of the surrounding landscape. Landscape archaeology is becoming integral to the way the DAI works. In 2014, a landscape archaeology study group was set up at the DAI; it seeks to intensify networking and cooperation in the field of landscape archaeology and to establish it on a broader footing. More and more of the institute’s researchers are working with the concepts and methodologies of landscape archaeology, especially where the task at hand is protecting cultural heritage in many countries around the globe. Here remote sensing has a decisive role to play.

MORE THAN PRESSING BUTTONS
The advantages of airborne scanning are many and varied. The technology is non-invasive and non-destructive, unlike excavation. It’s fast, exceptionally accurate and much more affordable than excavation. It can be conveniently combined with other methods. Large areas can be surveyed, and what is not visible above the ground can be detected. It’s ideal for locating, monitoring and protecting (potential) cultural heritage sites.

The technology requires a high degree of specialist knowledge and experience, however. “Using methods like remote sensing doesn’t mean just pressing buttons and the computer will do the rest,” says Posluschny. Interpreting the acquired data is also not so easy as it might appear. Technical experts in organizations and companies that produce aerial imagery generally speaking don’t have much sense for archaeological matters or cultural science questions. Conversely the analysis of airborne laser-scans is terra incognita for archaeologists in a number of countries.
“Even within Europe the relevant knowledge is unevenly distributed,” Poslushny notes. Bridging this knowledge gap is the objective of ArchaeoLandscapes (ArcLand), an EU wide project linking archaeological institutions and organizations that utilize remote sensing technology, especially aerial imagery archaeology and geophysical prospecting, but also terrestrial laser-scanning, Lidar and other remote sensing methods.

SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE AND DEBATE

“In fact, what the bird’s-eye view also reveals is that there are as many images of Europe and of archaeology in Europe as there are countries conducting research,” says Poslushny, who directs and coordinates the EU project. The disparateness of research traditions is an obstacle, to be sure, but at the same time an opportunity: it can widen horizons. “If we want to study and preserve our common cultural heritage, networking on an international level is absolutely essential,” says with Poslushny with emphasis. Building up this network is one of the principal objectives of ArcLand, which links up 77 institutions from 31 European countries as well as the USA and Australia. “Another aim is to equal out the inequalities that still exist in using remote sensing technology and in accessing the data,” he adds.

The project will not result in the kind of solid support structure that is necessary, however, if the ivory tower is simply shifted from the earth into the sky. “Dialogue with the various stakeholders in the EU is of crucial importance,” Axel Poslushny says. The means of communication he favours are web-based and printed publications that both keep conservation professionals abreast of the latest developments and provide sufficient information for a broader audience interested in archaeology.
On this point it’s worth looking to see how things are done in the United Kingdom and Ireland, Poslushny believes. Popularization efforts to reach the general public have a long history there, community archaeology playing an important role on the British Isles. “Official” archaeology there is open towards the involvement and assistance of unqualified enthusiasts, in heritage conservation efforts for example.

**HIGH TECH MEETS ANTIQUITY**

Modern methods like aerial photography and especially cutting-edge technology like remote sensing by Lidar are capable of stimulating interest among people previously indifferent to the past. “So far, the use and the results of the new methods have always been dramatically effective in demonstrating to the general public the importance of the whole spectrum of cultural heritage – archaeological sites and landscapes,” Poslushny reports. Here too, horizons are widened.

“ArchaeoLandscapes Europe represents a model of cooperation that can function brilliantly in other countries and regions outside Europe,” Axel Poslushny says with conviction. Projects like this encourage international dialogue in a professional framework of research on culture and cultural heritage.

While safeguarding cultural heritage may not be the most pressing problem in the European context, this kind of intercultural cooperation and dialogue can be of immense value to countries that are confronted with the wholesale destruction of their cultural heritage, as it enables them to salvage something of their own history and cultural identity.
A bronze statue slightly larger than life size, displayed in the National Museum of Iran in Tehran, is the most prominent testimony of the Hellenistic period in Iran. All that survives of the statue, however, is part of the head and limbs. The first fragments were discovered in 1935/36 at Kal-e Chendar in Khuzestan province, south-west Iran. They were unearthed together with other sculptural fragments amid the ruins of an ancient sanctuary which – so the finds suggest – was one of the most significant cult sites of the region.

The fragments of the bronze statue, seven in all, include the two halves of a face, immediately recognized as belonging together and then reassembled in the 1960s before going on display in the museum. The remaining fragments were discovered at different times and when they were taken to Tehran, they were kept in different sections of the museum. It was only in August 2015, when the fragments were viewed together, that they were found to belong to the same statue. It was even possible to partly reconstruct the statue, because three fragments could be fitted together as a raised left arm. From this the pose can be inferred: the nude standing figure supported himself by leaning on a spear, a typical way of representing Hellenistic rulers, as statuettes and other small-format works attest. Only, original Hellenistic bronze statues of rulers are exceptionally rare. The research project at the National Museum of Iran has thus resulted in a minor archaeological sensation.

The face was so badly damaged in antiquity that it hasn’t been possible to identify the portrait, but it’s safe to assume it showed a Seleucid king. This is the dynasty that succeeded Alexander the Great in the east and ruled in Persia from 310 to 141 BC until the kingdom was conquered by the Parthians.

In order to reconstruct the original facial features – and identify the Seleucid dynasty portrayed – a 3D model has been created using photogrammetry. The next step in the project is to mirror the forms of the better preserved right half of the face and overlay it with the texture of the left half. In the model, parts of the face that are bent and torn will be reshaped and sealed. When the project is completed the National Museum of Iran will be presented with a 3D polymer print of the reconstructed head.

The bronze sculpture probably came to be buried in Parthian times when the temple collapsed in an earthquake or was struck by a similar disaster. But the statue had been damaged before that, destroyed in a deliberate act of violence. This can be seen

**ICONOCLASM**

The head of a Seleucid ruler in Tehran National Museum

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**HEAD, RIGHT**
The statue of a ruler in the National Museum of Iran. In its restored state today the chisel marks have been covered by an epoxy resin.

*Photo: Lindström, DAI Eurasia Department*

**BACKGROUND**
Kal-e Chendar lies at a height of 1,100 m at the north end of Shami valley. The sculptural finds came to light during building work in 1935. Half a year later the Hungarian-British researcher Sir Aurel Stein carried out a brief follow-up exploration on the site. A thorough investigation of the temple was begun in 2012 by a joint Iranian-Italian research team.

*Photo: Iranian-Italian Joint Expedition in Khuzestan*
from the left lower leg, of which an almost 30 cm long fragment survives, and which bends sharply outwards in the bottom section. It would seem that the hollow-cast statue, anchored in its base, was pulled back and forth several times before the metal fractured above the feet and the figure toppled over. The fact that the ancient iconoclasts were not solely interested in breaking the figure into pieces so as to recycle the precious metal, can be seen from the state of the head. The face was cut in two using a chisel, from forehead to chin along the bridge of the nose – an inconvenient part of the face to choose, as it happens, because the bronze there was relatively thick.

After being cut apart, one half of the face was forcibly bent out of shape, while the other was beaten with a hammer, as a deep dent on the cheek testifies. The nature of the damage indicates that the vandals wanted to destroy the portrayed individual by disfiguring his face. It was consequently a damnatio memoriae, demonstratively erasing memory of a person.

The brutal treatment of the Hellenistic dynast is thrown into high relief by the condition of the Parthian nobleman that was found at the same spot. This bronze statue of a male figure in Parthian attire – also somewhat larger than life – is more or less intact; what damage there is can be explained by a fall. It is similar with the other sculptural finds from the sanctuary: the statues in Parthian style were simply cut into pieces, not violently smashed up like the Hellenistic ruler. This might reflect repugnance for the Greek style represented by the figure or indeed could be the result of a particular hatred for the man depicted. This scenario certainly correlates with the political situation in the middle of the 2nd century BC, when foreign, Seleucid rule in Persia came to an end and was supplanted by an Iranian dynasty, the Parthian Arsacids.

Gunvor Lindström
THE GIFT
Presents, Offerings and Tribute
The provinces bring tribute to the pharaoh.
Photo: Ahmed Amin, DAI Cairo
“What force is there in the thing given which compels the recipient to make a return?” This question is asked by the French sociologist Marcel Mauss in what is probably the most famous book on the subject, *The Gift. Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies.* (Trans. Ian Cunnison. London 1966, p. 1).

Mauss describes disinterested and at the same time obligatory gift-exchange, which “is expressed in myth and imagery, symbolically and collectively” (p. 31). The objects are never completely separated from the people who exchange them; the communion and alliance they establish are, he says, “well-nigh indissoluble”. By and large, the standard economic theories of the modern era have failed to deal in detail with the complicated phenomenon of giving, in spite of its exceptional relevance in economics. Modern sociology likewise barely touched on the subject for a long time. The presentation or exchange of gifts was seen as an outdated mode of exchange in so-called primitive societies, thus folklore. It is only with the cultural turn in the humanities and social sciences that the topic has moved somewhat more into focus of non-ethnological research.

As far as the archaeological sciences are concerned, gift-giving among humans, between humans and gods, between states and cultural zones has been of interest from the early days with the full spectrum of its functions and meanings being investigated. As is the case today, relations between states in antiquity were a complex business, and an important role was played by the giving of gifts, ceremonially presented by high-ranking officials. The Three Kings, or Magi, of Christian tradition constitute perhaps the best known diplomatic mission from the ancient world. They brought gifts in tribute, as in all ages tribute has been paid to rulers. The bringer of gifts is well represented in the iconography of the ancient world. Conversely, countless episodes in Homer’s *Odyssey* attest to the giving of presents – food and drink, clothing and decorative objects – by the host to the guest. They were so self-evident indeed that if not offered, they were emphatically demanded.

People sought “indissoluble ties” not only with each other but also with their gods, bestowing on them gifts of all kinds and orders of magnitude. These were very often calculated acts, of course, in all too human fashion. Knowing the higher powers were on your side was one thing. Gaining prestige in this world by donating a temple or an especially fine statue or by sponsoring a major festival was another.

Our Title Story features the Bosporan kings of Crimea, who were showered with gifts and honours in Athens. Their good will had to be purchased because they were the principal suppliers of grain in the ancient world. Meter or Cybele, the Great Mother, is the dominant figure in the rock sanctuaries of Pergamon, adding a new dimension to the sacred topography of the royal city of the Attalid dynasty with its magnificent temples.
“Who were the gifts for?” is one of the questions prompted by viewing the many paintings depicting banquets for the dead that are to be found in the catacombs of Rome. Were the feasts heavenly – or earthly and celebratory?

Greek temples would fill up with offerings and votive images to the point where they would have to be removed, rededicated on behalf of someone else, or used for a different purpose altogether. Like other offerings, they reflect a combination of thanks, wishes and a desire for prestige on the part of the donors.

In Egypt we are guests of Snefru, builder of the Bent Pyramid, the not yet perfected prototype of all mega-pyramids. Immortalized in a frieze in the pyramid temple, he receives the tributes of the Egyptian provinces who gather at this temporal and religious focal point of a state in the process of formation.

The euergetes, or benefactor, is a person of the kind we might meet today, albeit under a different designation. He or she may be a wealthy individual that wishes to repay society for what they have gained from it. The motive may also be self-celebration, even where other entities may derive the benefit from it. Alternatively the benefactor may be an association or foundation that seeks to contribute to the public weal, whether a private initiative or a commercial enterprise that takes the injunctions of corporate social responsibility seriously.

These were featured in a special volume of Archaeology Worldwide focusing on endowments and donations.
Far out in the desert stand King Snefru’s pyramids, the Red Pyramid and the Bent Pyramid. Nearby them lie extensive cemeteries for high-ranking officials, followed at the edge of the desert by the settlements and the valley temple. Dahshur was inaugurated by King Snefru in the 4th Dynasty (c. 2600 BC) and during his reign it functioned as a residence necropolis. Throughout the Old Kingdom (lasting 400 years till 2200 BC) priests performed the cult at his pyramids. They lived in the pyramid cities at the periphery of cultivated land and were buried at Dahshur. In the Middle Kingdom (12th and 13th Dynasty, 1900–1700 BC) Dahshur again became a royal burial place and the mortuary cult was revived at the temple of the Bent Pyramid. The Bent Pyramid and the Red Pyramid are pharaonic pilot projects from the Old Kingdom when the concept of the mega-pyramid with surrounding infrastructure originated. In all, 3.5 million cubic metres of building material was transported and used in the Dahshur construction project. The first of the mega-pyramids was both the symbol and the crystallization point of the state, which at this time was amassing resources in the residential city on a mammoth scale.
“Building the mega-pyramid is inseparably linked with the organization of the kingdom into domains and nomes,” says Nicole Alexanian, a member of the research staff of the DAI’s Cairo department. “It was necessary to implement an administrative structure for all of Egypt, which in the first place made the country administrable and secondly made a gigantic undertaking of this kind feasible.” By the time Snefru came to power in 2600 BC, the state had already been in existence for 400 years. Prior to Snefru’s reign the pyramids were relatively small and had a stepped profile; but the more state-like the country became, the bigger its pyramids got.

“The pyramid is the defining state project,” Alexanian says. “It displays the grandeur of the king, the greatness and awesome power of the state, and symbolizes rule that is connected with the divine.” Even at a distance of 40 km a farmer in the fertile strip could see where the tributes flowing from the provinces to the pharaoh were destined for. However, “it was necessary for the labour and tax burden and the extreme social divide to be understandable for the population,” says Nicole Alexanian.

The people’s consent extended also of course to the newly created infrastructure, the new goods that came with increased trade, the provision of the basic necessities in their lives, and protection against external enemies. In the pyramid epoch, the pharaoh was seen as divine and hence the link between the gods and the people. “By making their contribution, individuals secured not only material supplies for themselves but also the love of the gods,” Alexanian explains. Against this economic and symbolic background, the constant flow of resources from the provinces to the pharaonic residence was more readily comprehensible.

Nicole Alexanian is directing a project on the restoration and documentation of the reliefs and finds from the Bent Pyramid’s valley temple, Egypt’s oldest pyramid temple with figural decoration. It was discovered in the 1950s by the notable Egyptian

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1 Piet Collet draws the relief frieze on a film on a scale of 1:1. Photo: Müller, DAI Cairo
2 Restorer Erico Peintner removes the salt deposits and cleans the surface of the relief. Photo: Alexanian, DAI Cairo

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The big relief frieze from the valley temple of the Bent Pyramid. The female figures bearing gifts are personifications of districts paying tribute to the pharaoh. The procession is ordered geographically and shows the organization of ancient Egypt into domains and nomes. The domains represented in the frieze all have names that contain the pharaoh’s name Snefru, from which we can conclude they were newly established during his reign. The personified domains bring offerings upon platters shaped like the hieroglyph hetep, meaning “offering.” Above the frieze were large-scale depictions of the pharaoh himself in the company of the gods.

Photo: Ahmed Amin, DAI Cairo

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A DEFINING STATE PROJECT

The big relief frieze from the valley temple of the Bent Pyramid. The female figures bearing gifts are personifications of districts paying tribute to the pharaoh. The procession is ordered geographically and shows the organization of ancient Egypt into domains and nomes. The domains represented in the frieze all have names that contain the pharaoh’s name Snefru, from which we can conclude they were newly established during his reign. The personified domains bring offerings upon platters shaped like the hieroglyph hetep, meaning “offering.” Above the frieze were large-scale depictions of the pharaoh himself in the company of the gods.

Photo: Ahmed Amin, DAI Cairo
FINDS FROM THE VALLEY TEMPLE
1 Hand from a life-sized statue of King Snefru erected in the rear part of the temple.
2 Ebony statuette of a priest making the gesture of worship. It was found in the valley temple, probably at its original location, and together with a small bowl for offerings.
3 Statue of a high-ranking official in an attitude of veneration. More than 700 years after Snefru’s death, statues were still being erected in the temple by believers practising the cult of the long-dead pharaoh. Photo: Ahmed Amin, DAI Cairo
4 Seated figure of a priest in a posture of worship.
5 Head from a granite statue of a priest.

Photos: Windszus, DAI Cairo

DAHSHUR
Dahshur was inaugurated by King Snefru in the 4th Dynasty (c. 2400 BCE) and during his reign functioned as a residence necropolis comprising two pyramids erected under Snefru himself and numerous mastaba tombs of members of his family and courtiers. In the Middle Kingdom (12th and 13th Dynasty, c. 1900–1700 BCE) Dahshur again became a royal burial place. Despite the long history of research, not all the major monuments at Dahshur have been thoroughly investigated. Research staff from the DAI's Cairo department are therefore prioritizing work on the documentation of the pyramid complexes with their temples and causeways and the cemeteries of the priests, officials and members of the royal family. The workers' districts and workshops in addition to the valley temples and pyramid cities located on the fringe of fertile land have to be documented and studied as well in order to arrive at an overall picture of this pharaonic pilot project.
archaeologist Ahmed Fakhry, who at the time was excavating at the pyramids of Dahshur for the Egyptian Antiquities Service. Fakhry found several statues of various sizes, statue fragments, altars and stelae as well as jewellery, seals and pottery. As part of Alexanian’s project, these finds are now being documented, restored and stored in accordance with modern scientific standards to ensure their survival. Egyptian staff are receiving training as part of the project.

THE PROCESSION OF OFFERINGS
The centrepiece of the temple’s decor is a relief frieze over five metres long that illustrates how the flow of resources from the provinces to the pharaonic residence was organized. It shows a procession of female figures – personifications of administrative regions – bearing gifts to the pharaoh. “The domains are ordered geographically,” Nicole Alexanian explains. “The Upper Egyptian regions are depicted on the west walls of the temple, arranged from north to south, and the Lower Egyptian ones are on the eastern walls.” The frieze provides an insight into the administrative division of ancient Egypt into domains and nomes in a period when the geographical organization of the state was not yet fully complete.

The gifts that are shown in the frieze – meat, fruit, grains and spices – are offered as provisions for the recently deceased king. The pyramid is after all a tomb. The hyperbolic religious dimension legitimizes the profane reality. Above the socle bearing the frieze of tribute-bearers were large-scale depictions of the pharaoh himself in the company of the gods. So, according to Egyptian belief, the world was held in balance.

Once Nicole Alexanian, her colleagues and fellow researchers have reconstructed the pictorial programme of the whole temple, the frieze and the other finds will go on display at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.
Judging by the abundance of gifts at their sanctuaries, the Greeks evidently had a deep attachment to their gods. "Ancient sanctuaries were repositories of objects and votive offerings," says Katja Sporn, First Director of the DAI Athens Department. "Statues were even placed outside the sanctuary precincts, as well as inside near the entrance, in the stoas and the treasuries. They were especially crowded together on the side of the temple where the entrance was located, because that area was one of the much invoked, prime sites where displaying a statue could and would signify great honour."

Among the votives were perishable offerings like cakes or cereals, or images of them, as well as other small artefacts like figures of ivory, bronze, wood or clay. In the 6th to 4th centuries BC the subjects depicted were often connected with the cult practised at the sanctuary – either images of the deity, attributes associated with him or her, or otherwise typical offerings for that deity. Then there were imperishable offerings intended to endure, like statues of great artistry and sometimes entire buildings with the very worldly aim of magnifying the donor’s prestige. Beyond that, some offerings were not for the glory of the gods or the self-aggrandizement of the donors, but were meant to make prayer and worship a pleasanter experience for all comers – via the design and decoration of public spaces for instance. And then there were curiosities like animal statues, jewellery, furniture, carpets, single vases or stones. Offerings personally dedicated to the deity were common, and a large amount of the many statues that populated a sanctuary were portraits of the very individuals who had brought them as "gifts".

FACE TO FACE
The phenomenon of the private portrait as an offering to a god has been studied by Katja Sporn. “The temple as the house of a god should actually be reserved primarily for that god, you would think,” says the archaeologist. “But like sanctuaries, ancient temples were also full of objects that stood...”
around or in cupboards or even hung from the ceiling.”

Who were the people that did this, placing images of themselves in the vicinity of higher powers? “In the first phase of this development, going from about 600 to 350 BC, we find a fairly wide spectrum of different groups of people,” Sporn says, “above all public figures like political dignitaries, sportsmen and poets as well as individuals with some personal connection to the cult, such as the sculptors or donors of cult images, or the officiating priests.” Over time, however, the increasingly dominant rulers and their families push private persons out of the temples. In this second phase (c. 350 to 100 BC) along with priests, women and children appear for the first time, in honour of the ruler’s family. Images of donors and sculptors are now only to be found at local sanctuaries. “With the encroachment of the Romans, when honours hitherto reserved for Hellenistic rulers come to be accorded to local elites and benefactors as well as Roman magistrates, there follows the third phase (c. 100 to 27 BC) in which the decay of old customs is observable,” Sporn explains. Finally in a fourth phase (27 BC to the 3rd cent. AD) the Roman emperors essentially tolerate no competition. Only now and again are images of political dignitaries placed near the images of the emperor, as a particular honour.
Since its foundation the DAI Athens department has been conducting field research (excavation, topographical surveys, construction history investigations) in virtually all regions of Greece. A number of the biggest and most famous of the department’s projects focus on ancient Greek sanctuaries, for example Olympia, Samos and Kalapodi. More recently investigations have been resumed at sanctuaries in the Kerameikos, the cemetery of Athens.

1 Bronze statuette of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt, from the sanctuary of Olympia. Photo: Hellner, DAI Athens

2 Female votive figure of wood, from the Heraion of Samos. Photo: Hellner, DAI Athens

3 Marble statue of Baebia from Magnesia on the Maeander. Photo: DAI Athens
If the temples became so full of votive offerings that the cult image couldn’t be seen any more, the excess had to be moved to the stoas for storage. The key thing was that the offerings remained within the sanctuaries.

**CRETAN PURISM**

In one region of the Greek world, developments took a slightly different course. “On Crete, great importance was attached to preserving the old in the sacred sphere. That goes for buildings as well as statues,” Sporn says. The Cretans seem to have been averse to the cult of personality. If statues were placed in sanctuaries at all, then they were of the gods themselves or their attributes. The Cretans retained this attitude into Hellenistic times and even into the Roman imperial period. Generally speaking, statues of Hellenistic kings as well as Roman magistrates and emperors were the exception, not only in sacred spaces but in public spaces in general. In Hellenistic times what tended to be offered were small-format terracotta figures; only in the imperial period does the quantity increase noticeably. “But all in all the small number of large-format statues worked against any overcrowding of the sacred space,” says Katja Sporn. “Here there was none of the overcrowding you would get at the big international sanctuaries of Greece, for instance Delphi and Olympia.” One of the positive effects of this kind of traditionalism was thus more space and freedom for the cult image of the god or goddess.
HONOURS FOR BREAD
Bosporan kings as Athenian dignitaries
Barbarians who spoke Greek but behaved like foreigners and wore wild beards – that’s how they were seen. People from the fringes of the Greek world, quite different from the image cultivated Athenians had of themselves. And yet high honours and sonorous titles were bestowed on them. The “barbarians” in question lived in eastern Crimea and on the Taman Peninsula on the Black Sea coast.

Some one hundred years after the beginnings of Greek colonization, the ill-fated campaigning of the Persian king Darius I towards the end of the 5th century BC triggered political changes among the peoples of the Caucasus and the steppes. Probably as a reaction against the Persian threat, in the course of the 5th century the free Greek communities around the Cimmerian Bosporus banded together to form the “Bosporan Kingdom”, a political entity still very unusual at that time in the Greek world. Pantikapaion on Crimea was the political centre of this successful union of Greek poleis; a second leading city was Phanagoria on the islands of the Taman Peninsula on the other side of the Cimmerian Bosporus. As time passed, the kingdom spread all round the Sea of Azov and remained in existence into late antiquity. In its heyday in the 4th century BC the kingdom comprised about 30 Greek poleis and settlements in addition to territory inland from the coast and populated by indigenous groups.

The Bosporan kings were well aware of their marginal position in the Greek world, their territory being more or less the eastern outpost of the oikumene established in the course of Greek colonization. For this reason they were eminently interested in friendly relations with Athens, which from their point of view was the centre of the world politically, economically and culturally. One sent one’s sons there to get an education. Athens, for its part, made notable efforts to win the good will of the eastern rulers, because the Bosporan Kingdom in the 4th and 3rd centuries was the major grain exporter of the ancient world.
King Leukon of the dynasty of the Spartokids, named after its founder Spartokos, considerably expanded the Bosporan Kingdom during his reign. He maintained excellent relations with Athens and was even granted Attic citizenship, a very rare honour, in recognition of his provision of grain to the motherland. When he died in 349 BC, his sons sent emissaries to Athens to request that relations be kept good on all points. Athens assured them of all the privileges that had been bestowed on their father Leukon. In late classical times Athens in particular was dependent on the Bosporan Kingdom for supplies of grain. Thus to reconsolidate trade links and guarantee supplies, it conferred great honours on the Bosporan kings.

These honours were recorded and proclaimed, as is shown by a documentary relief from 347/46 BC that was found in Athens. For Leukon’s sons, the diplomatic mission had evidently been a success. They too were granted Attic citizenship and were showered with honours. In the theatre they were conducted to seats of honour. And that was not all: they were memorialized by bronze statues on the Agora of Athens, the political and religious centre. Thus the shaggy-haired rulers moved from the fringes to the navel of the world. In return, the best pottery manufactured in Athens was exported to the Bosporan Kingdom and became an integral part of the lavish furnishings of the tombs of the Bosporan kings.
THE GREAT COLONIZATION OF THE GREEKS, THE BOSPORAN KINGDOM AND TRADE

The Great Greek Colonization, as it is termed, properly began in the 8th century BC after minor expeditions in earlier times. It was not a centrally planned operation. Instead, separate groups of weapon-trained men put to sea in pursuit of commercial advantage and possibly also to escape population pressure or scarcity of land.

What was particularly important in the choice of location for the founding of colonies was convenience in terms of transport routes. There was a preference for easily defended promontories, good harbours, access to the hinterland via rivers, and fertile land in the surrounding area. Once the colonists had secured their position, they could expand their area of control here and there deeper into the hinterland.

The Bosporan Kingdom later emerged at one such strategic location, the Cimmerian Bosporus, the strait between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov (in contradistinction to the better known Thracian Bosporus). Now known as the Kerch Strait, it divides the Crimean Peninsula in the west from the Taman Peninsula in the east; it is around 40 kilometres long and four kilometres wide at its narrowest point. It allowed Greeks in search of land and trade to access the fish-rich and fertile Don river delta. DAI archaeologists are investigating the phases of the landnahme, contact with the local population and additionally the climate, soil conditions and vegetation in a region that was to become the biggest grain exporter of the ancient world.
The grotto sanctuary, view from the north-east.
Photo: Weiser, DAI Istanbul

SACRED NATURE
The rock sanctuaries of Pergamon
A host of gods dwelt in Pergamon. They were worshipped at temples in the city or at monumental sanctuaries in the periphery. But cult buildings made of stone were not the only sites where religious rites took place. In Hellenistic times the citizens of Pergamon created a sanctuary in a wild, romantic landscape outside the city at a spot with a spectacular rocky outcrop and a natural spring. The sanctuary was dedicated to Cybele or Meter, the “Great Mother”. For believers, the strange natural feature strongly suggested the presence of a divinity. Is the natural feature therefore to be seen as part of the natural environment, and the monumentalized sanctuary as part of urban space?

“The discovery of rock sanctuaries in the north section of the east slope and probably also on the west slope of the acropolis mountain has substantially enlarged our view of Pergamon’s sacred topography,” says Felix Pirson, director of the Istanbul Department of the DAI and head of the Pergamon Excavations. In 2008, archaeologists first found evidence that natural sanctuaries may have existed not only in the surrounding landscape but also within the urban area. In 2009 and 2010 they investigated an ensemble of five localities that turned out to be ritual sites of the 2nd to 1st century BC. Their simplicity was in stark contrast to the architecturally grandiose ritual sites of the polis and of the rulers.

Adverse winds and rough terrain meant that the north part of the east slope saw little building activity, despite its proximity to the old city centre. Why, then, should the Pergamenians go to the trouble of setting up sanctuaries there of all places?

“Apart from spectacular rock formations there are two main circumstances that predestine the place for natural sanctuaries,” Pirson explains. Archaeologists have found evidence of periodically flowing springs in the upper section of the east slope. What’s also very important is the orientation of the slope. It faces south-east, meaning that another, important Meter-Cybele sanctuary was visible from it. That sanctuary – discovered by Pergamon Excavation staff at the beginning of the 20th century – lies near the peak of Ilyastepe, a hill due west of the acropolis mountain. There is evidence of Meter-Cybele worship in at least some of the newly discovered sanctuaries.
The head of a Cybele statuette was found in the big rock sanctuary. Photo: Weiser, DAI Istanbul

THE TERRACOTTAS
Since investigations began, archaeologists have recovered many fragments, including female heads (presumably goddesses), seated puppets, erotes, loom weights. An intact bowl was also among the finds.

Photos: Weiser, DAI Istanbul

CYBELE
Investigations into the rock sanctuaries were kicked off by the discovery of a pedestal cut into the rock and probably once supporting a statue somewhat smaller than life size. It’s the central feature of a complex the archaeologists refer to as the big rock sanctuary. “The way the pedestal is shaped suggests an enthroned figure with flanking attributes, most likely a Meter-Cybele of a type that is attested at Pergamon by a number of terracottas,” Pirson says. In the grotto sanctuary, too, the rich find material gives an indication of what deities were worshipped there – and of eating and drinking customs at the religious rites.

The big rock sanctuary is one of the five natural sanctuaries that researchers of the Istanbul department are investigating. The others are a smaller sanctuary to the south-west of it, the grotto sanctuary, a workshop and the so-called banqueting house. “Both the type of site and their relative position suggest the construction of an ensemble,” Pirson says. In the grotto sanctuary, in particular, archaeologists found terracotta figurines of naked seated females, including five statuettes of Cybele, at least one of them showing her enthroned. Similar images of the goddess have been found in the big rock sanctuary. “They are distributed throughout the Mediterranean region and can be traced chronologically back to the Archaic period,” the archaeologist explains. Erotes and maenads, a goddess with sceptre and mural crown, a fragmentary torso of Aphrodite, a fragmentary statuette of Herakles with vine foliage, and heads of Artemis and Serapis leave archaeologists in no doubt that the rites practised here centred on female sexuality and fertility.
SACRED LANDSCAPE IN THE CITY

The incorporation of sanctuaries in the urban topography is explained as follows by Felix Pirson: “The spatial organization of ancient cities and their environs was not determined solely by infrastructural and military considerations or by social and economic factors. The sacred dimension played a fundamental role, too, in the structuring and perception of space.” And a special significance attaches to rock sanctuaries, where a natural feature is the central focus of the veneration in contrast to the images and structures of architectural temples. “Through them, evidence of the natural state of the city area is integrated into the religious life of the urban population.”

In Hellenistic Pergamon, an area at the edge of the city was apparently fashioned as a sacred landscape, and in it Meter-Cybele and other fertility deities were worshipped, whereby a link was forged with the surrounding landscape. Felix Pirson: “This evidently responded to a compelling religious need on the part of the urban populace.”

Not only sanctuaries with architecture make up the sacred topography of Pergamon. Citizens made use of prominent natural features to fashion a sacred landscape. Photo: Ludwig, DAI Istanbul

The big rock sanctuary, view from the south-west. Photo: Weiser, DAI Istanbul

GROTTO SANCTUARY

The grotto sanctuary, view from the north. Excavations there revealed small stone artefacts – miniature altars. Photo: Buchholz, DAI Istanbul

Miniature altar from Room I. Photo: Weiser, DAI Istanbul
ELITE BENEFAC TORS
The cost of gaining prestige and influence

Benefactors and patrons were as familiar in the ancient world as they are in the world of today. An aspiration to economic prosperity and political influence is as much a part of their make-up as generosity and social commitment. There’s no inherent contradiction in this, as becomes immediately apparent if the practice of exchanging gifts is considered from outside the framework of standard economic theory.

The ancient city of Patara has furnished scholars with abundant epigraphic information about the phenomenon of benefaction, known in this context as euergetism. Patara’s corpus of inscriptions is being studied by Christof Schuler, First Director of the DAI’s Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy, in cooperation with Klaus Zimmermann of the Asia Minor Research Unit at the University of Münster. Especially during the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods, euergetism was extremely important in the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. Powerful and affluent members of the urban upper class would pay for municipal games, donate grain and money, and finance the construction of public buildings – baths, theatres, aqueducts – in order to underpin their claim to a leading role in the polis to which they belonged. Their largesse was, amongst other things, a product of aristocratic rivalry. Under Roman imperial rule, the biggest benefactor was of course the emperor. In the later stages of the empire, euergetism dwindles in significance, which was a contributing factor in the general deterioration of the urban landscape.

Patara was one of the chief cities in Lydia, an ancient region on the south-west coast of Asia Minor. Located where the Xanthos valley meets the sea, the city possessed an excellent harbour, which made it a hub of maritime activity on the Mediterranean coast. When Emperor Claudius decided to annex the formerly autonomous enclave of Lycia and organize it as a province in AD 43, the Romans chose Patara as the base for their administration, further increasing the city’s importance within Lycia – it was also the meeting place of the Lycian League. On becoming the nexus of Roman provincial administration, the city promptly expanded, its urban physiognomy undergoing radical change within just a few decades.

Patara was one of the chief cities in Lydia, an ancient region on the south-west coast of Asia Minor.
Photo: Schuler, AEK/Zimmermann, University of Münster
“LICINIUS”

In the course of these changes, the role of the euergetes evolved too, as is shown particularly clearly by an inscription that was uncovered in Patara three years ago. Like many others, the inscription block was reused as building material for the late classical wall. It reads as follows:

“...he fulfilled all [obligations] towards the Augusti and magnanimously carried the cost after displaying his great generosity in various ways at the theatres; and he took over the Penteteric games at the sanctuary of Leto at Xanthos with the attendant expenses, and he hosted the Lycians and gave all Lycians that were present a monetary gift, five drachmas per man; and in addition distributed [money] in the city of Tlos on Claudius’ birthday, three drachmas per person; and on Vespasian’s birthday he gave the Xanthians three drachmas per person; and to the Mryans three drachmas per person; and in his hometown, Patara, he gave three drachmas to each man on the birthday of Domitianus Caesar Augustus Germanicus; and he concluded his period in office in such a way that he was exhorted by the league to pass on the bonds of the Augusti to his son Licinius Euelthon, who happily assumed this office and the necessary expenditure and acquitted himself of the responsibilities.”
We don't know the name of the man being commemorated, because the beginning of the inscription is missing, but we are told his son Licinius Euelthon succeeded him in office, presumably that of archiereus of the Lycian League. The inscription can be dated thanks to the reference to Emperor Domitian; the triumphal epithet Germanicus further narrows the time-span to AD 83 to 96. The office of the provincial high priest of the Augusti – the supreme office in the Lycian League since the Province of Lycia was established – combined responsibility for the imperial cult in the province with management of the league’s affairs. It was by far the most prestigious position that a Lycian could attain on the provincial level, and also one of the most costly.

As the new inscription shows, the high priest was expected to organize performances at the theatres in Lycian cities. This linking of festivals in honour of the emperor with various sorts of games was common practice in the Greek east, and was one of the main reasons why taking on the role of high priest for the imperial cult was so expensive on the municipal and especially the provincial level.

The inscription additionally mentions the main event of the year for the prestigious office which the elder Licinius held: the Penteteric games at the sanctuary of Leto at Xanthos. This, the principal sanctuary of the Lycians, lies a few kilometres outside Xanthos near the eponymous river. The “Letoön” was the site of three temples – to Leto, Apollo and Artemis. When the Lycian League was founded in c. 200 BC, the already prominent Letoön became the new league’s sanctuary, and the Letoa its festival. Not long afterwards the Lycians responded to the emergence of Rome as the new world power by inaugurate the Romaia festival in honour of the goddess Roma; the festival took place every four years and was the most important one celebrated within the Lycian League.

**RICH AND AMBITIOUS**

Any man who put himself forward as archiereus in the year of the Penteteric games knew what would come his way: much greater expense than that anyway occasioned by the high priesthood, but also a far greater arena for self-advertisement and greater potential renown for his family. He would have to be richer and more ambitious than candidates for the high priesthood in ordinary years, and those were people from a very select and elite group in Lycian society. The prominent position naturally brought increased contact with the representatives of Rome, and so the richest and most ambitious families also had the best chance of acquiring coveted Roman citizenship.

This being so, high priests were expected to celebrate emperors’ birthdays appropriately by displaying generosity towards their fellow citizens. From the time of Augustus onwards, the birthdays of emperors and their family members were major events in the cultic calendar of the Roman world. In the Greek east this practice was to some degree a continuation of the Hellenistic ruler cult, in which a monarch’s birthday was an occasion for public celebration. The elder Licinius made an emperor’s birthday truly a day to remember by a show of liberality in the big cities of Lycia, handing out money to people attending the festivities. By doing so, he acted as a benefactor, garnered general gratitude, and enhanced his own personal prestige.

Celebrating the imperial cult was a politically unassailable activity, and particularly in the early days of the Principate it allowed great scope for individual initiative and no end of possibilities for members of the elite to project a public image on the basis of their personal wealth. If public funding was less in evidence than private money when it came to the important new sphere of civic cult activity, that is not the result of the structural weakness of municipal finances, but rather because the elite from the outset monopolized this area of public life as a means of gaining prestige and political influence. The citizens, for their part, will no doubt have got used to the associated amenities and benefits.

In consequence, euergetism was a substantially more exclusive phenomenon of self-promotion by the elite than is often recognized. At the same time, the euergetai themselves were less omnipresent in a municipality’s political life than is suggested by inscriptions with one-sided celebrations of prominent individuals. All in all we cannot assume that euergetism had decisive economic relevance for the community. But it was of great symbolic significance in the rivalry between members of the elite and in the competition between cities and regions.
Dignitaries were expected to finance festivals or theatre performances and to support the construction of public buildings.

Photo: public domain/Procopius

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Theatre and Colonnaded Street
Dignitaries were expected to finance festivals or theatre performances and to support the construction of public buildings.

Photo: Schuler, AEK/Zimmermann,
University of Münster
Deceased male seated at a table of offerings, from the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter. This unique fresco, presumably depicting the buried man, shows a recipient of grave offerings which have been placed on a *mensa* in front of him. Christian paintings of funeral meals present pictorial elements that combine what is real and what is aspired to (photographic watercolour after Wilpert 1903, plate 159,2).

Photo: Gauss, DAI Rome
Agape and Irene, Love and Peace, mixed the wine and brought it to the banqueters. The wall paintings in Rome’s catacombs abound with portrayals of banquets for the dead, at which the whole family was reunited as a way of honouring the deceased. Unique specimens are to be found at the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter, where, in no fewer than six instances, personifications of the Christian cardinal virtues of love and peace are depicted as serving women at the banquet.

But were depictions of these two women really meant as allegories? And were the banquets really imagined – as is often supposed – to be taking place in the next world? Some of the murals present such realistic-looking and specific carousal scenes that they were for a long time thought to record actual earthly banquets. “These two standpoints appeared irreconcilable, until one got used to the idea that both aspects – worldly and other-worldly – are present in funerary banquet murals,” explains Norbert Zimmermann, Second Director of the Rome Department of the DAI, who has undertaken a reappraisal of all the wall paintings.

**LIFE AND DEATH**

For the Romans there were various days when the dead were commemorated with a banquet or with offerings taken to a tomb. The *dies natalis* (birthday) could be as much an occasion for sacrifices and banquets as the *rosalia*, the feast of roses, on which tombs were decorated with flowers. As the Roman world became more Christian there was, initially at least, continuity in family mortuary practice. However a paradigm shift gradually occurred with respect to death. “In the Roman world, any contact with death meant impurity, and for this reason official rituals were interrupted and temples were closed for the duration of the public commemoration of the dead,” Zimmermann explains. “A fatal-
ity in the family caused a complete cessation of normal life for the family. Part of the burial was the subsequent funeral meal for the immediate family, a banquet (silicernium) for relatives held at the tomb, and also the cena novemdialis, a banquet held after nine days of mourning. This concluded the mourning period; the family members, now “pure”, went back to normal life. “This fear of death’s impurity isn’t present in Christianity,” Zimmermann says. “The dying receive the last rites, which means that priests or clerics visit people who are dying and are involved in the funeral arrangements. The new religion thus has a direct bearing on burial rites, which had previously been the private affair of the familia. The concept of purity that prevailed in antiquity is then completely turned on its head – at the end of the 4th century at the latest – by the cult of relics, where the veneration of martyrs is occasionally combined with the wish to possess the bones, so body parts of a venerated martyr, and even to carry them on one’s person.”

Written sources provide little information about Christian funeral banquets. At the end of the 4th century, however, there is intriguing evidence that these private celebrations in cemeteries repeatedly got out of hand. “Both Augustinus in North Africa and Ambrosius in Milan therefore tried to suppress funeral banquets in cemeteries and to transform them into euergetic or, ideally, Eucharistic meals,” Zimmermann says.

More informative than written sources is the archaeological record. In Rome, the so-called Flavian Gallery from the early 3rd century, from which part of the Catacomb of Domitilla developed in the later 3rd and 4th century, features various banqueting amenities like a well-house and benches. “Features like these are detectable in the Christian context too,” says Zimmermann. “There are a number of mensas in the catacombs, often with a round marble or terracotta bowl on which meals were probably deposited as a symbolic offering for the deceased.”

REALITY OR ALLEGORY?
Although the banquet scenes resemble each other very closely, each painting is an individual work that shows a specific number of persons and a detailed mise en scène. “The many iconographic differences between the pictures reveal the direct influence of the people commissioning them, and it’s likely the banquet paintings show the family constellation of the tomb owners.”

The banquet scenes in the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter illustrate the real life lived by individual families in another aspect as well. In the pictures with Agape and Irene inscriptions, women have an important, often indeed a leading role in the proceedings. They are shown standing up or presiding over the banquet and, with goblets in raised hands, they appear to be directing the
The Catacombs of Rome

What can a huge necropolis tell us about the people who were buried in it over a period of 200 years? What reflections are there of economic crises, dwindling political power, the spread of a new religion at the heart of the empire?

The catacombs of Rome are fascinating: not just as monuments but also for their potential secrets, still undisclosed after 400 years of research. They afford an insight into the radical transformation of society in late antiquity – a fundamental change in the conception of the world that is attested by mortuary murals and inscriptions.

Dr. Norbert Zimmermann is Second Director of the Rome Department of the DAI.

activities. This is evidence of a continuity in traditional gender roles. “The banquet scenes illustrate the status of women within the Christian familia and their pre-eminent role in mortuary cult. This task is then presumably assumed by the Church with the changeover to celebrating the Eucharist,” Zimmermann says.

“The catacomb paintings on the one hand show real funerary banquets held by the bereaved for the deceased, presenting a snapshot of the family structure.” On the other hand, the archaeologist points out, the deceased members are shown attending the banquet themselves. The paintings therefore oscillate between a depiction of the deceased as still present and a projection of his/her future reunion with the surviving family members at a supper in paradise at which ‘Agape’ and ‘Irene’ symbolically define the Christian content of that hope.”

Norbert Zimmermann: “The refrigerium actually held for the deceased fuses with its pictorial representation, spatially, visually and temporally for the commemorators. The distinction between the deceased and the bereaved is abolished, as is that with visitors who come to honour their memory. The sepulchral space and the pictorial space merge into a new reality whenever relatives visit the tomb: a reality that leads to an ideal, timeless communion of banqueters.”

Funeral banquet scenes are also to be found in the Catacomb of Calixtus. Photographic watercolour after Wilpert 1903, plate 41, 3–4. Photo: Gauss, DAI Rome
Among the few Christian inscriptions that can be precisely dated to the first half of the 4th century is an epitaph from the sarcophagus of M. Julius Eugenius of Laodicea in Phrygia, a bishop active in the period of persecution of Christians at the beginning of that century. Evidently the most important event of his episcopate – to which one third of his epitaph is devoted – was the building of a church, from its foundations to the roof. At the end of the inscription he adds that, with death approaching, he had had a sarcophagus and supporting base made for the adornment of the church and his lineage.

There are only a few other inscriptions like this one, which so vividly and amply document what modern research since Paul Veyne has termed “euergetism.” This term is used to denote a type of behaviour considered to be characteristic of the elite in societies of classical antiquity. Individuals prominent in society are supposed to have financed a number of public projects, above all the construction of public buildings. They did it voluntarily, albeit under a certain social pressure, the prime aim being to win recognition from the community so as to reassert and legitimize the benefactors’ pre-eminent position in society. This is the view taken by Veyne and those who follow him. Other scholars hold that Veyne overstates the significance of a phenomenon that always existed in the form of honorary monuments, and indeed still exists today in no less monumental form; any individuals who did not succumb to this social pressure have simply vanished from the record, from today’s vantage point.

However we regard the scope and significance of euergetism, pretty well everything regarded as typical of it is to be found in the epitaph of Eugenius: the benefactor’s pre-eminence in society, the desire to maintain a family’s status, and a major construction project carried out in conjunction with holding public office. In the case of Eugenius it’s important to note that we do not know whose funds he used to build the church – whether his own or his congregation’s. Use of one’s own funds is of course a defining characteristic of euergetism in antiquity, an equivalent to indirect taxation of the rich.

**CLERICAL QUARREL**

That not all the clergy thought like M. Julius Eugenius is shown by the downfall of John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, banished in 403. One of the main points of contention between John and his detractors was the question of how the rapidly growing church funds should be spent. When John was accused of being tight-fisted, even avaricious, his biographer Palladios counter-attacked. He criticized Theophilos – one of the opponents and patriarch of the at least as important see of Alexandria – for erecting buildings that the church didn’t need. Doing so was a mere craving for fame, Palladios declared; his words were *lithomania pharaonis* – a craze for stone buildings which was typical of a pharaoh.

That hit the nail on the head. To what extent was church building one of the good works of Christian *caritas*? Certainly, communities needed places of assembly, particularly after persecution phases, and were grateful to the individual who donated them. But was it right to build churches left right and centre, as temples had been built on private initiative in the past? And to what extent did such debates among theologians have an affect on how leading members of the community acted and how their endowments were accepted by the other Christians?

**EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE**

We can come close to answering these questions thanks to a corpus of epigraphic finds from the territory of the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. Analysis of over 1,000 inscriptions from village and town churches has afforded quite an insight into euergetic practice in communities in the region. It turns out that as far as church building is concerned there was neither a complete rupture with classical euergetism nor full continuity.
What may be observed instead is a host of transformation processes, some going farther than others and affecting different areas. This is true, for instance, of the social structure of the donors. Members of the social elite did put up the funding for some church construction projects and their motives were very similar to the *euergetai* of the Hellenistic period and the High Empire. And also the way these persons presented themselves in inscriptions and paintings inside the churches they erected – some of which were at their power of disposal for being built on their land – plainly has a certain amount in common with earlier practices. But it isn’t the case that these benefactors had a decisive or even an exceptional part to play in church building.

**FUNDING BY THE CONGREGATION**

In the region studied there is equally little evidence of *ob honorem* euergetism by clerics – when, that is, an endowment is made in thanks for being appointed to an ecclesiastical post. The majority of church buildings were in fact funded by the broad mass of the faithful – through big or small donations – and benefited from their voluntary, active participation. The Christian congregations seem to have been committed to the communal project of church building on the same scale and with the same intensity as the citizens in Classical Greek city-states were involved in the affairs of their *polis*.

Also new was the extent to which this ecclesiastical building activity took place within an institutional framework. The building inscriptions in this part of the empire leave no doubt as to the central position that the bishop occupied within his community as a result of his authority and length of service.

The self-presentation of the benefactors changed over time as well. While many dignitaries and clerics of the Late Empire did not fail to record their official titles, making clear their social status in this world, they gave a different rationale for their actions. Church construction was expected to be presented, outwardly at least, as an act of glorifying God alone. Certain forms of self-display that contradicted Christian teachings, like the boastful mention of funds donated, were now frowned upon. New formulations drawn from Christian doctrine, like the humble omission of the donor’s name, may not predominate in inscriptions, but neither are they a marginal phenomenon.

So there’s no simple answer. How far “ancient euergetism” was abandoned depended on the degree of doctrinal rigour in the community, among its leaders or in a given episcopal see. Yet there was no unbroken line between ancient euergetism and church building anywhere, in the East of the Roman Empire at any rate. The path through the eye of a needle had to be sought elsewhere.
He must have travelled over a hundred thousand kilometres. Most of them by Landrover on desert tracks, gravel tracks, jagged coastal roads and steep mountain slopes. But the going is never easy in early history and prehistory. Josef Eiwanger, from 1994 scientific director of the DAI’s Commission for Archaeology of Non-European Cultures (KAAK), knew what he was letting himself in for when he decided to research the early (and earliest) stages of human history. In mid 2015 he retired.

Eiwanger studied pre- and early history, classical archaeology and geology at Heidelberg University. Starting in the late 1960s he took part in excavations in Thessaly (Heidelberger Institut) and on the Nile island of Elephantine (DAI Cairo). He was awarded a doctor’s degree in 1976 with a thesis on ceramics and small finds from the Damokratia basilica in Demetrias, Thessaly, an excavation notable for a stratigraphic sequence extending from Hellenistic times through to the reign of Justinian. Eiwanger was a member of the research staff of the DFG (Thessaly excavations) and then the DAI’s Cairo department, before moving to the Institute of Prehistoric Archaeology at Berlin’s Freie Universitát. In 1988 he joined the Commission for Archaeology of Non-European Cultures in Bonn, becoming its scientific director in 1994. It was when he moved to the KAAK that his extensive research in the Republic of Togo and the Kingdom of Morocco began.

Elephantine Island was not the only “Egyptian” project Eiwanger was involved in. From 1977 to 1983 he resumed an excavation which the DAI Cairo had discontinued 50 years previously and which centred on the Neolithic settlement site of Merimde Beni-Salame in the western Nile delta. The site gave its name to an epoch in the culture of Lower Egypt. Merimde was the only known site of this Neolithic Lower Egyptian culture, and during the five-year field research project the phases of the culture’s development were identified. “All the other sites from that epoch probably lay in the inner Nile delta and have disappeared from the face of the Earth as a result of millennia of agriculture,” Eiwanger says. Since then the archaeological remains of Merimde have largely fallen victim to mechanical irrigation.

A detour led Eiwanger to the small west African country of Togo, where excavations targeting the Late Stone Age and Iron Age were being carried out for the first time, and petroglyphs in the north were also being investigated. The country is of special interest to archaeologists because its elongated territory encompasses several different climate and vegetation zones from savannah in the north to rainforest on the coast: an African microcosm that has led to highly diversified human settlement.

Returning to the north of the continent, the archaeologist was preoccupied by one question. Could something comparable to Merimde be found in the north African coastal zone? That would
allow the Egyptian findings to be placed in a broader geographical context, thus widening the archaeological horizon. Many archaeological sites had been lost due to climate action or superimposition or were inaccessible for political reasons. But finally a project came into being in Morocco, one that was to occupy Josef Eiwanger for the next two decades. “Morocco requested German cooperation and offered good conditions for work. Away from the big cities there’s a lot of potential in terms of as yet undiscovered sites,” the archaeologist says. The DAI obtained a concession covering 1,000 square kilometres in the north-east of the country and stretching from the coast to the pre-Saharan area. Here the archaeologists had to begin from scratch.

“The northern coasts of the Mediterranean have been relatively well researched. But we really didn’t know very much at all about the Neolithic and the metal ages of the north African region,” says Eiwanger, describing the state of knowledge at the project’s start. The archaeologist proceeded on the assumption there had been contacts and mutual influence between the African and European continents in this section of the Maghreb. The chosen research area turned out to yield a wealth of information and also had a few surprises in store for the researchers. As Eiwanger explains, “the cultures in the coastal strip displayed Mediterranean influence, as was to be expected. But the hinterland, in the Neolithic and the succeeding metal ages, was not so much sedentary and agricultural in character as semi-nomadic and nomadic” – an intelligent adjustment to a distinctly different environment. Eiwanger, and his successor at the KAAK, set out in search of cultural profiles extending across large areas and changing climate zones, voyaging into the unknown both geographically and historically.

The beginning of occupation at the site of Ifri n’Ammar can be dated to 180,000 years before present. A cave in the Eastern Rif Mountains of Morocco turned out to be an archive of unimaginined proportions. The project aroused the interest not only of the local population, which learned something about its roots, but also of the international scientific community. Until then most scholars had paid no attention to the region – and had overlooked something remarkable.

“After our discoveries had revealed the region’s archaeological potential, we were rapidly surrounded by a host of new projects,” Eiwanger recounts. “We found ourselves right in the middle of the debate about ‘Out of Africa’, as it’s called.” It wasn’t only from the north-east of the continent and the Arabian peninsula that humans from Africa populated the world a second time round. There was probably also a contact zone in the west. This remote region in the Rif, which until that time had been marginalized culturally and scientifically, ultimately also attracted the German Research Foundation (DFG) with its research initiative “Our way to Europe”, and from that point the DAI archaeologists were able to share logistics and find-sites with the DFG. “The stage for ‘Out of Africa’ was thus set on the Mediterranean shore in North Africa around the year 180,000,” Eiwanger declares. “But groups first reach Europe only tens of thousands of years later, in around 50,000.”

A passage to Europe isn’t the only route that researchers are retracing using archaeological means. At Ifri n’Amnr they have found a few small sea snail shells with drilled holes and traces of red mineral colouring (haematite) – 83,000 years old and thus by far the oldest jewellery in human history. “But these seashells aren’t just jewellery,” Eiwanger points out. “They presumably serve a purpose in communication. Why else should these small, inconspicuous objects crop up along the entire southern shore of the Mediterranean and also – mirrored by the equator – in the extreme south of the African continent?” It’s only many tens of thousands of years later that sporadic specimens of perforated Nassarius seashells accompany humans on their trek to Europe. “We have a cultural memory of huge chronological depth opening up here.”

“Given this chronological depth, arriving at a full understanding of cultures isn’t easy,” says the archaeologist, warning against jumping to conclusions. Cultural presuppositions often get in the way of a correct appreciation of the situation. “But in scientific research one must be allowed to make mistakes.” Correcting mistakes takes time, yet time is an ever scarcer commodity in the research business these days. “It’s an incalculable advantage of working at the DAI that you can take a long-term approach and have the time for critical analysis and correction.” This approach, Eiwanger says, is an essential prerequisite of sound scientific research.

“I’m grateful I was around at a time when it was easy to do archaeological research in the countries of North Africa. A lot of what we investigated only a few years ago is now irrevocably lost. Merimde is just one example among many,” Eiwanger says. In many regions of the world, invaluable remains of ancient cultures have disappeared as a consequence of rapid population growth and urban sprawl. “Even the desert that borders the Nile valley has patches of development over wide areas,” he says. “Every day more and more vestiges of human history are lost.”

So that Merimde doesn’t vanish altogether, Eiwanger is working on a publication about the site – cultural preservation by the written word, so to speak. “And there a few other publications in the pipeline.” But all in all he has achieved a certain distance now, he says. The Landrover won’t see so much use; and from now on Josef Eiwanger is more likely to be spotted in the local woods in the company of his truffle-hunting dog Minou.
Dr. Jörg Linstädter is the new scientific director of the KAAK commission in Bonn. Photo: private

When Jörg Linstädter realized that what he wanted to become was an archaeologist, he first had a few obstacles to overcome. His school in Gotha advised him against the career path he had fixed on, recommending he earn his living by doing something “useful” instead. But he wasn’t to be dissuaded, and in winter as in summer he would go off on digs with the director of the district archaeological office. “He knew he could depended on me.”

Thirty years “almost to the day” after the school sent him that letter, Jörg Linstädter finds himself in a position which he owes to his abiding and unerring passion. Since September 2015 he has been scientific director of the DAI’s Commission for Archaeology of Non-European Cultures (KAAK), taking over from Josef Eichwanger.

Jörg Linstädter studied pre- and early history, geology and Egyptology at university in Berlin and Cologne. He gained practical experience in field work primarily in North Africa but also South America, Western Europe and Bangladesh. His doctoral dissertation was on the early Neolithic (esp. ceramics) in the western Mediterranean, while his postdoctoral lecturing thesis at Tübingen focused on early and mid Holocene settlement history and the beginnings of a productive mode of subsistence in north-eastern Morocco. From 1995 to 2005 he was involved in the “Acacia” research project (SFB 389) at Cologne University, where he also worked on the project “Our way to Europe” (SFB 806), before taking up his current position at the KAAK. Throughout this time Linstädter was involved in projects at the commission.

Jörg Linstädter began his scientific career as a globetrotter, travelling to the four corners of the earth. He has done field work in Bangladesh, Spain, Brasil but above all in Africa. “Africa is the continent that is most broadly affected by global climate and environment change,” the archaeologist states. But what does archaeology have to do with climate research? “Africa is also the continent which we owe countless cultural inspirations and innovations to and which is one of the hot spots in human evolutionary research,” Linstädter explains. “And thanks to it we also have the domestication of many cultivated plants.”

The mention of crops prompts other questions that loom large in archaeological research: mobility and food procurement through hunting and gathering, and the sedentary lifestyle and the productive mode of economy, not forgetting the transition from the one to the other, for which Gordon Childe coined the term Neolithic Revolution. “From a global perspective, what is true of Central Europe is actually something of an exception,” Linstädter explains. “Outside the temperate zones, a way of life that depended solely on the production of food was much too risky.”

For 20 years now Jörg Linstädter has been conducting research in North Africa, chiefly Mediterranean Morocco. There archaeologists have found botanical macro-remains, charcoal, pollen and
land snails, the latter in considerable quantity. “Analysis of the results has shown just how diversified foraging and productive food-procurement can be in semi-arid areas,” Linstädter notes. Subsistence is described as agricultural if 50% of the food is procured that way. “In the areas we’ve studied, that mark was never exceeded in prehistoric times,” Linstädter says. “There was always a mix of cultivation, hunting, gathering and fishing.” Neolithic innovations like the domestication of plants and animals do not cause this apparently ancient mode of life to disappear. Transitions, when they occur, are moreover definitely not revolutionary: instead they unfold over thousands of years and are never unidirectional.

In the Americas, no sign of a Neolithic revolution has yet been found. Linstädter plans to apply the same methods and concepts in Brasil in order to further scholarly discussion. Work in the Serra da Capivara, a national park with UN world heritage status and rich in petroglyphic finds in the north-east of that vast country, will be continued in cooperation with the “Americans” in the KAAK, though Africa will remain the main focus of his work.

Along with the protection of cultural assets and capacity building, the reliable procurement of food will be one of the archaeologist’s major concerns. On which point, long lines connect the distant past with the present.

“The combination of different modes of subsistence in the past shows that the inhabitants of difficult regions knew their environment extremely well and exploited it in a sustainable way,” Linstädter explains. “Studying nutrition and studying the environment are closely interconnected and are often done using the same methods.” For example, sedimentological, soil-genetic and chronometric analysis of high-tide sediments from the lower reaches of the Moulouya, Morocco’s biggest river, has allowed archaeologists to develop a high-resolution, terrestrial chronostatigraphy. The stratigraphic linkage of archaeological and alluvial archives permits a clear chronological correlation of changes in settlement style and subsistence mode with changes in regional environmental conditions,” says Linstädter. The findings have made it possible to reconstruct settlement and subsistence patterns on the Lower Moulouya.

The research results constantly point to how closely North Africa and Europe are linked. Exactly what form these links took has been Jörg Linstädter’s object of study for the past 20 years. “If we know the settlement history and the effects of climate and environmental change on this sensitive natural environment over the last few thousand years, then we can also consider what’s happening today in its historical context.” In Linstädter’s research, there’s collaboration not only in the fields of climate research and archaeology. “Working together with scientists, students and other partners in the host countries helps bring about an understanding of each other’s societal standpoint and break down barriers long-term.”

Cultivating an understanding of a researcher’s working life and his need to be away from his family for long stretches of time is another matter. “Taking my two daughters to Morocco was virtually a project in itself,” says Jörg Linstädter with a laugh. Now, though, they understand much better why the globetrotting researcher is sometimes away from home for so long – and why archaeology, despite what its detractors may say, is in fact a very useful pursuit.
EFFECTIVE LEARNING
The Iraqi-German Summer Programme
Uruk is one of the DAI’s most important projects.
Reconstruction: @artefacts-berlin.de; research data: DAI
There’s a time in the year when Ibrahim Salman works round the clock for six consecutive weeks. He looks after and interprets for a group of Iraqi scholars visiting Germany; for most of them it’s the first time in their lives they have been abroad. He helps them through the initial culture shock, explains practicalities and schedules, and tells them where to get SIM cards to phone home with and where to buy food that complies with the dietary laws they follow. Ibrahim Salman is a graduate assistant at the Bagh-dad Branch of the DAI’s Orient Department.

Margarete van Ess explains methods of documenting excavation sites and finds.  
Photo: DAI Orient Department

For six weeks in July and August 2015, professors and junior researchers from Iraq visited Berlin and Heidelberg to carry out training programmes and intensify academic exchange. “It originally wasn’t envisaged that the programme would take place in Germany,” says Margarete van Ess, scientific director of the Orient Department and director of the Baghdad Branch. “Courses and joint projects were supposed to take place there [in the host country].” That was still possible when the programme was launched in the year 2000, but in 2004 and 2005 the summer programme had to be relocated to Jordan, until not even that was possible any more. “There was a strong desire on the part of our Iraqi colleagues for the programme to continue,” says van Ess, in charge of developing the courses and dealing with institutions cooperating in the programme. “So for safety reasons we brought it to Germany.”

The programme is aimed first and foremost at young researchers who are working on their master’s thesis or doctoral dissertation and are planning a career in research and academia. In summer 2015, four PhD students from the Department of Archaeology and the Department of History at Baghdad University were able to make use of the research and library resources of the DAI and the Freie Universität Berlin as they prepared their scientific papers. “Detailed discussion about research questions and methods is the best way to facilitate effective learning,” Margarete van Ess states with conviction. A good atmosphere for sharing and exchange can be achieved by integrating soft factors in the courses and being flexible about time-management. This also reduces the culture shock.

Margarete van Ess explains methods of documenting excavation sites and finds.  
Photo: DAI Orient Department

Participants of the 2010 summer programme. On the right is Dr. Munther Abdelmalik, Iraqi coordinator of the collaborative project.  
Photo: DAI Orient Department

Socializing has a key part to play in the summer programmes.  
At left the programme director, Dr. Margarete van Ess.  
Photo: DAI Orient Department

Many course components take place at the Orienthaus of the DAI.  
Photo: DAI Orient Department
The summer training course was followed up by a survey at al-Hira.

*Photo: Siegel, DAI Orient Department*

**METHODS AND RESEARCH**

After a social evening and an introduction the course participants get down to work. This summer a number of practical archaeologists were on the programme; they were not pursuing a career in scientific research but instead were interested primarily in archaeological techniques and technologies. They attend courses about documentation methods. “Together we work out why it’s important to draw finds by hand, rather than reaching for the scanner straight away,” says van Ess. “That’s the only way to comprehend the nature of an artefact.”

The PhD students are shown how to use libraries in Germany, how to access electronic resources, navigate through the flood of scientific literature and exploit it for their own purposes.

During the programme the garden of the Orienthaus took on the appearance of an archaeological site. Surveying, measuring, leveling and photographing were practised and participants enthusiastically executed technical drawings of the building. “Architecture is really in demand,” says Margarete van Ess. “Our guests are also very interested in church buildings.” Once the basics have been taught, the German and Iraqi instructors move on to advanced topics like excavation techniques, documentation and evaluation methods, and the possibilities of preventive conservation.

The one-month stay in Berlin is obviously not long enough for course members to learn about all the necessary procedures. In October 2015 therefore a scientific survey in al-Hira (Najaf, southern Iraq) was organized where they could practise survey methods.

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FOCUS ON URUK

Uruk is one of the most important archaeological sites in Iraq and site of one of the major, long-term excavations of the DAI. The licence to dig there was awarded in 1954 and Margarete van Ess is in charge of the project today. The site is discussed on the course extensively and from many angles – excavation results, future projects, conservation requirements. Four senior and five junior members of staff from the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage and the University of Kufa travelled to Berlin specially for this course component.

When the programme was finally able to be held in Iraq again, after a long interruption, in 2013, Uruk was an important point on the programme. For the course participants the visit to Uruk was the highlight and concluding event of the workshop, after they had visited the holy shrines in Najaf and Karbala, Dar al-Imara in Kufa, the early Christian church in Qusair, the desert palace of Ukhaidir, early Islamic and early Christian ruins in the Kufa area and the archaeological sites of Babylon and Borsippa. In 2014 the workshops had to be held in Germany again as the security situation in southern Iraq was impossible to gauge.

EXPANDING THE PROGRAMME

While young Iraqi researchers were working with their German colleagues in Berlin, a delegation from the relevant faculty of Baghdad University headed by the dean, Professor Salah Flaifel Alhasan, paid a visit to the city. In future the summer programmes of the DAI will be accompanied by other collaborative projects and joint training programmes in Germany and Iraq. The German Archaeological Institute will joined by Berlin's Freie Universität and the University of Heidelberg, the latter implementing projects of its own. This will place collaborative work and training as well as Iraqi-German scientific exchange on a broader footing.

The first graduates of the Iraqi-German Summer Programme have now become teachers themselves and are passing on the knowledge they gained and developed together with their German colleagues. "Of course, a short summer programme can't replace a full course of study and doesn't represent systematic further education," Margarete van Ess stresses. "It's conceived as supplementary, as a kind of inducement to study abroad. And it wouldn't be possible at all without the effective cooperation of the universities," she adds. "Like all the parties involved in this initiative, [the universities] make an enormous contribution to network building and to cultural and scientific exchange."

The excavations at Uruk became famous when they exposed large structures dating from the late 4th millennium BC. Only their foundations were preserved. The photo shows the mud brick remains of such foundations.
Temple of Gareus, 2nd cent. AD. The foundations are suffering from rising damp, as can be clearly seen here after rainfall. Conservation work is urgently required.

The Eanna Ziggurat from the 21st cent. BC was part of the vast sanctuary of the goddess of love and war Inanna / Ishtar, who was particularly venerated in Uruk.
Research in situ
The Tehran Branch
The German Archaeological Institute has offices at the following locations:


http://www.dainst.org/standort/teheran
In Mesopotamia, the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris, ancient civilization flourished; the Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians and other peoples bequeathed to the world a rich cultural inheritance. Most of the physical remains are located on the territory of modern-day Iraq.

German archaeologists have been working in the region for almost 130 years. Babylon, Assur and Uruk were the principal sites selected. The excavations at Uruk from 1928 to 1939 marked one of the first climaxes. But it was to take another two decades or so before German archaeology acquired an institutional base in the country. In 1955 the German Archaeological Institute established a department in Baghdad; its first director was Heinrich Lenzen, an architectural historian. Until then, excavations at Uruk-Warka had been conducted in cooperation with the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (DOG) and with funding from the German Research Foundation (DFG) but under Lenzen they were formally made part of the department’s work programme. The research spectrum rapidly widened to include reopened investigations at Babylon, documentation of building structures at the Abbasid madrasa al-Mustansiriya, work in the Sassanid capital Ctesiphon, surveys in the western Euphrates region of the Iraqi desert, and excavations at Tulul al-Ukhaidir.

Owing to political developments in Iraq and the worsening security situation, the Baghdad branch has had to make adjustments to the type and range of work it carries out, placing greater emphasis on cultural policy and bilateral projects, a number of which have been set up. Further education programmes have been organized in close cooperation with archaeologists and Ancient Near Eastern scholars, with the aim of familiarizing young Iraqi researchers and academics with the latest developments in archaeological technologies.

In 1996, the Baghdad Department became a branch of the newly founded Orient Department. It is currently housed in a locally managed DAI building to which a small library is attached. The Baghdad Branch’s mission remains the same: conducting archaeological research and Ancient Near Eastern philological research with a regional focus on Mesopotamia, especially southern and north-eastern Iraq. The site of Uruk occupies an important place in its work; the licence to dig there was awarded to the DAI by the Republic of Iraq in 1954.

In the years 1990 to 2003, when research opportunities in Iraq were severely restricted, cooperation was deepened with Iraqi universities. This included exchanges for researchers, sharing publications, the involvement of Iraqi students in branch projects at sites in the country as well as financial and logistical support for Iraqi research projects.

Since 2003 a priority has been the preservation of Iraq’s cultural heritage. With significant assistance from the German Federal Parliament and the Foreign Office, donations in kind have been organized for the ransacked and looted Iraq Museum in Baghdad, replacements have been procured for burned and looted university libraries, a guard system for archaeological sites has been supported, further education opportunities for young Iraqi researchers have been created and the DAI has been able to considerably increase the number of scholarships awarded to Iraqi researchers.

Furthermore the branch sits on committees concerned with the protection of Iraq’s cultural heritage, and is actively committed – like the DAI president – to improving German legislation on the protection and restitution of illegally exported cultural assets.
Joint workshop in Iraq. Site inspection at Uruk.
Photo: DAI Orient Department
Excavation assistants
Heavy equipment in archaeology
Archaeologists need all sorts of skills. The methods applied in their work have multiplied many fold even in the past few years. The traditional trowel and brush have been joined by a range of natural science methods: isotope analysis allows archaeologists to track the movements of objects of their interest, satellite pictures give an overview of ancient sites and landscapes, not to mention cultural science techniques that illuminate social structure and human behaviour in early civilizations. Some archaeologists have even become certified divers so they can find underwater evidence of maritime trade routes.

Operating an excavator has not typically been regarded as a qualification archaeologists need. The importance of heavy construction plant in excavations is not in doubt, however. What archaeologists call the plough horizon – the top layer of earth disturbed by ploughing or soil erosion – is removed by heavy machinery at the start of any dig. This has to be done carefully, of course, so as not to damage lower strata possibly containing archaeological deposits. While the diggers don’t have to be driven by archaeologists, the use of heavy machinery is no trivial matter and requires precise logistical planning.

It’s not only on archaeological digs that earth-moving equipment has an important role to play. Powerful rulers in the ancient world now and again wanted to build works on a mighty scale, whether palaces, stadiums or temples. Building them required the mobilization of massive resources, manpower and machines: not unlike the investigation of their often still imposing remains.

Particularly when it comes to preserving ancient remains and presenting them to the public, we rely heavily on heavy machinery. Monoliths weighing 30 tonnes can’t be easily moved from where they lie; toppled columns and statues of larger-than-life figures defy all attempts to re-erect them. Protective structures built at archaeological sites whenever remains are to be made accessible to the public or where the remains, after exposure, need to be sheltered from the elements – these all call for diggers, cranes, trucks and all-terrain transport vehicles.
So there are certain archaeological projects where such machinery is a must. Yet it seldom figures in the budgets of archaeological departments or institutes. Why is that? Because it’s so expensive.

Fortunately, though, there are people who are as passionate about archaeology as archaeologists are, and generous enough to donate the various machines that are needed. These people are to be found in public trusts and foundations and international corporations, construction firms, transport companies and frequently also car makers. And it so happens that a lot of the equipment that is used in archaeological field work is fairly antiquated.
itself. It’s important to point out, lest readers get the wrong idea, that this in fact has a distinct advantage. Compared with today’s equipment, older models tend to be easier to maintain, operate and repair. They are not nearly so sensitive as their modern counterparts, and remain functional even if the ambient temperature soars to 50 degrees plus.

Which doesn’t mean that modern equipment is not made available to archaeologists. It is, of course, but that has been reported on elsewhere (special edition of *Archäologie Weltweit*, 2–2015 “Stiften”).

A forklift truck makes light work of shifting stone artefacts. It was given to the Pergamon Excavations by the engineering firm Linde. Devices for communications and office work, now antiques themselves, are kept at the Istanbul department.
DIGITAL CLASSICIST SEMINAR

The seminar series of the German Archaeological Institute and the excellence cluster TOPOI looks at innovative applications of modern digital technologies and resources in the study of antiquity. The subjects addressed are digital texts, linguistic technologies, image processing and visualization, linked data and the semantic web, open access, spatial and network analysis and other digital or statistical methods. There is a special focus on interdisciplinary collaboration and on the development of new theoretical approaches through the application of digital methods.

The seminars are held every second Tuesday at 17 hours.
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Thank you!

Each year the Kerameikos in Athens is visited by more than 60,000 people from all over the world. The famous cemetery is a remarkable archaeological site that bears witness to an ancient culture, its grave terraces and mortuary reliefs painting a vivid picture of how people in Classical Athens commemorated their dead. Research at the site was entrusted to the German Archaeological Institute more than 100 years ago.

Investigating the public buildings in Athens’ famous necropolis and maintaining them in good condition is still very much a challenge today. But it is one that Greek and German archaeologists, architects and restorers in close cooperation are mastering with great success, as continuously rising visitor figures show. Informative literature in several languages needs to be made available for these visitors.

A new guide to the site was written by Dr. Jutta Stroszeck, director of the Kerameikos project, in 2013 to mark the centenary of joint German-Greek research there. The trilingual publication – in German, Greek and English – was made possible by a donation from Dr. Jürgen Trumpf and Dr. Maria Trumpf-Lyritzaki to the Theodor Wiegand Gesellschaft e.V., a society that supports the work of the German Archaeological Institute.