

# HOUSE OF HOARDS — COLLECTING TREASURES IN ANTIQUITY. EARLY PRECIOUS COLLECTIONS AND THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGE AS PREDECESSORS OF EUROPEAN *KUNSTKAMERAS*\*

In einer durch Medien und Werbung ständig auf die angeblichen Vorteile des Allerneuesten hingewiesenen Öffentlichkeit wird der Konsument, der am „Gestrigen“ hängt, zum Sonderling und Muffel abgewertet, der eigentlich dort-hin gehörte, wo Altmodisches abgestellt wird: in die Rumpelkammer. Dort, an „seinem Platz“, kann das „Neueste von gestern“ sogar wieder einen gewissen Kuriositätenwert bekommen.

*Robert Jungk, Zukunftsforscher, 1981\*\**

Since prehistoric times and until ours, human beings incline to collect objects from their near or far environment. Such objects were made from stone, wood, ebony, bone, animal skin or precious metal. The reasons to collect them are such manifold like the objects themselves: because of their value in trade, because of their religious or magic power, because of an individual sense for aesthetic style or special beauty. In addition, such objects can be a symbol of their owner's power and wealth, dreams and fears.

From prehistoric periods, mostly non-writing cultures (e.g. Stone Age, middle European Bronze Age and Iron age), we know hoards of weapons [1], gifts close by or into rivers (e.g. River Rhine) or into the earth (e.g. Celtic traditions).

During the periods of Early Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures one can trace back the beginning of a special culture of cultivating treasures to mythical spheres (e.g. the tale of Midas; see below and ann. 9), but mostly as a symbol of states whose political roots based on the culture of settlement, written law and social hierarchies defined by sacral axioms.

As the Egyptian ruler's title, pharaoh (“great house” [2]), imagines, such a ruler was keeper of all real and religious symbols of power. Pharaoh in his function as representative of celestial and eternal power was keeper of the granaries (he was granting the food to his people), he was owner of the treasures, and the believers worshiped pharaoh's imagination (deity) within the temples. The last-mentioned, too, were huge estates with an effective management in order to enlarge their property. In Egypt, such temple economy survived until Late Antiquity when Emperor Justinian in the beginning of 6th century CE gave order to close all non-Christian sanctu-

aries (also 529 CE the Academy in Athens was closed by Imperial legal act).

In ancient Greek and Roman Culture, where temple areas were the centres of religious cult, political meeting and communication [3], a widespread economic system participated in these early East Mediterranean traditions by various attempts to produce and copy, to collect, to buy, or to rob precious objects from their original place of dedication (e.g. from the sanctuary in Delphi [4] or Olympia [5]). Many ancient collections originally have their origin in war booty (see below). It is a well-known fact that esp. Alexander the Great's war activity in Persia was connected with the wish to take back to Greece former Persian war booty from the Persian king's collections [6].

Today, common visitors of art exhibitions recognize only the “citations” of such cultural “secrets”, which are now “imprisoned” into museums' exhibition cases. However, in many cases we are unable to feel the invisible ribbon between the isolated objects in the exhibition's “glass-coffins” [7] and the wish to pay for a copy in order to bring a glance of wealth to their private home, notwithstanding the fact to cross the border between copied art and “kitsch” or tinsel [8]. Beside pharmaceutical or cosmetic products or perfumes named after famous persons or places (e.g. Cleopatra, Roma), the extreme examples of taking copies of ancient art or remains can be defined as eating-up-object, which partly is close to a new type of abstract “nekrophagia” [9].

Less the Greeks, but more the Romans at all, had a similar psychological “problem” with their attempt to create collections of art and objects. Therefore, it is interesting to have a look to terminology and juridical definitions.

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\* The idea to write this essay from point of ancient history and archaeology began during a common walk through Delphi temple area in sunny June 1993 and was remembered in the year 2003 on occasion of tercentenary celebrations in Saint Petersburg. The exchange of thoughts with my colleague and friend Prof. Dr. Efim Rezvan concerning the special human motivation to collect objects finally led back to the roots and etymology of key-terms and archaeological definitions which will also open a glance to the future of art collections and exhibitions.

\*\* Citation of Robert Jungk, see ann. 54.

## I. The Names of Valuables

In the ancient Greek language exist two terms for precious things and for the places where their owners kept them [10].

### A. Greek Noun:

Roots not defined or perhaps by a root from verb τίθημι (*tithēmi*): “setzen, legen, stellen; zur Aufbewahrung niederlegen; gestalten, schaffen; wohl ordnen” and similar meanings:

1. θησαυρός, *m.* (*thēsauros*)

1.1. *place to keep the object* (*cf.* GEL 800):

a. Vorratskammer, Schatzkammer, Schatzhaus; store, treasure, magazine;

b. Behältnis, Schatzkästchen, Geldkasten, Sparbüchse, Opferstock; receptacle for valuables, safe, casket;

c. Speicher, Magazin.

1.2. *the object itself*:

a. gesammelter Vorrat, niedergelegter Schatz (teurer, wertvoller Besitz, kostbare Beute, wertvoller Fund, Gewinn);

b. ἱκτήριος (*hiktērios*): Schatz oder Darbringung der Schutzflehenden; in coherence with god Zeus (GEL 800).

1.3. θησαυρίσμα, *f.* (*thēsaurisma*), poetic: Aufgespeichertes, Vorrat, Reichtum, Kostbarkeiten; store, treasure.

### B. Greek Verb:

θησαυρίζο (*thēsaurizo*): ansammeln, aufhäufen, aufspeichern; aufbewahren, aufheben; to store, treasure-up, hoard, to lay up treasure.

### C. Greek Adjective:

θησαυροποιός: Schätze sammelnd (*lit.*: Schätze machend); to make stores, laying up in store.

The θησαυροφύλαξ /*thēsaurōphylax*), *m.*: Wächter der Schatzkammer, guardian of the treasury (see below), treasurer.

The Latin word *thesaurus* (*m.*) has a special additional meaning: Greek or Barbarian temple [11].

### D. Greek Noun by Graeco-Persian Cultural Mediation:

1. γάζα (*gaza*), *f.*: Schatzkammer, königlicher Schatz; treasure, large sum of money (GEL 335) [12].

2. γαζοφυλάκιον (*gazophylakion*), *n.*: Schatzkammer; Gotteskasten (*esp.* in Christian meaning); treasury.

3. Greek geographic names with Oriental roots: Γάζα, *f.* (Hebrew: the strong; also with Persian root in Hebrew?, arab. *gazza*), name of a City in Philistea, south-western of Jerusalem, harbour from 3rd millennium BCE until Arab conquest 635 CE. The most important time of Gaza was during Persian rule in the 5th—4th centuries BCE. [13] Possibly on such places the Persians stored the collected taxes or tributes from their provinces or from the subdued people.

4. Greek geographic name with Sanskrit (*Bhārukaccha*) or Persian root (?) or by phonetic transcription/phonetic association (?): Βαρυγάζα (*Barygaza*): the

most important Indian harbour (export of precious stones and other goods to the Mediterranean) mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (1st century AD) [14].

It seems worth to mention that a big treasury house belonged to the residences of Persian kings [15]. The title of the chief of Jewish treasury in the temple of Jerusalem was γαζοφύλαξ (*gazophylax*). During mid of the 1st century CE such persons could be elected for diplomatic missions to Rome [16]. Obviously a little bit earlier (around 48/49 CE) there was another official and traveller, who was warden of a royal treasury, as mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (8,27 sq.): the eunuch of the ruling Meroitic king's mother (*Kandakê*) [17]. Such persons and their official duties were parts of the sacral legitimating of power in Antiquity. [18]

### E. Wonderful Things:

The two terms — θαυμασία-*thaumasia* in Greek and in *mirabilia*-wonders in Latin — define a human perspective of admiration (*lat.* noun admiratio *f.* from the same root like *mirabilia*, *nom. pl. n.*).

Greek *thaumasia* and a huge group of relative terms from the same Indo-European root (*dhāu*) describe the

individual feeling when recognizing something wonderful. The term finally contains both: the object of admiration and a person's feeling. The Greek word for god/goddess (θεός/θεά, *theos/thea*) [19] is also connected with the same Indo-European root. Finally, the *thaumasia* are very close to a sacral sphere, too.

The Latin word *mirabilia* differs in some points from the aforementioned examples. It belongs to a huge group of verbs, nouns and adjectives from an Indo-European root *smei-lächeln* (eng. “to smile”) [20]. The term can be interpreted as “to watch something extraordinary [21] or wonderful (with a good feeling that makes someone smile) [22]”, e.g. objects from nature, arts and crafts, philosophical ideas and discussions, or precious things of all kind.

With a special meaning and beside of any sacral sphere, Romans preferred to define Greek vases, paintings, statues and other objects of artificial crafts as *mirabilia*.

A *museion* (dedicated to the muses) was the institution, where the *thaumasia/mirabilia* of the world could be *admired, studied and discussed*; such was the general type of antique university: e.g. the Academia in Athens [23], the Museion in Alexandria/Egypt, the library in Pergamon. We have to mention the famous libraries (e.g. the Apollon temple in Rome as meeting point of diplomats during audience, the Greek and Latin libraries of the Emperor Trajan, Hadrian's library in Athens) [24] including the copies of their books, esp. in Alexandria/Egypt and also the many temple libraries and state archives (e.g. *tabularium* at the Capitol/Rome), which all represent the collective memory of ancient Mediterranean states. Although their original materials mostly are lost, such collections and the knowledge about them are part of the treasures of human culture in general [25]. We have to take into consideration that all later literary

sources — including the Oriental descriptions and adaptations of antique records — continue less or more this tradition of written cultural memories. Al-Qazwini (ca. 1203 — 1283) as well as other Muslim authors described and summarized the *thaumasia/mirabilia*-wonders of earlier époques and tried to find new knowledge by using the possibilities of their own time. However, sometimes they omit the main themes of antique authors. Therefore, the stories about Alexander the Great (including important Oriental literary traditions) were connected with excerpts or samples mostly from Herodotus [26]. Herodotus tried to describe the reasons of the Greek-Persian war in the 5th century BCE and not the world's *mirabilia* or *ethnographia*. Authors like al-Qazwini [27] interpreted their subjects from another level and defined them as a part of the wonders of creation — this was not the main aim of antique writers (e.g. because of individual reasons or when in the 6th century BCE Greek philosophy beginning with ingenious Parmenides who defined the difference between religious/mythic and physical interpretations). On one hand, later Oriental authors protected important antique records from being forgotten; on the other, they bound them under another religious i.e. monotheistic system (Islam, or Christianity, cf. Kosmas Indikopleustes), mostly without any later renaissance tradition. To my mind, this is the main difference between Antiquity and later reception within the context of collecting and heritage.

## II. Greek and Roman Treasures and Collections

During Greek and Roman antiquity, the main type of a precious collection was that of a temple or a small treasure house, both situated in a holy area and protected by sacral law. Hurting or destroying such places was an act of Barbarian violence [28].

The most important treasure houses were dedicated in the sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia. Others, like those in Lindos/Isle of Rhodes were of the same importance. Early Greek written records — literary and epigraphic — are delivering the objects of such holy collections and inventories [29].

Important temples contained also the money hoards of a State and the financial security of a community of citizens: the famous Parthenon in Athens was built to keep the money of the Attic Sea Alliance and the huge temple of Jerusalem was the temple bank of the Jewish state. Roman temple of Saturnus was a similar banking treasure hoard under the control of Roman government and Senate. After Cleopatra's death in 31 BCE, the (holy) hoard of the Egyptian pharaohs — one of the most outstanding collections in Mediterranean Antiquity — was brought to Rome, where gold and silver vessels firstly were melted and then minted for Emperor Augustus's new currency: nearly no single vessel from the Pharaonic treasure collection survived (only those from the grave areas) [30]. The money treasure from Jerusalem arrived as war booty in Rome after Emperor Vespasian

had besieged Judaea in 70 CE. With this money, Roman government made payment to finance the Colosseum in Rome and to pay the debts of the Roman state. In addition, the precious stones (esp. the very expensive emeralds from Egyptian mines and the pearls from the Red Sea) [31] where taken from Egyptian objects or directly from the mining areas in order to become the ingredients of typical Roman jewellery.

Smaller hoards belonged to many Hellenistic rulers and their local successors in the Eastern Mediterranean. Roman sources mention such hoards and their former owners after the precious objects became the war booty of Roman commanders [32]. Criminal individuals organized raids, too, in order to obtain precious objects for private collections, such as the Roman Catilina and official Verres and others in the 1st century BCE had done [33]. Latin records contain summarized inventories of many private or public collections (cf. Cicero's lists published on occasion of the trials; descriptions in Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*).

Like modern states, too, Roman government owned, stored and displayed a special collection of diplomatic gifts. All official presents, which provincial or foreign envoys brought to Rome (to the Senate or to the Emperor) were stored in the Temples of Peace (*templum pacis*). In Rome, too, existed a collection of huge paint-

ings, which were of diplomatic importance [34] and such traditions caused literary topics in ancient literature [35].

It is interesting to notice that in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire an equal tradition is less known with the exception of paintings from archaeological layers under the dome in Trier (Germany) that show a box with jewellery. For sure, important provincial tem-

ples (*e.g.* the sanctuary in Lugdunum / Lyon, France) possessed their precious inventory. Outside the borders of Imperium Romanum such objects are known as Roman diplomatic gifts to local tribal chiefs [36]. However, during the migration period between 3rd and 6th centuries CE, Germanic warriors took private collections away from farms [37], estates and temples [38].

### III. Late Antiquity and Medieval Traditions

During the period of Late Antiquity between 3rd and 6th century CE there are several records about private hoards. In the Near East, we know about private treasures to finance merchandise projects, esp. to organize the expensive long-distance trade (Arabian Peninsula) [39].

In the Western part of the Roman Empire, there existed the other types of hoards. Mostly coin depositories (containing bronze, gold and silver currency) are typical for the territories west of River Rhine [40]. For this period archaeological investigations located collections of private luxurious goods or inventories of smaller provincial sanctuaries (*cf.* Weißenburg/Bayern) [41]. The recently discovered hoard from Rülzheim (Germany) with precious objects and the hoard from Neupotz (from River Rhine, near city of Speyer, Germany), partly representing the inventory of a public or private sanctuary, surely was a part of an Alamannic booty cart, which the Germanic warriors lost into the water when they crossed River Rhine [42]. Other typical hoards from Late Antiquity contain expensive Roman weapons (*e.g.* the parade weapons [43] from Straubing/Bayern, Germany) or precious household equipments (*e.g.* from Kaiseraugst/Switzerland [44]).

One of the most well-known literary reflections of the migration period is Siegfried's mysterious hoard in Worms (Germany) and its medieval description in the German "Nibelungen Lied". According to the legend the hoard was dedicated to River Rhine [45] and until now people are trying to find the hoard that obviously was a literary reflection on the many transports during early Middle ages [46]. Similarly Gregor of Tours (*Historia Francorum*) and other early medieval authors mention very precious aristocratic collections as remains from a former queen's treasure; such precious treasures were excavated from graves of Merovingian queens or aristocratic women [47].

The history of early collections leads to a natural human wish of possessing extraordinary objects. Like the early Mediterranean history shows, such collections mostly belonged to sacral rulers or sanctuaries. After more than 2500 years passed since ancient Greek understanding of the coherence of the religious and political relevance of art-objects, nearly all known objects of precious antique art are available now as copies, which can be bought not only by the rich. Such objects, including cheap-made plastic copies of religious objects, are no longer parts of sacral rituals or public identification, because they are taken to decorate every kind of house or

Many precious objects from Western Roman provinces are gone their way to Germanic artisans, who melted them in order to obtain raw material for their tribal jewellery or for decoration of their weapons.

In early medieval times, many antique jewels became parts of royal crowns and symbols as well as parts of reliquaries. In such a way, a new type of treasury appeared: that of Germanic rulers (*cf.* the royal hoard of Medieval Emperors at Trifels castle in Germany [48] that still is an important place of official German Heritage protection) or the collection in Vienna/Austria [49]. The crusaders war activities enlarged collections in Christian cathedrals.

Especially during the period of crusades in the 12th century CE Christian relic hunters rummaged through Byzantine churches, imperial and private collections in order to rob both: the relics and their precious receptacles [50].

There was obviously a change of thinking during the beginning of Renaissance period, when the first edition of Greek and Roman records led their readers back to the world of Antiquity. Such new knowledge stimulated wealthy individuals, bishops and popes to create and interpret their own world of Antiquity; they started to collect special precious objects or they paid artisans to produce them [51]. From such tradition, it was only a small step to the private aristocratic "kunstkameras" of the 17th century CE [52] followed by a special culture of collections and museum activities since the time of French Revolution [53].

Modern states are now mostly the possessors and successors of the former aristocratic collections. These collections are displayed by permanent or special exhibitions to educate modern visitors and to make them admiring with a "smile".

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room. Modern culture of "buying and possessing" [54] caused a new quality of collecting art as the modern art-auctions imagine (*e.g.* Christies, Sotheby's, Cahn). In addition, the public discussion about preserving the original collections has also a new quality [55]. However, the more and more minimized financial budgets for museums since 2008 [56], libraries, too, and archives get an increasing problem to fulfil the projects aimed for public education and cultural identity or to protect one of the most basic traditions of European culture.

Recently an increasing number of private collectors and art-galleries open their special collections only for

the happy few of their friends and clients. In the same time, public collections are closing periodically their doors because of financial problems: a mirror of the civil society's declining and dissolving [57]. The majority visits the huge international shopping malls, which show them the inventory of the recent world under one roof and at one place. Why to concentrate mind on energy-taking art, if the miracles of the world are offered to nearly any level of private budget? Style and very attractive presentation in modern shopping malls e.g. MyZeil in Frankfurt am Main, KaDeWe ("Kaufhaus des Westens") and "Lafayette" in Berlin, Gostiny Dvor in St. Petersburg and many others represent the rapidly changing world of luxurious goods, and they seem to become the public-commercial counterpart of former academic "Kunst- or Wunderkammer". A new definition

mostly influenced by marketing strategies of "order and sell" now dominates the world of *θησαυρός* (*thêsauros*) and *mirabilia*. Finally the most important concurrence to any kind of cultural activities are open-shop Sundays and seasonally shopping nights.

The long lasting line of handling and cultivating collections once began with collecting sacral objects, taking war booty and displaying private art by upper-class or aristocratic owners whose dominance later was replaced by public protected collections and exhibitions. The modern road leads to the mentality of commercial use and modern sponsorship that replaces step-by-step the passing world of a true Maecenas and his inclination to collections as a symbol of true lifestyle and knowledge [58]. We should not accept such way into loss of cultural and public identity!

## Notes

1. R. Bradley, *The passage of arms: an archaeological analysis of prehistoric hoards and votive deposits* (Cambridge UP, 1998).
2. W. Helck, "Pharao", *Lexikon der Alten Welt 2* (Zürich, München 1990 = Augsburg 1994), p. 2283.
3. Cf. Kult und Kommunikation: "Medien in Heiligtümern der Antike", ed. by Chr. Frevel, H. v. Hesberg. *Schriften des Lehr- und Forschungszentrums für die antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraumes — Centre for Mediterranean Cultures*. ZAKMIRA IV (Wiesbaden, 2007).
4. A. Jacquemin, *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Paris, 1999). Main results of archaeological research are published within the series *Fouilles des Delphes ed. by École Française d'Athènes* (Paris).
5. W. Gauer, *Die Bronzegefäße von Olympia: mit Ausnahme der geometrischen Dreifüße und der Kessel des orientalisierenden Stils I: Kessel und Becken mit Untersätzen, Teller, Kratere, Hydrien, Eimer, Situlen und Cisten, Schöpfhumpen und verschiedenes Gerät*. Olympische Forschungen XX (Berlin, 1991); H. Kyrieleis, *Olympia: Archäologie eines Heiligtums* (Darmstadt, 2011). See also ann. 29 and P. Valavanis, *Games and sanctuaries in Ancient Greece: Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Athens* (Los Angeles, 2004).
6. H. Schulze, "Penelope in Persepolis. Beutekunst oder Bittgeschenk?", in: *Das Persische Weltreich, hrsg. vom Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer* (Speyer, Stuttgart 2006), p. 160 sq. For economic details connected with this subject see P. Barceló, *Alexander der Große* (Darmstadt, 2007), pp. 86—89.
7. Cf. traditions in folk tales like the German tale of "Schneewittchen" and her laying down in a glass-coffin. Such traditions are close to special kinds of burial in 20<sup>th</sup> Europe; see: L. Reiblich, "Ein Tod, länger als das Leben", in: A. Wiczorek, M. Tellenbach, W. Rosendahl (eds.), *Mumien — Der Traum vom ewigen Leben* (Mainz, 2007), pp. 173—179.
8. E. Künzl & G. Koepfel, *Souvenirs and Devotionalien. Zeugnisse des geschäftlichen, religiösen und kulturellen Tourismus im antiken Kaiserreich* (Mainz, 2002), pp. 5—12, esp. 8 sq. In Germany, e.g., there is still existing some kind of "Egypt mania" since the objects from Tutankhamen's grave were displayed in Cologne in the early 80ties of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (cf. Egyptian symbols in 19th century's art, architecture, and fashions). This phenomenon continues until today.
9. Mythic king Midas was unable to eat his golden property; K. Schauenburg, "Midas", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt 2* (Zürich, München 1990 = Augsburg 1994), p. 1958. Another example could be the popularization of the Fabergé-egg: since some decades in Germany this object was changed to an eatable chocolate sweet (the so-called "Überraschungsei"), wrapped into aluminum foil, containing very cheap and primitive plastic toys for kids. In recent German and Austrian culture there seems also to be a new cranky desire to obtain precious or important art objects in an eatable version: e.g. the Bronze Age astronomic disc from Nebra (Thüringen) or the symbols of the mummified glacier-man from the Ötztal alps (South Tirol/Bozen, Italy) copied as cake or chocolate. Perhaps the last mentioned example belongs to some kind of abstract "nekrophagia". On eatable objects see Künzl, Koepfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 sqq.
10. Main references taken from GEL, LGLD, LGGD and OLD under the key-words.
11. LGLD 754. — OLD 1937: "a place in which money, valuables or similar are stored, a treasure-chamber, vault etc.; a place for storing supplies, repository; a repository, store-house (of qualities and other immaterial things)." The plural forms mean also buried or concealed objects.
12. M. Mayerhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen III* (Heidelberg, 2001), p. 149: *gañja* (Schatzkammer); *gañjavara* (Schatzmeister) from \**ganza* *rsp.* \**ganza-bara*. Even Roman authors mentioned the Persian root: A. Walde, *Lateinisch- etymologisches Wörterbuch I* (Heidelberg, 1938, new 3rd. ed.), p. 585 on Mela 1,64 and Curtius 3,13.5.
13. H. Donner, "Gaza", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt 1* (München, Zürich 1990 = Augsburg 1994), p. 1028.
14. L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei. Text with introduction, translation, and commentary* (Princeton/N.J., 1989), p. 16, esp. 199 sq.

15. J. Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien* (Zürich, 1993), pp. 20, 45, 174; P.O. Scholz, *Frühchristliche Spuren im Lande des ANHP AIΘIOΨ [anêr aithiops]. Historisch-archäologische Betrachtungen zur Apostelgeschichte 8:26—40* (Bonn, 1988), p. 304.
16. G. Ziethen, *Gesandte vor Kaiser und Senat. Studien zum römischen Gesandtschaftswesen zwischen 30v. Chr. und 117 n. Chr.* *Pharos* 2 (St. Katharinen, 1994), pp. 102 sq., 247 sq. No. 145.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 299—305; G. Ziethen, “Legationes Externae in der frühromischen Kaiserzeit. INDI-AIΘIOΠIEΣ-ΣΗΠΕΣ”. *Nubi-ca* III/1, 1994, pp. 141—190, esp. 185 sq.
18. P.O. Scholz, *Der entmannte Eros. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Eunuchen und Kastraten* (Düsseldorf, Zürich 1997), pp. 63—115, esp. 111 sqq., 144 sq.
19. GEL 785 sq., 791; Walde, *loc. cit.*, p. 345.
20. S.E. Mann, *An Indo-European Comparative Dictionary* (Hamburg, 1984/87), p. 1222 on \**smeid*, *smoid* etc.
21. Walde, *loc. cit.*, p. 94 sq. mentions in addition *lat. mirio*, *-onis f.*: as “mißgestalteter Mensch, cripple and *pl. miracula*: “ein Wunder von Häßlichkeit”, something special ugly similar like *lat. monstrum*, *-i. n.*: something that is shown or exhibited. Cf. the exhibition of malformed human individuals: J.J. van Het Reve, A.B. Radziun, *Collection of Dutch Anatomists in S. Petersburg Museum* (Saint-Petersburg, 2003), pp. 10 sqq.
22. OLD 1151 (*mirabilis*, *miraculum* etc.). M. de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages* (Leiden, Boston, 2008), p. 382 s.v. *mīrus* with critical remarks on \**smei* because of semantic reasons but finally he argues: “Thus, we may be dealing with an original collective noun \**sméi-ro-* ‘laughter, smiling’.”
23. It was Aristotle, who sent his academic deputies with Alexander the Great's army to the East in order to explore and describe the world. See: K. Karttunen, *India and the Hellenistic World*. *Studia Orientalia LCCCIII* (Helsinki, 1997) [review by G. Ziethen, in: *Klio* 82/1, 2000, 247 sq.].
24. H. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (München, 1992), pp. 133—178; U. Jochum, *Geschichte der abendländischen Bibliotheken* (Darmstadt, 2010), pp. 33—56.
25. Cf. in addition J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München, 2013, 7th ed.).
26. F. Jacoby, “Herodotos”, in: *Realencyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 2 (Stuttgart, 1913), pp. 205—520; W. Nippel, “Ethnographie und Anthropologie bei Herodot”, in: *Griechen, Barbaren und "Wilde"*. *Alte Geschichte und Sozialanthropologie* (Frankfurt a. M., 1990), pp. 11—29; G. Ziethen, *Gesandte op. cit.*, pp. 160, 192, 247 Nr. 143; E. Bakker, I.J.F. de Jong, H. van Wees (ed.), *Brill's companion to Herodotus* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2002); K. Meister, “Herodotos”, in: *Der Neue Pauly* V, (Stuttgart, Weimar, 1998), pp. 469—475; G. Ziethen & Red., “Herodotos”, in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* III, ed. S. Uhlig (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 19 sq.
27. Authors like al-Qazwini followed items of Herodotos' methods but translocated the subjects to the Far East. For details see B. Moor/E. A. Rezvan, “Al-Qazwīnī's ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Mawjūdāt: Manuscript D 370”. *Manuscripta Orientalia* VIII/4 (2002), pp. 46—65, esp. 51 sq. The subject was also discussed as the key-topic “Les Arabes et la Grèce” in: *Qantara LXXI*. *Magazine des cultures arabes et méditerranéenne*, Avril 2009, ed. by Institut du Monde Arabes (Paris), pp. 25—56. Author remembers also gratefully the detailed talk about the theme with late Prof. Dr. Ahmed Etman (Cairo University, Faculty of Art, Dept. of Classics) in Paris, July 2012.
28. A. Demandt, *Vandalismus. Gewalt gegen die Kultur* (Berlin, 1997) pass.
29. J.-F. Bommelaer, D. Laroche, *Guide des Delphes. Le site*. École de Française d'Athènes. Sites et monuments VII (Paris, 1991); *Guide de la Delphes. Le Musée*. École de Française d'Athènes. Sites et monuments VI (Paris, 1991); M. Maass, *Das antike Delphi. Orakel, Schätze und Monumente* (Darmstadt, 1993); S. Paliompeis, *Studien zur Innenausstattung griechischer Tempel. Skulptur und Malerei* (Diss. Mainz, 1997). Cf. ann 5.
30. This act of aggression against one of the most religion-based states of that time was in 19<sup>th</sup> century science more or less replaced by admiring Augustus' way of creating a Roman style of rule, religion and repressive morals.
31. G. Ziethen; “Günstige Winde, sichere Häfen — Zur Darstellung des Handels in Heliodors Aithiopika”. In: *Äthiopien und seine Nachbarn/Ethiopia and its Neighbours*. 3. Wissenschaftliche Tagung des Orbis Aethiopicus, Gniew 25—29.09.1997, vom Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku und Orbis Aethiopicus Frankfurt a.M. (Gdańsk/Frankfurt a.M., 1998), pp. 93—120, esp. 104 sqq.
32. M. Pape, *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom: von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis in augusteische Zeit* (Diss. Hamburg, 1975); V.M. Strocka, *Kunstraub — ein Siegerrecht?: historische Fälle und juristische Einwände* (Berlin, 1999).
33. Sallust [Gaius Sallustius Crispus], *Die Verschwörung des Catilina*, dt. von K. Büchner (Stuttgart, 1967, Reclam); Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Die Reden gegen Verres — In Verrem*, lat.-dt., hrsg., übersetzt u. erläutert v. M. Fuhrmann, 2 Bde. (Zürich, 1995); Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Rede für Sextus Roscius aus Ameria*, lat.-dt. von G. Krüger (Stuttgart 1980, Reclam).
34. Ziethen, *Gesandte, loc. cit.*, pp. 150 sq., 153; Ziethen, *Legationes Externae, op. cit.*, pp. 141—190, esp. 166.
35. G. Ziethen, “Heliodor's Aethiopica und die Gesandtschaften zu den Aithiopen (m. englischem Summary)”. *Klio* LXXXI/2, 1999, pp. 490—525.
36. For details see: *Der Barbarenschatz. Geraubt und im Rhein versunken*, hrsg. vom Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer (Speyer, Stuttgart 2006) pass.
37. H. Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt, 1984), pp. 142 sq. no. 46 (with. Taf. 14,1) on the silver-skyphos from Hoby, Danmark: Th. Grane, *The Roman Empire and Southern Scandinavia — a Northern Connection. A re-evaluation of military-political relations between the Roman Empire and the Barbaricum in the first three centuries AD with a spe-*

*cial emphasis on southern Scandinavia* (PhD dissertation University of Copenhagen, 2007), pp. 168 sqq. with 169 fig. 58 and 59, cited after the electronic version [http://varpelev.saxo.ku.dk/publikationer/Ph\\_D\\_-dissertation\\_2007.pdf/](http://varpelev.saxo.ku.dk/publikationer/Ph_D_-dissertation_2007.pdf/) <03.03.2013>; The exhibition in National Museum København: <http://natmus.dk/en/historisk-viden/danmark/moeder-med-danmarks-oldtid/the-early-iron-age/the-chieftains-grave-from-hoby/> <03.03.2013>; Paintings from Trier: <http://cms.museum-am-dom-trier.de/bistum-trier/Integrale?SID=CRAWLER&MODULE=Frontend&ACTION=ViewPage&Page.PK=2328> <13.03.2014>.

38. R. Stupperich, *Tempelschänder und fromme Stifter — Römische Beute in germanischen Heiligtümern*, in: *Barbarenschatz* (*op. cit.* ann. 36), pp. 213—218.

39. G. Ziethen, E. Klingenberg, “Merchants, Pilgrims and Soldiers on the Red Sea Route”. *LIMES XVIII*. 18th International Limes Congress, 1—11 September 2000, Amman, Jordanien. *Limes XVIII — Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September, 2000)*. A conference held under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Hasemite Kingdom of Jordan, The Council for British Research in the Levant and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool (2 vls.), ed. by Ph. Freeman, J. Bennett, Z.T Fiema, B. Hoffmann. BAR International Ser. 1084 (I) (Oxford, 2002), pp. 379—385.

40. P. Haupt, *Römische Münzhorte des 3. Jhs. in Gallien und den germanischen Provinzen*. Provinzialrömische Studien 1 (Grunbach, 2001).

41. H.-J. Keller, G. Zahlhaas, *Der Römische Tempelschatz von Weißenburg i. Bay.* (Mainz, 1993).

42. E. Künzl, *Die Alamannenbeute aus dem Rhein bei Neupotz*. Monographien d. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseums. XXXIV/1-4 (Mainz 1993). On the objects from Rülzheim with online photos see <http://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/archaeologie-rheinland-pfalz-raubgraeber-entdeckt-barbarenschatz-a-954236.html> <13.03.2014>.

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44. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Der spätantike Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, Text- und Tafelband. Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte IX (Derendingen, 1984); M.A. Guggisberg (ed.), *Der spätantike Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst — die neuen Funde: Silber im Spannungsfeld von Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft der Spätantike*. Forschungen in Augst XXXIV (Augst, 2003).

45. *Das Nibelungenlied*, übers. von F. Genzmer. Reclam Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 642 (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 171 sqq.

46. See ann. 42; M. Grünwald, “Rheingold”, in: *Barbarenschatz, op. cit.*, pp. 232 sq.

47. M. Hartmann, “Zwischen Polygamie und Heiligkeit. Merowingische Königinnen”, in: E. Wamers/P. Périn (eds.), *Königinnen der Merowinger. Adelsgräber aus den Kirchen von Köln, Saint-Denis, Chelles und Frankfurt am Main* (Regensburg 2013, 2nd ed.), pp. 19—36, esp. 21 sq.

48. <http://www.burgen-rlp.de/gdke/start-bsa/liegenschaften/burgen/reichsburg-trifels/> <03.03.2013>.

49. S. Haag, “Vom Hausschatz zum Museum. Die Geschichte der Wiener Kunstkammer”, in: S. Haag, A. Wiczorek (eds.), *Sammeln! Die Kunstkammer des Kaisers von Wien*. Publikation der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen XL (Wien, Mannheim 2012), pp. 13—23.

50. A. Shalem, “Reliquien der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Verehrung, Raub, Handel”, in: *Die Kreuzzüge. Kein Krieg ist heilig*, hrsg. von H.-J. Kotzur, Ausstellungskatalog Bischöfliches Dom- u. Diözesanmuseum Mainz 2004 (Mainz, 2004), pp. 213—227 and catalogue.

51. J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch* (1860, Nachdr. Stuttgart 1981), pp. 215—220 (archaeological research and libraries); P. Burke, *Die Renaissance in Italien. Sozialgeschichte einer Kultur zwischen Tradition und Erfindung* (dt. München 1988), pp. 97 sqq., 108; An interesting impression and imagination of an aristocratic collection and early “kunstkamera” was displayed in 2003 in the movie „Luther“.

52. J.J. Sheehan, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunstmuseen: von der fuerstlichen Kunstkammer zur modernen Sammlung* (München, 2000); Ph. Blom: “*Sammelwunder, Sammelwahn*”. *Szenen aus der Geschichte einer Leidenschaft*. Vom Autor aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Die Andere Bibliothek, Band CCXXIX/Eichborn Verlag, (Frankfurt am Main, 2004); *Barocke Sammellust: die Bibliothek und Kunstkammer des Herzogs Ferdinand Albrecht zu Braunschweig Lueneburg (1636 — 1687)*. Ausstellung im Zeughaus der Herzog-August-Bibliothek vom 28. Mai bis 30. Oktober 1988, hrsg. von J. Bepler. Acta Humaniora (Weinheim 1988); *Die Gottorfer Kunstkammer*, bearb. von M. Bencard u.a., Gottorf im Glanz des Barock. Kunst und Kultur am Schleswiger Hof 1544 — 1713, Bd. 2 (Schleswig 1997); *Weltenharmonie: die Kunstkammer und die Ordnung des Wissens*: Ausstellung im Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 20. Juli — 22. Oktober. Red. S. Koenig-Lein (Braunschweig 2000); *Palast des Wissens. Die Kunst und Wunderkammer Zar Peters des Großen*, hrsg. von B. Buberl u. M. Dückerhoff, 2 Bde. (München, Dortmund 2003).

53. One of the creators of modern museum collections was Dominique Vivant Denon (1747—1825); *Beutekunst unter Napoleon. Die französische Schenkung an Mainz 1803*. Ausstellungskatalog Landesmuseum Mainz 2003, hrsg. von S. Paas u. S. Mertens (Mainz, 2003); Cf. the romance written by Ph. Sollers, *Der Kavalier im Louvre. Vivant Denon* (Heidelberg, 2000).

54. H. Frei, *Tempel der Kauflust: eine Geschichte der Warenhauskultur* (Leipzig 1997). R. Jungk, Der „Ruinen-Komplex“, in: *Tote Technik. Ein Wegweiser zu den antiken Stätten von morgen*, hrsg. von M. Hamm, R. Steinberg (Berlin, 1981), pp. 7—14, esp. 9 (citation). The Staatliches Museum für Archäologie Chemnitz (SMAC) was opened 2014 in former Kaufhaus Schocken; on the conversion department store to museum see: <http://www.smac.sachsen.de/index.html> <31.07.2014>; Th. Schöne, “300000 Jahre Geschichte im ehemaligen Kaufhaus.” *Archäologie in Deutschland IV* (2014), pp. 68—69.

55. It is a well known fact that more and more the traditional Sunday walk to visit a church is replaced by a Sunday visit in a museum. Modern and self-confident society prefers to be informed and educated by free-will and without moral attitude during lesson. So contemporary museum exhibitions (esp. with their children and young visitors programs) represent a special function as public educators — without repressive moral or spiritual binding.

56. Cf. Hamburger Kunsthalle: N. Maak, "Ist das Museum noch zu retten? Die in große Finanznot geratene Hamburger Kunsthalle muss ihre 1997 eröffnete „Galerie der Gegenwart“ für ein halbes Jahr schließen. Was bedeutet das für die Zukunft der Museen in Krisenzeiten?" In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 114, 19.05.2010, p. 33; Similar problems are reported concerning the Archive in Weimar: S. Ebert-Schifferer, "Die Fratze hinter der Maske. Der politisch erzwungene Abschied von Hellmut Seemann als Präsident der Stiftung Weimarer Klassik ist ein Fanal für die deutsche Museums- und Archivlandschaft". In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 245, 21.10.2010, p. 25. Cf. Article "Museumslos in die Zukunft. Sparen durch Schließung? Bochum blamiert sich". In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* no. 12, 14.01.2012, p. 35.

57. Hubertus Gaßner, in: "Gedächtnislose Gesellschaft. Der Direktor der Hamburger Kunsthalle zu deren Schließung". *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 114, 19.05.2010, p. 33 [interview by Swantje Koch], on the question "Ist das Modell Museum nicht mehr zeitgemäß?": "Achtzig Prozent unserer Besucher kommen wegen der Wechselausstellungen, nur zwanzig Prozent wegen der ständigen Sammlung. Wir sind eigentlich nicht als Ausstellungshaus gedacht; wir müssen also unsere Sammlungen wieder attraktiv machen. Die Privatmuseen sind unsere Konkurrenz. Früher wollten Sammler ihre Kunst im Museum sehen, jetzt bauen sie sich die Häuser selbst. Die Kunsthalle wurde 1868 als bürgerliche Institution gegründet. Wenn sich jetzt die bürgerliche Gesellschaft auflöst, kann es durchaus sein, dass sich auch die Museen auflösen. Eine gedächtnislose Gesellschaft lässt auch ihre Museen verschwinden. Vielleicht bekommen wir auch dann wieder den alten Typus der Wunderkammer, die man besuchen darf." Cf. also publication: *Brücken in die Zukunft — Museen, Musik und darstellende Kunst im 21. Jahrhundert*: Bad Homburg v.d. Höhe, 19 — 20. April 2002, ed. by Herbert-Quandt-Stiftung. Sinclair-Haus-Gespräch XVIII (Bad Homburg v.d. Höhe, 2002).

58. Cf. C. Pregla, *Maecenas Erben — vom Mäzenatentum zum Sponsoring? Gründungsideen und heutige Organisationsformen deutschsprachiger Kultureinrichtungen in Italien* (Berlin, 2009).

## Sigla

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LGGD: Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Griechisch-Deutsch unter Berücksichtigung der Etymologie von H. Menge (Berlin, München, Wien, Zürich 1979, 29th edition).

LGLD: Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Lateinisch-Deutsch unter Berücksichtigung der Etymologie von H. Menge (Berlin, München, Wien, Zürich 1984, 22nd edition).

OLD: Oxford Latin Dictionary, ed by P. G. W. Glare and R. C. Palmer (Oxford, 1968).

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