

“Orphan artefacts”: investigating classical objects in the Iziko collection,

Cape Town

Thandi Welman-Hawkes



*Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of
Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University*

Supervisor: Dr Samantha Masters

March 2020

By submitting this thesis/dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Copyright © 2020 Stellenbosch University All rights reserved

Abstract

Since 1998 a collection of 238 classical antiquities, many of which were previously on display for over a century, has been in storage in the Iziko Social History Centre in Cape Town, South Africa. These artefacts are of a low priority for display in the museum and the skills necessary to conserve them are at present unavailable to the museum staff. The purpose of this thesis is, having created a database of the antiquities in storage using accession documents from the museum, to situate the collection in a South African heritage context. The resulting database has preserved the museum data which has previously only been available as physical records within the museum's archive. To contextualise the collection of Greek and Roman antiquities I have examined the collection practices of the South African Museum and the South African Cultural History Museum (now Iziko) pre- and post 1994, and the relevant South African heritage legislation to assess whether these intrinsically European artefacts have value in a post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa. Using the theories of negative heritage, object- and nation-oriented policies, and a typology of value I have developed for this study, I have ascertained that while direct assimilation into exhibitions may be unlikely, there is a future for these antiquities in integrated museum display, tertiary education, and as a resource for future research endeavours, specifically through digital preservation and greater co-operation between the museum and educational institutions.

Opsomming

Sedert 1998 word 'n versameling van 238 klassieke oudhede, waarvan baie voorheen vir dekades uitgestal was, geberg in die *Iziko Social History Centre* in Kaapstad, Suid-Afrika. Hierdie artefakte het 'n lae prioriteit vir uitstalling in die museum en daarbenewens beskik die museumpersoneel nie oor die vaardighede vir die bewaring daarvan nie. Die tweevoudige doel van hierdie verhandeling is om 'n katalogus van die oudhede wat in bewaring is te skep deur die gebruik van die museum se aanwindsdokumente en om die versameling dan in die konteks van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse erfenis te plaas. Die voortspruitende katalogus bewaar nou die data wat vroeër slegs as fisiese rekords in die museum se argiewe beskikbaar was. Om die versameling Griekse en Romeinse oudhede in konteks te plaas, het ek die versamelingmetodes van die Iziko Museum voor en na 1994 ondersoek, asook die relevante Suid-Afrikaanse wetgewing rakende erfenis om op te weeg of hierdie intrinsieke Europese artefakte waarde het in 'n post-koloniale, post-Apartheid Suid-Afrika. Deur die gebruik van die teorieë van negatiewe erfenisvoorwerpe voorwerp- en nasie-georiënteerde beleidsrigtinge asook 'n topologie van waarde wat ek vir die doel van hierdie studie ontwikkel het, het ek bepaal dat hoewel direkte assimilasië in uitstallings onwaarskynlik mag wees, daar wel 'n toekoms vir hierdie oudhede is in geïntegreerde museumuitstallings, tersiêre onderrig en as 'n bron vir toekomstige navorsing – spesifiek deur digitale bewaring en groter samewerking tussen die museum en opvoedkundige inrigtings.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Samantha Masters for her patience, understanding, guidance, and humour. This project would have floundered without her support and expertise.

The financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NIHSS and SAHUDA.

I am grateful to the Stellenbosch University Graduate School for moral support and kindness.

A special thank you to Esther Esmiol, Lailah Hisham, and the librarians at the Iziko Social History Centre for their enthusiasm and generosity.

To Amy Daniels for always being there to cheer me on and get me to the finish line.

A big thank you to Dr Sarah Pett for her emotional and academic support at any hour, across continents, with so much humour and understanding.

Thank you to my family for their unflagging support and unwavering belief in my abilities, especially my mother and my sister. Ek sou dit nie sonder my Moo en my sussie kon doen nie. Dankie dankie dankie.

Finally, this project would have been impossible without the help, support, and patience of my anchor, Jonathan Welman-Hawkes.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	x
List of Tables.....	x
List of Acronyms.....	xi
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Classical Artefacts at Iziko in Cape Town: An Introduction to the Study.....	1
1.2 Research Problem	4
1.3 Research Aims	5
1.4 Research Questions.....	6
1.5 Relevance and Significance of the Study	7
1.6 Hypothesis and Assumptions	8
1.7 Chapter Breakdown	9
2 Methodology, Theory, and Terminology.....	11
2.1 Theoretical/Conceptual Frameworks and Terminology	11
2.2 Methodology.....	18
3 History of the Collection.....	26
3.1 Classical Artefacts in Cape Town: the Contents of the Collection	26
3.2 Early History of the SAM and the Antiquities Collection	28
3.3 Acquiring Antiquities.....	33
3.4 Transformation and the Current Status of the Collection	40
4 Heritage in South African Museums.....	44
4.1 Heritage, Nation Building, and Diversity.....	44
4.2 The South African Museum Pre-1994	46
4.3 Heritage Transformation After 1994.....	49
5 Negative Heritage and the Objects at Iziko.....	54

5.1	Collecting the Classical	56
5.2	Rhodes, the Afrikaner, and the Classical.....	62
5.3	Negative Heritage.....	66
5.4	Negative Heritage, Value, and the Artefacts in the Iziko Collection.....	69
6	Quo Vadis?: Repatriation.....	73
6.1	Repatriation: Definitions	73
6.2	Ownership of Artefacts: The Arguments for and against Repatriation	74
6.3	Case Studies	80
6.4	Conclusion: Repatriation as an Option for the Objects in the Iziko Collection.....	84
7	Quo Vadis?: Deaccession.....	87
7.1	Definition.....	87
7.2	Why Deaccession?.....	88
7.3	South African Policies.....	92
7.4	Case Studies	93
7.5	Conclusion: Deaccessioning as an Option for the Objects in the Iziko Collection	98
8	Quo Vadis?: Digital Options for Preservation and Display	100
8.1	Digitisation: Definitions.....	100
8.2	Case Studies	107
8.3	Conclusions: Digitisation as an Option for the Objects in the Iziko Collection.....	115
9	Conclusion and Recommendations	118
10	Bibliography	124
11	Appendix	149

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Complete acquisition method tally - p.27

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Conflicting accession number data – p.21

Table 2. Number of purchases and donations 1850-1999 – p.26

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACTAG	Arts and Culture Task Group
ANC	African National Congress
CIA	Cultural Institutions Act
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
ICOM	International Council of Museums
NHC	National Heritage Council
NHCA	National Heritage Council Act
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
SACA	South African Classical Antiquities database
SACHM	South African Cultural History Museum
SAGR	South Africa, Greece, Rome
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SAM	South African Museum
SAMA	South African Museums Association
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town, South Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Scientific Organisation
UNIDROIT	The International Institute for the Unification of Private Law

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 CLASSICAL ARTEFACTS AT IZIKO IN CAPE TOWN: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

In 1825 it was decided by the British colonial powers in Cape Town to start a natural science collection, to study and catalogue the fauna and flora of the colony. Twenty-nine years later the first classical artefacts were donated to this early incarnation of the South African Museum (SAM). According to the available records, there was no formal or official interest in collecting what were termed “ethnographic” objects at this time, but as the museum grew into an official institution, the donations of cultural and historical artefacts to the museum had become so numerous that a separate display was required for items which did not fit in with the scientific mandate of the institution. The classical artefacts – objects from ancient Greece or Rome – were accidental acquisitions in these early years of the museum, without any plan to make them part of the collection. They simply trickled in steadily as gifts or bequests, mostly from people who had brought them from abroad. The first purchase of an item for the classical collection was a replica of the gold Vaphio cup in 1901 (SACHM1340); before then, each artefact had been donated. Provisional studies of the extant records indicate that the classical collection of the South African Museum – later to become part of the collection of The South African Cultural History Museum (SACHM) – was acquired through donation, bequest, loan, exchange, and purchase, between 1854 and 1989 (SAM Accession Register, n.d.). A total of two hundred and forty Greek and Roman artefacts make up the collection in the form of a large variety of objects, from vases to statuettes, garment pins to glass items.

The South African political transformation of 1994 – the beginning of democracy in the country – was the catalyst for an important change for this collection of Classical artefacts belonging to Iziko Museums of South Africa. In his speech at the opening of Robben Island in 1997, Nelson Mandela, in his discussion of South African museums and in particular the ethnological collections in the museums, lamented the fact that the history of living indigenous groups of people was not displayed in the social history museums, but instead in the natural science museums with the animals and specimen jars (Corsane, 2004: 6). This

dehumanized the people, placing them on the same level as animals and ignoring their humanity and the legitimacy of their own histories and cultural practices (Dubin, 2009: 56). As Meskell and Scheermeyer state (2008: 153), public spaces like museums have authority; they dictate what is 'worth' remembering and even what is worth knowing. If that is the case, in separating the material culture of the various indigenous peoples of Southern Africa from that of 'civilized' peoples (such as Europeans, ancient civilisations and Asian civilisations) the South African museums under the colonial and apartheid governments were making strong ideological and value statements about indigenous culture.¹

Museums were meant to be scientific institutions of truth through the presentation of physical evidence, ostensibly without bias. This may be slightly less problematic in natural science museums, but culture and heritage are not as easy to put in a jar or pin down on a labelled card. Heritage spaces in South Africa could no longer ignore the glaring absences of indigenous cultural histories, or the problematic ways in which these cultures were represented, displayed, and even fetishised. Museums had to change the ways in which they represented cultural and social history, but also had to recalibrate the 'centre' by turning back to neglected local histories of the country. The new imperative was to represent *all* facets of South African society and in doing so, to also change the perception of the museum as a traditionally white and elite space. Redress was required in many sectors, no less the heritage and museum one.

In 1998, the museums in the Cape Town region were united under one administrative group umbrella, called the Southern Flagship Institution, renamed Iziko Museums of Cape Town in 2001. This new name, *Iziko*, is the isiXhosa word meaning "hearth". The name was chosen to embody the new vision for local museums as warm, welcoming spaces, filled with narratives, history and opportunities to create cross-cultural dialogues, as well as dialogues between the separate museums of Cape Town (Iziko Museums, 2016). Iziko currently consists of 11 museums or centres: these are Bertram House, Bo-Kaap Museum, Groot Constantia Manor House, Koopmans-de Wet House, Maritime Centre, Michaelis Collection at the Old Town House, Rust en Vreugd, Slave Lodge and Social History Centre, South African Museum and

¹ This distinction between 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' (in other words, indigenous) people is implicit in the SAM Reports to the Trustees from the museum's early days, as discussed by Mackenzie (2009: 92; 102) and Masters (2018: 295).

Planetarium, South African National Gallery and Annexe and the William Fehr Collection at the Castle of Good Hope. In a practical way, this forging of connections between each of the individual museums created a valuable space for sharing information, expertise, as well as, hypothetically, the contents of storerooms so that displays and exhibits are interdisciplinary.

In 1998, with the reorganisation of the heritage institutions of Cape Town, the former Old Supreme Court building, which had housed the SACHM since 1963, reverted to its original name, the Slave Lodge, and prioritised the telling of the multi-faceted history of slaves brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company. Displays from the ground level of the museum, which included Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities, were dismantled to make way for exhibits about slavery. The space was reclaimed and repurposed to tell the story of slavery at the Cape and in particular, the story of the Slave Lodge itself. These ancient Greek and Roman artefacts were therefore boxed up and moved to the nearby Social History Centre and placed in the museum's ceramics storeroom indefinitely (in conversation, E. Esmiol, 2014; Masters 2018: 306-308).

In 2012 my supervisor, Dr Samantha Masters began a study² of the collections of classical artefacts in South African museums for the volume on the reception of classical antiquity in this country: *South Africa, Greece, Rome: Classical Confrontations* (2018), edited by Grant Parker. Selected preliminary results related to the Iziko collection and the teaching collection at the University of KwaZulu-Natal were published in this volume, in a chapter entitled 'Museum space and displacement: Collecting Classical Antiquities in South Africa'. This South Africa, Greece, Rome project (SAGR) served as a catalyst to begin the process of collecting data on, and cataloguing, all the classical artefacts in South African museum and educational collections and creating a digital database, the South African Classical Antiquities (SACA) database. This database now has 870 entries and one of its key functions is to preserve the data related to these collections, and to provide data for other projects or databases, such as *South Africa, Greece, Rome: a digital museum* (hosted by Stanford University Libraries and the result of further collaboration between Dr Masters and Prof Parker and the national register (Masters 2018: 284). This SACA project aims to provide accessible information on all

² This research was initiated with the help of a National Research Fund Thuthuka funding grant.

the South African collections of classical antiquities, including the Iziko collection. It is within the context of this broader study of classical antiquities collections in South Africa that my research is positioned.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Like the classical antiquities owned by Iziko, other collections of ancient artefacts, which were previously on display in museums, have now also been packed away and are currently in storage. The process of packing such objects away has happened over time, but in most cases, it has happened post 1994, with the dawn of the 'new South Africa', i.e. after the first democratic election. As described earlier, the new political regime also served to usher in new heritage policies and practices that were designed to serve the racially homogenous South African population in its entirety and also to create a shift in the ideological approach to heritage, from a previously Eurocentric framework to an Afrocentric one. This may suggest then that Greek and Roman antiquities, typically European objects, were casualties of the new heritage policies, and are no longer deemed relevant to contemporary South African audiences. There is also the possibility that such iconically European artefacts from Greece and Rome may even more emphatically carry colonialist connotations and may be regarded as ideologically undesirable or as 'negative heritage' (Meskell, 2002: 558).

Within the wake of the recent student-driven Must Fall movements (Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall, 2015-2016), the issue of unwanted colonialist connotations and the project of the decolonisation of institutions, university curricula and sites of memory, cannot be ignored. The potential problem of museums owning objects in their collections that they may no longer desire (I have termed them 'orphan artefacts'), nor have any intention to display again in the foreseeable future, has a variety of implications which this thesis aims to investigate. One of these implications is related to the conservation of heritage objects. Restructuring in the heritage sector and changes in approach to museology means that currently, most museums in South Africa no longer have conservators or archaeologists on staff who specialise in fragile types of ancient artefacts that require specialised care and curation. Chirikure (2013: 1) confirms that the resources available to heritage professionals are a further difficulty as the government provides insufficient funding for the adequate

preservation of heritage sites and objects across the board. This means that these objects are rarely stored in optimum conditions, handled properly and the knowledge about such objects is depleted as a new generation of curators take the reins. Heritage in general is not necessarily a current priority for the South African government, despite the rekindling of the conversation through Rhodes Must Fall (Chirikure 2013: 1), since problems such as housing, poverty, healthcare, and education understandably take priority over 'non-essential' issues (Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008: 169). This problem of the existence of collections of fragile artefacts from the ancient (western) past, and their 'orphanhood' raises questions about their preservation, predicament and place in South African heritage institutions.

A further problem alluded to earlier, is related to the preservation not of the object itself, but the data and documentation of these collections. While new heritage policies, as well as the shift from paper-based cataloguing systems to digital ones, now dictate that all artefacts in the possession of all state-owned museums in the country, regardless of origin or condition, be added to the national register (National Heritage Resources Act, No. 25 of 1999, 1999:s39). In general, the documentation or data on the antiquities collections is poor, and not maintained according to up-to-date data preservation methods. Before the beginning of the SAGR and SACA projects, the data at museum sites was incomplete and mostly paper-based and, in some institutions, in danger of being lost altogether. With the technology available to curators and conservators this kind of loss of data can easily be prevented, however more often than not the museums cannot afford the extra funds required for this kind of digitisation project, and classical artefacts often find themselves at the bottom of a long list of objects that need to be catalogued and digitised.

1.3 RESEARCH AIMS

In light of these problems, my broad aim is to investigate the current position and future role of such 'orphan artefacts' of classical provenance in South African museums, through the case study of the Iziko collection of antiquities in Cape Town. This study aims to accomplish the following:

- Having collected data on the artefacts in the Iziko collection into a database for the SAGR/SACA project, to document the history of these artefacts and analyse the collection practices which brought them into South African museums.
- To investigate the recent and current heritage display practices of South African museums and how they may have affected the Iziko collection and its choice of what is deemed desirable/suitable to display.
- To assess to what extent the history of the objects (including the cultural prestige afforded the collection of such objects over time) includes them or excludes them from the current display practices and trends of South African museums.
- To explore the options available with regard to the conservation, display, or research of these artefacts, dependant on the outcomes of the previous assessment, and to evaluate the responsibility the institutions may have to these objects.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overarching research question of this thesis can be presented as follows: Given that objects of classical provenance ('orphan artefacts') are no longer displayed at any Iziko museum sites currently, nor is this likely in the future, what should be done with such objects? In other words, how does one situate these artefacts in the South African heritage context and do these intrinsically European artefacts have value in a post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa?

In order to attempt to answer this research question it is necessary to ask a number of other questions:

1. How did the collection of Greek and Roman artefacts arrive in South Africa and become part of the Iziko collection? Can it be determined that there were any ideological collecting habits that lead to their acquisition, either on the part of the museum itself, or the individuals donating or bequeathing the objects?
2. To what extent did the heritage policies post 1994 contribute to the removal of the antiquities from display and result in their current position of being in indefinite storage? In asking this question it will be necessary to engage in a discussion about 'negative heritage'.

3. The investigation of negative heritage gives rise to the question: Are such iconically European objects perceived as 'negative' heritage in a post-colonial, post-apartheid, and post-Must Fall South Africa, and on this basis, do they still have any value or place in the Iziko collection now or in the future?
4. If these artefacts remain in storage indefinitely, the question should be raised as to what other options there are for these 'orphan objects'. Here it will be raised whether the museum policy for keeping the objects should perhaps be reassessed, or other creative curatorial practices should be pursued to render them to a different audience, as proposed by Masters and Welman (2015). If they do prove themselves to be valuable and valued in South African museums, however, then the general attitude towards them, which includes their low prioritisation as objects to be conserved, becomes unfounded and destructive. It therefore becomes necessary to examine the place of classical artefacts in South African museums with regards to current museum practices and heritage policies.

1.5 RELEVANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This project then will not only analyse the collected data, tracking where possible, the individual stories of objects across continents and centuries, but also investigate to what extent the collection of Greek and Roman artefacts was motivated by any colonial or apartheid ideologies. The project further aims to examine the relationships these objects may or may not have with contemporary South African heritage. This study will have significance on two main levels. The first of these is necessary groundwork for the thesis research question: the creation and capture of data on the Iziko collection for the SACA database as well as the digital museum hosted by Stanford University Libraries, as outlined above. This is a significant step towards the process of preserving the data related to these objects, and in the direction of digital curatorship for all the collections of classical antiquities in South Africa.

Secondly, and chiefly, by examining the problems facing these artefacts in the Iziko collection it may be possible to provide museums with useful information to help make critical decisions about the future of the antiquities in South African collections. The future of these objects is

uncertain. Limited resources and skills mean that the objects are of a low priority, and in a developing nation this is understandable. If their protection and conservation cannot be prioritised by the relevant authorities, then decisions need to be made about what should be done with them and where the responsibility for them could be placed. These decisions could range from exploring display options with local art and heritage objects to keeping them in storage, donating them to an organisation which would use them for educational purposes (for example: Cape Town or Stellenbosch universities, the South African Hellenic Society, overseas institutions or museums, etc.) or deaccessioning them and selling them to raise funds for other museum projects. Some of these options may seem extreme and deaccessioning and repatriation is a difficult debate in current heritage management communities (Harrison, 2013: 589). Another viable solution is digital preservation and display. The problems with these artefacts cannot be easily resolved, but there are a variety of potential answers to these questions.

1.6 HYPOTHESIS AND ASSUMPTIONS

My hypothesis is that Classical artefacts have value in a current South African heritage context, regardless of the collection ideologies which brought them to these shores. There is no need for a recentred approach to heritage to exclude items such as these; however, the curatorship of the artefacts would be paramount. There are interesting ways of integrating these objects into local heritage displays, for example, as there are many points of contact across cultures and across centuries, as I presented at the South African Museums Association (SAMA) conference of 2014. If, however, they are found to be irrelevant or inappropriate, or if the likelihood of them being displayed in the future is very slim then creative and pragmatic solutions should be found in order to allow them to be seen in the digital realm, and also to ensure their preservation.

To investigate the questions illustrated above, certain assumptions shall be made. Firstly, I will work on the general assumption that the artefacts examined as part of this study have some kind of base value, whether it is historical, monetary, cultural, or educational value. The artefacts may also have more than one kind of value: I will develop the concept of my typology

of value in the theoretical section of this thesis. Secondly, due to the limited information available on the objects, the study will assume that the information made available by the Iziko Social History Centre, is accurate but that some mistakes may have been made by curators in identification of items, dates, etc., especially where experts in the field were not at hand. Where records are contradictory or attributions are suspicious, I will investigate as far as is possible, but a full revision of the data was beyond the boundaries of this thesis. This study will also assume that the collection practices and ideologies behind the acquisition of the objects themselves may have an effect on the way the artefacts are perceived by the public and museum professionals.

1.7 CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

Chapter two, following this introduction, will describe the methodology and theory used to conduct this study. This includes a brief analysis of the data presented in the table in the appendix (a selection of data from the database). The third chapter explores the history of the Iziko collection, including the collection methods from the initial donations in the mid-1800s to the early 1990s. The current status of the collection is also described in chapter three. Chapter four explores heritage in a South African museum context from the time of British colonialism, through the apartheid era, to the transformation of heritage legislation after the fall of apartheid in 1994. Chapter five examines the connections between classics and empire, and classical influences in South Africa's political history, in order to explore Meskell's theory of negative heritage and how it may or may not relate to the antiquities in the Iziko collection. The final three chapters explore three different options for the future of the artefacts. Chapter six discusses the complex issue of repatriation and includes four case studies which illustrate the difficulties involved in the repatriation process. Chapter seven describes deaccessioning as a contentious issue in the museum community and includes two case studies illustrating the potential consequences when objects are deaccessioned for the purposes of sale. The eighth chapter describes how digitisation can be used to preserve and display classical collections. The three case studies in this chapter provide evidence for the utility and expedience of using digital solutions and crowdsourcing on online platforms. Chapter nine contains recommendations and conclusions of the study and the appendix at the end of the study presents a selection of data collected for this project.

2 METHODOLOGY, THEORY, AND TERMINOLOGY

2.1 THEORETICAL/CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS AND TERMINOLOGY

This dissertation investigates the Iziko collection of antiquities through combining the conceptual frameworks of negative heritage, object or nation-based approaches to heritage, and a system (typology) of value as attached to objects which I have developed.

2.1.1 Negative Heritage

A key theoretical framework in this dissertation involves the assessment of the value and continued relevance – or even palatability – of the classical antiquities in the Iziko collection in a South African context. In order to consider this question, I have adopted Meskell's concept of negative heritage which she defines as "a conflictual site that becomes the repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary" (Meskell, 2002: 558). For countries which have had a regime change, the incumbent government often has different ideological mores from the previous government. The new government may then consider the removal of objects and cultural practices which have negative connotations, and which may have been symbols of the former regime. The recent Rhodes Must Fall movement is a case in point. While Rhodes Must Fall was about a spectrum of political and social issues related to transformation and decolonisation, the protest movement centred itself on a work of material culture from colonial times, the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town (UCT). That the statue was removed indicates the strong negative views and associations held by a sector of the student body and other activists. The removal of the statue, however, was the decision of the university alone, and does not represent the South African government's approach to conflictual sites or symbols, and this will be elaborated on in chapter five. In fact, the government has been extremely conservative in its approach to heritage monuments from the past.

In a variety of countries, the suppression of old images or items of heritage has been more overt. Russia's transition, for example, from monarchy to communist state involved a dramatic 'rebranding' of the nation's cultural heritage. However, the approaches to such 'negative heritage' differ. These objects or sites can either be used to educate and inform, such as remainders of the Berlin Wall and the Nazi concentration camps in Germany, or if the sites are deemed unable to fit in with current nationalist policies or ideologies they are often removed or destroyed; statuary is typically the first thing to fall in a regime change as it is an easy but highly demonstrative way of taking sides politically (Meskell, 2002:558). In some cases, like in South Africa, a 'rebranding' has taken place as a way of showing the international community and South Africans alike that the racist regime represented by the apartheid government is a thing of the past by attempting to be inclusive of all heritage, while replacing certain important symbols such as the flag and coat of arms. However, certain contentious items of heritage continue to raise anger and even violence, as Rhodes Must Fall has shown.

Brown explains: "Culture in all its manifestations is construed as something that cannot be imitated, borrowed, or even discussed without doing violence to the group that claims it" (2009:151). This is certainly fair in a multicultural society like South Africa, but then how does one even begin to have a conversation about the negative collective memories? Museums are intended to be educational spaces, but they are also storehouses of memory. The question is then, as with other sites and memorials, whose memories are to be included or ignored (Crane, 2000:2)? Meskell and Scheermeyer (2008:169) suggest that in creating new cultural spaces, with particular emphasis on sites like Freedom Park, the post-apartheid government has advocated which memories are valid and useful and which ones are best forgotten. However, this process is nuanced and problematic, as it may "gloss over the respective internal histories that need to be recognized" (Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008:169). Soudien (2006:8-11) and Galla (2003:42) both make it very clear that meaningful conversations about heritage and culture and the transformational redress which is required can only take place when all parties are sensitive to the cultural needs of one another. A sensitivity to and understanding of this haunting of our present by our past, is necessary to build trust and confidence in the government (Fricke, 2015:163).

Meskell (2002:566) uses the term “past mastering” to designate a process of attempting to control or erase traces of the negative past to create a more positive and inclusive future. Remedial redress with regards to heritage and representation is important for healing, however I agree with Meskell and Scheermeyer (2008:156) and Schmamann (2016:100) that painting over the old memories or removing them in order to create new ones is not a viable solution. This kind of ideological recreation of the past can lead to its own problems, suppressing social trauma which can lead to the “reexpression” of violence (Fricke 2005:170). Fricke, in her discussion on the post-war rebuilding of Beirut, explains that without balanced heritage policies which address the “weight of the past” the process of healing turns into a process of amnesia (2005: 163). Worts (2011:226) expands on this idea of healing through heritage by advocating for the museum as social worker, using the traditional tools of the museum, education through exhibition and display, to investigate the roots of social issues or problems in the community and to then enable social healing through targeted programmes.

While elsewhere the term negative heritage has been used to refer to heritage spaces, the same term can easily be applied to other objects of material culture. For the purposes of this study I will be investigating whether it is valid to apply the term to the classical objects in the Iziko collection, quintessentially European, and collected during colonial and apartheid eras. Looking through the lens of Meskell’s (2002) theory, the study will attempt to identify what effect the history of the object might have on the current status of the object in a South African museological context.

2.1.2 Object- and Nation-orientated Policies

Within the discussion of national heritage, and the potential value that the classical antiquities (may) hold, I will be applying the concept of object and nation-orientated policies as theorised by Merryman (2009: 183-201). ‘Objects’ here refers to a variety of items of material culture. Objects can be used to demonstrate a connection to a particular cultural group or to manufacture a unifying national identity. Due to their connection to culture, according to the UNESCO convention of 1970 on the illicit trade and trafficking of antiquities (UNESCO, 2017), a nation’s objects should remain in their country of origin as the culture or

nation requires them, and they gain value and meaning because of their context within the country of origin. The UNESCO 1970 Convention (UNESCO, 2017) relies quite heavily on the notion of culture as a signifier of nationhood. Therefore, in nation-oriented policies (Merryman, 2009: 186), with regards to ownership and meaning of an object, the connection the object has to the national cultural identity is prioritised above the needs of the object itself.

An object-oriented policy (Merryman, 2009: 187) designates the isolated value of the object itself as the priority where all steps must be taken to protect and conserve the artefact, regardless of its cultural ties. According to Merryman (2009: 188), under this kind of policy, the following questions must be considered before an object can be sold or repatriated:

1. Preservation: Will the object be safe from 'outside' harm, as well as safe from the natural processes of decay which ancient artefacts, for example, are subject to (Merryman, 2009: 188)?
2. Knowledge: Will the object be available for further study so that as much scientific/historical/cultural/social information/meaning as possible can be drawn from the object (Merryman, 2009: 188)?
3. Access: Will the public have easy access to the object for educational and enjoyment purposes (on the assumption that art and culture should belong to a universal community to foster understanding and tolerance) (Merryman, 2009: 188)?

2.1.3 Value

The notion of *intrinsic value* has been central to modern discussion about heritage conservation (Jones, 2017:21). One of the most common ways of explaining intrinsic value involves contrasting it with *instrumental value*. If something is instrumentally valuable, it is valuable because of its role in bringing about something else that is considered good or valuable. For example, following a balanced diet and exercising are instrumentally valuable because they can improve a person's health. In other words, they are a means to an end (Zimmerman & Bradley, 2019). Something that is intrinsically valuable, on the other hand, is considered to be valuable "in itself,' or 'for its own sake,' or 'in its own right'" (Zimmerman

& Bradley, 2019). To unpack this notion further, if something is intrinsically valuable, it is not valuable because someone believes it is so; it is “objectively valuable” (Harding, 1999:317). Consider the example of money: it has no worth independent of our valuation of it, and hence does not have intrinsic value according to this definition.

To adopt this definition and say that objects of cultural heritage have intrinsic value means that they are valuable even if they are kept in storage indefinitely, and no one ever sees them. Selling these objects, for example, to cover operational costs, would treat them as instrumentally valuable as they become a means to the end of running the museum, which would be inappropriate because their true value is not being recognized and respected. Nickel (1999:356) argues that this view of intrinsic value is not applicable when talking about heritage objects, since they have value because of the role they play in people’s lives. Harrison (2012:586) explains that there has been a shift in the belief that heritage objects are intrinsically valuable within the museum community, but he also states that there are conflicts within that community with regards to how objects are valued, and that the general attitude that the established value criteria “for designation are universal and will never change” is not helpful for the sustainable preservation of heritage in museums (Harrison, 2012:583).

In this thesis I shall adopt the view that value, particularly regarding heritage, is constructed, and not intrinsic. Some suggest that heritage is intrinsically valuable, and that acknowledging this value will help with conservation efforts. This view, however appealing, is not helpful when it comes to deciding which objects should be displayed or kept at a museum. Even if we grant that every object is valuable for its own sake, independent of anyone’s evaluation of it, museums still have to operate within certain boundaries, such as space and costs. A practical issue is that due to the acquisitive practices of museums in the past, many world museums now own a vast number of objects, many more than they could ever display, and this too emphasises the idea of a weighted display agenda. Negative heritage also affects display practices, problematizing the notion of equal and fair representation across all cultures. If objects like the classical artefacts in the Iziko collection are perceived as items belonging to

the country's negative heritage, then they are less likely to be displayed. The value of such objects is problematic since we can no longer tie them to only one culture, one practice, or one ideology. We clearly cannot use 'wrong' or 'right' in terms of heritage as a value system in relation to objects as a much more nuanced approach is required. For these reasons I have developed a typology of value which is not hierarchical but allows one to apply a simplified value to an object so that it may be assessed in terms of appropriateness for display or preservation within a specific museum context. This system of values does not attempt to ascribe values to objects for general discussions of importance or 'worth', but simply to contextualise them in reference to South African cultural heritage and the Iziko museum's transformation mandate as legislated by the relevant government acts.

As mentioned above, heritage artefacts in their various forms may have specific values attached, but these values are not the same for everyone across all contexts. I will refer to the different values as being 'direct' or 'indirect'. An object with direct value is one which has direct connection or link to a particular culture within a particular context, while an object which has indirect value is removed from its original context but is still valuable. For example, an Egyptian mummy has direct value in a museum in Cairo, but indirect value in a museum in Belgium. That same mummy would have direct value to an Egyptian person in Belgium, and indirect value to a Belgian tourist in Egypt. I would like to state that in my opinion there is no hierarchical relationship between direct and indirect value, but rather that one could expect different levels of prioritisation with regards to the value of the object. These priorities can also be affected by what I will term 'base' values.

Base values are made up of a variety of elements including historical, monetary, aesthetic, cultural, and religious values. A painting by Monet, for example, has direct value in France and its base value is comprised of monetary, historical and aesthetic elements. The base value might therefore cause the painting to be prioritised in an Australian museum over a painting with direct value to that context which does not have the same aesthetic or monetary values.

These terms of base, direct and indirect value can be applied to the classical antiquities in the South African museum. The most impressive Greek vases, part of the Iziko collection, in particular are those that were originally part of the De Pass collection donated to the South African Museum by Alfred de Pass (South African Museum, 1934). This collection, which now

belongs to Iziko, contains a variety of vase shapes and painting styles dating from about the sixth century BCE to approximately the fourth century BCE (Boardman & Pope, 1961). De Pass also donated a small number of Roman artefacts including a few fine examples of Roman glass found in Pompeii. If one was to apply a system of value to one of these objects it would be described in the following way: the red-figure *stamnos* in the collection is described by Boardman and Pope (1961:12) as being the finest vase of those donated by De Pass. The vase has also been valued in recent years and has measurable, high, monetary value. It is also an historic artefact with added value since we know that it was painted by the Chicago Painter. Therefore, this vase has aesthetic, historic, educational and monetary base values. Its place of origin is Greece (albeit Greece approximately 2460 years ago) and its cultural connections are with Greek culture. This means that while the vase has direct value to Greece, it would have indirect value to South Africa based on its base values.

If those objects with direct value are prioritised over objects with indirect value as a matter of course to promote the culture associated with the artefacts with direct value, then what is our responsibility to those artefacts with indirect value? This question is especially relevant when the collection holding the artefact has limited resources. Polarising value by labelling it either direct or indirect does create other problems, since sometimes the boundaries separating direct from indirect become blurred. This value should not be interpreted as being merely geographical, as illustrated simply above, but should also allow for the 'hybridity' variables which are so common in multicultural societies. Does an Indian man born in India and raised and educated in London feel no direct relationship to the United Kingdom? And by the same token does he lose his direct relationship with India simply because he moved geographically? The 'hybridity' variables can be represented, to a certain extent, by the base values.

As mentioned above, the system of values does not refer to a hierarchical system which preferences one object over another, but rather it refers to a system of assessment using various 'value' markers to identify the appropriate response to an artefact in terms of placement, use, display and storage. This system can also be used to prioritise a higher level of conservation care. By placing the objects in categories of *direct* and *indirect* value, using a simple checklist, one can guide the placement or response to the artefact. A secondary checklist of 'negative' tags and categories further assists in appropriately dealing with objects

which are themselves questionable or unpalatable, as well as more 'innocent' objects which have been acquired through objectionable means, or during a time period which is difficult to address in the public sphere.

2.1.4 Orphan Artefacts

Another key concept, introduced in the title of this dissertation, is that of 'orphan artefacts'. This term provides one of the important conceptual frameworks, and is one that I have coined to refer to museum objects that belong to the government, and are (theoretically) part of the national register but for a variety of possible reasons, such as they originate in another country and in another era, they have fallen out of favour with the current museological status quo. I have used this term 'orphaned' to signify that they once held a certain prestige or place in the museum vitrine, but that their status has now changed, and they are dispossessed of that former status. Their treatment is not necessarily to be regarded as negative, however, the level of interest in these items on the part of the museums seems relatively low. I also use the term to suggest their potential 'rootlessness' and in many cases, neglect. Again, this does not necessarily denote a deliberate policy of disinterest, however, where resources are few, these orphan artefacts are at the bottom of a list of priorities in many respects, whether this is in terms of securing space in a cabinet, receiving conservation, or being added to a database or a national register.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

There are four main phases involved in this study. The first phase was the collection of the raw data related to the classical artefacts at Iziko and the documentation of this data. Having gathered the data, the second process was to attempt to analyse the collection practices of the SAM and SACHM during the colonial and apartheid years, and where possible, to identify the ideological motivations of these collection practices as relate to the classical antiquities. The third phase involved an investigation of heritage practices post 1994 in order to understand how these may have affected the collection. The final phase involved an analysis of whether these artefacts could in fact be considered 'negative heritage' and what could (and should) be done with these 'orphan artefacts' through examining a number of international case studies.

2.2.1 Data Capture

Data collection process

In November 2012, with the financial support of Thuthuka and the supervision of staff at the SACHM, myself and my colleague, Meg Moodie, on completion of our masters theses, began a cataloguing project of the antiquities at the Iziko Social History Centre. We used accession registers and two outdated card catalogue systems to collect as much information as possible on each item, recording it on the museum's Logos Flow database. This was an intensive project done in phases, when we could provide the time and the museum could provide the space, equipment and supervision. Once the project was complete the data was shared with us as an Excel spreadsheet by Iziko for the broader SACA project, run by Dr Masters, as outlined in Chapter 1.

Not long after our data collection at the end of 2012, in early 2013 Esther Esmiol and Lailah Hisham, curator and care of collections staff respectively, asked if we could volunteer our time and expertise in assisting with the unpacking of the boxes of antiquities themselves, many of which had, by then, been boxed up for many years. We were given basic instructions on handling the objects and were closely supervised by Anlen Boshoff, a retired Egyptologist and former curator of antiquities at Iziko, who was also volunteering her time. This process involved the unpacking of objects into storage cabinets in the Iziko Social History Centre. This provided an opportunity to also do condition assessments in many cases, even if these were only surface assessments. For the most part, the only previous condition reports in existence were drawn up before some of the objects were loaned to the Sasol Art Museum in Stellenbosch from 2005-2007 and 2007-2011 (Masters, 2018:308), which only makes up a small percentage of the total objects in the collection. Thus, any subsequent damage due to the move from the Slave Lodge or environmental causes could not be properly assessed.

Software and database options for the study: Logos Flow and Excel

The database software options for this study were limited by the software already in place at Iziko: Logos Flow. This software is specifically designed for cataloguing humanities collections (especially art) and for facilitating the auditing of these collections. In theory, this kind of database should be very practical for a museum collection as diverse as that of Iziko's social history collections, but in practice it presents so many fields for the collection of data that it

becomes unwieldy and difficult to navigate. For the purposes of this study the data was extracted from Logos Flow into an Excel spreadsheet, which makes the data easy to manage, and easily transferable into any other database. While other database and data collection software was considered for this study, it was decided, with input from digital collection specialist Dr Franziska Naether of Leipzig University (also a research associate of Stellenbosch University), to keep the information in Excel. The Excel database formed the basis for the SACA database which is in the form of a Google sheet.

The original data extracted from the Logos Flow database had more than thirty fields for data entry. Many of these fields were irrelevant not only for this study, but also for the purposes of the museum's catalogue, such as the name of the artist which is rarely known for antiquities. Many other fields were impossible to complete based on the lack of surviving historical and archival information, such as the original price paid for the artefact. Some fields, such as insurance value and current retail value (where the information is available) was deemed confidential by the museum staff and therefore not appropriate, nor completely relevant, to include in this study. The fields that were selected for the Excel spreadsheet were fields pertinent to the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. Therefore, the following fields have been included in the table presented in the appendix: Accession/museum number, description, item type, general origins (where known), acquisition method, acquisition source, date received, date accessioned, and the condition report where available.

Data analysis of initial database of Iziko classical collection: assumptions, challenges, and limitations

Before engaging with the data collected on the Greek and Roman objects there are certain assumptions one must make about the information available. The first assumption has already been mentioned: it was necessary to assume that the given information is accurately recorded according to the information and expertise that the museum had access to at the time. Unfortunately, the record-keeping at the museum's inception was not the most detailed, nor was the system used particularly uniform. Edgar Layard, a secretary of the governor of the Cape Colony, was not trained as a curator (Summers, 1975:21). Curatorship for this kind of purpose was a new field as formal, scientific, and educational museums were still in their infancy in the early to mid-1800s. Layard had no special skills, other than a great

love and knowledge of birds and the kind of organizational skills one would expect to see in a governor's secretary (Summers, 1975:21). In light of this, tracking down the information required in order to verify the accuracy of each and every record is beyond the scope of this study (but is being taken up by the SACA project).

The second assumption is rather one I shall not be making. I originally supposed that it would be safe to assume that, within reason, the accession numbers would prove to be useful when attempting to assign possible dates for purchase or donation where such information is missing from the registers. I had assumed that the numerical sequence would indicate a chronological sequence. For example: if the records show that object SACHM1344 (a black-figure kyathos) was donated by Alfred de Pass in 1929 and item SACHM1345 (a red figure lekythos) was also donated by De Pass, then if no date is provided one could presume SACHM1345 was donated in the same year, or some small amount of time after the donation of SACHM1344. The items donated by De Pass seem to have been donated in batches, rather than one at a time, so one would expect to be able to make such an assumption. Further if SACHM1344 and SACHM1345 were donated in 1929, we could also presume that SACHM1339 would have been donated in 1929 or earlier. This is not the case, however, as SACHM1339 was donated in 1930. Similarly, SACHM1360 was received by the museum in 1896 but SACHM1361, one of the earliest classical acquisitions in the records, was recorded as being donated by J. Purland in 1854.

It is, therefore, simply not possible to use the early accession numbers as a clear indication of chronological acquisition. Table 1 demonstrates these anomalies. It may be that many of the items in the collection were not formally accessioned until the 1960s or that the process of renumbering the objects with SACHM numbers, after being part of the SAM system, happened according to different criteria than chronologies of accession. This means that one cannot make assumptions of this kind without the broader information about the cumulative data, which was unavailable to me.

Accession No.	Date
SACHM1339	1930
SACHM1343	1896
SACHM1344	1929
SACHM1345	1929
SACHM1348	1946
SACHM1349	1929
SACHM1360	1896
SACHM1361	1854

Table 1. Accession number data and dates

While it is not ideal, I have excluded any object which does not have a date of accession from a chronological analysis of acquisitions.³ This means that only 74% of the collection will provide the data necessary for this kind of analysis. The information available on these artefacts will provide an overview of the collection habits of the SAM and SACHM. In order to keep the analysis as accurate, clear and manageable as possible, I have divided up the dates of acquisition into decades. There seems to be little overlap *between* the decades, such as a series of similar objects acquired between 1949 and 1950, and the collection patterns fall more commonly *within* the decade, for example between 1971 and 1974.

I considered dividing the collection into larger groups focussed more on the broader political situations of South African history from the museum's inception (for example British colonial rule, the South African Union, apartheid rule, post-apartheid democracy) which might shed light on the attitudes towards classical artefacts as being specific to one group or time. This system, however, is fraught with murky demarcations and blurred lines between British rule and Afrikaner Nationalist power. Looking at the collection in ten-year blocks of information provides the opportunity to focus more narrowly if necessary, as well as providing the information necessary to look at a broader, overarching ideology and pattern. By focusing on the smaller data point of 1890-1899, one could speculate, for instance, that the spike in donations of classical antiquities in the 1890s could perhaps be linked to Cecil John Rhodes' appointment as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. Rhodes was himself a classical scholar with a great love of Greek and Latin literature, philosophy, architecture and statesmanship (Hilton, 2018:88). Colvin (1912:11) describes Rhodes' journey from Natal to the diamond fields where his brother mined as travelling "in a Scotch cart drawn by a team of oxen, carrying with him a bucket and a spade, several volumes of the classics and a Greek lexicon". This correlation is a little far-fetched, but it does illustrate that it is easier to access the finer details when viewing the 138 years in question in ten-year increments, while still being able to assess

³ Here I could make a reasonably reliable and educated guess about the dates of certain objects based on which register they were found in and on the names of the donors. C.A. Fairbridge, for example, did not donate anything after 1899 and therefore one could assume that the artefacts he donated fall into the 1854-1899 category. I am, however, reluctant to use this information as it may not prove to be accurate at all. Similarly a batch of donations made by a Dr Penfold in 1909 of various Roman metal items seems to be matched by another batch donated by Dr Penfold (also of Roman metal items) which are undated. Half of these 18 objects, the ones dated 1909, were accessioned in 1964 and their accession numbers run numerically from 1466 to 1474. The second half of the objects donated by Dr Penfold, but which bear no date, follow on numerically, running from 1475 to 1483 and were accessioned in 1965. One could suppose then that the undated objects were donated at the same time as the initial batch in 1909 based on type and on the accession numbers.

larger long-term trends in the collection of classical artefacts at the SAM/SACHM. However, as shown in the Rhodes example above, it is tempting to make any number of assumptions based on the available data and it is important to emphasise once more that there are many pitfalls when working with records that are incomplete or unclear.

2.2.1 Motivations for Purchase and Collection Habits

In addition to the catalogue cards and the purchase and loan registers, I have also relied on the minutes of the SAM and SACHM meetings, where acquisitions are listed and discussed, where these minutes were available, as well as other documentation in the Social History Research centre archives. However, this is restricted by the fact that many of the documents that once existed are no longer part of the archive. The annual reports for the relevant periods (in particular 1971, 1973 and 1974) are all lost. The museum library staff assisted me in a keen search for these documents, but they are thought to have been lost in the move from the Slave Lodge to the new premises at the Social History Research Centre.⁴ In trying to uncover the motivation for the purchase of particular items, there are also obstacles. While they appear in the registers, and there also are invoices available for some of the items, these bills of sale cannot furnish us with any information on why they were bought. There remains in most cases, no records of communication between the museum and the dealer from which artefacts, barring the replicas, were purchased.

2.2.2 Heritage Practices Pre- and Post 1994

With respect to heritage practices I have also consulted the various governmental policies that framed the heritage practices of the respective periods under discussion, with particular interest in the heritage legislation post 1994. This is in order to assess the degree to which the collection at Iziko has been affected by deliberate policy of both the institution of Iziko and governmental policy. I have examined, in particular, the Cultural Institutions Act of 1998, the Heritage Council Act of 1999, the Heritage Resources Act of 1999, and the 1996 White

⁴ According to the chief librarian on staff at the research centre these reports, amongst many other documents, were more than likely to have been accidentally discarded by staff who did not know which books and papers were to be kept for the new library and for the museum's own archives.

Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage and its various revisions (now in its fourth draft dated 27 October 2017).

2.2.3 Quo Vadis?

In order to consider the way forward for the antiquities in question, I have chosen a number of international case studies to provide illustrations of what could be done, as well as scenarios which have not been beneficial for the artefacts or for the public. In these chapters six, seven, and eight, I have looked at three methods for dealing with the collection, either as a whole or with respect to individual artefacts, which are contemporaneously relevant and contentious. These include repatriation to the antiquities' countries of origin, the deaccession and sale of antiquities, and the digitisation of classical artefacts. The case studies reflect the complexity of the different options and the various consequences of taking these actions.

3 HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

3.1 CLASSICAL ARTEFACTS IN CAPE TOWN: THE CONTENTS OF THE COLLECTION

The collection of classical antiquities held by the Iziko group of museums in Cape Town, is made up of approximately 238⁵ artefacts in various conditions. The objects were collected by the original incarnation of the museum, the SAM, and then by the later the SACHM, established when it was decided to separate natural and cultural history into two museums. An eclectic collection was built up over 134 years through purchases (approximately 23.9% of the dated objects), donations (approximately 54% of the dated collection), loans (4.6%) and exchanges (2.5%), between 1857 (SAM Annual Report, 1857) and 1991 (see purchase data). The items range widely from Greek and Roman ceramic vessels and figurines, Roman glassware, metal surgical implements, beads, lamps, mirrors, and numerous other household items, as well as a few items of gold jewellery. On the whole, the collection is in fair condition, with the few exceptions being items which arrived at the museum in a questionable state. The purchases made by the museum over the years were neither large nor ostentatious, but rather modestly priced, small objects of medium to good quality.⁶ The donations are an altogether different story, ranging from exceptional pieces like the red-figure hydria donated by Alfred de Pass (see donation data; SACHM1327), to the less glamorous “five pieces of pavement from a villa” (see donation data; SACHM4592).

⁵ This study does not include any ancient coins currently remaining in the numismatics department.

⁶ The pyxis is an excellent example of a modest purchase; not very expensive, but good quality piece featuring two horse figurines on the lid of the vessel (see donation data [bequest]; SACHM1395). The fish plate (see purchase data; SACHM71/248) is another example of a small, carefully selected purchase from around the same time.

Date	Purchase	Donation
1850-1859	0	2
1860-1869	0	1
1870-1879	0	0
1880-1889	0	12
1890-1899	0	15
1900-1909	1	9
1910-1919	0	7
1920-1929	0	6
1930-1939	0	6
1940-1949	0	1
1950-1959	0	18
1960-1969	0	3
1970-1979	41	0
1980-1989	10	24
1990-1999	2	0
Total	54	104

Table 2. Number of purchases and donations 1850-1999

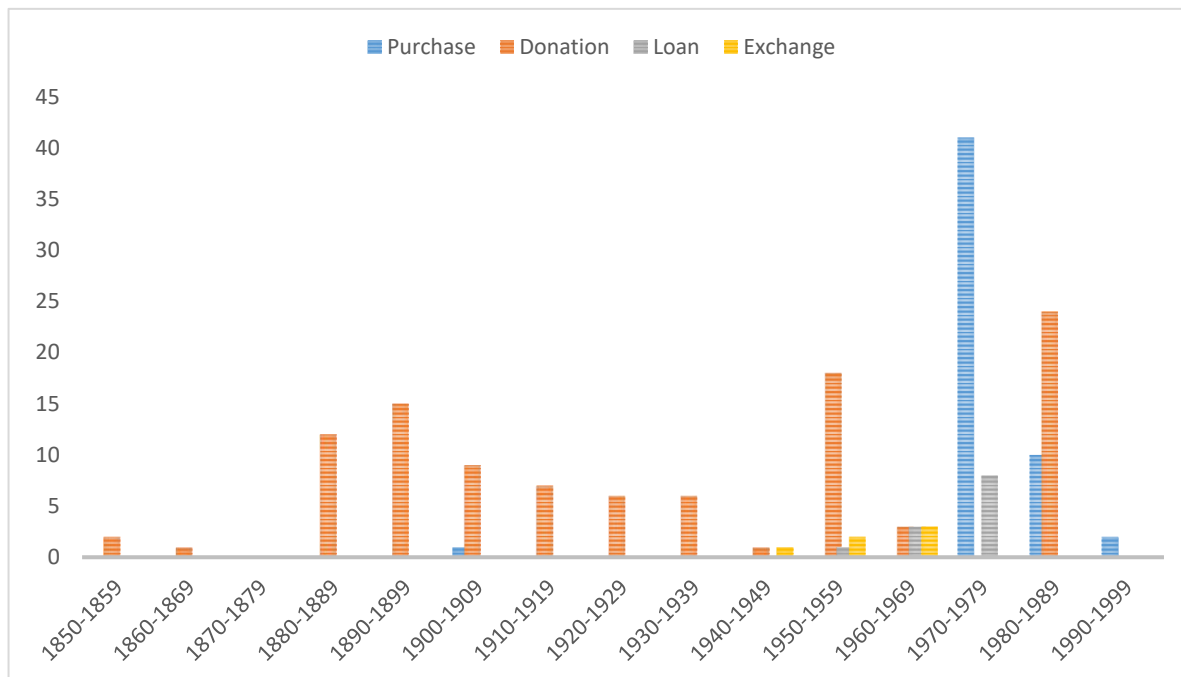


Figure 1. Complete acquisition method tally

3.2 EARLY HISTORY OF THE SAM AND THE ANTIQUITIES COLLECTION

3.2.1 Collecting in the Colonies: Acquiring Objects during British Rule

While it is likely that the first collection of curious objects was put together by Joachim Nickolaus von Dessin, a German mercenary soldier at the Cape who amassed a small fortune through trade when the colony was under Dutch rule, the first museum at the Cape was developed under British colonial rule in the 1800s (MacKenzie 2009:79). Other British colonies, Australia in particular, had a head start in using the British school system and institutions like museums to keep their population, which had landed so far away from their mother nation, educated in the British manner. The project of the museum as British colonial institution was both educational and scientific in nature. Summers (1975:1) points out that collecting was a popular pastime for the British settlers who acquired hides and trophy heads to display in the Castle of Good Hope (Cape Town's military hub at that time).⁷

⁷ The mid-1800s to early 1900s was also the time of the 'great white hunter', those khaki-clad, gun toting, mustachioed heroes of the imagination who took down elephants and man-eating lions in Kenya and Tanzania and tigers in India. Speake (2003:100) writes about the British use of big game hunting as an "ostentatious display of imperial control" in both India and on the African continent. The decoration of the Castle with animal hides is thus another way of displaying ownership of the land. This is not unlike the Roman use of exotic animals in their circuses as a display of how far-reaching their domain was.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a time of social change in Britain, shifting class boundaries, and a slowly growing middle class (Tyrrell, 1970:115). A tenet of that time, illustrated by the rise of self-help programmes and products and the growing field of psychiatry, was that any person could improve themselves, thereby improving their position in society (Rodrick, 2001:39). The methods for this self-improvement ranged from elocution lessons to clothing to the process of self-education via appropriate texts (mostly historical and scientific with perhaps a novel or some poetry to round out one's education). Universities were still out of reach for the majority of the population, so they turned to the increasing number of educational fairs and temporary exhibitions which were becoming more popular (Senior, 2005; Forgan, 1994:139).⁸

At first museums in Britain and in Europe were glorified cabinets of curiosities, displays akin to what Forgan (1994:139) refers to as the 'freak and geek' shows popularised in the Victorian era. The macabre and bizarre, as well as small treasures from distant lands drew people into these often-private establishments. Institutions like the British Museum slowly changed the association one had with a museum from showcase of the weird and wonderful to a place of learning, of betterment, and of rigorous scientific research (Senior, 2005). Museums were not only display houses to educate the public, but like universities they became reliable research spaces for the scientific community. The British Museum, for example, prided itself on being at the forefront of archaeological discovery and research in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries acquiring and researching priceless objects like the Rosetta Stone in 1802. To this day museums like the British Museum, the Natural History Museum in the United Kingdom (originally an arm of the British Museum), the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC, and the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, assist scholars, natural scientists and archaeologists in their work. The intention was, and is, that a museum should be more than a mere storehouse, but rather a place of learning and conservation (Senior, 2005).

For the elite classes, betterment, privilege and power were intertwined with the study of 'non-vocational' subjects such as Latin and Greek (Stray, 1996:78). Larson (1999:189) explains that the study of the Classics was not only the sphere of the privileged and social elite, but

⁸ The Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 is a prime example of the more reputable of the exhibitions of the mid to late 1800s, while the Black Museum of Scotland Yard (opened in 1874) and its rather gruesome displays was a good example of the more sensational, yet 'educational', exhibitions.

that it was described as a way in which those aspiring to raise their social status could acquire positions of power to move into a higher social class by showing a proficiency in a 'luxury' subject like classical languages and history. The study and appreciation of classical culture was an indicator of class and of education, and thus the collection of classical antiquities was also a past-time of the elite classes (and a reason why we find collections in many British country houses (Coltman 2009)). This same aspiration for social status also applied to British colonial subjects, however it was not necessarily reflected in the same ways and in addition, the collecting habits and agendas of colonial museums were also different from the 'metropole' (Mackenzie 2009: 80-81; Masters 2018: 291) .

3.2.2 Collecting Nature

A notice in the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser on 11 June 1825 states that the governor of the Cape at that time acknowledged the "endless diversity and novelty of the natural products of this colony" and it is due to this "diversity and novelty" that a museum was to be funded by the British colonial government (Summers 1975:5). The issues repeated in the reports, and occasionally in the story told by the purchases made in the early years of the museum, emphasise that the project of the institution would be above all things a scientific and educational one focussed on the natural history of the colony. MacKenzie (2009:78-104) and the annual reports to the trustees of the SAM of 1857-1859 provide us with a picture of a small overstuffed room with a lone crocodile swimming in its tank, visited rarely (if at all) by the general public. It was tended to by the overworked Edgar Leopold Layard,⁹ a secretary in the employ of the governor of the Cape Colony (George Grey), who was given one day a week to care for and improve the 'museum'. In communication with the Board of Trustees in his annual reports, Layard strives to emphasize that he agrees with the board when they say that the museum should be a place of learning (even going so far as to provide testimonials to this end), suggesting that it would be a much more impressive

⁹ Layard had studied law in England, but had trained himself as a natural scientist, specialising in ornithology (Summers, 1975:22).

educational space if he could have an extra staff member or two and perhaps a little more money (MacKenzie, 2009:86; SAM Annual Report, 1857).

In the initial purchase register (1876-1895) of the South African Museum, Layard records zoological volumes and various treatises on insects ordered from England to supplement the few books he had already purchased on basic taxidermy and specimen preservation (SAM Purchase Register, 1876-1895) Likewise, in the annual reports Layard thanks the donors of scientific reference books on botany, zoology, and lepidoptery. There are no books listed which would have helped him to identify the antiquities donated to the museum.¹⁰ The records of purchases made in the early years of the museum also mention Layard's procurement of a great variety of fish, fauna, and fowl from the Cape Peninsula as well as further afield. The evidence thus far shows an overwhelming interest in and focus on the natural sciences. From the purchase register to the donations register, the emphasis is on natural specimens and no interest is explicitly expressed in any classical item.

Summers also notes that Layard reported "every accession in his printed annual report" (Summers, 1975:33). This is almost certainly not the case; the donation register does not always correspond with the report. Many natural science specimens were painstakingly recorded in the report (seven pages of Lepidoptera, for example), but often in the archaeology section of the report it merely mentions that some items were donated, or it would only mention the significant gifts.¹¹ There are a number of items identified as donations of classical artefacts in the register which never appear in the report. Some appear a few years after they were initially donated, but with the sheer volume of natural specimens to be catalogued, this is neither unexpected nor unreasonable. The modest reports start out as two or three pages, but rapidly swell to small booklets with headings and sections for each field of research. The records of the collected and purchased coins in the numismatics section of

¹⁰ All other cultural items donated to the museum were not seen as being under the auspices of the museum at this early stage of the SAM's development. At this stage they remained curiosities with the Egyptian and classical objects. It is interesting to note that the South African National Gallery was developing concurrently with the SAM, and yet the cultural items, such as Greek vases and local basketwork, were never considered *objets d'art*. They were only ever categorized as 'ethnic' artefacts, objects which were representative of a specific culture rather than any kind of artistic representation or as examples of artistic style.

¹¹ It is unlikely that every scientific specimen that was dropped off at the museum was recorded, but the emphasis on plants and insects is difficult to ignore.

the museum report is always meticulous. In a new colony it would be easy to collect the new currency out of interest and for posterity, but it would also be very simple to send off for any coins from anywhere in the world (or from any period in history). Coins are small and easily transportable at minimal cost. Thus, a small number of ancient Greek and Roman coins made their way into the collection without being linked to the other objects of similar origins. They were the only purchases of classical items made by the museum in its first fifty years.

3.2.3 (Accidentally) Collecting Culture

In an early report, Layard writes to the trustees that the unexpected influx of art and cultural items has necessitated an urgent discussion on what to do with the items (Summers, 1975:42; SAM Annual Report 1857). They had not been part of the original plan for the museum. As Summers (1975:42) accurately points out, Layard himself admits that they did not have any rigorous policy when it came to accepting or declining donations (SAM Annual Report 1857). The museum was very likely trying to keep their donors happy in case they might wish to donate more interesting scientific specimens (Summers, 1975:143) or so as not to risk offending them (Masters, 2018: 294). The only mention in the early reports of any ancient European artefacts in Layard's description of the museum set up in its first location above a shop on St Georges Mall is that of the "case containing a mixed assortment of birds' eggs, Egyptian and Greek relics" (MacKenzie, 2009:85; Masters, 2018:293). There is, however, no record of where these items came from. The date of the report, 1857, does not correspond with any donations or purchases in the register.

Before Layard's tenure as curator of the museum, there was a small collection, known as the Literary and Scientific Institute collection (MacKenzie, 2009:84). When government approval came for a 'real' museum, this rather dilapidated collection became part of the SAM. The condition of the collection is greatly lamented by Layard in his reports and correspondence, but perhaps the Egyptian and Greek "relics" he mentions in his report were originally part of this small collection. This would explain the frustrating lack of any evidence with regards to the existence of these objects. We have no description other than the vague one in Layard's report. We do not know if these objects still form part of the museum collection.

Once the museum was moved to a more permanent location, Layard describes the interior of the museum in a report, mentioning that "at the door, is a collection of manufactured articles,

ancient as well as modern, pottery, glass and Kafir ornaments” (Summers, 1975:40). This seems to have been the start of the museum’s ‘ethnographic’ collection, but again we have no specific knowledge about what was kept in those cases.

3.3 ACQUIRING ANTIQUITIES

3.3.1 Passive Acquisition – the 1800s

Tracing the donations from the early days of the museum may give insight into what kind of ‘agenda’ these donors may or may not have had in giving their small classical treasures to the museum. From the SAM’s inception it was noted that the curator was in the habit of accepting any and all donations left at the museum (Summers, 1975:143). The purpose of this kind of wholesale acquisition, regardless of the value or relevance of the object, was not uncommon for museums, especially those which had limited funds for purchases. In one of his annual reports to the trustees of the museum Layard states that an unexpected influx of “ethnographical materials” has left them in need of extra space so that these items may be properly accommodated (Summers, 1975:42; SAM Annual Report 1857). Donations of cultural artefacts were, at the time, wholly unsolicited by the museum, as the initial ultimate mission of the museum was a scientific one examining and exploring the fauna and flora of Southern Africa.

Archaeology as a field of study was booming in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe. Travel to countries such as Greece, Italy and even Egypt were often part of the ‘Grand Tour’ undertaken by affluent young men, and British gentlemen working or travelling in Egypt and the Mediterranean were not likely to turn away from an exotic trinket on offer in a market or bazaar. These were collection habits in their own right, the colonial tendency to take ownership of other cultures and put them on display in their country homes or to donate them to their local museum. Unfortunately for this study, the information on how the objects travelled from those countries in the hands of a few donors will remain supposition as the records remain silent on the topic of ‘how’ or ‘why’. Of the donors of this period, only a Mr C. A. Fairbridge is traceable to any extent. He was a solicitor working and

living in Cape Town and by all accounts dedicated to the museum from its inception (MacKenzie, 2009:84). He donated numerous books, many from his own collection, and helped to procure a suitable temporary building for the museum in its early days on what is now St George's Mall. His donations consist mostly of Roman earthenware goods and two delicate glass items which are also listed as Roman in origin. Captain T. Purland was another of the more generous donors of this period, gifting the museum with a wide variety of antiquities from Roman bottles and lamps to an item which is described in the register as a "mummy cloth". It is perhaps safe to assume that as a captain in the British army he may have travelled to various sites and acquired the objects directly from the country of origin. Arguably the most prolific donor from this turn of the century period, a J. Offord, is not traceable, nor does he¹² leave any clues in the reports or registers as to his profession or nationality. His donations seem to be more carefully chosen and are overall finer specimens than those donated by Fairbridge or Purland. In particular his donation is notable for a range of approximately 13 vessels possibly excavated at Kameiros, an ancient city on Rhodes (see donation data; SACHM1365-SACHM1368, SACHM1371, SACHM1372, SACHM1398-SACHM1401).

3.3.2 Keeping up Colonial Appearances – 1900-1950

In correspondence between the SAM and a small group of donors in the United Kingdom, a gentleman writes from London (name indecipherable in correspondence) explaining to the curator of the museum that to keep up with the likes of Australasia and the United States, he would like to recommend the addition of a series of casts of famous Greek and Roman sculptures, to be produced in Naples and facilitated by the British consul in Naples (correspondence, Iziko archives). The message is clear: Australia has them, Chicago and St Louis have them, and South Africa cannot be seen to be lagging behind the rest of the world (Tietze, 2018:316).

The bulk of the Classical collection was donated in the years immediately following acquisitions of Egyptian artefacts to the collection.¹³ This collection of Mediterranean

¹² At least we can be certain that he is male, since Layard and his heirs were very particular about noting the genders of Mrs. Polson and Miss Thorne who donated some small classical items, as was customary for this period.

¹³ Museums in the beginning of the twentieth century would often donate a sum of money to an archaeological dig which would, in return, gift the museum with a few display-worthy items (depending of course on the size

antiquities was donated by Alfred de Pass in 1929-1931¹⁴ (SAM De Pass Catalogue, 1934). Alfred de Pass had been born in Cape Town in 1861 to a British family trade in the colonies. As the heir to his father's shipping business, De Pass became wealthy enough to retire early to England and start his large art collection. Over the years he was a prolific donor to South African museums and galleries, donating fine paintings and artefacts as well as funds (Masters, 2018:299). His rationale behind these donations of classical artefacts is that he felt the Greek and Roman pieces the museum had on display were "inadequate as samples of the art of these two great civilisations" (SAM De Pass Catalogue, 1934). Summers states that the objects were "very carefully chosen to illustrate life in ancient times and were thus especially valuable in a museum serving a community which in those days had comparatively few exhibits illustrating the classical cultures of Greece, Rome and Egypt" (Summers 1975:144). It is interesting to note the assumption that these objects were necessary for a museum collection. It is also interesting that even in Summer's 1975 account, the suggestion is that it was entirely expected that there would be exhibits illustrating the classical cultures of the Mediterranean.

None of the donors, past or present, were as prolific as De Pass, nor did they donate anything of such high value as the large Greek vases he gifted to the museum. A small number of donors recur more than once in the register, but the general trend is one-off gifts of small objects which could be easily transported, and of relatively little monetary value. The donations of Greek and Roman artefacts were unsolicited, and donation is the acquisition method which accounts for the majority of the objects collected in this British colonial period. This sets the pattern for the collection's future, as this passive method of collecting, through donations (including bequests), remains the main method of acquisition for these items.

3.3.3 Post-War/South African Union Collecting: 1950 - 1970

When looking at a simple comparison between donations and purchases in Table 2, it becomes apparent that 98% of the purchases were made after 1970, while the donations are

of the donation). This is how the Albany museum in Grahamstown, the South African Museum's counterpart on the other side of the country, acquired its mummy princess and her feline companion as well as a number of small artefacts from the same archaeological dig. These were all purchased by the museum for a sum of £10 in the early 1900s (Albany Museum "Mummy Worksheet", n.d.)

¹⁴ De Pass was originally asked to loan or donate a small number of Egyptian artefacts for the newly expanded collection mentioned above. The Greek and Roman artefacts were an unsolicited by-product of the original request (SAM De Pass Catalogue, 1934: 3).

made to the museum quite steadily over the years. Here I would like to examine the spike of donations in the 1950s (mostly through the Heberden bequest) and the possible relationship between the purchases and donations made in the 1970s and 1980s. It should be noted at this stage that I will be making the assumption that a bequest is, for all intents and purposes, a posthumous donation. The total sum of items acquired through bequests is not large, and of those items very few of the records specify whether the object was donated at the death of the donor or purchased with funds bequeathed to the museum. While an item purchased with funds from a bequest is technically a purchase, I am inclined to consider it as a donation due to the manner in which the funds for that purchase were acquired.

The database shows that in 1959 there were 16 examples of ancient glassware (see bequest data; SACHM1503-SACHM1518) either purchased with the bequest from Mrs L. K. Heberden or from her personal collection.¹⁵ At first glance an influx of antiquities after the Second World War would not be too surprising. Many men going off to war found themselves in a position to acquire some local culture in Egypt, Italy, Greece or Turkey and it is surmised that many small artefacts which have found their ways into museums all over the world after 1945 were 'spoils of war' left by deceased fathers and grandfathers to families with little use for ancient trinkets or *tchotchkes* (Givens, 2010:20). One could also presume that the antiquities market may have been flush with the contents of soldiers' pockets, making the purchase of such items more affordable for a Southern African museum with limited available funds.

The details of the bequest of Mrs Heberden are unclear. We do not know if the money was specifically donated for the purpose of extending the collection of classical artefacts, or if it was a general bequest made to the museum.¹⁶ The fact that the items were all made of glass could mean that either the objects were specially collected by Reginald or Lilian Heberden, or, as I suspect, they were bought in a lot together by the museum to expand the small collection of ancient glass objects already in existence. There simply is not enough

¹⁵ The collection data indicates that the glassware was from Mrs Heberden in 1959, however other articles acquired in the early sixties are identified as having been purchased with the "Heberden bequest" (SACHM1396 and SACHM1395). It is unclear if the glassware was purchased with this same bequest, or if it was a donation of her private collection.

¹⁶ It seems she was born in South Africa and married Reginald Heberden in London in 1914 (*England and Wales Civil Registration Index 1835-1915*). After her husband's death in 1940, Lilian Heberden moved back to South Africa (*UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890-1960*) where she passed away between 1959 and 1962 [*England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966*]. The information available on Mrs Lilian Katherine Heberden (née Van der Byl) is not entirely clear.

information about the way in which the artefacts were collected to make any meaningful assumptions about them or more importantly about the museum's attitude to them. The reason for mentioning this group of objects, is that it forms a significant percentage of the total number of artefacts acquired through donation. This is one of the largest donations, other than that made by Alfred de Pass, in the history of this modestly sized collection, and yet we do not know for certain why they were collected or how. The result of all of this uncertainty is that it becomes even more problematic to draw conclusions on the 'ideological' history of the antiquities, which is one of the questions asked in this dissertation. This makes it difficult to determine whether or not the artefacts have been part of an ideological programme of collection in the museum. This is clearly challenging if the information does not provide us with the necessary clues to draw these kinds of conclusions.

3.3.4 Apartheid-era Purchases – 1970 -1992

What is of interest when looking at the data collected on purchases made by the museum is the lack of purchases before 1970.¹⁷ Of the purchases made by the museum between 1854 and 1992, 76% of those were made in the 1970s and almost half of these purchases were made in 1971 alone. This decade also corresponds to 66.7% of the total loans made to the museum. Between 1970 and 1979, 21% of the entire collection was acquired through purchases and loans. This outstrips even the generous donations made by Alfred de Pass in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁸ This sudden flood of purchases, after seventy years without a single purchase, should be significant. There are, unfortunately, a number of obstacles to discovering the reasoning behind these purchases. The most substantial of these is the lack of records.

¹⁷ There is only one exception which is the purchase of a replica in 1901. The purchase of replicas is in itself a puzzling phenomenon as there are no records which provide any reasoning behind the acquisition of an item which does not fit with any established display or collection theme within the classical antiquities collection.

¹⁸ The De Pass collection, and the rationale behind the donation, is examined in more detail elsewhere. Alfred de Pass donated 34 artefacts in total, amongst which are some of the jewels of the collection, including fine Greek vases.

While there are invoices available for some of the items, these bills of sale cannot furnish us with any information on why they were bought.¹⁹ There remains no communication between the museum and the antiquities dealer, Charles Ede, from which all of the artefacts, barring the replicas, were acquired. With the annual reports for the relevant periods (in particular 1971, 1973 and 1974) being lost in the move from the Slave Lodge to the new premises at the Social History Centre.²⁰ In conversation [A. Boshoff, 2013] with staff members who worked at the museum in the 1970s, and some who worked in the relevant department, the general consensus is that the head of the archaeology/antiquities department at that time, Dr W. Schneewind, while having no background in classics or classical archaeology, had a great fascination with ancient Greek and Roman artefacts (in conversation, A. Boshoff, 2013). The peculiar assortment of artefacts he purchased during his tenure presents itself on the surface more like a bag of mixed sweets, rather than a carefully curated selection of objects which would enrich the existing collection. There is little in the way of an obvious pattern to the items collected, but on closer consideration the Roman objects in particular seem to be representative of common household objects, rather than 'artistic' or more aesthetic pieces. They include items such as pins (SACHM74/68a-d), styli (SACHM80/71a-c), a strigil (SACHM72651), a silver cochlear (winkle spoon) (SACHM76/214), three replica belt buckles (SACHM74/133, SACHM79/64, SACHM72/832), a replica of a bronze mirror (SACHM72/831), and even a replica of a tap from a bath installation (SACHM73/382).

Other domestic items were also purchased, as well as another small selection of glassware (SACHM71/76-71/77, SACHM71/176, SACHM71/163-71164). After the acquisition of the ancient glass as part of the Heberden bequest, glassware seems to become a popular category for collection. The SAM (as it still was at that stage) made an exchange with the Bezalel National Museum in Jerusalem in 1960 for two Roman glass bottles and a glass bowl (see exchange data; SACHM1521-SACHM1523) after the accession of the Heberden items. What was sent to Jerusalem is not recorded. By 1992, 16.8% of the collection consisted of glass objects, which is a good amount for such a modestly sized collection. These are the kinds of

¹⁹ It has been suggested that one of the reasons behind the increase in purchases made in the 1970s was due to the very strong South African Rand against the British Pound, which made buying antiquities in the UK less expensive and more accessible.

²⁰ According to the chief librarian on staff at the research centre these reports, amongst many other documents, were more than likely to have been accidentally discarded by staff who did not know which books and papers were to be kept for the new library and for the museum's own archives.

artefacts one would presume to see in an exhibit of daily life in the ancient world, which could potentially provide a more personal interaction between viewer and object. The pins and glass bowls are particularly accessible to a modern audience as the design and use of such objects has hardly changed in two thousand years. The Greek items purchased at that time are less clearly socially or domestically themed, consisting mostly of cups, plates, and small vases. While it could be argued that these too were household items, the emphasis here seems to be on ancient Greek ceramics, rather than ancient Greek daily life. Perhaps that is an unfair assessment of the curator's intentions as one must be reasonable and say that much of Greece's surviving ancient material culture, that which is not monumental, falls into two categories – either stone or clay. Small metal objects are not nearly as commonplace or available in such quantities as ceramic artefacts are.

Regardless of what the impetus was for buying these artefacts, an effect of the purchases seems to be a brief revival of interest in the collection. Not only do we see the bulk of the purchases being made between 1970 and 1980, but the majority of the loans made to the SACHM, by institutions and individuals, were made in the 1970s. Following this, after only three donations in twenty years, the museum received more donations in the 1980s than it had in the previous forty years. Looking once more at Figure 1, one theory could be that the contact in 1959 and 1960 with the Pedagogical Institute of Science and the Bezalel National Museum, both in Jerusalem, perhaps generated enough internal interest for the collection to be revived and reappraised.²¹ The purchases made throughout the 1970s, added to the objects already on display (mostly from the De Pass collection), could in turn have revitalised the public interest in the collection so that potential donors may have been more interested in passing their antiquities on to the museum. The twenty-four artefacts gifted to the museum between 1983 and 1989 were donated by at least six different donors.²² This is the largest group of donors seen in any one decade, representative surely of a much broader interest in the collection. While there is very little information available on the donors themselves

²¹ Summers' (1975) history of the South African Museum mentions the antiquities only twice and unfortunately offers no enlightenment with regards to overseas cooperation.

²² Some objects are without donor name, but at least have dates of acquisition.

(except that one lived in Benoni while the rest came from Cape Town), they do seem to be private individuals rather than trusts or institutions.²³

As to pinpointing whether or not the collection was born out of colonial or apartheid ideals, the objects themselves will provide few answers. Again, one returns to Rutledge (2012:16), who explains that the way in which dominant group ideology is articulated “depends on how a given object is intended to communicate and is further constructed by the values imposed on particular objects and the context of their display”. Therefore, it is the display of the objects, the way in which they communicate with the viewer and the things they are made to say by the design of the exhibition, and those who put them on display, which would offer insights into any ‘taint’ they may bear to a present-day audience or administration. Objects so far removed from their context (whether physical, historical, or cultural) can only be signifiers of meaning or value through the “human imposition” (Rutledge, 2012:16) of those meanings or values. Objects are communicators of wealth, status, culture, identity, of so many aspects of individual and group identity. When examining how these classical artefacts came into the museum collection there are no clear answers and no signifiers of ideology nor political or social agendas. Having said this, it is perhaps significant that all purchases of classical antiquities stopped in 1992. It would not be impossible to infer meaning from the purchasing habits during South Africa’s most politically questionable decades.²⁴

3.4 TRANSFORMATION AND THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE COLLECTION

3.4.1 Transformation

After the dissolution of the apartheid regime in the early 1990s, and the election of the first democratic government in 1994, it became clear that national institutions would need to change in order to represent the interests of the country as whole, instead of only the white elite minority. Public heritage spaces became an important focus for the process which would become known as transformation (and more recently, the ongoing project of decolonisation). Legislation was passed in an attempt to develop a more inclusive heritage policy: and changes occurred in the content, curation and distribution of heritage items in museums. For example,

²³ The one uncertainty is that of Miss B. Danks. The records are unclear whether this was her bequest or if she was acting on behalf of the law firm which is provided as her address.

²⁴ This will be discussed in depth in a later chapter.

the previous approach of relegating all cultural materials relating to indigenous peoples to natural science museums, while colonial objects were part of Social/Cultural History museums, was seen for its blatantly racist framework. This distinction would be challenged and addressed in various ways. Many museums did not wait for the mandate requiring a more humane and equal display of all peoples. Displays not only had to be integrated, but any and all signs of the racist ethos of the apartheid era governments needed to be removed.

3.4.2 Iziko and the Slave Lodge

In 1998 the Cultural Institutions Act [Act No. 119, 1998 (6) 2.], organised government museums into groupings according to location. The umbrella organisation for the Western Cape was originally known as the Southern Flagship Institution (Masters, 2018:305). In 2001 this became the Iziko Museums of Cape Town, and in 2012 it changed to the Iziko Museums of South Africa. The former Old Supreme Court building, which had housed the South African Cultural History Museum (SACHM) since 1963, reverted to its original name, the Slave Lodge, and prioritised the telling of the multi-faceted history of the slaves brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company. As part of the redesign of the Slave Lodge and in order to make space for the new exhibits on slavery (Masters, 2018:306), most of the existing exhibits on the ground floor of the museum were dismantled and the objects placed in storage. These objects included the ancient Greek and Roman artefacts on display in the Greek and Roman rooms.

3.4.3 The antiquities: 1998-2018

In 1998 the classical artefacts were moved to the nearby Iziko Social History Centre (ISHC) and placed in storage (in conversation, E. Esmiol, 2014). Between 2005 and 2011, two loan exhibitions were arranged through the collaboration between the Ancient Studies Department, Stellenbosch University, and Iziko. A select few artefacts from the collection were loaned to the University of Stellenbosch Sasol Art Museum (Masters, 2018:308). After this period, where the objects were on display to the public as well as being used as teaching aids, the antiquities were returned to storage in the ISHC.

In 2013 the collection was unpacked into specially designated shelving units in the ceramics storeroom as detailed above. The facilities are well provided with security systems and fire suppression systems. There are no staff members who have any background in ancient western archaeology or the care of these kinds of antiquities, the collection of antiquities falls under the ambit of Esther Esmiol (Curator of the Social History Collection and the William Fehr Collection at Iziko) and Lailah Hisham (Collections Manager in the Social History Collection). The artefacts are well-stored and well-cared for to the extent that they can be (there is air temperature control for example) but have not undergone condition reports or conservation of any kind in many years. However, it is also significant to note that the objects have not been left forgotten in a drawer or box. A few objects have also been incorporated in exhibitions during this time.

The *Design and Making [the story of food]* exhibition at the Castle of Cape Town of 2014 was an example of an integrated display of objects from a variety of collections. It was a joint project between the Cape Craft & Design Institute and the Iziko Museums of South Africa Social History Collections Department (Iziko, 2014). The aim of the exhibition was to explore and celebrate the connection between design and food, how the food we want to store and prepare necessitates the designing and creating of vessels to fulfil such a purpose. This is not a modern need, born in the industrial age as so many of our contemporary objects are, but rather spans the history of human existence. This universal need across millennia is tackled in *Design & Making*.

While this exhibition can be labelled as comparative, this is not in the Victorian sense of privileging one culture over the other. Storage vessels from various time periods, cultures and countries were placed side by side in a conversation, each object saying something about itself, but also about the object next to it. Two classical artefacts featured in this exhibition: a Greek *amphoriskos* (small storage jar) and an *askos* (decanting and pouring vessel). These two pottery vessels were both displayed in such a way that one could identify similarities between them and other objects from around the world. The basket ware storage vessels from Africa were particularly similar to the small Greek *amphora*. The display of the *askos* next to a more recent brandy jar, for example, is an interesting juxtaposition of two vessels of similar purpose whose forms are different yet connected.

The display of local, contemporary 'pottery' (a variety of materials are used, from old tires to wood to beading) also provided modern interpretations of various cultural pottery norms (from Greek amphorae to traditional African pots). Some of these interpretations were certainly overt, such as the bead vases based on Chinese design and colour. Others, such as Thys Cartens' wooden vases, are cross-cultural interpretations of African pottery and, in my opinion, Greek vases, which can also stand alone as contemporary works of art. The *Design & Making* exhibition emphasised that cross-cultural celebrations are exciting, relevant, creative and educational. The viewing of classical items in such a context in contemporary South Africa seems appropriate and valuable.

The objects are currently not in line for any kind of permanent display. As mentioned above, the priorities of South African museums have been to centre exhibits and educational programmes on themes and heritage relevant to the local, South African context, which includes the slavery exhibit for example, and those related to resistance and the anti-apartheid movement. This is an important project of post-apartheid museums in South Africa: changing the heritage landscape to be inclusive and representative, in stark contrast with the exclusivity of museums throughout the country's colonial and apartheid-era history.

4 HERITAGE IN SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUMS

4.1 HERITAGE, NATION BUILDING, AND DIVERSITY

The South African National Heritage Council defines heritage as:

“...[A] broad concept that includes both cultural and natural heritage that can be tangible (immovable or movable) and intangible. Heritage is about what is valued as significant in cultural terms (i.e. socio-economic, aesthetic, historical, scientific terms). Heritage can be produced by people or can be natural features that have meaning to humans” (NHC, 2012:14).

Heritage is a useful tool for nation building and as a means of steering national sentiment and unity. This is especially relevant in multicultural societies like South Africa where an overarching national identity is difficult to pinpoint or foster. In South Africa socio-cultural redress through heritage is part of the country’s dedication to transformation of previously discriminatory cultural practices.²⁵ In theory heritage can be used to unify discrete racial and cultural groups. In practice this process is more complicated.

Different aspects of cultural heritage have different values to different cultures. In a country as culturally and linguistically diverse as South Africa one cannot expect to have a homogenous attitude to heritage. The single unifying thread in South African heritage has been that of the “rainbow nation”, a phrase coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Habib,

²⁵ ‘South Africa has been at work since 1994 with the pressing tasks of reshaping itself. Two decades later, it continues to face challenges inherited from the past. Nevertheless, the end of minority rule and the advent of democracy enabled the systematic legal eradication of race-based segregation and discrimination by replacing this with an inclusive, non-racial democratic dispensation based on equality.’ (Revision of The Department of Arts and Culture 1996 White Paper Fourth draft 27 October 2017)

1997:15), as well as the new motto of the country: *!ke e: /xarra //ke*. The motto, which is inscribed on the new coat of arms, unveiled on Freedom Day 2000, is written in the Khoisan language of the /Xam people and means 'diverse people unite'. While in recent years there has been disillusionment with the idea of the 'rainbow nation' (Gachago & Ngoasheng, 2016) this idea of unity through diversity informs the heritage approach of the new government. This has led to a rich and multi-layered interpretation of what constitutes heritage in South Africa.

Previously, under the former regime, heritage consisted mostly of objects, buildings, notable sites and monuments. This seems to be a traditional colonial attitude to heritage, preserving and collecting tangible cultural and historical artefacts and architecture. Since the fall of the apartheid government, the definition of heritage has grown and expanded to be more inclusive of intangible and non-traditional expressions of heritage. These include song, dance, language, oral histories and traditional practices (for example healing and initiation rites) (Brown, 2009:151; Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008:157). These expressions of cultural heritage have often been ignored or suppressed by the dominant Eurocentric colonial attitude to what is valuable culturally. Reforms to redress this imbalance are being affected in New Zealand, Australia and North America with varying degrees of success (Brown, 2009:153,154). The Maori, Aboriginal and Native American populations, however, hold their heritage separate to the 'mainstream' European cultures. In South Africa the aim is to unite a fractured nation, doing justice to all histories. The complexity lies in how diverse cultures can be integrated into the whole, while keeping also their authenticity.

Soudien (2006:2) and Byala (2013:110) explain that museums are reflections of the dominant ideology of the country in which they exist. The assumption is then that artefacts collected during colonial times or the apartheid era are tainted, may be coloured by their association with and elitist, white, racist Western identity. The way in which objects are displayed, where they are displayed and what is chosen for display, reflect – in a general way – the beliefs or world view of those in charge. Museums are, says Valdeón (2015:363), representative of "elite domination" and societal, colonial control. An excellent example of this is the location of the ethnological displays of South Africa's indigenous peoples in the apartheid era: in the SAM they were positioned within a museum dedicated to the natural sciences. We create spaces,

like museums, to tell a specific story, to record a narrative of our choosing. The 'our' in this context is the dominant group, the group in power. As history is subjective and constructed, the history carefully selected to be on display is part of this dominant and chosen narrative (Rutledge, 2012:15). Museum exhibits, in this way, lend themselves to the outward display of the dominant group identity, as well as ideology, and assist in creating and reinforcing this identity rather than just acting as a representation of this identity. An individual's outward identity can be mapped through the kinds of objects they choose to acquire (or conversely through the total absence of a collection of objects); so too a museum. This identity map through objects is certainly superficial, but it can, through broad generalisations, provide some useful information about the individual or, in the case of a museum, a group. In the following section I will explore the dominant group identity of a South African museum, the SAM, based on the political sphere in which it operated before the political transformation of 1994 and how that would have affected display criteria in a museum environment.

4.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM PRE-1994

The project of museums in South Africa, before the establishment of the South African Union, as well as other British colonies, was predominantly one of imperial superiority and racial supremacy (MacKenzie, 2009:7). Winter (2013:537) explains that the European dominant powers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries required a "cultural-intellectual scaffolding" to embed their world view in other societies and cultures. Museums used this 'scaffolding' to create a superior historical narrative of European authority and the colonisation of South Africa, a construction further entrenching ideas of 'us' and 'them' (Gore, 2005:75). The goal was to depict the natural world as one that was ruled and controlled by mankind, each element, plant, and animal identified, labelled, and put in a box denoting its relationship with humans rather than illustrating the complicated intertwined nature of biodiverse ecosystems as we understand them today. To create a clear divide between the 'civilised' European culture and society and that of the 'barbaric' and 'uncivilised' indigenous populations of Southern Africa, museums like the SAM, as described above and elsewhere in this study, would display their ethnographic and anthropological collections in the natural

sciences sections of the museum, while only displaying white, European histories and artworks in the cultural and historical sections as well as artefacts from those societies deemed to be 'civilised' (Gore, 2005:75-76).²⁶

The SAM has an even darker chapter of its history authored by the director of the museum Louis Péringuey who took over that role from William Sclater in 1906. MacKenzie describes it succinctly stating that "as white power, racial separation and pseudo-scientific racist thought grew, the museum became involved in some very dubious practices" (MacKenzie, 2009:93). Under Péringuey's direction the institution became heavily involved in trading human remains.²⁷ This was a widespread phenomenon across the globe, not limited to South Africa, and the remains of 'non-Caucasoid' peoples were especially sought after not only in museums, but also other scientific institutions and universities. The Albany Museum in Grahamstown, the second oldest museum in South Africa, records similar collections of skeletal remains gathered, sometimes without government permit, from the grave sites of the Xhosa people living in that coastal region of what is now the Eastern Cape (MacKenzie, 2009:94).²⁸ What is less widely known is that the SAM, and the McGregor Museum in Kimberley, continued to receive human remains until the 1990s which were "initially stored in an outside shed" (MacKenzie, 2009:95).

Under Péringuey's direction, a Scottish taxidermist, James Drury, was commissioned to make casts from living persons of various racial groups in the Cape. Drury made approximately 65 casts from 1907 to the 1920s, many of which were on display for several decades in the SAM (MacKenzie, 2009:91). As MacKenzie explains, these casts furthered the ideas of drastic racial difference between the white colonial settlers and the indigenous populations as it was

²⁶ Another example of this could be found in the Albany Museum in Grahamstown which was established around the same time as the SAM or soon afterwards. Until relatively recently the museum was divided between two buildings: the Natural Science Museum and the 1820 Settlers Museum. The former contained collections of birds, animals, dinosaurs, and the near ubiquitous 'bushmen' dioramas displaying the various cultural practices of the local indigenous Xhosa people as well as the hunter-gatherer societies of the KhoiSan. The latter exhibited a collection of costumes and household items as well as furniture from the British settlers who came to the area in the 1820s. The collections were kept very separate until the 1990s.

²⁷ It is suggested that one of Péringuey's henchmen, George Lennox, was not averse to killing if the 'specimen' was particularly sought after. The other man in question, an American known only as Mehnarto, worked with Lennox digging up the recently interred to boil the bodies and sell the now skeletal remains to the museums. Mehnarto was also known for his destruction of important archaeological sites so that he might more easily remove the popular cave paintings of the KhoiSan (MacKenzie, 2009:95).

²⁸ The Albany Museum is to date still working to identify all the human remains in their possession for the purpose of repatriation to their rightful communities.

viewed as a legitimate scientific endeavour (MacKenzie, 2009:91). Museums were meant to be scientific institutions of truth through physical evidence, ostensibly without bias, deploying “modern, rationalist, empiricist and scientific [sic] methods” not only to develop the rapidly growing fields of the natural sciences, but, as Winter (2013:537) argues, also to advance the political project of the empire.

During the eras of Union and the election of the pro-Afrikaner National Party in 1948, heritage institutions were further influenced by the separatist and racist politics which had come to the fore (now officially ‘Apartheid’). Institutionalised racism worked its way into every aspect of South African life, the arts and sciences, and the public spaces and institutions were no different. New legislation passed in 1954 brought many of the country’s museums, including the SAM, under direct government control. MacKenzie (2009:78, 98) puts forward that while the boards of directors were “infiltrated” by apartheid sympathisers to give the government more control over what was displayed in the museums as well as who was permitted to enter, the “Nationalists probably never regarded museums or art galleries as particularly important or potentially subversive”.

While I agree that the Nationalist government seemed more focused on monumental architecture and public spaces as direct reflections of the racially motivated ideology of the state, I disagree that museums were, in essence, haphazardly or casually used to further the institutional racism. The clear exclusion of the voices, histories, artefacts, and cultures of the indigenous populations, not to mention the physical exclusion of black individuals from the exhibition halls of museums and galleries as visitors, is a demonstration of the doctrine that drove the apartheid government. Crooke (2006:138) posits that the “representation of an apartheid version of art, history and archaeology in Cape Town’s museums reveals how museums can be shaped by the points of view of one particular group, to the exclusion of another” embedding the differences between races and cultural groups in a public sphere. If the premise that heritage can be used as a tool to build a national identity, as discussed above, is accepted, then it should also be accepted that the choice to promote a specific heritage above and to the exclusion of another is a viable and effective tool used by the apartheid government.

4.3 HERITAGE TRANSFORMATION AFTER 1994

Current heritage policies are informed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) recommendation to seek redress for years of prejudiced display of South African heritage in museums (Flynn & King, 2007:462). This has been discussed in the previous chapter. While many museums did attempt to change their museum's practices from the inside, apartheid government support was for projects that obviously supported the apartheid agenda (Corsane, 2004:7). Post-1994, South African museums have been aiming to create spaces which show multiple sides of South African culture, heritage, and history; from the inspiring stories of resistance and micro-histories (Nelson Mandela Museum, and the District Six Museum) to the overtly oppressive (Slave Lodge, Apartheid Museum and Robben Island). The focus of the museums is thus on local cultural practices, historical events, and any part of South African history or heritage that was ignored or undermined under the previous regime (Corsane, 2004:9).

The Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) was formed in 1994 to identify issues in the museum and heritage sector which were seen to be left over from the twin legacies of apartheid and British colonial rule (Sambumbu, 2017:7). Several problems were identified, including the Eurocentric focus of the existing museums, the lack of preservation of intangible or living heritage (such as oral culture), the lack of public access to heritage resources, with an equally pervasive lack of public understanding or education with regards to heritage resources, as well as irregular and uneven resource distribution amongst the various heritage institutions (Galla, 2003:38; 1996 Department of Arts and Culture White Paper). In order to address and redress these shortcomings, the National Heritage Bill of 1998 was designed, based on findings and suggestions from the 1996 White Paper, to "transform the apartheid heritage structures" (Galla, 2013:38). This would be facilitated by the National Heritage Council, identified in the Cultural Institutions Act of 1998, with the aim of fostering a new approach which would integrate the diverse cultural heritage of the country into the new and existing heritage institutions at a national level (Galla, 2003:39). These institutions would not only

include museums, but also the National Archive, existing national monuments, and intangible heritage (Galla, 2003:39).

4.3.1 Heritage Legislation Post 1994

As discussed previously, the apartheid and pre-apartheid attitudes towards what was deserving of display, as well as how and where items and cultures were displayed were part of the dominant group imprint which not only disadvantaged non-white populations, but also, in some cases, dehumanised them. The new transformative legislation was vital to redressing some of the historical imbalances.

The first piece of legislation that changed the nature of the museum landscape in post-1994 South Africa was the Cultural Institutions Act, Act No. 119 of 1998 (CIA), which established the creation of flagship institutions. The Northern Flagship institution included the National Cultural History Museum; the South African National Museum for Military History; and the Transvaal Museum. The Southern Flagship institution included the Michaelis Collection; the South African Cultural History Museum; the South African Museum; the South African National Gallery; and the William Fehr Collection. The CIA made provisions for the exchange, purchase or sale of objects in the care of these flagship institutions. They have the authority to “let or exchange any specimen, collection or other movable property belonging to it; and purchase or otherwise acquire, possess or hire any specimen, collection or other movable property” (CIA, 1998:4). In addition, no specimen, collection or other movable property may be sold or removed, except with permission from the Minister of the Department of Arts and Culture (CIA, 1998:8).

The second important piece of legislation was the National Heritage Council Act of 1999 (NHC). This Act set out the rules and responsibilities for the newly founded National Heritage Council with regards to national heritage sites and institutions and codified a broader definition of heritage in South Africa. While the regime based on the National Monuments Act of 1969 focused mainly on tangible heritage, namely objects and monuments, this new legislation paved the way for the preservation and conservation of intangible heritage, which

includes: “cultural tradition; oral history; performance; ritual; popular memory; skills and techniques; indigenous knowledge systems; and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships” (NHC, 1999:3). It should be noted that there is no mention of the protection of ‘non-South African’ objects in the list of responsibilities and duties of the NHC (NHC, 1999:4). According to the Act the NHC is responsible for monitoring and co-ordinating “the transformation of the heritage sector, with special emphasis on the development of living heritage projects” (NHC, 1999:6). This is a marked difference from a very object-oriented focus of the previous regime.

The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (NHR) is the third piece of post-1994 legislation, which governs the promotion of the conservation and future of heritage and heritage objects. This act has the most relevance to this study as it defines which kinds of objects are deemed culturally significant. Objects of cultural significance exhibit properties including (but not limited to) historical, social, aesthetic or technological importance. These objects are also considered part of the national estate if they demonstrate a “high degree of creative or technical achievements at a particular period” (NHR, 1999:14).

The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), was established by the NHR to “co-ordinate the identification and management of the national estate” (NHR, 1999:26). This includes establishing a national resource which records the pertinent details of each object in the national register. The agency exists as an administrative and legislative go-between, in its current incarnation, connecting the museums and heritage sites with the state. This role seems to have become alienated from the museums in particular, providing very little in terms of actual practical assistance in the education and training of museum staff or the provision of additional resources for the identification and cataloguing of the national estate as outlined in section 13, subsections (1) and (2) of the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (1999:26-27).

SAHRA is also responsible for assessing and grading objects in the national estate. The assessment criteria for this grading process include the following: contextual, comparative and intrinsic importance, as well as the advantages and expenses related to protecting an object (NHR, 1999:18). Objects and sites in the national estate are graded as follows: Grade I is defined as “heritage resources with qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance”. Grade II are “heritage resources which, although forming part of the national

estate, are specifically significant to a particular region or province". Grade III consists of "other heritage resources worthy of conservation" (NHR, 1999:18). By this grading system one can see that the antiquities in the Iziko collection are assessed as Grade III objects which have no special significance to either the nation as a whole or to a specific province as per the definitions set forth in this act. The act does not actively exclude or ignore the artefacts in question, but rather they are not a clear priority for the heritage agencies or institutions in South Africa. The prioritisation of domestic cultural heritage is made very clear throughout all three legislative acts.

According to the National Heritage Council the purpose of developing heritage institutions and promoting heritage and culture in South Africa is not only to create a sense of national pride, but also to educate communities to encourage tolerance and diversity in spaces where xenophobia and prejudice are branded as unacceptable by the state through the institution as proxy (NHC, 2012:27). The document specifically states that heritage institutions are to "vigorously monitor not only the implementation of programmes but how this contributes to enhancing the legitimacy of the state in the eyes of the citizens" (NHC, 2012:28), thus tying the concept of legitimacy to heritage and culture. As Gore explains for South Africa "the four most vital instruments for social cohesion and nation formation were a national defence force, a national broadcasting service, a national museum, and a national university" (Gore, 2005:100).

Complications arise in South African museums and other heritage organisations not only due to the large volume of redress required, but also due to bureaucracy and the level of integrated diversity that is required for the institutions to be truly representative of the population of the country. Gore (2005:99) explains that the only real mandate that the museums have been given is that they are to be spaces of political transformation, highlighting the changes in the country's attitudes towards race and inclusivity. However, this mandate is too fluid, too inclusive for the small resources of most museums to provide any clear guidelines on how to create such spaces. The legislation described above does not provide any specific goals for the museums and provides no specific collection criteria for general museums. It is arguably a museum's responsibility to create these guidelines and criteria for themselves, but as Gore (2005:99) points out the existing staff are tied up in bureaucracy and overloaded with the duties from holding multiple roles in the institutions,

while limited funding restricts the hiring of staff who have been trained to create transformative, engaging spaces. There are exceptions to this in the cases of museums like the Apartheid Museum, the District Six Museum and Robben Island. These museums, however, have a specific focus and none of them functioned as museum spaces before 1994, nor are they all government institutions, for example the District Six Museum. The collection mandates for those museums would have been much clearer and with external funding available, the design of these spaces would be able to represent the turmoil of South African history in vibrant, emotive ways, proving that museums can also be used as therapeutic spaces, giving voices to the previously silenced communities (Valdeón, 2015:363). Museum authorities, such as Iziko, however, are left with scores of objects which it is their responsibility to conserve and preserve. However the legislation provides little guidance as to how to proceed with those objects that may be part of the country's history of collection, but do not have direct value within the country's heritage sphere. The following chapter will investigate the concept of negative heritage in relation to such 'orphan artefacts'; especially the items from the classical collection at Iziko.

5 NEGATIVE HERITAGE AND THE OBJECTS AT IZIKO

The objective of this chapter is to assess the 'status' of the classical objects in the Iziko collection as 'negative heritage'. The result of such an assessment is to determine whether or not the history of the artefacts, and the rationale behind collecting them, might or should exclude them from display in a South African museum. To do this I will examine why people have collected classical antiquities in the past, investigating any connotations behind these collection practices that may now be considered negative. I will also further discuss the concept of negative heritage, introduced in chapter two, in order to consider whether these artefacts can be construed as part of a South African negative heritage, and how this affects their current and future reception. To this end I will briefly examine the reception of classical ideals in South African material culture and also the use of classical texts and legal systems to legitimise the Afrikaans language and culture.

Tracing the origins of the classical objects in the Iziko collection is an important step which was required to ascertain whether or not these objects were collected with any kind of ideological motivations. The implication with objects and artworks is that if something was collected as part of an ideological programme, like apartheid or colonialism, then that object or artwork may be 'tainted' by the legacy of that regime. The object must then be assessed in order to judge whether or not the display of that object fulfils an important educational or aesthetic role, or merely reinforces an inappropriate or unpalatable world view.

The human casts of the KhoiSan created in the late 1800s and early 1900s for the SAM are an excellent example of this kind of ideological problem, as are the human remains owned by museums around the world. The casts were cast directly from living people and kept on display for decades as part of 'natural' dioramas in the Natural Science collection of the SAM (MacKenzie, 2009:91; Dubin, 2009:55-83), which already prejudices the viewer to see them as close to the natural habitat, and therefore closer to animals, rather than as civilised human beings. This was an acceptable curatorial practice under colonial and apartheid rule, in fact these exhibits were said to be extremely popular (MacKenzie, 2009:91). However, in post-

colonial, post-apartheid South Africa, such objects currently have no space on display in a museum, even in an exhibition that exposes the Eurocentric and voyeuristic perspective that allowed such pieces to be created and curated. Pippa Skotnes' exhibition of 1996, 'Miscast: Negotiating Khoisan history and material culture', though highly critical of these ideological frameworks and curatorial practices, was itself received with controversy (Anstey, 1996:17). Such objects are too loaded with negative connotations – with negative heritage – to be palatable to a contemporary South African (or international) audience. As mentioned in chapter five, the competition between scientists and Burke-and-Hare-type body snatchers was fierce during the early twentieth century. Such projects were not concerned with the science as much being able to collect a large range of human remains, like animal specimens, for museum collections (MacKenzie 2009:94). The history of the bone collectors is another stain on South Africa's history, and it may be many years before one could consider addressing those crimes visually in a museum space. The human remains, which were taken, most often, without permission in the name of science, are slowly, painstakingly being returned to their descendants and original burial grounds (Rassool, 2015:655).

The question broached in this dissertation concerns what we could term more 'innocuous' objects: what do we do with all of the artefacts collected during South Africa's colonial and apartheid pasts which might not directly carry the negative connotations which are attached to more obviously undesirable objects like the human remains or human casts? To what extent can these objects be considered negative in light of the fact that they were, according to the prevailing ideological framework of prior collecting habits, regarded as products of 'civilisation' and presented in counter distinction to the products of local indigenous peoples? These objects, which I have termed 'orphans', are far from their original homes, and, more importantly, do not seem to currently fit in anywhere in the established African and Southern African collections which are the current foci of the Iziko museums. They have, according to my definition, indirect value as they do not have a direct cultural connection to South Africa, although they are now a part of the country's history and thus, in their own way, a part of the heritage. The indirect value is based on their value not to South Africans as a group, but rather their historical value as antiquities. They also possess other value indicators, according to my topology, including aesthetic, financial or monetary, and educational value.

5.1 COLLECTING THE CLASSICAL

For the purposes of this discussion it is important to identify the collection practices that influenced museum collecting habits in South Africa since the mid-1800s. As a British colony in the nineteenth century, Mackenzie's book (2009) presents the numerous ways in which South African museums (and other museums in the colonies) were directly influenced by the very present and dominant colonial power. Thus, it is the British/European collection practices and tendencies which will be examined, and the Iziko objects placed within that context. The history of collection and collecting in Europe is multi-faceted and, with so many kinds of objects collected over the centuries, it is a complex set of behaviours to map. Equally nuanced is the collection habits and practices in colonial settlements like South Africa. For the purposes of this investigation I shall address a few of the key areas relating to how the classical objects could have made their way into a museum collection in Britain and then look at the particular acquisition methods of the Iziko collection. To understand why there are Greek and Roman artefacts in a South African museum, one can examine why these kinds of objects would be found in any museum which is not inherently Greek or Italian or in one of the Mediterranean regions heavily and directly influenced by classical antiquity. While the collection methods in the British Empire were not identical to those in the United Kingdom's colonies, they are worth examining to create a broader context for some, but not all, of the antiquities in the collection.

The implication is that classical antiquities are imbued with prestige as signifiers of the elite (Hepple, 2001:111; Stray, 1996:79). These implications are viewed as obvious in European culture but are more problematic in an African post-colonial context. If the objects are bearers of prestige and class, then this prestige and class would be limited, originally, to white individuals and to the exclusion of groups of people who would have no historical or cultural connection to an ancient Mediterranean past. While one could perhaps understand a British connection to Roman history through their own past, it is less obvious as to why they would feel connected historically or culturally to ancient Greek cultural artefacts. This brings us back

to prestige which, in turn, can be distinguished through levels of education, class, cultural capital, and conspicuous consumption.

5.1.1 Pre-Roman Collecting

Pre-Roman western Europe, especially in the Mediterranean, seems to already have had a pre-occupation with the collection of valuables (especially gold and bronze) to denote status; this is notable especially in grave goods pre-Roman societies like the Samnites and Etruscans who lived in modern-day Italy (Scopacasa, 2014:242). Objects are not just functional, but can also be signifiers of conspicuous consumption, conveying the impression of wealth, prestige and social standing, much like the *xenia* guest-gift practices illustrated in Homer's *Odyssey*. Prestige objects also become collectable social contracts in the form of guest gifts and gifts for prized soldiers and generals. Gift giving was a social promise and also a representation of an individual's prowess in war or power as a leader (Morris, 1986:4). Archaic hoards, burial goods and gift goods were ways of "creating relationships between men and men, and men and the divine" (Pearce, 1995:85). To have earned enough, or produced enough, so that you have a surplus which can be used to buy 'unnecessary' things (for example jewels, gold and bronze objects) shows that the individual is prestigious. The collection of goods becomes a signifier for this prestige and social worth.

5.1.2 Temple Goods and Conspicuous Consumption

Similarly, in Mediterranean classical culture we can see the rise of the temple as a store house of riches in the form of gems, coins, vases, etc. (Hollinshead, 1999:210). The temple complex at ancient Delphi is a good example of this, where it acted both as a sacred precinct as well as a banking prototype (Cohen, 1997:42; de Soto, 2012:41). The wealth on display said as much about the one who donated it as it did about the amount of honour given to the god. Pearce explains that these kinds of temple collections "have their roots in archaic ideas about sacred depositions of enduring bronze and marble which mediate between men and the Otherworld" (Pearce, 1995:92). These social bonds were vital for the longevity of the society

and collections of bronze and precious metals became symbols of public support of the gods and of whatever war effort which may have required the offerings in the first place. Bronze gifts to temples were also particularly valuable (and had special status due to possible sacred usage), because the goods would be held in stasis, visible but never used. They would be conspicuous in the temple, with high visibility, but most likely untouchable (Shaya, 2005:423). This certainly sounds very similar to the way objects are traditionally displayed in museums from the mid to late 1800s until quite recently (depending on how up to date the museum was). The type of items collected in the temples is comparable to what is seen in Augustan as well as Victorian collections. These collections set the tone for future collecting themes, if not the same impetus for collecting, setting the stage for how and what European societies conspicuously collect (Pearce, 1995:90).

5.1.3 Cultural Objects, Prestige and Imperialism

Roman society is well known for using objects to denote not only wealth, but also power and prestige. The act of displaying the precious artefacts of another culture was a well-established signifier of dominance in Roman culture (Rutledge, 2012:12). The Roman triumphal procession was, for example, an ideal opportunity to display war plunder which consisted of a variety of valuable and symbolic objects of the defeated enemy, paraded through the streets of Rome for all to see (Roy, 2017:60). As Pearce (1995:92) mentions, these collections of wealth as well as their own rich displays in temples and sacred precincts were “harnessed more directly to the Imperial project, as witnesses of the spiritual power and prestige of the state” so that it is the message of ‘empire’ which is transmitted to the public. Pearce (1995:92) goes on to illustrate how Napoleon and Hitler used this same technique, displaying cultural objects to prove/promote their cultural superiority, a method of display not alien to the British projects of empire and dominance. The appropriation of another culture is a simple way of declaring dominance. Cultural objects and cultural prestige were seen as ideal vehicles for the legitimacy²⁹ of their regimes (Pearce, 1995:2). The Romans were very fond of copies (and originals) of the great Greek works which were exemplars of what Romans viewed as

²⁹ Legitimacy is a recurring theme in the examination of how cultural objects are used by societies or individuals to shape their empire or to control a group of people.

being perfect examples of what made good art (Pollitt, 1978:161). Through the Romans, Greek objects became representative of culture and elitism. Pearce (1995:88) further theorises that it is the amount of knowledge on Greek history and culture that has been transmitted from one literate society to the next over two millennia which has also influenced this reverent attitude to ancient Greek poetry, drama, philosophy and art. Since ancient Greek society may have been quite literate, it was much easier for these things to be recorded and then “read and reread subsequently by educated Europeans, upon whom the whole assemblage has had a powerful long-term effect” (Pearce, 1995:88). This transmission of knowledge has affected the way art and literature, not to mention politics and philosophy, have evolved and shaped European society for two thousand years. If considered in this light, the prestige attached to classical artefacts is not surprising. A tangible, physical connection to the illustrious, cultured past would be irresistible to an educated audience or to individuals who equate that kind of education with prestige and social advancement.

5.1.4 Cultural Capital

According to Pearce, Bourdieu states that the objects in an individual’s possession represent the “symbolic and cultural capital” of that individual and that this is further manifested in the way in which the individual’s choice in objects is displayed (Pearce,1995:10; Keswani, 2005:341). The Bronze Age and early medieval hoards, like that of the Anglo-Saxons found at Sutton Hoo on display at the British Museum, and burial objects would also attest to this view (Härke, 41:2014). These artefact groupings clearly show a preference for certain goods above others, with a hierarchy of values. Thus, gold items may be found in burial goods and hoards, but perhaps not amidst day to day objects excavated from dwellings. If we can assume that there was a level of prestige attached to any item that would accompany a soldier to his afterlife, then the quality and calibre of the goods buried with him would reflect on his cultural and social capital. Hence a king’s burial goods would outstrip those of a common soldier, displaying greater cultural capital which would be his due as ruler.

Wilkinson (2005:31) explains that in the mid-fifteenth century the wealthy elite of Italy began to collect Roman sculpture for their own collections, demonstrating a need for their own

cultural capital. Many artists of the Renaissance period were inspired and influenced by classical statuary and the resulting overflow of interest into their patrons' homes is not unexpected. This practice of collecting classical artworks spread to the rest of Europe and the display and knowledge of the objects became associated with learnedness, culture, and prestige (Wilkinson, 2005:31). A classicization of British society started to take place in Georgian England, reflected in the architecture of grand homes and public buildings, as well as in the public-school system (access to which was reserved for the sons of the wealthy elite) (Wilkinson, 2005:31). Coltman (2006:12), in an investigation of public-school syllabi between 1766 and 1771, indicates that up to 88% of lessons were on classical subjects, ranging from history to language.

In the late eighteenth century in British society, the influence of classical art spread to contemporary artists and designers, the most well-known being the fine china and glass tableware and vases of Josiah Wedgwood (www.wedgwood.com). His famous blue Jasper ware collections (1774) were inspired by a famous Roman cameo glass vase of the 1st century CE, the Portland Vase, currently owned by the British Museum,³⁰ while his Black Basalt ware (1768) was influenced by Etruscan artefacts being excavated at that time (Kollewe, 2009). Wedgwood employed artists to create his now famous motifs depicting Greek and Roman mythological themes in white relief on the pale "Portland Blue" jasperware (Kollewe, 2009). This style was widely imitated and is still in production at the Wedgwood factory today as are classically inspired ornaments and vases featuring, amongst countless others, Pegasus, Diana, Venus, and an assortment of Naiads (www.wedgwood.com). Dietler (2005) discusses the conception of a kind of "creation myth" in which modern Europe becomes the descendant of the classical world, and thus classical knowledge and the ownership of classical objects and statuary became a social marker of cultural capital. Classical material culture, history, and languages were part of a "restoration" project, a way for Europeans to reconnect with a history which they wished to emulate and all those who participated in this project of "restoration" were seen as the cultural elite (Wilkinson, 2012:33).

³⁰ GR 1945,0927.1

5.1.5 Collections and Cultural Purpose

Collections can be, as mentioned previously, made up of carefully selected objects according to a uniform theme or purpose. Whatever one would choose to collect, there would be some cultural influence. One cannot avoid noticing the British cultural influence on the collection of antiquities in the colonies. Collections have the potential to be cultural representations of a society. Therefore, collections can be shaped with cultural purpose. The context in which an object is collected is as important to this study as the display of an object will have to its interpretation whether in one's home or in a more formal museum setting. Pearce states that there is an intrinsic link between the object and its context and that an object cannot have meaning outside of its context (1995: 14). While this may be the case, it is important to note that this multi-faceted, fluid context will change according to the individual and the society which is interpreting it.

This also means that objects may not retain the same meaning over time. The antiquities in the Iziko collection, for example, had their own potential meanings when they were first produced to the people who produced them, and this contextual meaning is still important for our understanding of the items as social artefacts. Since their production, however, their contexts, and thus their meanings, have become more complicated. At one stage in its 'life' one of the objects was perhaps precious to someone like De Pass who seems to have adopted the idea that these kinds of artefacts, as well as those from other historically rich areas such as Egypt and China, are signifiers of cultural belonging and worth. This individual then wished to increase his own social capital and share it by donating the items to a museum. This museum displayed the objects as signifiers of cultural significance and of institutional legitimacy (for the museum). Each individual who came to see the objects would then partake in the cultural capital generated by the items in their own way, being able then to frame their own image of being 'cultured' by situating it within a 'learned' context. The inference is that 'learnedness' and being 'cultured' are dependent on contact with items high in cultural capital and knowledge which would send such a signal to another of a similar cultural group and background. However, these signifiers are of course context-dependent and in a post-colonial

South Africa as these Western, European ideas of what is and what is not 'cultured', are no longer relevant in a multicultural African society.

5.2 RHODES, THE AFRIKANER, AND THE CLASSICAL

5.2.1 Classical Influences and South African Architecture

Freschi (2018:71) describes classicism as being "fundamentally an authoritarian tradition". In his discussion on classical influences on South African architecture, especially exhibited by architects like Herbert Baker and Edwin Lutyens (Freschi, 2018:79), the classical style of architecture was specifically chosen to make a pointed statement about the legitimacy of the South African ruling powers. An identification with classicism became a connection with imperialism and colonialism, and through that, to power. He goes on to say that the "natural corollary of the implicit authoritarianism of classicism is its elitism" (Freschi, 2018:71), and as discussed above, classical collections and the appreciation of 'being cultured' that comes with a certain level of prestige and wealth was an indicator of elitism. Greenhalgh (1990:8) explains that classicism is well-suited to communicating "political and dynastic superiority". According to Greenhalgh (1990:8), the tradition of classicism carries well-established connotations of Empire and of a manufactured moral superiority that is expressed through the rigidity of classical architecture and the collective western history rooted in what Freschi calls the "imagined refuge of history" (Freschi, 2018:87). This rigidity, once again, could be seen as a symbol of order and permanency, lending weight to those in power.

Grafton (2010:60) takes this discussion further by stating that classicism, as expressed through architecture and art, expresses the aspirations of power, order, authority and confidence in times of war or civil unrest. As South Africa was disentangling itself from British colonial rule, the stability offered by these kinds of easily recognisable symbols of authority and imperial strength would have been welcomed. Merrington (2018:119) explains that there was a global idea of the superiority and imperial authority implied through sympathies with a classical ideal, and after 1910 South Africa included itself in this ethos. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal region of South Africa in that time created a surge of urban, financial, and

political expansion. This expansion gave the aspirant middle-class an opportunity to attempt to join the wealthy elite through a performance of what they assumed ‘culture’ and being well-educated looked like: classical art and architecture was one of these avenues (Freschi, 2018:84; Rutledge, 2012:16). Merrington (2018:120) talks about the notion of “identity and heritage invention” in the Cape as well as throughout British colonial society at the end of the nineteenth century, and Johannesburg, home of the nouveau riche randlords, was no different. In later decades we can see that heritage invention (or reinvention) is a common practice in any regime change, and the use of classical forms of architecture as well as other classical influences on language, law, and literature, were all used not only by the British colonial powers, but also by the apartheid government.

Much has already been written about Herbert Baker’s design of the Union Buildings in Pretoria³¹. Claassen (2009) explains that the popularity of neo-classical architecture came both from the Dutch and from the British interest in this architectural style but was combined in the way most familiar to a South African viewer by Sir Herbert Baker.³² As Claassen (2009:83) describes, the Union Buildings are a grand interpretation of the Victor Emmanuel Monument in Rome. Some of this influence appears to have come from Cecil John Rhodes’ known fascination with Greek and Roman history and culture (Lambert, 2009:61). Rhodes sponsored Baker’s 1900 ‘grand tour’ of Italy and Greece, insisting he absorb the cultural and structural influences of the great architectural works of antiquity (Freschi, 2018:80). The vast colonnaded structure of the Union Buildings incorporates some Cape Dutch architectural flourishes, but the bulk of the influence is clearly Neo-Classical in design. This ‘remembrance’ of the glory of Rome, even from a modern perspective, nods to an enduring appreciation for the Classical aesthetic. The British and apartheid governments in South Africa invoked the spectre of classicism to legitimise their rule, albeit indirectly, and to inspire confidence in their ability to govern (Lambert, 2011: 69).

³¹ See Claassen (2009); Parker, et al. (2018), especially Freschi’s chapter in this volume.

³² The buildings of Sir Herbert Baker are some of South Africa’s most easily recognisable buildings in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

5.2.2 Latin, Classical Texts, and Legitimacy

As Lambert (2011) explains, classical languages played an important role in the creation of the Afrikaner identity. The Dutch colonists still used Latin as the working language of the courts and admission into the legal fraternity was therefore dependent on being conversant with the language as well as Roman legal precedent (Lambert, 2011:26). The rapid growth of the Dutch Reformed Church could also explain a growing interest in learning Latin and Greek by the colonists, as these languages, as well as Hebrew, were required to enter the ministry in the Netherlands (Lambert, 2011:31-33).

The group identity of the Afrikaner³³ and Afrikaans people is, more than anything else, tied to the Afrikaans language. Having grown from a *kombuistaal*³⁴ borrowing mostly from Dutch, with Malay, German, Portuguese, and French loan words added to differing degrees, the white Afrikaans-speaking community was determined to legitimize their language (which was not recognised officially in the courts or parliaments) in an attempt to legitimize their own identity. By translating the Bible and many classical texts into Afrikaans, they could prove their cultural and intellectual ‘worth’ (Lambert, 2011:35). Thus, the legitimacy of a language could to an extent be linked to whether or not it had adequate translations of the canon works from ancient Greece and Rome. This is a simplistic explanation of the relationship between classical literature, the Bible, and a developing language, but the complicated intercultural and ‘interlingual’ relationships between the British and the Afrikaans is beyond the scope of this dissertation³⁵.

5.2.3 Collecting an Ideology

When examining the acquisition records of Iziko’s collection of Classical objects, it cannot be overlooked that the vast majority of the purchases made by the museum were made in the

³³ ‘Afrikaner’ is a contentious term in South Africa due to its historical connotations but will be used in this study when referring to the Afrikaans-speaking ruling elite of the apartheid regime pre-1994.

³⁴ ‘Kitchen’ language or creole, not a pidgin language.

³⁵ Lambert’s text on this subject provides the reader with a thorough interrogation of why the Afrikaner people used the classics and classical languages to establish and then cement the validity and legitimacy of their language, in part due to the marked antagonism by the British at that time.

1970s and 1980s, at the high point of the apartheid regime.³⁶ The question, however, of whether this was part of some kind of programme of collection, influenced by ideology, is not an easy one to answer. It is not impossible that a Neo-Classical taste in architecture and an historical reliance on the legitimising force of an ancient language could point to a concerted effort to hitch apartheid's wagon, as it were, to a mythologised past connection to Classical civilisations.

Mazel's article 'Apartheid's Child: The Creation of the South African Cultural History Museum in the 1950s and 1960s' (2013) makes a convincing argument for the creation of the South African Cultural History Museum as an ideologically driven apartheid institution designed to promote a Western, white, cultural agenda. The classical artefacts and the purchase thereof would fall quite neatly into that agenda. However, this supposition is just as easy to believe as the idea that the reason for the mass purchase of objects in the early 1970s were purchased as part of the then Director of the SACHM, Dr W. Schneewind's, own personal programme for acquisitions, combined with a very attractive exchange rate between the British Pound and the South African Rand (Mboweni, 2001). For this short period of time it was financially viable to purchase more objects than would usually be considered. The kinds of objects collected do not hint at some white supremacist ideological bent, but rather show an archaeologist's interest in the daily life of an ancient people: spoons, lamps, bowls, and bath house taps. The antiquities dealer used by the museum, namely Charles Ede Ltd (previously Folio Fine Arts), is still in existence in London. The museum purchased a wide range of objects, but the focus of the purchases were domestic objects. The vases purchased, for example, are mostly unadorned black glaze vessels rather than the more ornately painted vases donated by Alfred De Pass. The vessels are also smaller in general than the large hydria and amphorae of the De Pass collection. Many of the items are also small enough to post easily with little expense. A silver cochleare (winkle spoon) or some bronze pins would not be difficult to ship from London to South Africa. A small number of replicas of household objects were commissioned by the Dr Alfred Mutz of Basel Switzerland (SAM Accession Register). These include a replica of a tap from a Roman bath (possibly Pompeii), two brass buckles, a bronze bowl, a bronze flagon stopper, and a bronze mirror.

³⁶ Compare with the accession records of donations from the inception of the museum to the 1970s.

5.3 NEGATIVE HERITAGE

5.3.1 Definitions

In South Africa, both as part of the transformation process and during the previous regimes, heritage has been used to indicate what is worth remembering, and by exclusion, what should be forgotten or disregarded (Meskell and Scheermeyer, 2008:156). As discussed in chapter two, the exclusion of those parts of a community's history which are deemed to be too traumatic or which highlight the unsavoury elements of a particular state power is referred to as 'past-mastering' (Fricke, 2005:169). The ultimate aim of the process of identifying a site or object as negative heritage is to use that historical trauma to facilitate healing, without mastering the past or creating a government sanctioned state of social amnesia (Fricke, 2005:163). As Meskell and Scheermeyer explain, cultural heritage and the 'unwanted' histories of oppression and segregation can be utilised to "employ heritage for empowerment, restitution, and social justice" in conflictual socio-political landscapes (2008:154). Fricke states that engaging with the emotional and psychological aspects of negative heritage is essential for constructing or reconstructing heritage to promote a "civic recovery process" (Fricke, 2005: 165). The TRC specified heritage in South Africa should be representative of all cultures and be reconstructed as a reparational process (Flynn and King, 2007:462). The following sections examine the events of the Rhodes Must Fall movement and the potential imprint of negative heritage, or lack thereof, on the antiquities in the Iziko collection.

5.3.2 Rhodes Must Fall, Contemporary Examples of Negative Heritage, and Past Mastering

Rhodes Must Fall was a student-led movement which started on the campus of the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 2015. The prime target of the movement was the large bronze statue of Cecil J. Rhodes which stood in a prominent position on Rugby Road on the university's Upper Campus. That a statue which since 1934 should suddenly invoke such an intensely

negative response is difficult to fathom without understanding the role which Rhodes played in South African colonial history, a role which has been increasingly criticised over the last few decades. Rhodes was a wealthy and influential businessman, a vocal and enthusiastic advocator of colonial British power in Africa. He believed only under the transformative rule of the Empire could a society flourish and become civilised (Hilton, 2018:89). In recent years Rhodes has been described as the original architect of apartheid, that his political career, which disenfranchised the black population of the Cape Colony, scarred the socio-political landscape of South Africa (Davenport, 2014) In addition to Rhodes' negative connotations was the complex issue of the lack of transformation in multiple essential sectors in the country including the academic spheres of institutions like UCT.

On the face of it, the goal of the movement called Rhodes Must Fall was to get the statue removed from pride of place on UCT campus. However, the students who took part in the movement explained that the statue was an enduring symbol of a white supremacist, patriarchal, colonial system of education which disadvantages students of colour (Schmahmann, 2016:90). As part of an attempt to decolonize South African tertiary education, the students requested first the removal of the bronze statue, as a sign of good faith from the administration, and second an assessment of the state of tertiary education and its Eurocentric curriculum. It is important to note that the removal of the statue was a symbolic act. One could argue that the statue itself had no power, but the history, the legacy, the heritage of Rhodes whose name has become a byword for racism and imperialism, as well as colonisation by the British and the apartheid government, were perceived to be embodied in the object, an artefact from that past.

The RMF movement is an illustration of the effect that art and material culture can have on daily lives. Perhaps these lives are those of an educated, critically engaging youth, a niche market as it were, but this does not lessen the importance of the movement and the role it has thus far played in creating a vivid awareness of a need for the transformation of the tertiary education system. As explained above, negative heritage fulfils a few functions in the assessment of cultural heritage. Meskell (2002:566) refers to the process as having the ability to provide some form of catharsis without affecting any 'past mastering'. Negative heritage might also offer an educational purpose. It might be argued that, for example, a Holocaust

museum offers both catharsis and education. What then do these statues and their weighty symbolic load offer to our society and is this load a burden or a counterweight? The notion of 'past mastering' can be more dangerous in its form of cultural and social amnesia than engaging critically and honestly with the parts of one's history which do not show a society in a particularly good light. It was not unreasonable for the students of the University of Cape Town to want to have the statue removed. By their understanding, the prominence of the physical statue implied the prominence of a culture of inequality and discrimination. By this token it makes sense for the university to comply. The removal of the statue, was, however, a controversial act, with scholars such as Schmahmann arguing that "[The Rhodes statue's] removal from campus may... be argued to have foreclosed a critical and self-reflexive engagement with Rhodes' legacy and its import on U.C.T. (Schmahmann 2016:100)"

According to such views, the simple removal of the statue from the public eye, however, should not be the end of the statue's story. Statues, and any artefact, imbued with historical meaning, have the potential to provide the kind of educational function which acts as a reminder of the relevant historical transgressions which should not recur (for example, a Holocaust museum, 9/11 memorials, Berlin Wall, etc.). Lemon also argues for this approach in saying that "A healthy culture does not cease to remember those with whom it has come to disagree. Rather, with the help of historians, it endlessly debates and revises its assessment of them" (Lemon 2016:218). As Marschall (2006:171) explains, the South African government decided not to take part in the wholesale destruction of historical statues and monuments in an attempt to smooth over the transformation process, as well as to promote a holistic and inclusive spirit of togetherness amongst the people of the developing nation.

Fricke (2005:163) straddles the middle ground of the debate, expressing the complexity of the issue by saying that "if culture is defined not only as what people do but how they make sense of what they have done, the enormity of the political problems of post-civil war reconstruction become clear". South Africa's own Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela and numerous other political activists were incarcerated off the coast of Cape Town, has proven to be an example of a tragic space with cathartic qualities. By leaving the prison intact, as a

heritage site, and opening it to visitors it invites the viewer to empathise with the struggle heroes, seeing what kind of life was lived on the mostly barren island in stark contrast to the dramatic change in the country's political landscape after the election of Nelson Mandela as president. The Apartheid Museum on the outskirts of Johannesburg is another example of a complex space which aims to heal as well as educate, but which does so through the display of some of South Africa's most negative heritage, such as the mass segregation and political executions and torture (apartheidmuseum.org, 2019). Negative heritage is, on the surface, a contrary concept, combining the social identifier that is heritage with that particular group's darkest cultural or political history. Those negative moments then become tools of transformation and progress. The connotations of "negative" are turned on their heads to become a potentially positive apparatus for healing and change.

5.4 NEGATIVE HERITAGE, VALUE, AND THE ARTEFACTS IN THE IZIKO COLLECTION

As discussed in chapter two, the ideologies of the ruling political power, or dominant group, imprints itself on objects which are collected and displayed as part of the national estate (Soudien, 2006:2). Museums can become mirrors of the socio-political norms enforced or entrenched in a nation. The discussion of the KhoiSan dioramas and life casts in the previous chapter illustrates the way in which display itself can be a reflection of dominant ideologies. One of the purposes of this study is to assess whether or not the impact of the dominant group, in this case the colonial British government and the apartheid regime, could have coloured the artefacts to such an extent that they are too closely associated with those groups to be seen in anything other than a negative light.

To make this assessment one needs to take certain information and concepts into consideration, for example, the intention of the museum in collecting these items. When we analyse how the Iziko classical objects were collected, it is clear that the donations made to the museum in its first 100 years were passively acquired, not solicited. There was no specific agenda, on the part of the SAM to collect and display classical antiquities. The purchases are more difficult to assess. As Rutledge (2012:15) explains, modern museums are spaces that display carefully selected items, creating a specific narrative around these objects. When, at the height of apartheid, the racist ideology was so widespread and influential in various public

sectors, one cannot automatically dismiss the objects purchased by a state cultural history museum as innocuous. However, the kinds of objects purchased in the 1970s are not particularly impressive, nor would they be considered 'high art'. I would hypothesise that the large vases of the De Pass collection would be valued more highly by a regime trying to project an image of racial and moral superiority, drawing parallels between themselves and the great works of antiquity. The modest, domestic pieces are altogether subtler, as well as being more anthropological than prestigious.

I will use the term dominant group imprint to refer to the mark left on an object by the dominant group which collected it (either dominant in political, religious, social spheres). This can also refer to the original owner/manufacture of the artefact if this person/group had a sufficiently overarching personality which would be superimposed on the object. It is difficult to gauge, however, how long the effect of this imprint would last on an artefact, and this then forms part of this analysis. If the dominant ideology of the governing powers was an overwhelmingly negative one, then this negative ideology may cling to the object indefinitely. But how affected is an indirectly acquired object, that does not have specific and overt negative connotations? I would argue that Verwoerd's favourite tea set, as a hypothetical example, perhaps decorated with the insignia of the pure 'volk' could be viewed as indelibly stained by the negative connotations of apartheid through its associations with the 'architect of apartheid'. Can the same be said for a Greek vase and is it different when this notoriety is linked more abstractly? If, for example, Hitler had owned a painting by Rembrandt, that painting by one of the Old Masters may not be so tainted by its affiliation with the dictator that it should not be put on display as its' imprint may be superseded by the more dominant factor of the value of the artist.

In the case of the antiquities housed by Iziko, we cannot ignore the dominant group imprint. These objects were collected by individuals who may, quite likely, have subscribed to some extent to the ideology of the colonial and apartheid governments. Thus, while no specific agenda was present, they do fit into the pervasive, mostly colonial, culture of collection and world view that such items from antiquity may represent legitimacy, edification, and

education or betterment. The assumption is that if the dominant group imprint on these artefacts is that of the two previous white ruling systems, then not only is their value diminished, but the likelihood of these objects returning to display is very slim. I would however argue that these objects are neither offensive enough to be permanently removed from display, nor are they part of South African negative heritage. If they were part of the country's negative heritage, then, by the argument made earlier, they could be used as tools of catharsis, healing, and reparation. I do not think that this is the case, nor is it the case that the dominant group imprint on these artefacts is so indelible or overpowering that the objects have lost any other value. Using the system of values outlined in chapter two I would assign an indirect value to the artefacts in the Iziko collection, while I would assign the plaster casts of the KhoiSan a direct value. The classical antiquities can be taken out of their current context, moved to another collection in another country, and while their histories would pass along with them, they would most likely not be burdened with connotations of white supremacy and scientific racism. The casts, however, would be contentious and disturbing no matter where they would be viewed, and fundamentally connected to their South African context.

Indirect value does not strip the objects of meaning, it would only suggest that their meaning is not intrinsically connected to the history of South Africa, except perhaps as items of a particular collection. Their value would survive their removal from a South African context. However, this indirect value also does not diminish the objects' base values. The base values of aesthetics, monetary value, educational value, historical value, etc., remain intact if they are moved outside the context. This will be discussed more extensively in the next chapter. The question of whether or not the objects should be excluded from display is a complex one. The answer relies on more than historical taint and direct or indirect values, it also relies on the goals and resources of the museum itself. If the artefacts in question need to stay in storage to provide an opportunity for the restitutorial display of contemporary South African heritage, then that is a fair requirement. It should be reiterated that the classical antiquities which had been on display in the SACHM were not moved due to any perceived problematic nature of the artefacts themselves or what meaning or functions they might have conveyed. They were moved, quite simply, because the museum needed the space to display a neglected

history: that of slavery (Masters, 2018:306-307). The heritage inherent in these objects was not negatively performative, unlike, for example, Nazi silverware or the Confederate flag of the southern states of the USA., and for that matter, the old South African flag. They do not demonstrably declare their connections to elitism, racism, and colonial power, and while those connections are implied, I would strongly suggest that the original direct values of the objects (being of ancient Greek and Roman origin) are more useful and functional in a variety of educational and cultural contexts.

6 QUO VADIS?: REPATRIATION

This chapter, and the following two chapters, will discuss a variety of options available to the museum professional faced with a number of 'orphan' artefacts of this type. While there are numerous ways to handle 'difficult' collections, or those which no longer fall within a museum's collection or display mandate, I have chosen to discuss these three options as being the most effective options for a museum of limited resources in a developing nation.

6.1 REPATRIATION: DEFINITIONS

Repatriation is the return of a cultural artefact or work of art from museums or other institutions to its 'rightful' owner or country of origin (Matthes, 2018). This action is most commonly taken to return artefacts which have been illegally obtained: the illegal trade in antiquities is a lucrative and thriving market (UNESCO, 2011; Myers & Kulish, 2016). While the general public might view art theft and the looting of antiquities as a crime from another era, it is a contemporary problem that is compounded by a variety of issues, including war. The destruction and looting of antiquities and museums in Baghdad (following the US-led invasion of Iraq in April 2003) and Syria (during the ongoing Syrian Civil War, which started in March 2011) are recent examples. Huang (2008:183-223). describes the large number of cultural artefacts, including "jewellery, glass bottles, vases, and sculptures dating back to ancient times", that were stolen from the National Museum of Iraq, and mentions the steady stream of cultural artefacts from Iraq that have shown up in the US and UK. There is evidence that the Islamic State has funded operations with the sale of ancient artefacts looted from Syria and Iraq (Bogdanas, 2006; Swann, 2019).

However, repatriation does not only concern the return of ancient objects illicitly traded on the black market. There are increasing calls for the repatriation of objects acquired 'legally'; that is by countries from which objects were 'purchased' or removed during colonial eras. Colonial powers took objects from their colonies for example; under British occupancy, a large number of artefacts were legitimately taken from the colonised nations (Liverside and

Gourlay, 2018), which was an accepted and popular practice at that time. For example, in August 2019, Jamaican culture minister Olivia Grange called for the repatriation of cultural artefacts held in the British Museum that were taken during British colonisation of the island nation (Rea, 2019). She stated that Jamaican cultural objects, including two important spiritual figures are "priceless" to the people of Jamaica (and are not even being displayed in the British Museum. The question of whether institutions should return artefacts acquired under colonial rule has been reinvigorated by the release of a report commissioned by French President Emmanuel Macron in 2018. The report's authors, Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy (2018), recommended that France return hundreds of objects taken from Africa during colonial times, if the countries they originated from request them. Since the report was released countries including Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the Ivory Coast have made such requests (Bakare, 2019). Repatriation may seem to be a simple solution to an obvious problem, particularly in cases where objects were obtained in an unjust way (Matthes, 2017:931). The Ottoman Empire was well-known for its sale and destruction of the antiquities in its colonies.³⁷ In an ideal situation repatriation would always be the ethical resolution, however repatriation is a complicated endeavour, with numerous arguments for and against the practice. These shall be discussed in the next section.

6.2 OWNERSHIP OF ARTEFACTS: THE ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST REPATRIATION

Each country has its own rules and regulations about artefact trade and countries are not obliged to enforce each other's laws (Merryman, 2009: 183-184). The UNESCO convention of 1970 relating to the ownership of artefacts is not international law, and while it strongly recommends and supports the repatriation of artefacts, members of UNESCO were not obliged to sign the convention (Gerstenblith, 2013; Veres, 2014). Countries party to this Convention (referred to as "States") commit to preventing their institutions from obtaining illegally imported artefacts, and to recovering and returning such objects at the request of the State of origin. The requesting State, however, has to provide evidence to substantiate its claim, and "pay just compensation to an innocent purchaser or to a person who has valid title to that property" (UNESCO, 1970). There are a number of questions that can be asked about the nature of "origin" here. Does an object belong to the whole country if it was produced

³⁷ See case study on the Old Fisherman of Aphrodisias.

there, or does it belong to a specific cultural group in that country, and how does it 'belong' to the country in question if it was not produced there?³⁸ Appiah (2009:73) explains "cultural patrimony" as a term which refers to a specific ownership of artefacts. Thus, cultural property belongs to the culture that produced it. If the cultural property is 'housed' by a culture which did not have a hand in the production of the artefact, then it cannot belong to that culture and may have to be returned. The object of a culture is not invested with intrinsic significance, but rather derives its significance through its connection with one particular group (Appiah, 2009:74). Appiah uses the phrase "trans historical heirs" to refer to a group which claims ownership of an artefact through a historical connection to a people which no longer exists or which they overtook culturally in a specific geographical area (Appiah, 2009:74). Examples of this include the well-known Benin bronzes. These are categorised as Nigerian cultural objects, even though they date back as far as the 13th century and were created by the Edo people in the pre-colonial Kingdom of Benin. The Kingdom was located in an area that is now southern Nigeria and was incorporated into British Nigeria in 1897 (Cartwright, 2019).

Lineage-based ownership, or even territorial claims of ownership are problematic when talking about antiquities. Some artefacts found in a country may have been produced there, but the people who made those artefacts are members of an extinguished culture. The cultural practices of these extinct people are so far removed from current cultural practices in that country that it would seem distinctly odd for the country to claim that culture as part of its own heritage. An example of this would be the cultural and religious norms of modern Egypt in comparison with the pantheon of ancient Egyptian gods and the corresponding art and artefacts of that time (Appiah, 2009:78). The ancient Egyptian religion is antithetical to contemporary Islamic beliefs, and yet the artefacts are on display and are synonymous with the modern state (Appiah, 2009:78). Merryman (2009:186) comments that cultural nationalism creates an automatic sympathetic ear in the international community, putting pressure on other countries and individuals to return the objects.

Merryman (2009:186) explains that the traditional attitude to object conservation in museology is nation-oriented, promoting cultural nationalism. According to this approach, objects can be used to demonstrate a connection to a particular cultural group or to

³⁸ See case study on Euphronios krater.

manufacture a unifying national identity. Due to their connection to culture, these objects must remain in their country of origin as the culture/nation requires them, and they gain value and meaning because of their context within the country of origin (the UNESCO 1972 Convention relies heavily on the notion of culture as a signifier of nationhood). Therefore, in nation-oriented policies, with regards to ownership and meaning of an object, the connection the object has to the national cultural identity is prioritised above the needs of the object itself. This theory assumes then that the object is best displayed and preserved in the country of its origin. The country of origin is usually determined by the place where the object was produced (Appiah, 2009:73). This definition of ownership, however, has been challenged, as illustrated by Merryman (2009:185-186) and Appiah (2009:74) as well as Young (2007: 112) and numerous other scholars.

Giving the object back may seem to be a good idea from the perspective of cultural nationalism, but not necessarily from an object-oriented one (Merryman, 2009:186). An object-oriented policy designates the isolated value of the object itself as the priority, rather than the country which has claimed ownership. Merryman (2009:187) describes this policy as being comprised of three levels of priority: preservation, truth, and access. The first level, preservation, deals as one would expect with the viability of preservation of the object in its country of origin. If an artefact should be at risk for any reason if repatriated (lack of resources for adequate conservation, martial conflict, ideological problems, etc.), then its country of origin, argues Merryman, should have no claim on the artefact. The second and third priorities ensure that the object retains some purpose as a source of information on human history and that this source is available to researchers and to the broader public (Merryman 2009:187). As Appiah (2009:83) explains, repatriation can mean a great loss to the international community, if the object is no longer as accessible as it was. He also points out that the object may be safer where it is before repatriation and that while culture and identity may have strong ties, one should not ignore the importance of a wider audience having the opportunity not only to learn about other cultures, but also to respond to and engage with artworks. Artefacts that are “not ours” might provoke discussion and inspire new art: Appiah speaks of “the connection not through identity, but despite difference” (Appiah, 2009:84).

In the same breath, however, Appiah (2009:75) suggests that it isn't a people that value and appreciate cultural art and artefacts, but rather individual men and women. Thus, in his view, any culture has the right and reason to display a cultural object from any other cultural group. While this is a generous assessment in theory, in practice it is significantly more complicated than simply displaying another culture's artefacts. How and why an object is displayed is as important as the object itself.³⁹ Merryman (1994:61-76) also asserts that whomever holds the object is not as important as the care and preservation of that object, that any person or institution can be a legitimate custodian of another culture's artefacts. The key says Merryman (1994:61-76), is that cultural art and artefacts are held in trust for all humankind, to be learnt from and observed, admired and appreciated.

Thompson (2005:257) explains that those who support a museum's choice to resist repatriation state that some artefacts or artworks "are of such great value for humanity that it is justified to restrict or override rights of cultural property in order to promote or protect this value" once more reiterating the idea that an artefact or artwork can have as much value out of its original context as in it. In recent years the views of James Cuno, art historian and president of the J. Paul Getty Trust, have fallen out of favour. He has been vocal about resisting repatriation of antiquities to their cultural homelands, arguing that, amongst other things, artefacts of various cultures and time periods should be on display next to each other without prejudice, generating discussion and enquiry into the differences and commonalities of mankind (Cuno, 2009). He also argues that developing nations tend to use artefacts to establish or cement a new national identity or to promote a political agenda, and that this is not in the best interest of the antiquities themselves or in the best interest of humanity as a cosmopolitan worldview encourages open-mindedness (Cuno, 2014). Neil McGregor, the previous director of the British Museum, made the same argument in relation to the Parthenon sculptures, which are also frequently referred to as the Elgin Marbles (The British Museum, 2019). The British government purchased the sculptures for the British Museum from Lord Elgin in 1816, after he removed them from the Parthenon during the war between the Ottoman Empire (who occupied Greece) and Venice (The British Museum, 2019). During his time as director of the British Museum, MacGregor maintained that the sculptures were

³⁹See previous chapter for a more in-depth discussion on dominant group imprint and post-colonial museums.

legally acquired by Lord Elgin,⁴⁰ and that keeping the sculptures at a universal museum would benefit more people from around the world, instead of becoming solely "Athenian" (in Herman, 2014).

Pearlstein (1996:123-150) and Wolkoff (2010:709-738) support Cuno (2009; 2014) and Merryman's (2009) strong criticism of repatriation, describing it as a kind of nationalist 'retentionism' (Rose-Greenland, 2016:145). Pearlstein (1996:123) is not the only scholar to comment that "artefact-rich 'source nations'" such as Italy or Greece are enforcing unpopular nationalist agendas by demanding back artefacts they don't 'need'. The assumption is that if a country has innumerable antiquities originally produced there, then that country should not begrudge other nations the opportunity to display and study a number of the objects in question.⁴¹ The other consensus of critics of repatriation is the view that artefacts are objects, which, while they would benefit from an archaeological or cultural context, this is not a requirement for the artefact to be appreciated or studied (Rose-Greenland, 2016:145).

While the notion of the universal or encyclopaedic museum, a space where all histories and cultures are on display together to educate and inform, is a commendable ideal, I would argue that the cultural group who created that artefact has the right to decide how and where that object is displayed. I agree with Matthes (2017:931-953) that the idea of the "universal museum" seems to be based on the acquisitive, colonial tendencies around which the earliest museums were designed and founded. Matthes (2017:931) highlights that the majority of the world's artefacts seem to be in the possession of a minority of museums in wealthy, developed countries. In his 2017 discussion he puts forward an extreme policy of "radical redistribution" (Matthes, 2017:931-953) of artefacts, explaining that if a museum is truly to be universal, then that requires the museums with the monopoly on artefacts and antiquities, especially those in the United States and United Kingdom, to share those artefacts with countries and museums which may not have the same access that they do. While the supporters of the universal museum criticise Mediterranean countries in particular for demanding the return of their cultural artefacts on the basis of overzealous 'retention'

⁴⁰ This claim has been disputed by the Greek Ministry of Culture (Elginism, 2014).

⁴¹The case study of the Euphronios krater below will discuss this in relation to the illicit trade of antiquities.

policies, according to Matthes (2017:939-940) these are the very same policies employed by the major museums to deny repatriation claims from 'artefact-rich' countries.

Cuno's critics argue that no country should have the right to own the culture of another people, and that any artefact acquired without the express permission of the relevant government cannot be viewed as property of any cultural group other than that from which the artefact originated. UNESCO's conventions from 1954 and 1970, as detailed in the introduction, both try to ensure that artefacts remain in their country of origin. The counterargument to this can be seen in the events of recent years with the destruction of heritage sites (like Nimrud and the Bamiyan Buddhas) in the name of religion and nationalism. The failure of UNESCO to consider when action should be taken in times of war has also drawn considerable criticism (Appiah, 2009:80).

Björnberg (2014:463) identifies three situations in particular where repatriation should be made as a form of reparation. She suggests that if an artefact is (1) acquired through illicit means; (2) if the transfer of ownership was superficially consensual, but was in fact "coerced or exploitative", or (3) if the object changed ownership through a third party who did not possess the rights to the artefact and therefore did not have the right to sell it (Björnberg, 2014:464). Appiah (2009:83-84) offers a compelling, if short, list of reasons for repatriation: if an object is significant to a culture and would still be in use if returned to that group, then the artefact should be returned. This also follows for any object that has been stolen, whether private property or public. Most important is the point that context provides an object with special meaning, and while this is not the object's only meaning it is a valuable one. Repatriation arguments apply also (or even more urgently) to human remains. In an article in the New York Times (January 21, 2015), Samuel Sidibé, the director of the National Museum of Mali, stated that "when indigenous communities demand repatriation of funerary objects or human remains based on spiritual beliefs, those demands should be honoured out of respect for human dignity". The discussion around human remains and funerary objects seems to be a simpler argument for repatriation. Antiquities like those found in the Iziko collection do not need to be "honoured out of respect for human dignity" and thus the call to

repatriate these ancient artefacts would not hold the same urgency or priority as the repatriation of human remains.

6.3 CASE STUDIES

The four examples of repatriation case studies below are complicated instances where repatriation of classical antiquities has been disputed or completed with questionable results.

6.3.1 Euphronios Krater

The Euphronios Krater is one of the most well-known objects from classical antiquity, which was eventually returned to its country of origin from the United States. Made in approximately 515 BCE, in Athens, the krater is one of the few remaining undamaged pieces painted and signed by the vase-painter Euphronios and is widely recognized as an important example of Attic red-figure vase painting. Acquired by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1972, it was immediately identified by the Italian government as one of numerous objects potentially looted from Etruscan tombs in modern-day Cerveteri around 1971 (Povoledo, 2008). The Italian government began its campaign to have the krater returned to Rome. In 1997 the art dealer Giacomo Medici, one of the original dealers of the vase, was accused of multiple charges of illicit art trading (Slayman, 1998). He was eventually convicted in 2004, and in 2006 the Metropolitan Museum decided to return the Euphronios krater (Povoledo, 2008). The return of the vase to the Italian government, was not only representative of a return of cultural heritage, but more so, a victory in the war “against clandestine tomb-robbing and illicit trafficking” (Povoledo, 2008).

While Italy has been criticised in the press for their relentless campaign to have their artefacts returned (Rose-Greenland, 2016: 143), the black market trade in antiquities is a thriving business, with estimates placing its worth in the tens of billions (UNESCO, 2011; Myers & Kulish, 2016) and without international support the illicit trade will continue unabated (UNESCO, 2011). Under these circumstances the return of an object is a logical and ethically sound step. While the object was well cared for at the Metropolitan Museum, I would argue that the repatriation of the Euphronios krater succeeds in fulfilling the criteria of both nation- and object-oriented policies.

6.3.2 Byzantine Pantocrater Frescoes from Cyprus

In 1995 art curator Dominique de Menil purchased 38 pieces of 13th century Byzantine frescoes stolen from a church in Cyprus (Goodwyn, 2012). These frescoes had already been identified by the Cypriot government and the Greek Orthodox Church as having been looted from St. Euphiamanos church in Lyssi (Donadio, 2014a), but De Menil went through with the sale, purchasing them from a Turkish art dealer who said they were found in a house in Anatolia, Turkey. The curator was suspicious about the art dealer's claim, and, after her researchers discovered the artworks were looted, contacted the Greek Orthodox Church and offered to purchase the frescoes on their behalf, and in return she would restore the fragmented artworks and display them for twenty years in the Menil Collection art museum in Houston, Texas (Menil, 2012). A specially designed chapel was built, and consecrated, to hold the frescoes and opened in 1997. In 2012 the government of Cyprus requested the repatriation of the frescoes, as per the agreement, and while the museum expressed their regrets at the loss to their collection, they readily complied, and the chapel was deconsecrated the same year (Donadio, 2014a; Menil, 2012). Josef Helfenstein, director of the Menil Collection, in his statement to the press, announced that returning the frescoes to Cyprus was "always part of the reality, because we were never the owners, just the custodians and stewards. I'd love for them to stay, but at the same time this is the logical continuation of the story." (Povoledo, 2011).

This example of international cooperation is not a clear-cut one. On one hand, the agreement worked very well for both parties; the museum added the Pantocrater frescoes to their Byzantine collection, and neither the Cypriot government nor the church had to buy back what was their rightful property. On the other hand, this purchase still supported the illicit trade in antiquities. It is my opinion, however, that this kind of agreement of shared knowledge and financial resources is an example of a potential solution to the debate surrounding cultural patrimony and the universal museum. This is a less extreme version of Matthes' (2017:944) proposal of radical redistribution of cultural artefacts mentioned above.

Once again this is an example of the fulfilment of the criteria of object- and nation-oriented object policies, putting the interest of the object first, providing access, conserving and restoring the artefact, while protecting the cultural property of the country of origin.

6.3.3 Persephone of Morgantina

In the late 1970s or early 1980s a large statue, believed to depict Persephone, was looted from the ancient site of Morgantina in Sicily (Donadio, 2014b). Believed to be where Hades took Persephone into the underworld, the statue was produced for the sacred site in around 425 BCE (Donadio, 2014b). The statue was purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1988 for \$18 million, but after confirming that the statue had been looted from the site, the museum returned the Persephone to Sicily in 2011 (Donadio, 2014b). In terms of uncomplicated repatriation, the return of the Persephone statue was a success. In more practical terms, the situation is more complex. Donadio (2014b) reported in the *New York Times* that there were concerns about the viability of the heritage site. After numerous budget cuts the maintenance of the site was not assured, nor were there funds available for marketing or publicity. Donadio (2014b) also states that while visitor numbers at the Getty museum to the Persephone were around 400 000 in the last year the statue was on display there, the visitor numbers to the museum in Aidone, near Morgantina where the statue now stands, were only 30 767 and visitors to the heritage site at Morgantina itself were around 20 000.⁴²

According to Donadio (2014b) the infrastructure in this part of Sicily is notoriously poor, with badly maintained roads to the site and no public transport to get visitors there, contributing to the lack of access. Difficulty in accessing the site not only impacts international tourist numbers, but also makes it difficult for the local visitors to access Morgantina. Thus, while the

⁴² In 2016, the Getty Museum received over two million visitors (*The Art Newspaper Review*, 2017). Recent visitors figures for the Archaeological Museum of Aidone are not readily available, however it can be argued that it is still the case that the museum still receives fewer visitors than the Getty Museum, as it does not feature on the lists of most visited museums in Italy. Data from the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism showed that the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, the fifth most visited place in Italy in 2017, attracted just over one million visitors. The Archaeological Museum of Aidone and the region of Morgantina were also not on the list of places that experienced high growth rates in 2017 (Bellarome, 2018).

return of the statue was a coup for the Sicilian government, and hence a success from a nation-oriented perspective, it may prove to be a failure from an object-oriented one. In terms of object-oriented policies, access is complicated by the location and preservation is uncertain. The reinstatement of the statue does, however, provide the Persephone with an important archaeological context. On the whole, it is difficult to assess the true success of the repatriation of the statue.

6.3.4 The Old Fisherman from Aphrodisias

This fragment of a sculpture known as the Old Fisherman was produced in approximately 150-250 CE in the ancient Greek city of Aphrodisias, now part of modern-day Turkey. Paul Gaudin, a French engineer and amateur archaeologist, uncovered the torso while excavating the Aphrodisias public baths in 1904, and sold it to a collector from the Altes Museum in Berlin at an art market in Smyrna in 1905 (Kennedy, 2000). Turkey demanded the return of the marble torso in 2013, stating that it was looted by Gaudin and sold illegally. Herman Parzinger, president of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation in Berlin, stated that the purchase of the artefact was legitimate, and that all the necessary documentation was in place, therefore their ownership should not be in question (in Letsch & Connolly, 2013). Turkey has been accused of waging a 'cultural war', demanding the repatriation of numerous objects, threatening to withhold excavation permits if the artefacts are not returned (Letsch & Connolly, 2013). In Parzinger's view, Turkey's stance threatened future collaboration (in Letsch & Connolly, 2013).

Critics argue that the kind of tactics employed by Turkey here, may harm any attempt the government might make to get their objects back; Collado (2014: 1) argues that engaging museums with "a softer tone, a more nuanced eye, and with an openness to enter into voluntary agreements" would be a more suitable repatriation strategy for Turkey. Their attempts have also been marred by accusations of hypocrisy; Schulz (2012) points out that the Ottoman Empire was well-known for taking whatever artefacts they wished to, for example, the Obelisk of Theodosius, which should arguably be returned to Egypt. Another famous example is the Alexander sarcophagus excavated in Lebanon in 1887 which resides in Istanbul (Collado, 2014:17). Turkey says that these objects are legally theirs as they owned

the territory at the time. While theoretically one would wish to support the Turkish demands to have their cultural objects returned, there have been further reports by Turkish archaeologists that the government is attempting to fill its museums with artefacts, while destroying its own archaeological sites in urban areas (Letsch & Connolly, 2013). This perceived hypocrisy calls into question the appropriateness of the call for repatriation of artefacts such as the Fisherman statue. While Turkey may have a claim on the Fisherman, they may well have alienated the community ultimately responsible for the statue's return and have raised concerns about the conservation of antiquities in the country itself.

6.4 CONCLUSION: REPATRIATION AS AN OPTION FOR THE OBJECTS IN THE IZIKO COLLECTION

To summarise: repatriation is appropriate when an object has been stolen or looted, if the object is still in use by a specific cultural group, or for diplomatic reasons. Repatriation of an artefact is not appropriate, in theory, when the safety of the object will be threatened by war, neglect, mismanagement, or by a lack of funds for the maintenance and conservation of the item. One should also consider access to the object and the function of the museum which holds the object: what would the purpose of the artefact be within the context of that particular museum where the object would be repatriated to? Equally, what function would the object fulfil in the museum from which it would be repatriated? Ideally, a balance should be struck between both nation- and object-oriented policies, finding a compromise between the nationalistic imperative espoused by the opponents of repatriation, and the protection of the artefact while providing access and knowledge to researchers and the public alike. The case studies above indicate that repatriation is difficult to navigate culturally and politically. While some countries have successfully combined their efforts to preserve artefacts, they did so at the cost of participating in the illicit trade of antiquities. Others have been loudly criticised for their repatriation campaigns, straining relationships with the countries holding the artefacts they want returned. In the case of the Persephone of Morgantina, the statue has safely been returned to the original site, but this site is remote, difficult to access for tourists and the Sicilian public, and there are concerns about the future of the site as a whole.

The return of the artefacts in the Iziko collection has not been requested by the Greek or Italian governments (L Hisham, in conversation 2016). Should the request be made, then the restitution policy, as dictated by the National Heritage Council (NHC, 2012) is assessed on a case by case basis. The NHC states that it should comply with standard international heritage practices, ensuring that the artefact will be well-maintained if returned, citing the assessment criteria of such maintenance be that of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) Code of Ethics and the South African Museum Association (SAMA) Professional Standards (NHC, 2012: 76-77).

Using both Appiah and Björnberg's criteria for appropriate cause for repatriation I see no reason for the return of the classical artefacts in the Iziko collection, unless it can be proven that any of the objects were transferred through third parties who were not at liberty to sell the objects legally. The existing records, though sparse, show no indication of this. The purchases made from 1960 to the 1980s were all made through Charles Ede, Ltd., a British purveyor of antiquities which has not come under suspicion of illicit trading at any point to date. None of the artefacts would still be in use by any cultural group for religious or social purposes. It is possible that Greece may wish to request the repatriation of some of the more striking and historically important vases, such as the stamnos by the Chicago Painter, but until then it does not seem likely that repatriation should be required.

It is, however, my opinion that these objects, including the noteworthy Greek vases, present an opportunity to find the elusive middle ground between nation-oriented and object-oriented policies, while simultaneously exemplifying Matthes' (2017:944) notion of radical redistribution. As part of the Iziko collection the objects fulfil some of the criteria of an object-oriented policy. The storage facility is well-appointed, the museum provides opportunities for ongoing research,⁴³ and offer limited public access through exhibitions and loans.⁴⁴ Working with the Italian and Greek governments, an agreement of permanent loan would also fulfil the criteria of a nation-oriented policy. The joint efforts of the marine archaeology department at Iziko and the Smithsonian Institute to recover and display artefacts from the wreck of the *São José* (a Portuguese slave ship that sank off the coast of Cape Town in 1794) are a prime example of international cooperation for the purposes of research and education

⁴³See Masters (2018) and 'South Africa, Greece, Rome: a digital museum' (Stanford Libraries, n.d.).

⁴⁴See Masters (2018: 308)..

(Catlin, 2015; Iziko, 2015a). Some of the recovered artefacts were displayed at South Africa's Iziko Museum's Slave Lodge in June 2015 (Iziko, 2015b), while others were exhibited at the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture when it opened on 24 September in 2016 (NMAAHC, 2016). The artefacts have been loaned to the National Museum of African-American History and Culture by Iziko Museums for a decade (Keyes, 2016). H.E. Mninwa Mahlangu (the South African Ambassador to the United States) told those who gathered at the Embassy of South Africa to commemorate the loan "The São José narrative has a wider impact than just South Africa and Mozambique... [we] therefore have to open up this tale of pain and suffering to a wider audience. The story has to be told now and tomorrow" (Keyes, 2016). With collaborative resources, a more comprehensive exploration of the objects and of collecting practices in the colonies could be made. The museum no longer has a classical archaeologist on staff,⁴⁵ and educational exchanges could benefit both the museum, museum staff, as well as the further conservation of the objects. While Matthes' ideas for the redistribution of artefacts may indeed be radical, for smaller collections like that of Iziko, it could be a more profitable solution than repatriation, for both the museum and the countries of origin.

⁴⁵Classical archaeology is not offered as a university subject by any university in the Western Cape, and thus should the funds become available to reinstate this post, local staff would not be easy to come by.

7 QUO VADIS?: DEACCESSION

7.1 DEFINITION

Accession and deaccession are essential processes in any museum or gallery collection. Accessioning is the process by which an institution officially adds an artefact or artwork to a collection (ICOM, 2019). A number or code (referred to as an accession number) is assigned to the object as part of the registration and cataloguing process. Deaccessioning is the process through which a museum or gallery permanently removes an object from the collection (ICOM, 2019). Several professional museum associations provide ethical guidelines for deaccessioning process, such as the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD) in America, the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), the Museums Association of the United Kingdom (MA), and the International Council of Museums (ICOM). Each museum has its own procedure for deaccessioning, though they must adhere to ethical guidelines of the association they belong to (Paterson, 2013: 6-7). For example, The Hood Museum of Art's (2019) deaccessioning guidelines state: "All deaccessioning undertaken... adheres to the museum's deaccession policy and professional guidelines provided by the Association of Art Museum Directors".

Museums might consider deaccessioning if an artefact is deemed 'substandard' or irrevocably damaged, if they cannot care for the artefact because of a lack of expertise or storage facilities, and if the artefact is thus a drain on the museum's resources.⁴⁶ The American Alliance of Museums (2012: 1) states that "[deaccessioning] is a necessary and appropriate tool in collections management, and a way for a museum to refine its collections". Despite its importance for museums, the practice can often cause controversy. In particular, museums seem to garner a lot of negative attention when they sell artefacts to cover operating costs in times of financial distress. Paterson (2013) suggests that this stems from the view that the role of public institutions, like museums, is to protect and preserve the objects in their care

⁴⁶ For a comprehensive list of reasons see, for example, ICOM's (2019) Guidelines on Deaccessioning of the International Council of Museums.

for present and future generations, and that removing objects from their collections violates the public trust. The potential loss of an object which could prove to be historically or culturally important is seen as one of the dangers of the deaccessioning process. Another concern which may prevent a museum from permanently removing an object from their collection is the potential damage that this could do to the relationship between the institution and the public (this will be explored in more detail in the case studies in this section). A museum is traditionally seen as a safe space to keep historical and cultural artefacts and deviating from that behaviour is seen as setting a dangerous precedent for that institution as well as for museums as an international community.

7.2 WHY DEACCESSION?

7.2.1 Keeping the Collection Alive

If deaccessioning is a potentially contentious action for an institution, then why would a museum choose to remove items permanently? A stagnating or stagnant collection will not draw an audience. Reviewing the significance and appropriateness of artefacts keeps collections vital and relevant. Ideally a museum would have a very clear collection protocol and a collection mandate, meaning that the museum is particularly careful with what it chooses to accept into the collection or additional purchases it would make to improve the collection. The challenge for many of the older museums in South Africa is that, as Layard himself notes in the Report to the Trustees (1857), the SAM had a history of accepting anything brought to them. It was seen as impolite to refuse any object donated by the public, regardless of the condition those objects might have been in. This is a challenge faced by museums outside of South Africa too, as James Rondeau, director of the Art Institute of Chicago, points out: "Museums were accepting with less criticality when collections were smaller. We took 12 when we might not have taken one" (in Pogrebin, 2019). Donations can be an important source of works for a museum's collection, particularly when acquisition budgets are limited, and the cost of art has been increasing (Malaro, 1994: 174). Many of the smaller, provincial museums have relied heavily on these donations throughout their histories to form their collections. I think one could safely assume that many other small museums started their existences in the same way that SAM did, with small collections of items donated

locally to a place, such as a library or gentlemen's club, or an individual as was the case of the Albany Museum in Grahamstown (MacKenzie, 2009:106).

7.2.2 Conservation Costs

An important use of the deaccession process is to relieve financial burdens with regards to storage and restoration. If objects deemed substandard or defunct by a museum need to be stored or conserved, this costs money that could be spent on conserving objects which are deemed more relevant to the collection. A public museum often has less control than is ideal over what is donated to the museum, leaving it with a surfeit of objects which do not necessarily fulfil the acquisition policies of the institution. In the United States, for example, some major collections have grown a great deal over the last 50 years; the Metropolitan Museum of Art grew just over 300% while the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston grew over 1000% (Pogrebin, 2019). Some museums can only display a small portion of their collections, and what is not displayed must be stored, in some cases in climate-controlled spaces. Storage can add a considerable amount to operational costs. The Indianapolis Museum of Art at Newfields had so much art that was not on display that it considered spending \$14 million to double its storage capacity. It instead decided to determine which of the items in its collection could be sold or given to other museums, and, since 2011, has deaccessioned more than 4 600 of the 54 000 objects in its care (Pogrebin, 2019). Removing multiple copies of items from a collection, or those that are perceived to be in poor condition or of poor quality, can give an institution breathing room to cover other costs.

7.2.3 Sustainability

While new trends in museology are perhaps less acquisitive, I would argue that deaccessioning is still an essential part of keeping museums sustainable, for the above-mentioned reasons. Deaccession avoids overcrowding of museum stores, which often results in improper storage, which in turn could lead to further damage to already fragile artefacts or create larger conservation problems. It also provides smaller museums with an opportunity to acquire objects or works of art which may not be suitable for larger more prestigious

museum collections, by acquiring deaccessioned artefacts removed from larger collections. The converse also applies. The Museum Association of the United Kingdom (MA) states in their “Disposal Toolkit” (MA, 2014:9) that permanent removal of an artefact may also be considered if the object would receive better care in a different collection, if it would be more accessible to the public, if the context of the object would be more appropriate, or if the disposal would ensure that the object remains in the public domain. The document also states that in the eyes of the MA the improvement of an existing collection, in other words the care and resources available to the collection, through the deaccessioning of an artefact is an “incidental outcome” (MA, 2014:9) rather than a motivating factor. While this is a valid view in a developed nation, I question whether it should be classified as “incidental” in small, government-funded museums in developing nations like South Africa. I think that the financial pressures in museums in developing nations are suitably urgent to view disposal for the wellbeing of the collection as a whole as a relevant and necessary reason for the deaccession of an artefact or artwork.

7.2.4 Financial Gain

One deaccessioning practice that draws the ire of the public and professional museum organisations is the sale of works to support the operating costs of a museum (Ellis, 2018). For example, the Berkshire Museum in the United States announced in July 2017 that it would sell 40 works from its collection to prevent the museum from closing, and to fund its “New Vision”, which focused on science, history and interactive exhibits (Berkshire Museum, n.d.). The AAM and the AAMD quickly released a joint statement condemning the plans, reaffirming their position that “a collection is held in the public trust and must *not* be treated as a disposable financial asset” (AAM, 2017),⁴⁷ and that the sale of collections should not be used “for anything other than acquisition or direct care of collections” (AAM, n.d.).⁴⁸ A group of concerned citizens formed the group ‘Save the Art – Save the Museum’ solely to oppose the sale and “protect the public trust” by protesting at the museum, organising education programmes, and raising funds for litigation to try and stop the sale (Save the Art, n.d.). The

⁴⁷ Emphasis in original.

⁴⁸ The Berkshire Museum is a member of the AAM and is therefore expected to adhere to the organisation’s Code of Ethics for Museums.

Massachusetts Attorney General's office reached an agreement with the Berkshire Museum, after an inquiry into the museum's finances, that allowed them to sell some of the works in their collection (McGraw, 2018). Despite this agreement, the AAMD sanctioned the Berkshire Museum and requested that its 243 members refrained from working with them (AAMD, 2018). The idea behind the sanctions being that the actions of the museum contravened the ethical principles that the AAMD holds its members to, even if the sale was legal.

The AAMD and AAM are not the only professional museum bodies that oppose the sale of artefacts or works of art to fund operations. The MA "Disposal Toolkit" makes it clear that it is unacceptable for museums who are members to dispose of an artefact for financial reasons except in exceptional circumstances (MA, 2014: 9). The ICOM Code of Ethics (2017: 13) states that funds from the sale of objects from a collection should only be used to benefit that collection, or to add to it. Besterman (1992: 34) refers to selling an artefact to support the museum financially as "asset-stripping". This gives the public the impression that the objects in the "public trust" are merely goods to be traded in for the benefit of the institution and not the public. This is a valid concern. If publicly funded institutions had free reign to trade in the objects in their care, then there would be no control over the preservation and conservation of these objects, nor would there be any guarantee that the objects would safely remain in the public domain. Adrian Ellis, founder of AEA Consulting and the Global Cultural Districts Network, suggests that if a museum has to sell an object from its collection, then it "should ensure that the institution or individual to which or whom the work is sold commit in some binding form to *equal or higher conservational standards* and *equal or higher public access* to the work in questions" (Ellis, 2018).⁴⁹ This approach would allow other museums to purchase the works, thus avoiding the loss of the object from the public domain, while simultaneously prolonging the life of the museum's collection and the artefact in question.

As explored in the case studies illustrated below, selling to another museum may not always be possible, and nor is maintaining an object that does not fit in a museum's collection criteria or context. Moreover, many institutions are under severe financial pressure, in both developing and developed nations, and are not always able to compete with private buyers (White, in Tait, 2015: 469). The reasons for this financial strain are numerous, from political

⁴⁹ Emphasis in original.

pressures to national economic disruption. Another cause for financial stresses in publicly funded museums in developing nations like South Africa is a larger national budgetary concern. When much of the country's focus should rightly be on healthcare, education and basic housing, larger "non-essential" institutions will necessarily be less of a financial priority. South African museums are largely underfunded, and many have had to close completely due to financial difficulties (in discussion SAMA conference 2015). If these severe pressures could be relieved by the deaccession and sale of artefacts which do not necessarily meet the museum's collection criteria, or the sale of an object which would provide essential relief to support the rest of the museum, then in very strictly controlled circumstances, the deaccession and sale of that object may be deemed more important than keeping it in the collection. The general outcry by the public from the sale of museum artefacts has usually been well founded, but perhaps the museums would be better served by a more transparent relationship with stakeholders. Publishing financial reports and informing the public of how much it costs to repair, restore, store, and display an object might make the sale of an artefact more palatable. This would also make the public more aware of the support required by private individuals and organisations to maintain and support museum collections.

7.3 SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES

The most recent policy (Draft National Museum Policy Framework, 2014) on deaccessioning in South African museums states the following:

Museums acquire objects and preserve them for posterity. Therefore, deaccessioning should be used as a last resort and under clearly defined circumstances. Deaccessioning to another museum or heritage institution should be considered as the preferable option. Complete records of the deaccessioned objects and processes should be kept and all stakeholders should be consulted or informed. This includes obtaining information from the Minister of Arts and Culture or the relevant provincial MEC in the case of nationally and provincially funded museums. SAMA (2001) identify the following possible criteria for deaccessioning

- A lost, stolen or destroyed object
- A duplicate object
- An object that has lost its physical integrity or its authenticity or usefulness
- An object of better quality and condition has been acquired
- Inherited material which is inappropriate and serves no useful purpose in the collection, exhibition or research programmes of the museum
- When an institution is unable to continue to store and care for the object
- When the transfer of items, such as from one scientific institution to another, is in the interest of furthering research.

In neither the new draft policy, nor the more comprehensive *Critical Reflections on Heritage* (National Heritage Council, 2012) is there much information to be gleaned on the protocol to be followed with regards to ‘foreign’ antiquities. Both documents are very clear on the question of the deaccession and repatriation of human remains and any cultural artefact which still has practical applications, but the question of antiquities is only raised in terms of illegal trafficking or illegal purchase or seizure (National Heritage Council, 2012: 61). These policies, as well as that of the Revision of the Department of Arts and Culture 1996 White Paper (DAC, 2018) simply state that South African institutions will comply with the guidelines set out by the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention (UNIDROIT, 1995). This convention outlines the repatriation of illegally acquired cultural objects and makes provisions for claims of repatriation, so long as the claim is made within fifty years of the artefact’s theft. As stated in the previous section, the antiquities do not fall under any repatriation claims or obligations. Thus, a South African museum is not obliged to deaccession and return the artefacts but may do so with the permission of the government. The only point in the statement quoted above which may warrant any concern for the future of the Greek and Roman antiquities in the care of South African museums is where it states that “inherited material which is inappropriate and serves no useful purpose in the collection, exhibition or research programmes of the museum” may be deaccessioned. There are those who would argue that the objects in question fall under this description.

7.4 CASE STUDIES

Full case studies on the ramifications of deaccessioning artefacts are only recently appearing in the scholarly literature. Below are two cases in particular which have had a large online following with more news coverage than academic, however this illustrates the level of engagement which the public finds appropriate with regards to artworks and antiquities. As classical Mediterranean antiquities are rarely deaccessioned, there is a sparsity of relevant examples.

7.4.1 Detroit Institute of Art

In July 2013 the city of Detroit filed for bankruptcy; this was (at the time) the largest municipal bankruptcy filing in the history of the United States (Caro, 2013). There was a desperate need for public funds to keep basic services, like fire departments and other emergency responders, streetlights and pensions, afloat. Detroit was already an economically depressed city with a high crime rate (MacDonald & Hunter, 2018). To cope with the crippling debt faced by the city, it was decided that some of the artworks from the Detroit Institute of Arts should be sold (Caro, 2013). The museum started as a private art collection in 1885 (Collins, 2016: 7), but in 1919 the museum became a municipal department, hoping that the city's coffers could help provide funds for new acquisitions (Kennedy, 2014). This meant that once Detroit had filed for bankruptcy the municipality had the right to demand financial assistance from any one of its departments (Siegel, 2013).

The Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD) has a series of strict guidelines for the deaccession of any artwork. One of these guidelines is that an artwork may only be considered for deaccession if the item in question is fraudulent or has been irreparably damaged. Furthermore, an artwork may only be considered for deaccession and *sale* if the funds from the sale will be used to purchase more art for the museum collection. Susan Taylor, then president of the AAMD, argues that “works of art shouldn't be considered liquid assets to be converted into cash. They're records of human creativity that are held in the public trust” (Blair, 2014). The Michigan Attorney General, when approached to make a statement on behalf of the office he represents, declared that the attorney general's office would be taking

a stand to prevent the deaccession, should the money be added to the city's coffers rather than the funds paying for new art.

One point which recurs throughout any discussions of the sale of museum artefacts (for whatever reasons or rationale), is that of "public trust". The notion of the public trust requires clarification; it is important for museums to know whom they should protect these antiquities and artworks for. The word 'public' is used very generally, representing an amorphous body of invisible figures who are called on to defend complex issues which cannot be simplified into 'yes' or 'no' categories. Maneker (in Salmon, 2013) condenses the nuanced argument about the sale of art from the DIA into an earnest and simple statement, saying "I am not sure that an obligation to preserve art for future generations is any more sacred than an obligation to pay pensions to the present one". The 'public' in Taylor's (Blair, 2014) statement above does not seem to be the same public which needs working ambulance services and running water (to use the extreme situation in Detroit as an example). The necessity to raise money for the city is certainly not in question, but where does it end when municipalities and other arms of government have the right to dispose of artefacts as they please?

The Detroit Institute of Art was unexpectedly saved by large donations mostly from philanthropic organisations (Collins, 2016: 7). In essence the institute used the \$800 million raised to 'buy' itself back from the Detroit municipality, donating the money raised directly to the city's ailing pension fund in return for its independence (referred to as The Grand Bargain (Kennedy, 2014)). It is now under the control of a charitable trust and cannot be forced to sell its assets to provide financial aid to the city. Collins (2016: 29) explains that this positive outcome "relied not so much on legal acumen as on creative, almost outlandish thinking". The DIA case is an example of how government trust can be in two minds on the values of art and culture. Financial pressures as severe as those faced by Detroit, as well as those similar pressures faced by developing nations, can always lead individuals to place the monetary value of an artefact higher than its cultural, historical, or aesthetic value. The constant refrain heard throughout the debate was that no one wanted to sell the art, they were simply doing what was necessary. The choice between the sale of artefacts to provide basic, essential

services to citizens, or the retention of the art for posterity is a complex and difficult one. But the situation cannot be viewed in isolation and I do agree that it sets a dangerous precedent for the art and history community to view their collections as marketable assets.

7.4.2 The Northampton Sekhemka

The 4500-year-old Egyptian statue of Sekhemka was acquired in Egypt by the second Marquess of Northampton, or possibly his son, around 1850 and donated to the Northampton Museum in 1880 (Johnston, 2014). In 2014 it was sold by the Northampton Borough Council (NBC) at Christie's of London for a final sum of £15.76m, a much larger sum than the original estimate of £4-6 million (Kidd, 2017: 493). The rationale on the part of the council and the Northampton Museum was that the statue, while being in excellent condition, had not been on display for four years, and was not considered by the museum to be a part of the local cultural heritage and art which had become the focus of the museum. The NBC received 55% of the profits, and these funds were to be used for an undetermined "cultural" project (Kidd, 2017: 493). The sale quickly became part of a larger discussion surrounding the ethical problems with the sale of an object in the public trust. Most British museums, like those in South Africa, are funded by the state, so the notion of "public trust" is more literal than in the great majority of museums and galleries in the US which are privately owned or held in private charitable trusts. The sale of the Sekhemka was seen to be a betrayal of the function of a museum, an example of Besterman's "asset-stripping" (1992: 34). The museum had seemed to place financial gain over the preservation of history and culture.

One of the larger controversies surrounding the sale of the statue is the ongoing question of ownership. There are questions being raised about the overall legality of the sale as the ownership of the artefact is itself a controversial issue, as well as there being specific requirements as per the original deed of gift from the Marquess to the Northampton Museum (Harris, 2014). The museum states that they have sole ownership of the statue, the descendants of the Marquess say that the ownership did not pass in its entirety to the museum and that they maintain some level of ownership, the NBC states that whatever belongs to the museum also belongs to the council, the public wishes the statue to belong to

everyone, while the Egyptian government is surprised to find out that no one considered this statue to belong to the people of Egypt (Harris, 2014; Anderson, 2015:14-15). While the artefact was not acquired within the period indicated by the UNESCO conventions of the 1950s and 1970s, it is easy to see why the Egyptian government would show their frustration with the sale of the statue. There is absolutely no doubt about the origin and authenticity of the Sekhemka, so why was the Egyptian government not considered as crucially, intrinsically involved in the sale? As mentioned earlier in this thesis, it would be a much simpler system for all artefacts to be returned to their country of origin, but such an idealistic view of ownership is neither practical nor helpful. I would argue that it is important to at least consider the origin of the object when opening any discussion around the deaccession and sale of an artefact. As Anderson (2015: 15) points out, the Egyptian ambassador was not unreasonable in his opinion that the NBC should have consulted the Egyptian government before the sale. As it stands now, the Sekhemka is in a private collection with no current plans to loan the statue to any museum exhibits. The buyer of the statue is still anonymous.

Subsequently the museum was stripped of its accreditation for five years in 2014, with the MA stating that the museum did not follow the correct protocol in selling the antiquity. Accredited British museums are not only eligible for government funds, but also for external grants from the arts council and British Lottery. The amount made from the sale, while hefty, is potentially significantly less than the combined funds available to them over the five-year suspension period. The head of the NBC at the time expressed his confusion and surprise at the loss of accreditation, stating that they should not have been punished for wanting to actively contribute to the museum coffers. As indicated previously, the MA "Disposal Toolkit" expressly states that it is not acceptable to dispose of an item for financial reasons (2014;9). By allowing the borough council to make the sale on behalf of the museum, the Northampton Museum went against all the guidelines set up by the MA to prevent precisely this situation. The toolkit also states that should a museum wish to dispose of an object, then other museums are to have first option on the artefact and the artefact should be prevented from leaving the public domain (2014: 10).

The MA (2014: 09) does allow for a museum to dispose of an artefact if it does not fit into their collection criteria, or if the object has little contextual value in its present place, which

is most likely where the NBC focused their attention, rather than having a comprehensive understanding of the MA's policies and guidelines. It should also be stated, however, that the "Disposal Toolkit" is not a legal document nor are any state funded museums bound by those rules. Kidd (2017: 493-505) examined numerous articles from major media outlets and online news services, assessing whether the media coverage of the sale contributed to the difficulties now faced by the museum. Her conclusion was that the debate of museum ethics, and the sale of state-owned artefacts, was more nuanced and complex than the news coverage suggested (2017: 502-503). It is this kind of deterioration of a museum's reputation and the public's trust which should be one of the most important elements to consider when deciding to deaccession. It will take many years for Northampton Museum to recover financially, and their reputation as a reliable, trustworthy institution has been tarnished on a professional level and on a public one.

7.5 CONCLUSION: DEACCESSIONING AS AN OPTION FOR THE OBJECTS IN THE IZIKO COLLECTION

Deaccession is a useful tool that promotes sustainability and prevents hoarding behaviour especially in the smaller museums in developing nations. A robust, healthy collection needs a thorough collecting policy as well as a well-defined deaccession policy. The sale of deaccessioned objects, however, is more complex and potentially risky for the future of both the institution and the object. There are essential questions that need to be asked before any object is considered for sale: When should a museum be allowed to sell off artefacts? How does the museum choose when and what to sell, and who gets to make that decision? In developing nations, it is also important to ask where the money from the sale will go and who will benefit from that sale. Equally important is the question of where the artefacts are going once they have been sold, and in some cases, where did the money for the purchase come from. Can an artefact be sold on the open market with any kind of guarantee that the object will not end up on the black market or be traded to fund violence?

While selling artefacts for 'bricks and mortar' (Kidd, 2017;495) purposes is widely regarded as the worst reason for selling any artefact, financial pressures are the most pressing problems for museums in developing nations. With a more nuanced and layered approach to local

heritage, funds are not necessarily required for the collection of heritage objects (living heritage and heritage spaces), unlike art museums or national galleries. However, extra funds are often useful or necessary for conservation and restoration, storage and for new exhibits. Modernising exhibits is essential for the transformation of South African cultural history institutions, moving as far away as possible from white, colonial, apartheid contexts and displays.

If selling artefacts proves to be a lucrative endeavour, and as the objects are technically owned by the government, what would prevent the government from selling off any object the government would be able to label as counter-productive to social, political, and cultural change? These objects, therefore, could be seen as being unrelated to a South African museum, making them ideal for sale as they would not be viewed as essential to a South African cultural heritage and therefore not needed to be protected by a South African institution. We would have to start asking about what the 'national trust' means in a South African national heritage context. Is any object not produced in or for South Africa not in the national trust? Does one exclude any object that does not have a direct and tangible tie to the country's history? And if we were to do so, how easy would it be for members of the government to take advantage of the situation? As a country that prides itself on its multitudinous heritage, I would hope that it would be more difficult to convince the public that the sale of classical antiquities would be necessary or appropriate, regardless of the contextual value, or possible lack thereof.

8 QUO VADIS?: DIGITAL OPTIONS FOR PRESERVATION AND DISPLAY

Digitisation falls into the rapidly growing fields of digital curation and the digital humanities. Digital humanities refer to, amongst other things, the use of digital, multimedia and online tools to generate knowledge as well as “new modes of scholarship and institutional units for collaborative, transdisciplinary, and computationally engaged research, teaching, and publication” (Burdick et al. 2012:122). Digital curation provides scholarly access to digital artefacts (both those that are created on a digital platform, and those which have been transferred to a digital platform) via databases, many of which can be accessed online (Sabharwal, 2017:243), and preserves them. Sabharwal (2017:243) explains the difference between digital curation and digital humanities as the difference between historians and curators: where curation is the action of appraising, selecting, arranging, describing and preserving artefacts and data, the role of the historian is to analyse and interpret data and information collected and preserved by curators and archivists. Digitisation thus straddles both fields by being significant in the preservation and collection of data as well as the process of analysis and interpretation.

8.1 DIGITISATION: DEFINITIONS

Digitisation can take different forms, from assembling collection information in a digital database, collaborative research platforms, digital and printed 3D models, and even interactive virtual reality displays (Gonzalez-Tennant, 2013:64). The Iziko collection of Greek and Roman artefacts has already been digitised in the form of the searchable SACA database as described in a previous chapter. The aim of this section is to explore the potential purpose, benefits, and risks in digitising museum records and artefacts.

As Sabharwal (2017: 239) explains, the face of the humanities is changing rapidly thanks to the changes in technology affecting every academic field. Institutions like museums now have the option of either creating a sustainable future for records, documents and artefacts, or

relying on the existing system which limits access to information. These limitations include physical access as well as the problematisation of the archive as a western, European institution which has historically recorded only the dominant western history (Ghaddar & Caswell, 2019:74). The problematic nature of the archive is not a subject that lies within the scope of this study; however, it is worth mentioning as the act of creating the database (as we have done) or further digitising the Iziko collection is in essence the creation of an archive. The digital medium, however, has the potential to further the process of disintermediation and create a digital space which promotes access and interpretation by any individual or group.

Disintermediation is the process through which the 'barrier' of the traditional archive is removed so that one can access the data directly. This process is seen as problematic and risk-laden by archivists, as the archive potentially risks its authenticity via the use of unedited, unsupervised, essentially unmediated content, but is welcomed by academics and researchers (Sabharwal, 2017:248). The users of the archive no longer need to work through a curator, archivist, or librarian to access the information stored there. Sabharwal refers to these intermediaries as "mediators of history and memory" (2017:248). The role of the archivist, as gatekeeper of the information, becomes less prominent (Sabharwal, 2017:248). As discussed elsewhere, the curation of memory is a problematic activity, making the decision to select and collect specific memories will in the act of selection exclude a group, person, or culture. However, the nature of an exhibit or collection is one of selection. If this curation process is disrupted by disintermediation the risks to the data are not insignificant. The preservation and study of the historical record and primary sources requires the assistance of the curator to ensure the authenticity and veracity of the objects and documents collected.

The user of the curated collection or archive also needs the curator to collect and organise the data into a usable, ideally searchable interface. However, by allowing the public to interact without mediation there is the potential for that individual or group to "to frame its own history, memory, and identity" allowing "a greater degree of freedom in historical self-representation" (Sabharwal, 2017:248). That is, the public have the ability to decide what data

they would like to engage with and can focus more on the areas they identify with, in essence becoming curators of their own historical narrative instead of being passive recipients of the archive. Sabharwal (2017:248) also notes that the ability to access historical data without any collection bias, the overlay of personal ideology which has the potential to affect any collection mandate, as could be the case with disintermediated databases, “puts society in charge of interpreting its own history”. The process of political and social transformation in South Africa is attempting to do as Sabharwal describes by providing the public with a wider outlook, a broader lens through which to view their own histories and the countless ways in which the multicultural society has both intertwined with one another and fought for their own legitimacy.

Sternfeld (2010: 1) suggests that the ideal compromise between the disintermediation of the archive and maintaining the status quo would be a call for more hybridity and less rigidity with regards to the roles of historians or researchers and the archivists or curators. Historians could work with the digital data not only analysing and interpreting, but also in the active management of the digital data and how the public uses the interface while the curator is responsible for the metadata⁵⁰ which accompanies each digital artefact.

8.1.1 Purpose of Digitisation

The digitisation of museum collections and of collected artefacts and documents is not a novel concept, but as technology changes and improves, digitising becomes more valuable as a tool for preservation. As mentioned previously, only a very small percentage of objects in most museum collections is on display.⁵¹ The display of a physical artefact comes with numerous problems, including potential physical and environmental risks to the artefact itself (Earley, et al. 2017:2). Amongst other issues, the maintenance and preservation of displays are costly

⁵⁰ Metadata is “Information about a data set that is structured (often in machine-readable format) for purposes of search and retrieval. Metadata elements may include basic information (e.g., title, author, date created) and/or specific elements inherent to data sets (e.g., spatial coverage, time periods)” (Johnson, L.R., et al., 2018:6).

⁵¹ Elliot Bostwick Davis, previous chairwoman of the Museum of Fine Art’s Art of the Americas department, estimated museums show “between 2 and 4 percent of a collection” (Fabrikant, 2009).

and the physical spaces available are not always well-suited to displaying historical artefacts or documents. By giving individuals access to the stored objects online in the form of two-dimensional (2D) or three-dimensional (3D) models, one could provide greater public access to the artefacts. Two-dimensional models, typically in the form of photographs, have been commonly used in museum records, collections and displays. The value of a 3D model versus a 2D model is in the more immersive interaction the 3D model provides. A 3D model is also a more lifelike and relatable interface between museum visitors and the artefacts on display as it exists in space (Earley, et al. 2017:2). In addition, those who are unable to visit museums or museum collections in person may do so by engaging with the 3D models on a digital platform (Created Realities, 2002, Earley, et al., 2017:3).

In the case of developing nations, the online presence of their collections, especially in the form of 3D models, would be a great boon, but a simple series of well-lit photographs providing a clear view of the artefacts from all angles would be as valuable as a starting point and more easily collected and processed. The type of digital presence an institution has should primarily be focussed on the needs of the institution, the potential for research, and the potential for the digital platform to be used as an educational resource. If the institution wishes to create an immersive, captivating platform, then 3D model museums or virtual reality interfaces would present an exciting, if time-consuming and potentially expensive, solution. An institution like Iziko may have a more pressing need for a searchable catalogue of their collection for research purposes, as well as for inventory and preservation, rather than a visitor-facing interactive display on ancient Greek and Roman artefacts, as this is not the display focus of the museums. Preserving the existing data available on the antiquities online is usually safe and easily accessible for staff members. The loss of historical documents relating to the objects is less of a risk than if the collection data should remain only in physical paper texts.⁵² The organisation of the information is also simpler with digital records. While the physical information is currently housed in various parts of the research facility, the digital database combines all the relevant information in one place. If students, for example, wished to explore the collection's earthenware lamps, using the searchable database would take

⁵² This in no way discounts the historical and education value of the original documents and texts, it merely supplements them and provides safe storage for the information they bear.

them far less time than looking for documentation in the storerooms of the research centre. Before the collection of the information into a searchable, digital format, the only way to find out how many objects were of Roman origin was to physically count them in the storeroom.⁵³ Should the physical records be destroyed, as those of the Albany Museum were in the 1950s, a digital record will remain.

As journals and other forms of scholarship move online it should not be unexpected that digital forms of other types of physical artefacts make a similar move. As Schnapp and Presner (2009) simply state: “print is no longer the exclusive or normative medium”. The case study discussed later in this chapter, of the digitisation of the collection of the Rijksmuseum, is an excellent example of how useful and beneficial digitisation can be. Through the shift in access to primary sources and physical records and artefacts to a digital medium, the limitations on access to academic sources are being lifted. However, digital artefacts need to be preserved just as much as paper records and physical objects. Hedstrom (2001) explains that digital preservation involves ensuring that digital data is still accessible no matter how technologies develop and change. Conserving digital artefacts protects the data from obsolescence and format and content migration are essential in preserving access when technology changes and evolves as quickly as it does (Jones and Beagrie, 2000:10). By migrating the physical format of the antiquities in the Iziko collection to a more widely accessible digital one, the information on these objects are not only preserved, but also hopefully made available to a wider public of scholars, researchers, and other interested persons (Masters & Welman, 2015:96).

8.1.2 Benefits and Risks of Digitisation

An issue raised by scholars is the so-called ‘unreliability’ of digital data (Rozenweig, 2003:740-742). Physical objects can be physically tested for authenticity. Rozenweig (2003:743) defines two clear problems with the act of digital preservation: the issues of “authenticity” and “trust”. Without some form of reliable, trusted authentication process, information available

⁵³ No ‘master list’ of the collection of antiquities exists outside of the digital database created for this project.

on the internet is often of dubious origins. With the case of online journals that are peer-reviewed, the trusted process ensures the quality of the publication, removing distrust of the disseminated knowledge. This is not the case with physical objects as one relies almost solely on the historical record and physical examination by accredited experts to identify, describe, and contextualise the artefacts. Digital information, though, can be changed or copied easily, and its origins can be difficult to authenticate, which can lead to distrust on the part of researchers (Rozenweig, 2003: 743). Digitising information can also involve technical challenges; the vast amounts of data involved in some cases might leave some institutions struggling due to a lack of staff, equipment, or funding (Sabharwal, 2017:245-246). In an online era filled with unreliable internet sources, these concerns should not be ignored. To validate the information made available online, a new system involving “technical measures (digital signatures and ‘watermarks’)” and cultural ones (related to authenticating data and funding) is required (Rozenweig, 2003:743). To ensure that the collected and stored data is authentic and trustworthy the metadata becomes an indispensable part of the curation process. Sabharwal (2017:245) suggests that it should include “provenance information as well as a digital signature, along with other possible encrypted data to be saved into a PDF/A file”.

This concept of digital surrogacy is of particular relevance to this study. As mentioned in earlier chapters, the notion of intrinsic value is not one that I will be applying to the artefacts in question. Additionally, therefore, I will not attempt to argue that the digital surrogates have any intrinsic value. The idea of intrinsic value is unnecessary when the artefacts and their surrogates have tangible values. In the case of the digital copies the value lies in the accessibility to information and knowledge. If one of the De Pass vases, for example, is available for study on an online platform, such as the one currently being developed and populated by Stanford University (SAGR: A Digital Museum, n.d.), scholars from anywhere in the world with an internet connection can explore the object virtually, examining the painting style, the condition, the themes, or the shape itself. The value this digital artefact would have is multi-layered. Using the basic system of values explained earlier in this study, a digital copy of an Iziko Greek vase would not have any monetary or historical value, but it would have educational value at a high level.

For many students around the world access to antiquities has been limited to print publications or perhaps small university collections of artefacts. Online resources provide more images to a wider audience, even if that source is as simple as Google or Wikipedia. Students can look up well-known art on their phones before or after class, often with the basic information on the artefact readily available. A primary goal from the educational perspective is that the information that students access is reliable, can be referenced, is authentic, and has been reviewed by specialists in the field. It is well understood that easily accessible sources like Wikipedia are not recommended sources for students due to their lack of peer review. An online, collaborative database of vase paintings, like the Beazley Archive, for example, would be much preferred by researchers, students and teachers alike. Later in this chapter I will discuss the Stanford database as well as the Perseids and Perseus online communities to show how the resources provide meaningful educational resources as well as creating opportunities for the preservation of collected information. Furthermore, these digital mediums have created a platform for greater interpretation of existing primary sources, as comparison and examination of vases and other artefacts are no longer limited by geography or by the fragility of the object.

While a number of museums have Greek and Roman artefacts in their possession, we can assume that these institutions may not have the relevant antiquities on permanent display.⁵⁴ This assumption is based on changing museological landscapes, such as the one in South Africa and other post-colonial nations, as well as the current statistics on how much of a museum's entire collection is on display at any given moment. The objects may also not be accessible in normal circumstances to students studying those subjects when the items are in storage. While I motivate for greater communication and collaboration between museums and universities to combat the loss of knowledge in both directions, the collaborative nature of an online database can also serve this end. It has the potential to not only provide students with a wider sample range from which to learn and to draw conclusions about the various

⁵⁴ Refer also to Chapter 8 section 8.4.2 on the subject of display relevance and the decision to sell the Northampton Sekhemka.

time periods and cultural groups, but also provides researchers at the institutions, via a database or website, with more information on specific objects or collections. With the limitations on funding for museums and the lack of field-specific staff, as is the case in most archaeology departments in South African museums discussed in previous chapters, I recommend finding new ways to collaborate both physically and digitally.

8.2 CASE STUDIES

In this section I have selected three case studies which highlight the expanding field of digitisation in art and the humanities for a variety of different functions and required outcomes. There are numerous examples available on the internet of collections, histories, and spaces becoming part of the digital world. These studies below have been chosen to show examples from both museums and from educational academic perspectives to give an indication of how broad the applications of digitisation can be.

8.2.1 Rijksmuseum

In 2003 the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam closed for extensive renovations and remodelling (Stacey, 2017). The curators of the various collections were separated from the bulk of the artworks for the ten-year duration of the renovation process, as the staff and art were in separate venues in the city. Out of necessity the curators started digitally photographing the artworks and historical objects, preserving them with the relevant metadata. Instead of attempting to fund the entire project, the museum broke the process up into “discrete digitisation projects” for which they could then approach sponsors (Stacey, 2017). They then put a simplistic catalogue of the artworks online for public access in 2011 (Pekel, n.d.:11). Initially, when the images were released, they made a smaller image, up to about 2mb, available for free. Much larger images, up to 200mb, were available for purchase at €40 each (Pekel, n.d.:11). In 2013 the decision was made to remove all fees from the images for sale and already available online (Pekel, n.d.:13). The revenue loss was about €180 000 which only

constituted 0.2% of the total revenue of that period (Pekel, n.d.:5). In addition to this, the museum found that the administrative costs involved in managing the online content and the purchased downloads was such that the income from the sales was quite low and not necessarily enough to make it worth the museum's time and effort (Stacey, 2017). As Jongma (in Stacey, 2017) explains: "clinging to small amounts of revenue is being penny-wise but pound-foolish". Their rationale was that the real value of the collection would never be monetary, but rather cultural and educational. Furthermore, it was supposed that many found the idea of paying for an image from a government-funded collection distasteful (Stacey, 2017),⁵⁵ thus the free download access would be welcomed by the public and add a further layer of positive press and general enthusiasm for the digitisation process.

There were two main concerns with making even the large files available for free. The first of these was the potential misuse of the images (Heyman, 2015). The second concern was that the museum would lose not only the revenue generated by the sale of the images, but that there would also be a decline in visitors to the institution (Stacey, 2017, Heyman, 2015). The first concern was eventually dismissed by the museum adopting a novel attitude to the wide dissemination of the images. According to Taco Dibbets, the director of collections, in an interview with the New York Times, their approach was to accept that "with the internet, it's so difficult to control your copyright or use of images that decided we'd rather people use a very good high-resolution image...from the Rijksmuseum rather than use a very bad reproduction"(in Siegal, 2013). The museum's priority was the reputation and integrity of the artwork and artist as much as it was for the Rijksmuseum itself (Heyman, 2015). Well-known online platforms like Wikipedia almost immediately began to favour the high-resolution images available from the museum website. Curators have also remarked that this extensive engagement with the public has provided them with unexpected additional information on works of art in the collection (Stacey, 2017).

⁵⁵ The Rijksmuseum is a publicly funded institution. It receives approximately 70% of its funding from the government (Stacey, 2017).

The second concern, regarding visitor numbers, was also proven to be without merit. The attendance figures released after the museum chose to put the digital images online indicated that the digitisation has had no negative effects on visits to the museum, and that visitor numbers have in fact increased since the collection went online (Heyman, 2015, Stacey, 2017, Pekel, n.d.). Lizzy Jongma, the data manager of the collections information department at the Rijksmuseum, describes it as the “Mona Lisa effect”, where an artwork achieves such great fame that individuals wish to see it in person (in Stacey, 2017). Siegel (2013) has another interpretation of the “Mona Lisa effect” describing it as a kind of dilution of impact that the artwork would have for the public, cheapening it by printing it on t-shirts and toilet paper. Deborah Ziska from the National Gallery of Art in Washington explains that this scenario has not proven to be the case, and this 21st century attitude to art and images conversely encourages people to go and see the authentic artwork for themselves (Siegel 2013). The increase in visitors, considering that the Rijksmuseum charges an entry fee of €20 (www.rijksmuseum.nl, accessed 11 September 2019), may have softened the financial blow of the small loss of revenue. Additionally, the combination of the boost to the museum’s reputation and the high levels of public exposure meant that the loss has proven to be worth the risk.

The interactive website hosting the digitised artworks is now known as Rijksstudio. There are more than 250 000 images available online (Pekel, n.d.:5) and the museum hopes to have most of the one million artworks and historical objects digitised by 2020 (Heyman, 2015). After registering with an email address or Facebook account on the Rijksstudio website, users can access any of the Public Domain images and download them. As a user one can save images in personally curated, themed collections, either as full images or as small fragments. Users are encouraged to modify and share the images in any way they choose, both personally and commercially, with no copyright infringement or royalties to be paid (Stacey, 2017).

The Rijksmuseum has not had to have the same concerns as other museums about copyright, since much of the collection as a whole predates the laws which govern copyright in the Netherlands (Siegel, 2013). The mobile-friendly platform allows one to use the images to make anything from phone covers to pillowcases. Image collections are also available to be used in educational contexts as part of exam papers or assignments. The service is open to

users worldwide with no restrictions on downloads (www.rijksmuseum.nl, accessed 11 September 2019). Stacey (2017) sums up the digitisation project at the Rijks Museum well, while the renovations were going on “the museum became largely forgotten by the public. Out of these circumstances emerged a new and more open model for the museum”.

8.2.2 Perseids

Perseids is an integrated, collaborative platform which provides “students, members of the public, and other non-traditional scholars to access ancient documents such as texts, inscriptions, and manuscripts” (Almas & Beaulieu, 2016:171). According to Almas and Beaulieu (2016) there are thousands of documents which are yet to translated and edited already available online. As they rightly state, the quantity of ancient documents available would require a vast number of translators and editors to complete such a Herculean task. This is not practically possible for any one academic department, research group, or individual. In order to make any tangible progress, one would require assistance from previously unconsidered sources. Brabham (2008: 85) as well as Chih-Ming Chen and Ming-Yueh Tsay, (2017: 1123) identify crowdsourcing as a useful, and in some cases ideal, tool for collecting and organizing data for large corporations as well as museums and libraries. Brabham (2008: 79) argues that crowdsourcing is a “problem-solving model that can be generalized [and] applied to a variety of industries to solve both mundane and highly complex tasks”, which I suggest is an excellent focus for smaller institutions or ones which have less funding than required to run a large-scale data collection or management programme.

Access to ancient documents for students and researchers is mostly restricted (Almas & Beaulieu, 2016:171). It is often difficult to get hands-on contact experience with artefacts or manuscripts. The Perseids editing and translation platform allows various participants to work on ancient documents uploaded to the website. Participants range from curious independent researchers to students translating or annotating texts as class projects (Almas & Beaulieu, 2016:171). Alma and Beaulieu (2016:171,181) describe the platform as a wide-ranging educational tool which supports their online community, enabling greater scholarship across a wider audience.

The multiple review processes involved in working with the documents on the Perseids platform creates a realistic learning experience that closely resembles a peer review system which prepares students for further academic work (Almas & Beaulieu, 2016:178). Students also benefit from viewing their work as a permanent, valuable contribution to the field. The work they do has more value in this way to the students, which ideally promotes a higher level of engagement with their projects. At the time of publication Perseids was preparing to provide scholars with access to their own “e-portfolios” to assist in applying for jobs and further studies, or for project assessments as part of their coursework (Almas & Beaulieu, 2016:179). The current platform (Perseids.org, 2019) provides a comprehensive list, with links, of student publications which have used the Perseids website.

Almas & Beaulieu (2016:179) state that scholarship is as much about the “ways in which knowledge is produced” as it is about the knowledge itself. Teaching students how to produce data is an important part of the learning experience. The field of classical scholarship is so varied that it is easy to ‘miss out on’ learning how to do quantitative research. The generation of digital data is practically useful, but the extra skills acquired in setting up and managing the databases cannot be underrated in the digital age. By its interdisciplinary and intertextual nature classics provides students with the opportunity to hone their critical thinking abilities. With the addition of data collection and management skills, especially on digital platforms, students are potentially able to bring a fuller range of understanding to their assessments and interpretations of primary sources.

8.2.3 3D Models/Printing Projects

Cosmo Wenman (2016), who makes 3D replicas of sculptures for museums (including the Louvre, the British Museum and the Getty Villa), explains the rationale for the use of 3D scanning and printing in museums:

I believe that with 3D scanning and 3D printing, private collectors and museums have an unprecedented opportunity to recast themselves as living engines of cultural creation. They can digitize their three-dimensional collections and project them

outward into the public realm to be adapted, multiplied, and remixed, and they should do this because the best place to celebrate great art is in a vibrant, lively, and anarchic popular culture. The world's back catalog [sic] of art should be set free to run wild in our visual and tactile landscape, and whether it turns up lit in pixels on our screens, rematerialized in our living rooms, or embedded in our architecture or clothing, it's all to the good.

Laser scanners are the most accurate and reliable tools used to create 3D models of objects, but their use by smaller institutions is limited due to their high cost. Photogrammetry while it has its practical limitations, is a viable, low cost option for museums and collections with small budgets or restraints or project funding (Earley, 2017:2). With simple equipment available to most, photographs can be taken of the object and rendered into a digital, three-dimensional artefact. This has a significant impact on the ease with which a collection can be digitised with the greatest effect. With the advent of 3D printing some of the risks and limitations demonstrated by a traditional museum setting can be mitigated. While most museums may not wish to put replicas on display, they could certainly be made available for active visitor engagement projects or as educational resources, creating a touchable exhibit encouraging a more personal interaction with the objects, not hindered by the presence of the glass or plexiglass conserving the original (McGregor, 2016).

At the Classics Museum and Classics Department at the Victoria University of Wellington Dr Diana Burton, a senior lecturer in the department, has been working with the university's School of Design to create not only replicas of existing vases, but also new student designs. Dr Burton stated in an interview "In Greek art, pretty much everything is functional – they don't really have art for art's sake. In order for students to really get to grips with the way the use of an object has informed its design and decoration, they need to be able to handle it in the ways the ancients did. 3-D printing objects is a safe way to facilitate this" (Victoria University, 2017).

The initial project was to print a small kylix from the university's collection. This was passed around the class, containing some water, and the students imitated a Greek drinking game

where drinkers at a symposium would dangle the cup by its handle and flick the dregs at the bottom of the cup at other partygoers (Saunders, 2017). Students were then tasked with designing small amphorae of their own. Using traditional ancient Greek vase painting motifs and mythological themes, students depicted stories from their own lives in black figure style designs on a template (3D Printing Media Network, 2017). These designs were then scanned and mapped onto the small vases which were printed using a 3D printer. Burton and the head of the school of design reported that the project has been beneficial to both Classics students and design students. Burton aims to create an online gallery of all the university's ancient artefacts and by July 2017 almost thirty pieces had been scanned and digitised (Saunders, 2017).

A similar project has been running at the University of Virginia since 2015 (virginia.edu). The 3D Greek Vase Scanning and Printing Project (3DGV) started with a small, scale replica of a Greek vase printed by an undergraduate engineering student and given to associate professor of Classics, Tyler Jo Smith, as a gift (Newman, 2016). Smith realised immediately that 3D printed Greek vases could be of benefit to his students in the classroom. Using lasers and cameras, they made detailed scans, down to 0.3mm, which were then printed on a 3D printer (Newman, 2016). Thanks to the minute detail provided by the laser scans, the scale replicas are very accurate and can be handled by the students in class facilitating "experiential learning" (virginia.edu).

In 2018 a group of postgraduate students from Stellenbosch University made the Department of Ancient Studies' first attempt at 3D scanning of selected items from the Greek and Roman collection as well as the more extensive ancient Egyptian collection, housed in the same facility at Iziko in Cape Town. Using photogrammetry software and their own smartphones and digital cameras, the students, under the direction of visiting lecturer Dr Franzisca Naether of Leipzig University, made 3D digital models of their chosen objects using Agisoft Photoscan. They then used Meshlab or Meshmixer to refine the models before uploading them on Sketchfab (Masters & Naether, 2018). This project not only gave the students an opportunity to work with antiquities from their chosen fields, but also provided them with an introduction

to a growing field in the Digital Humanities. They also showed that this process, while not without difficulties, nevertheless enabled students to create models using only basic equipment and without any prior training or specific technical skills. However, it is still important to note that, when creating digital products or platforms in developing nations, potential technological challenges and limitations must be considered. While resources might look good on the latest hand-held devices, it is important that ones are created that “display effectively on low-cost mobile phones and incorporate simple, widely used technologies...Materials should be optimised for the lowest reasonably employable technology, rather than the highest, and producers should not assume that their users will necessarily have access to the same resources as they do” (Almas & Beaulieu 2016:43).

Another recent and successful example is the *Kemet: Life in Ancient Egypt* exhibition where, in 2018, Iziko partnered with the Friends of Design: Academy of Digital Arts to design and implement a new display for the Egyptian artefacts (iziko.org, 2019). This exhibition, housed in the Iziko Slave Lodge, uses Augmented Reality (AR) and interactive displays, games, and puzzles to teach secondary learners about the daily lives of ancient Egyptians (iziko.org, 2019). The exhibition is complemented with an app designed for smartphones which provides an extra layer of information and engagement through the use of 3D models and animations (iziko.org, 2019). The project not only provides the museum with an exciting reinterpretation of an older exhibition, but it also provides the students from the Academy of Digital Arts with new ways to use the skills acquired in the classroom. As Andrew Barclay, head of Game at the school, explains projects like this are useful “because they give our students hands-on experience with real-world challenges, get them thinking in creative directions, add variety to their portfolios, and demonstrate the value of game technology in new and unconventional arenas” (bizcommunity.com, 2019).

With the technology and software more readily available for researchers and academics, the next hurdle for any organisation is staff and the cost of those manhours. In my experience, active engagement between tertiary institutions and museums is quite rare, which fails to identify the opportunity to use university to crowdsource physical and digital assistance to

aid the process of digitisation as well as breaking down “the social and geographical barriers that have long kept ancient documents and scholarship in a limited number of hands” (Alma and Beaulieu, 2016:172). The goal of the Ancient Lives website, for example, has been to record transcriptions of ancient Greek characters from uploaded scans on ancient fragments of papyrus. At the time of publication, Ancient Lives had recorded over 9 million ancient Greek characters. The method was designed to be used by untrained individuals with no previous training in transcription or any experience with the ancient Greek language or alphabet required (2016:187). Unlike the “unique users” required on the Perseids platform discussed in this chapter, Ancient Lives is available to be used by anyone who can use a computer. Brusuelas (2016:200) explains that involving students and individuals “beyond one’s niche academic community” has proven to be an invaluable source for the website and it is because of this crowdsourcing that the website, and by extension the Ancient Lives project, thrives.

8.3 CONCLUSIONS: DIGITISATION AS AN OPTION FOR THE OBJECTS IN THE IZIKO COLLECTION

The digitising of the Iziko collection, as described previously in this thesis, is already in progress to preserve the limited data available in the Iziko museum with detailed photographs. This collection will be made available on the SAGR: A Digital Museum site and ideally the final SACA database will be made an open access project, available to students, researchers and members of the public. As UNESCO (n.d.) highlights, creating and using Open Educational Resources⁵⁶ (like this database) is an innovative way to provide learners from myriad backgrounds across the world with the opportunity to become lifelong learners. The new context in which these artefacts will find themselves not only grants wider access to them, but also detaches them from their current ‘orphan’ status and adds them to a wider family of Greek and Roman artefacts available for study and enjoyment online (Masters & Welman, 2015:83). The sheen of colonialism which colours these objects cannot be, and I argue should not be, removed, but the reinterpretation of the vases, plates and tools can serve to further the wider field not only of classical studies, but also colonial and apartheid studies. This has the potential to create a wider understanding of classical reception in

⁵⁶ Open Educational Resources are “teaching, learning and research materials in any medium – digital or otherwise – that reside in the public domain or have been released under an open license that permits no-cost access, use, adaptation and redistribution by others with no or limited restrictions” (UNESCO, n.d.).

colonial and apartheid South Africa as well as other post-colonial countries with similar collections.

As described in this section, digitisation has numerous facets, from searchable, crowdsourced databases to learning platforms, commercial ventures, and the hands-on educational experiences facilitated by 3D models or printed artefacts. I propose that the current database of the Iziko ancient artefacts represents a first step towards preserving the collection, but that future projects, which potentially link with the existing database, can provide even more engagement with the collection

It could be possible, in a South African setting, to use postgraduate students, creating special programmes, as volunteers who can catalogue, scan, and digitise museum collections. These programmes can provide hands-on experience for students, while also introducing them to various fields within museums. The museums, in turn, have the opportunity to use these volunteers to expand their digital databases and archives. As mentioned previously, many museums in South Africa are experiencing financial difficulties, struggling to adequately staff the institutions. The assistance of university departments, under the supervision of the museum, has the potential to generate new research and more opportunities for the students themselves. Other projects, such as the Perseids website as well as the Ancient Lives papyrology site, have gained valuable data from the work of students and dedicated interested laypeople.

Crowdsourcing is a valid tool which should not be discarded due to fears of unreliable data or threats to the data (Almas & Beaulieu, 2016:172). By setting very clear, simple parameters (for example: recording only existing accession documentation or condition reports), using drop-down menus for consistent descriptors, volunteers can complete the tasks for which museum staff have little time. Basic interactions with relevant documents and artefacts also reinforce the students' interests in the materials and in the field. Access to artefacts can be scaled according to experience as well as qualifications. Where a third-year student might

only have access to facsimiles of the accession registers, a final year master's student may have limited access to the artefacts themselves. While the number of museum studies or museology courses available in South Africa is growing, museum staff in South Africa tend to study in related fields and acquire training for museum collections work through internships or entry level positions. Providing postgraduate students with work experience in museums, especially in a field which is not commonly physically accessible to South African students, is beneficial with regards to future employment within or outside of academia.

9 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Against a backdrop of the recent revival of heritage issues in South Africa, my project has addressed the question of what might be done about the ‘orphan’ classical artefacts in the Social History collection of Iziko, now in storage at the Iziko Social History Centre in Cape Town. My term ‘orphan artefacts’ refers to those objects in a museum collection which have no direct connection to the country in which they are housed, and which may have fallen out of favour – or interest – due to political or social changes in the host country. The artefacts which make up the Iziko classical collection are mostly between 1500 and 2500 years old, from the ancient Mediterranean, and have no direct connection to the history of South Africa, except for the fact that they were collected and displayed in colonial and apartheid era museums. While the collection of these items may have been ‘fashionable’ in the last 150 years, the objects are no longer on display in any of the Iziko museums and their return has not been requested by their countries of origin. Thus, they are left in storage, without proper conservation, as seeming orphans of history and of museological trends.

The concept of negative heritage has been an important reference point in this study. Some would argue that items of negative heritage should be removed, and that history overwritten. The removal of the so-called ‘Bushman diorama’ from the SAM and the more recent removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes from the University of Cape Town campus are presented in this thesis as an example of this approach, but also demonstrates the complexity of the diverse multitude of historical narratives in South Africa. Another approach to those aspects of a society’s history (in material or other forms) which are deemed negative, harmful, or traumatic, is that they should not be hidden, erased or forcefully forgotten, but rather used as a tool for catharsis and societal healing. While the Iziko artefacts may currently exist in a questionable historical context, they are ‘orphaned’ by their history. They are, in my view, neither negative enough to form a part of South Africa’s negative heritage and be used therapeutically, nor part of the local cultural context enough to be prioritised for display.

The aim of this study, then, in relation to this specific collection was to ask questions related to their pasts, their current status and their future: namely what should one do with this currently 'orphaned' artefacts with their specific past, in the future?. In order to do this it was necessary to catalogue, in digital form, the data related to the 'orphan' Greek and Roman antiquities in the Iziko collection. The resulting database is an important contribution to knowledge in itself, since this data had not yet been added to the Iziko Logosflow database or any other database. This data now resides in digital format in the Iziko archive, as well as in the SACA database and will contribute to the SAGR: digital museum platform in due course. The history of the collection and its resulting effect on how the antiquities might be perceived (negatively or not) in a post-apartheid South African museum was evaluated. This involved asking the question: to what extent might they be perceived as negative heritage, or is their removal simply a function of disinterest and lack of resources and space? The final intention was to explore, through several case studies, possible futures for these artefacts even if only in the virtual realm, not the actual museum.

My recommendations for the future of the artefacts is that they remain at the Iziko Social History Centre in Cape Town, but that every available effort should be made to expose them to a broader audience. The antiquities are currently cared for in a secure and appropriate storage facility with the large ceramics collection maintained by Iziko. While this study has concluded that the objects do not form part of South Africa's negative heritage, and therefore are less contentious than other objects in the museum's care (such as human remains), the artefacts are also not a high priority for display according to the national heritage project of transforming South African museums to focus on the diverse heritage of the country. However, this does not mean that the objects do not have value in a South African context. As illustrated in chapter three, some of the objects have been used successfully in integrative exhibitions. The Mediterranean antiquities have also been used to great success in educational programmes with postgraduate students. The artefacts have already shown their value in these limited capacities. I would suggest that these functions could be expanded on by opening the collection to more educational institutions and utilising the artefacts in further exhibitions.

According to the object and nation policies discussed in chapter two, the objects could be returned to Italy and Greece (if that is in fact where they came from, in itself a complicated issue) to be a part of those nations' cultural patrimony. While repatriation is the preferred solution in the case of theft or looting (and should be enforced), it becomes less clear when the artefacts were removed in the nineteenth century or earlier. Provenance becomes difficult to trace and in some cases the ownership of the artefact is unclear. The object-oriented policies would also support a return if there would be evidence that the artefacts would be well cared for and that individuals would still have access to the artefacts for study to increase the body of knowledge. The storage of the objects in their current location in Cape Town however already fulfils the criteria of the object-oriented policies. The objects are safe, relatively well preserved, and access to them, while not public, is possible and encouraged by museum staff.

However, I would recommend that repatriation would be the correct action to take should the return of the antiquities be requested by the relevant countries. While none of the items are required to be returned under the UNESCO convention, repatriation is the diplomatic option. Having said that, few of the objects are of particularly high monetary or rarity value. Many of the items are small and basic, such as the numerous terracotta lamps, some of the simpler vessels, and surgical implements, etc., with many similar examples still in existence based on various other collections in European, US and other museums. Thus, these items are not necessarily sought after for private or public collections and therefore it would be unlikely that they would be requested for return. This is merely a supposition, but I suspect that the majority of the objects in the collection would stay in the Iziko collection even if the larger, more traditionally valuable vases should be returned. Furthermore, the case studies in chapter six present situations where repatriation has either been problematic or it has been undertaken with mixed results for the object according to the object-oriented policies discussed in chapter two.

The larger ceramics, primarily from the De Pass collection, would, for the same reasons, be most likely to be sold at a high price should the objects be deaccessioned and sold. Following

the general deaccessioning policies related in chapter seven the primary vases would not be deaccessioned due to damage or poor condition. One can imagine that they would only be sold to benefit the museum financially. In developing countries deaccessioning can be a useful method for maintaining a sustainable collection that is not too large, which contains duplicate items or damaged objects. In South Africa no item may be permanently removed from a collection without the permission of the Minister of the Department of Arts and Culture, but even if the department recommended this, in my view deaccession and sale is not in the best interest of the museum or the artefacts. The sale might provide much needed funds for a short period of time, but the potential backlash caused by such a sale would almost certainly be detrimental to the reputation of the institution, both nationally and internationally if the case studies explored in chapter seven are any proof of such an outcome.

A sale of artefacts in the museum's care could also set a dangerous precedent for other heritage institutions in the country which are in financially dire situations. The public trust would be irrevocably damaged. As for the artefacts themselves, object-oriented policies would indicate that they are ideally situated in the Iziko museum, providing access, if limited, to the general public and to researchers and educators. The case of the Sekhemka of Northampton indicates that sale to a private party, while potentially significantly more lucrative, might mean that the item is lost to the public indefinitely. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the diplomatically correct option would be to repatriate the artefacts rather than sell them should their care become burdensome to the museum. To clarify, the museum has not considered deaccessioning or sale as an option for these artefacts.

My further recommendations relate to the digital future of the collection as well as possible standardised collaborations between heritage institutions and universities and other higher education facilities. A first step to continuing the process of preserving the collection digitally would be to update the existing database with a full inventory to confirm the presence of all the artefacts and provide simple, updated condition reports for each. This information should be facilitated by and shared with the museum in order to improve their existing records as well as the SACA database and the SAGR digital museum hosted by Stanford University. Part

of this process should also include multi-viewpoint photographs taken of each object. Some of the objects have been photographed by Carina Beyer in 2014, and other photographs have steadily been added to the SACA database, however these are functional informational photographic records and not publishable photographs. Thus the collection should be photographed professionally if possible, in order to allow users of the database and digital museum to see details and a variety of views.

For the database to have the most impact as an online resource it would be beneficial to negotiate Open Access for all the data collected and uploaded to a digital platform. This is part of the scheduled development plan for the SACA database and should be supported as far as possible by the academic community. If the museum wishes to make the images available online for a small fee with simple licensing procedures for scholars and the public in general, as the Rijksmuseum originally did, it would not only provide a small extra income for the museum, but also showcase the artefacts in the collection without having to dedicate display space and the relevant funds to create such a display in the museum. This has the potential to draw researchers and students to the museum to further the research into the objects and into classical reception in South Africa.

My final recommendation is for greater collaboration between universities and museums in general in South Africa. With specific reference to the Iziko collection, collaborative projects providing students access to the collection is proving to be highly successful for Stellenbosch University's Ancient Studies Department. I would suggest that it would be beneficial to make these collaborations interdisciplinary, involving departments at the university which may be interested in 3D scanning and printing programmes, or schools of digital arts, such as in the recent collaboration between Iziko and The Friends of Design: School of Digital Arts in the *Kemet: Life in Ancient Egypt* exhibition. Following the example of Victoria University of Wellington and the University of Virginia, the printing of replica vases and vessels would provide the students of the Department of Ancient Studies at Stellenbosch University with hands-on, tangible learning experiences, personalising the historical context to something the students can touch and use. This can be translated to similar programmes at universities like

the University of Cape Town and the University of KwaZulu Natal which have active classics departments.

Furthermore, the potential benefit to the museums using student volunteers to collect and analyse data should not be underestimated. It would be a complicated project to plan and implement, with work required by staff of both the museum involved and the partner school. Scheduling, in particular, could prove to be difficult with limited staff numbers available on both sides, not to mention transport costs, facilities, and technological limitations. It would, however, have a positive impact on both the students and the museums. With a small amount of training and appropriate supervision, students would have the chance to perform valuable research tasks which the museum may not have the capacity to fulfil. Crowdsourcing this process provides the students with valuable transferrable skills and has the potential to act as a 'feeder' system, promoting museum work at tertiary institutions which may not have a course available for students who wish to continue working in that field. The Iziko museums offer paid internships at their various sections and the previous experience held by students who have participated in the data collection programmes could be valuable assets to such positions. The case studies of digitisation in museum and university contexts demonstrate how the virtual realm can be used with great success. Further digitisation of the collection in Iziko would not put the objects at risk but would preserve data otherwise lost, make the collection more visible internationally and contribute to the overall project of digital humanities that is becoming more and more important in the world of academia, classics and museology.

10 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albany Museum. n.d. "Mummy Worksheet". Grahamstown: Albany Museum.

American Alliance of Museums. 2012. "Deaccessioning Activity" [Online]. Available at: <https://aam-us.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/deaccessioning-activity.pdf> [3 August 2019].

American Alliance of Museums. 2017. "Statement on The Berkshire Museum Proposal to Deaccession Works of Art for Its Endowment, Operations, and to Fund Capital Investments" [Online]. Available at: <https://www.aam-us.org/2017/07/25/statement-on-the-berkshire-museum-proposal-to-deaccession-works-of-art-for-its-endowment-operations-and-to-fund-capital-investments/> [Accessed: 27 August 2019].

American Alliance of Museums. n.d. "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums" [Online]. Available at: <https://www.aam-us.org/programs/ethics-standards-and-professional-practices/code-of-ethics-for-museums/> [Accessed: 25 August 2019].

Anderson, D. 2015. "In defence of inviolability: The value of museum collections". In *ICOM News* 1. pp 14 -15.

Anstey, G. 1996. "in the tracks of the BUSHMEN". In *Sunday Times*, May 12 1996.

Appiah, K. A. 2009. "Whose Culture Is It?" In Cuno, J. (ed.). *Whose Culture?: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 71-86.

Ash, D. and Lombana, J. 2013. Reculturing Museums: Working Toward Diversity in Informal Settings. *Journal of Museum Education*, 38(1). pp. 69–80.

Association of Art Museum Directors. 2018. "AAMD Statement on Sanction of Berkshire Museum and La Salle University Art Museum" [Online]. Available at: <https://www.aamd.org/for-the-media/press-release/aamd-statement-on-sanction-of-berkshire-museum-and-la-salle-university> [Accessed: 23 August 2019].

Bakare, L. 2019. "British Museum 'has head in sand' over return of artefacts". *The Guardian*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2019/jun/21/british-museum-head-in-sand-return-artefacts-colonial> [Accessed: 22 August 2019].

Barnes, T. 2007. "The State of Academic Historiography in South Africa". In *The Journal of African History*, 48(03). pp. 508–509.

Bellarome. 2018. "Record 50 Million Italian Museum Visitors in 2017" [Online]. Available at: <https://www.bellaromeitalianvacations.com/record-50-million-italian-museum-visitors-2017/> [Accessed: 5 September 2019].

Berkshire Musuem. n.d.. "Creating a New Vision to Serve the Community" [Online]. Available at: <https://berkshireremuseum.org/NewVision/> [Accessed: 22 August 2019].

Bertacchini, E. and Morando, F. 2011. "The Future of Museums in the Digital Age: New Models of Access and Use of Digital Collections". *International Journal of Arts Management*, vol. 15, no. 2. pp. 60–72. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/24587113.

Besterman, T. 1992. "Disposals from museum collections. Ethics and practicalities". *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 11(1). pp. 29–44. doi:10.1016/0964-7775(92)90049-B

Björnberg, K. E. 2014. "Historic Injustices and the Moral Case for Cultural Repatriation". In *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 18(3). pp. 461-474. doi:10.1007/s10677-014-9530-z

Blair, E. 2014. "As Museums Try to Make Ends Meet, 'Deaccession' Is The Art World's Dirty Word". *National Public Radio* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2014/08/11/339532879/as-museums-try-to-make-ends-meet-deaccession-is-the-art-worlds-dirty-word> [Accessed: 19 October 2018].

Blake, J. 2011. "Taking a Human Rights Approach to Cultural Heritage Protection". In *Heritage & Society*, 4(2). pp. 199–238.

Boardman, J. 2009. "Archaeologists, Collectors, and Museums". In Cuno, J. (ed.). *Whose Culture?: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 107-123.

Boardman, J. and Pope, M. 1961. *Greek Vases in Cape Town*. Cape Town: Trustees of the S.A. Museum.

- Bogdanos, M. 2009. "The Thieves of Baghdad - and of the World's Cultural Property". *Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago* [Online]. Available at: <http://culturalpolicy.uchicago.edu/protectingculturalheritage/papers/Bogdanos.Paper.pdf> [Accessed: 10 September 2019].
- Bredenkamp, H. C. J. 2007. *The Cultural Heritage of Democratic South Africa: An Overview*. Library and Information Association of South Africa.
- Brown, M. F. 2009. "Exhibiting Indigenous Heritage in the Age of Cultural Property". In: Cuno, J. (ed.). *Whose Culture?: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 145-164.
- Byala, S. G. 2013. *A Place That Matters Tet: John Gubbins's MuseumAfrica in the postcolonial world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Campbell, S. 2014. "Kamasan art in museum collections". In *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 170, 2-3. pp. 250-280. doi:10.1163/22134379-17002001
- Caro, M. 2013. "Will Detroit have to sell its art to pay its bills?". *Chicago Tribune* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/ct-xpm-2013-10-18-chi-detroit-culture-caro-20131018-story.html> [accessed: 23 October 2018].
- Cartwright, M. 2019. "Kingdom of Benin". *Ancient History Encyclopedia* [Online]. Available at: https://www.ancient.eu/Kingdom_of_Benin/ [Accessed: 28 August 2019].
- Catlin, R. 2015. "Smithsonian to Receive Artifacts From Sunken 18th-Century Slave Ship". *Smithsonian Magazine* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/sunken-18th-century-slave-ship-found-south-africa-180955458/> [Accessed: 31 August 2019].
- Chamberlin, E. R. 1979. *Preserving the Past*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
- Chirikure, S. 2013. "Heritage conservation in Africa: The good, the bad, and the challenges". In *South African Journal of Science* 109 (1/2). pp. 1-3. doi:10.1590/sajs.2013/a003

- Claassen, J. M. 2009. "Yonder Lies Your Hinterland: Rhodes, Baker and the Twisted Strands of the South African Architectural Tradition". In *Akroterion: Journal for Classics in South Africa*. Vol 54. pp 69-86.
- Cleere, H. 2011. "The 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention A Success or a Failure?". In *Heritage & Society*, 4(2). pp. 173–186.
- Cohen, E. E. 1997. *Athenian Economy and Society: A Banking Perspective*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Cole, S. A. 2014. "Moments of Change: A 'Bottom Up' Push towards a More Inclusive Museum". In *Museums & Social Issues*, 9(1). pp. 56–59.
doi:10.1179/1559689314Z.00000000019
- Collado, K. D. 2014. "A Step Back for Turkey, Two Steps Forward in the Repatriation Efforts of its Cultural Property". In *Journal of Law, Technology & the Internet*. Vol 5. pp. 1-24.
- Collins, M. 2015. "Pensions or Paintings?: The Detroit Institute of Arts from Bankruptcy to Grand Bargain". In *University of Miami Business Law Review Vol 24: 1*. pp. 1-29. Available at: <https://repository.law.miami.edu/umblr/vol24/iss1/3>
- Coltman, V. 2006. "Representation, replication and collecting in Charles Townley's late eighteenth-century library". In *Art History*. 29. pp. 304 - 324. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8365.2006.00503.x
- Colvin, I. D. 1912. *Cecil John Rhodes, 1853-1902*. London: T.C & E.C. Jack.
- Comer, D. C. 2014. "Threats to the Archaeological Heritage in the Laissez-Faire World of Tourism: The Need for Global Standards as a Global Public Good". In *Public Archaeology*, 13(1–3). pp. 123–134. doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000060
- Coote, J. 2014. "Archaeology, Anthropology, and Museums, 1851–2014: Rethinking Pitt-Rivers and His Legacy – An Introduction". In *Museum History Journal*, 7(2). pp. 126–134. doi:10.1179/1936981614Z.00000000027
- Corsane, G. 2004. "Transforming Museums and Heritage in Postcolonial and Post-Apartheid South Africa". In *Social Analysis*. New York, USA: Berghahn Journals. pp. 5–15. doi:10.3167/015597704782352744

Craft, M. L. 1997. "The Preservation of Collections: Assessment, Evaluation, and Mitigation Strategies—Practical Contributions". In *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation. Routledge*, 36(3). pp. 231. doi:10.1179/019713697806124420

Crane, S. A. 2000. *Museums and Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Cultural Institutions Act, 1998, Act No. 119 [Online]. Available at: http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/Legislations%20Files/act119_98.pdf [Accessed: 25 August 2019]

Cuno, J. 2009. "Introduction". In Cuno, J. (ed.). *Whose Culture?: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 1–36. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7pgrk.4>

Cuno, J. 2014. "The Case Against Repatriating Museum Artifacts". *Foreign Affairs Magazine* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/culture-war> [Accessed: 26 August 2019].

de la Torre, M. 2013. "Values and Heritage Conservation". In *Heritage & Society*, 6(2). pp. 155–166. doi:10.1179/2159032X13Z.00000000011

de Montebello, P. 2009. "'And What Do You Propose Should Be Done with Those Objects?'" . In Cuno, J. (ed.). *Whose Culture?: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 55–70. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7pgrk.7>

de Soto, J. H. 2012. *Money, Bank Credit, and Economic Cycles*. M. A. Stroup (tr.). Ludwig von Mises Institute, Auburn: Alabama.

Deacon, H. and Smeets, R. 2013. "Authenticity, Value and Community Involvement in Heritage Management under the World Heritage and Intangible Heritage Conventions". In *Heritage & Society*, 6(2). pp. 129–143. doi:10.1179/2159032X13Z.0000000009

Deacon, J. 2010. "Heritage Resource Management in South Africa". In *Culture Heritage Management: A Global Perspective*. University Press Florida. doi: 10.5744/florida/9780813034607.003.0013

Déom, C. and Thiffault, M. A. 2013. "Thoughts Towards a New Definition of Heritage". In *The Historic Environment*, 4(1). pp. 62–74. doi:10.1179/1756750513Z.00000000022

Department of Arts and Culture. 2014. "Draft National Museums Policy" [Online]. Available at: https://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/cultural-affairs-sport/draft_national_museum_policy.pdf [Accessed: 23 May 2018].

Department of Arts and Culture. 2018. "Revision of The Department Of Arts And Culture 1996 White Paper Fourth Draft" [Online]. Available at: <http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/Revised%20WP%20Fourth%20Draft%2015062018%20JULY%202018.pdf> [Accessed 23 August 2018].

Dianina, K. 2012. "The Firebird of the national imaginary: The myth of Russian culture and its discontents". In *Journal of European Studies*, 42(3). pp. 223–244. doi:10.1177/0047244112449962

Dietler, M. 2005. "The archaeology of colonization and the colonization of archaeology: theoretical challenges from an ancient Mediterranean colonial encounter". In Stein, G. (ed.) *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press. pp. 33–68.

Donadio, R. 2014a. "Masterworks vs. the Masses". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/29/arts/design/european-museums-straining-under-weight-of-popularity.html> [Accessed 27 August 2019].

Donadio, R. 2014b. "Vision of Home". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/20/arts/design/repatriated-works-back-in-their-countries-of-origin.html> [Accessed 20 August 2019].

Dubin, S. C. 2009. *Mounting Queen Victoria: curating cultural change*. Auckland Park, Johannesburg: Jacana.

Earley, K. et al. 2017. "Digital curation and online resources: digital scanning of surgical tools at the royal college of physicians and surgeons of Glasgow for an open university learning resource". In *Journal of Visual Communication in Medicine*, 40(1). pp. 2-12. doi:10.1080/17453054.2017.1289058

Elginism. 2014. "Neil MacGregor on the Parthenon Marbles – Greece responds". *Elginism* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.elginism.com/elgin-marbles/neil-macgregor-parthenon-marbles-greece-responds/20141114/7575/> [Accessed: 9 September 2019].

Ellis, A. 2018. "Should a Museum Be Allowed to Cash In on Its Art? Yes, but on Two Conditions". *Artnet* [Online]. Available at: <https://news.artnet.com/opinion/deaccessioning-adrian-ellis-ellis-rule-1202147> [Accessed: 6 September 2019].

Fabrikant, G. 2009. "The Good Stuff in the Back Room". *The New York Times* [Online].

Available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/19/arts/artsspecial/19TROVE.html?auth=login-email> [Accessed: 11 September 2019].

Flynn, M. K. and King, T. 2007. "Symbolic Reparation, Heritage and Political Transition in South Africa's Eastern Cape". In *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. Routledge, 13(6). pp. 462–477. doi:10.1080/13527250701570671

Foley, C. M. and Trinkley, R. 2014. "Intentionality and the Twenty- First-Century Museum". In *Journal of Museum Education*, 39(2). pp. 125–131.

Freschi, F. 2017. "'Poetry in Pidgin': Notes on the Persistence of Classicism in the Architecture of Johannesburg". In Parker, G (ed.). *South Africa, Greece, Rome: Classical Confrontations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 53-54.

doi:10.1017/9781316181416.003

Fricke, A. 2005. "Forever Nearing the Finish Line: Heritage Policy and the Problem of Memory in Postwar Beirut". In *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 12(02). p. 163.

doi:10.1017/S0940739105050150

Gachago, D. and Ngoasheng, A. 2016. "South Africa's 'rainbow nation' is a myth that students need to unlearn". *The Conversation* [Online]. Available at:

<https://theconversation.com/south-africas-rainbow-nation-is-a-myth-that-students-need-to-unlearn-66872> (Accessed: 1 October 2019).

Galla, A. 2003. "Transformation in South Africa: a Legacy Challenged". In *Museum International*. Wiley/Blackwell (10.1111), 51(2). pp. 38–43. doi:10.1111/1468-0033.00203

- Garibay, C. and Yalowitz, S. 2015. "Redefining Multilingualism in Museums: A Case for Broadening Our Thinking". In *Museums & Social Issues*, 10(1). pp. 2–7.
doi:10.1179/1559689314Z.00000000028
- Garraffoni, R. S. and Funari, P. P. A. 2012. "The Uses of Roman Heritage in Brazil: Traditional Reception and New Critical Approaches". In *Heritage & Society*, 5(1), pp. 53–76.
- Gerstenblith, P. 2013. "The meaning of 1970 for the acquisition of archaeological objects". In *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 38, No. 4. pp. 364-373.
- González-Tennant, E. 2013. "New Heritage and Dark Tourism: A Mixed Methods Approach to Social Justice in Rosewood, Florida". In *Heritage & Society*, 6(1). pp. 62–88.
doi:10.1179/2159032X13Z.0000000007
- Goodwyn, W. 2012. "800-Year-Old Frescoes Leave Texas For Cyprus". *National Public Radio* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2012/03/14/148602378/800-year-old-frescoes-headed-home-to-cyprus> [Accessed 27 August 2019].
- Gore, J. M. 2005. "New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994". In *Historia*, 50(1 (May 2005)). pp. 75–102.
doi:10.1177/0146167208331254
- Grafton, A. 2010. "Architecture". in Grafton, A. et al., (eds.). *The Classical Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. pp. 60 - 67.
- Graham, B. and Howard, P. (eds.). 2008. *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Green, J. D. M. 2010. "Editorial: Museums, Collections and Archives: Confronting the Past, Facing the Future". In *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 142(2). pp. 77–78.
doi:10.1179/003103210X12736708799957
- Greenhalgh, M. 1990. *What is Classicism?*. Academy Editions, London.
- Grove, L. 2013. "Heritocide? Defining and Exploring Heritage Crime". In *Public Archaeology*, 12(4). pp. 242–254. doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000046
- Habib, A. 1997. "South Africa - The Rainbow Nation and Prospects for Consolidating Democracy". In *Afr.j. polit. sci.*, Vol. 2 No. 2. pp. 15-37.

Hafner, D. 2010. "Viewing the Past through Ethnographic Collections: Indigenous People and the Materiality of Images and Objects". In *Museum History Journal*, 3(2). pp. 257–280. doi:10.1179/mhj.2010.3.2.257

Hanlon, G. and Carr, M. 2008. "The deinstallation of a period room: what goes in to taking one out". In *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 47(1). pp. 51–70.

Harding, S. K. 1999. "Value, Obligation and Cultural Heritage". In *Arizona State Law Journal*, 31. pp. 291–354. Available at: https://scholarship.kentlaw.iit.edu/fac_schol/274

Available at: https://scholarship.kentlaw.iit.edu/fac_schol/274

Hardwick, L. and Gillespie, C. 2010. *Classics in post-colonial worlds*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Härke, H. 2014. "Grave goods in early medieval burials: messages and meanings". In *Mortality*, 19:1. pp. 41-60. doi: 10.1080/13576275.2013.870544

Harris, G. 2014. "Northampton sells Sekhemka statue for £15.8m at auction". *Museums Association* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/11072014-northampton-sells-sekhemka-statue> [Accessed: 13 April 2016].

Harrison, R. 2013. "Forgetting to remember, remembering to forget: late modern heritage practices, sustainability and the 'crisis' of accumulation of the past". In *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. Routledge, 19(6). pp. 579–595. doi:10.1080/13527258.2012.678371

Heimlich, J. E. 2015. "The ethics of evaluation in museums". In *Journal of Museum Education*, 40(1). pp. 20–26. doi:10.1080/10598650.2015.11510829

Hepple, L. W. 2001. "The Museum in the Garden: Displaying Classical Antiquities in Elizabethan and Jacobean England". In *The Garden History Society*. Vol 29, no 2. pp 109-120.

Herman, A. 2014. "MacGregor on the Elgin Marbles". *Institute of Art & Law* [Online]. Available at: <https://ial.uk.com/macgregor-on-the-elgin-marbles/> [Accessed: 9 September 2019].

Hill, K. 2011. "Collecting Authenticity: Domestic Familial, and Everyday 'Old Things' in English Museums, 1850-1939". In *Museum History Journal*, 4(2). pp. 203–222.

Hollinshead, M. B. 1999. “‘Adyton,’ ‘Opisthodomos,’ and the Inner Room of the Greek Temple”. In *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. 68, No. 2. Pp. 189-218. doi:10.2307/148373

Hood Museum of Art. 2019. “Deaccession” [Online]. Available at: <https://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/explore/collection/policies-image-requests/deaccession> [Accessed: 26 August 2019].

Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1992. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge. doi:10.1525/aa.1993.95.4.02a00690

Huang, E. E. 2008. “Looting in Iraq, Five Years Later: An Evaluation of the International Protection, Recovery, and Repatriation of Looted Cultural Artifacts”. In *Rutgers Race & L. Rev.*, 1. pp. 183–223.

International Council of Museums (ICOM). 2017. “ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums” [Online]. Available at: <https://icom.museum/en/activities/standards-guidelines/code-of-ethics/> [Accessed: 12 August 2019].

International Council of Museums (ICOM). 2019. “Guidelines on Deaccessioning of the International Council of Museums” [Online]. Available at: https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/20170503_ICOM_standards_deaccessioning_final_EN-v2.pdf [Accessed: 12 September 2019].

Iziko Museums of South Africa. 2015a. “The São José—Paquete de Africa” [Online]. Available at: <https://slavery.iziko.org.za/content/s%C3%A3o-jos%C3%A9E2%80%94paquete-de-africa> [Accessed: 25 July 2017].

Iziko Museums of South Africa. 2015b. “Slave Wreck Artefacts on Display” [Online]. Available at: <http://iziko.org.za/news/entry/slave-wreck-artefacts-on-display> [Accessed 15 July 2019].

Iziko Museums of South Africa. n.d. “Welcome” [Online]. Available at: <https://www.iziko.org.za/> [Accessed: 20 September 2016].

Johnston, C. 2014. “Northampton borough council sells Egyptian statue for almost £16m”. *The Guardian* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk->

news/2014/jul/10/northampton-borough-council-sells-egyptian-statue-sekhemka

[Accessed: 23 June 2016].

Jones, S. 2017. "Wrestling with the Social Value of Heritage: Problems, Dilemmas and Opportunities". In *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 4:1. pp. 21-37.

doi:10.1080/20518196.2016.1193996

Jopela, D. J. and Pereira, A. 2011. "Traditional Custodianship: a useful framework for heritage management in southern Africa?". In *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites. Special issue: Sub-Saharan Africa, Volume 13(2-3)*. pp. 103-122.

doi:10.1179/175355211X13179154165908

Kennedy, M. 2000. "The incomplete angler". *The Guardian* [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2000/feb/22/maevkennedy> [Accessed: 17 August 2019].

Kennedy, R. 2014. "'Grand Bargain' Saves the Detroit Institute of Arts". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/08/arts/design/grand-bargain-saves-the-detroit-institute-of-arts.html> [Accessed: 18 October 2018].

Keswani, P. S. 2005. "Death, Prestige, and Copper in Bronze Age Cyprus". In *American Journal of Archaeology Vol. 109, No. 3 (July 2005)*. pp. 341-401. doi: 10.3764/aja.109.3.341

Keyes, A. 2016. "Few Artifacts of the Transatlantic Slave Trade Still Exist. These Iron Blocks Help Tell That Gut-Wrenching Story". *Smithsonian Magazine* [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/few-artifacts-transatlantic-slave-trade-exist-iron-blocks-tell-gut-wrenching-story-180959803/#ZruPKFsFgXhBb4p0.99>

[Accessed: 17 September 2018].

Kidd, J. 2017. "Debating contemporary museum ethics: reporting Sekhemka". In

International Journal of Heritage Studies, 23(6). pp. 493-505.

doi:10.1080/13527258.2017.1287119

Kinossian, N. 2012. "Post-Socialist Transition and Remaking the City: Political Construction of Heritage in Tatarstan". In *Europe-Asia Studies*, 64(5). pp. 879-901.

doi:10.1080/09668136.2012.681270

- Kollewe, J. 2009. "Waterford Wedgwood: 250 years of history". *The Guardian* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2009/jan/05/waterford-wedgwood-history> [Accessed: 26 August 2018].
- Labadi, S. 2011. "Intangible Heritage and Sustainable Development: Realistic Outcome or Wishful Thinking?" In *Heritage & Society*, 4(1). pp. 115–118. Available at: <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/hso/2011/00000004/00000001/art00006>.
- Labadi, S. 2014. "Discordances in the Application of the 1972 World Heritage Convention: Is it Fit for Purpose in the 21st Century?" In *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*, 5(3). pp. 300–303. doi:10.1179/1756750514Z.00000000065
- Lambert, M. 2011. *The classics and South African identities*. London; New York: Bristol Classical Press.
- Letsch, C. and Connolly, K. 2013. "Turkey wages 'cultural war' in pursuit of its archaeological treasures". *The Guardian* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/21/turkey-cultural-war-archaeological-treasure> [Accessed 20 July 2019].
- Levine, M. N. and Luna, L. M. De. (2013). "Museum salvage: A case study of Mesoamerican artifacts in museum collections and on the antiquities market". In *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 38(3). pp. 264–276. doi:10.1179/0093469013Z.00000000053
- Lemon, A. 2016. "'Rhodes Must Fall': The Dangers of Re-writing History". In *The Round Table*. 105:2. pp. 217-219. doi:10.1080/00358533.2016.1154669
- Lewis, G. 2004. "The Universal Museum: A Special Case?" *ICOM News*, no 1. p. 3. http://archives.icom.museum/pdf/E_news2004/p3_2004-1.pdf
- Liverside, M. and Gourlay, J. 2018 "Returning artefacts of empire isn't so simple". *The Guardian* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2018/may/29/returning-artefacts-of-empire-isnt-so-simple> [Accessed: 27 July 2018].

- Lloyd, A. 2014. "‘Institutionalized Stories’: Childhood and National Socialism in Contemporary German Museum Displays". In *Oxford German Studies*, 43(1). pp. 89–105. doi:10.1179/0078719113Z.000000000050
- Loewy, H. 2002. "A history of ambivalence: post-reunification German identity and the Holocaust". In *Patterns of Prejudice*, 36(2). pp. 3–13. doi:10.1080/003132202128811402
- Logan, W. 2014. "Heritage Rights—Avoidance and Reinforcement". In *Heritage & Society*, 7(2). pp. 156–169. doi:10.1179/2159032X14Z.000000000032
- Luyt, B. 2010. "Collectors and Collecting for the Raffles Museum in Singapore: 1920–1940". In *Library & Information History*, 26(3). pp. 183–195. doi:10.1179/175834810X12731358995235
- MacDonald, C. and Hunter, G. 2018. "Detroit ranks as 2nd most violent big city". *Detroit News* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/2018/09/24/detroit-second-most-violent-city-fbi/1408465002/> [Accessed: 12 October 2018].
- MacGregor, N. 2009. "To Shape the Citizens of ‘That Great City, the World’". In Cuno, J. (ed.). *Whose Culture?: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 39–54. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7pgrk.6>
- MacKenzie, J. M. 2009. *Museums and empire: natural history, human cultures and colonial identities*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Malaro, M. 1994. *Museum Governance: Mission, Ethics, Policy*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Maneker, M. in Salmon, F. 2013. "Why Detroit's art must stay". *Reuters* [Online]. Available at: <http://blogs.reuters.com/felix-salmon/2013/06/18/why-detroits-art-must-stay/> [Accessed: 23 October 2018].
- Marschall, Sabine. 2006. "Transforming the landscape of memory: The South African commemorative effort in international perspective". In *South African Historical Journal*. 55(1). pp. 165-185.

Martin, J. and Jennings, M. 2015. "Tomorrow's Museum: Multilingual Audiences and the Learning Institution". In *Museums & Social Issues*, 10(1). pp. 83–94.

doi:10.1179/1559689314Z.00000000034

Mashberg, T. 2017. "Ancient Vase Seized From Met Museum on Suspicion It Was Looted". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/31/arts/design/ancient-vase-seized-from-met-museum-on-suspicion-it-was-looted.html?rref=collection%2Fbyline%2Ftom-mashberg> [Accessed: 27 August 2019].

Masters, S. 2008. "In the museum: Containing antiquity - an exhibition in the Sasol Art Museum, Stellenbosch". In *Akroterion* 53. pp. 99-109.

Masters, S. 2018. "Museum Space and Displacement: Collecting Classical Antiquities in South Africa". In Parker, G. (ed.). *South Africa, Greece and Rome: classical confrontations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Masters, S. and Naether, F. 2018. "Digitizing the Ancient World in Cape Town". *Sketchfab* [Online]. Available at: <https://sketchfab.com/blogs/community/digitizing-the-ancient-world-in-cape-town/> (Accessed: 8 October 2019).

Masters, S. and Welman, T. 2015. "Disrupting Context: Making A Case For The Digital Curation Of Classical Antiquities In South Africa". in *Akroterion* 60. pp. 83-99.

doi:10.7445/60-1-955

Matthes, E. H. 2017. "Repatriation and the Radical Redistribution of Art". In *Ergo*. 4 (32). pp. 931-953. doi:10.3998/ergo.12405314.0004.032

Matthes, E. H. 2018. "The Ethics of Cultural Heritage [Online]". In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2018 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.). Available at:

<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2018/entries/ethics-cultural-heritage/> [Accessed: 27 August 2019].

Mazel, A. D. 2013. "Apartheid's Child: The Creation of the South African Cultural History Museum in the 1950s and 1960s". In *Museum History Journal*, 6(2). pp. 166–202.

doi:10.1179/1936981613Z.00000000012

- Mboweni, T. 2011. "The Reserve Bank and the Rand: Some historic reflections". *South African Reserve Bank* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.resbank.co.za/Publications/Speeches/Detail-Item-View/Pages/default.aspx?sarbweb=3b6aa07d-92ab-441f-b7fb-bb7dfb1bedb4&sarblast=a01d874c-c3f6-4b93-a9dc-c984cf8652cf&sarbitem=200> [Accessed: 2 September 2019].
- McGraw, E. 2018. "Securing the Future Together". *Berkshire Museum* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.berkshireremuseum.org/securing-the-future-together/> [Accessed: 20 September 2019].
- McRaney, D. L. 2013. "Shaping a City Museum's Future: Developing an Audience-Centered Approach". In *The Journal of Museum Education*, 38(1). pp. 50–59.
- Melton, A. 2013. "Comfort and Connectivity: The Museum as a Healer". In *Museums & Social Issues*, 8(1–2). pp. 6–21. doi:10.1179/1559689313Z.0000000003
- Merriam-Webster. "Conspicuous consumption" [Online]. Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/conspicuous%20consumption> [Accessed: 15 November 2015].
- Merrington, P. 2017. "The 'Mediterranean' Cape: Reconstructing an Ethos". In Parker, G. (ed.). *South Africa, Greece, Rome: Classical Confrontations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 88-113. doi:10.1017/9781316181416.005
- Merryman, J. H. 2009. "The Nation and the Object". In Cuno, J. (ed.). *Whose Culture?: the promise of museums and the debate over antiquities*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 183–204. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7pgrk.16>
- Meskel, L. 2002. "Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology". In *Anthropological Quarterly*, 75(3). pp. 557–574. doi:10.1353/anq.2002.0050
- Meskel, L. 2012. "The Nature of Heritage: The New South Africa". *Barnes and Noble* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.barnesandnoble.com/w/the-nature-of-heritage-lynn-meskel/1110943823> [Accessed: 20 September 2018].

Meskell, L. and Scheermeyer, C. 2008. "Heritage as Therapy: Set Pieces from the New South Africa". In *Journal of Material Culture*. SAGE Publications Ltd, 13(2). pp. 153–173.

doi:10.1177/1359183508090899

Milwright, M. 2011. "An Arabic Description of the Activities of Antique Dealers in Late Ottoman Damascus". In *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 143(1). pp. 8–18.

doi:10.1179/003103210X12904439984043

Mitterhofer, J. 2013. "Competing Narratives on the Future of Contested Heritage: A Case Study of Fascist Monuments in Contemporary South Tyrol, Italy". In *Heritage & Society*, 6(1). pp. 46–61. doi:10.1179/2159032X13Z.0000000006

Morris, I. 1986. "Gift and Commodity in Archaic Greece". In *Man*, 21(1), new series. pp. 1-17.

doi:10.2307/2802643

Myers, S. L. and Kulish, N. 2016. "'Broken System' Allows ISIS to Profit From Looted Antiquities". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/10/world/europe/iraq-syria-antiquities-islamic-state.html> [Accessed 27 August 2019].

National Heritage Council Act, 1999, Act No. 11 [Online]. Available at:

<http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/Legislations%20Files/act11-99.pdf> [Accessed: 25 August 2019].

National Heritage Council. 2012. *Critical Reflections on Heritage: An official Publication of the National Heritage Council of South Africa*.

National Heritage Resources Act, 1999, Act No. 25 [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.sahra.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/National-Heritage-Resources-ACT-1999.pdf> (Accessed: 24 August 2019).

National Monuments Act, 1969, Act No. 28 [Online]. Available at:

<https://sahris.sahra.org.za/sites/default/files/website/articledocs/National%20Monuments%20Act%201969.pdf> [Accessed: 3 September 2019].

National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC). 2016. "Artifacts From Slave Shipwreck Arrive at the National Museum of African American History and Culture"

[Online]. Available at: <https://nmaahc.si.edu/about/news/artifacts-slave-shipwreck-arrive-national-museum%C2%A0-african-american-history-and-culture> [Accessed: 02 September 2019].

National Research Foundation. 2017. "Thuthuka 2017" [Online]. Available at: <https://www.nrf.ac.za/division/funding/thuthuka-2017> [Accessed: 24 September 2017].

Ndlovu, N. 2011. "Management versus preservation: archaeological heritage management in a transforming South Africa". In *Conservation and management of archaeological sites*, 13(2–3). pp. 123–133. doi:10.1179/175355211X13179154165944

Neer, R. 2004. "The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Material of Politics". In *Classical Antiquity*, 23(1). pp. 63–93. doi:10.1525/ca.2004.23.1.63

Nelson, A. C. and Cohn, S. 2016. "Data Collection Methods for Evaluating Museum Programs and Exhibitions". In *Journal of Museum Education*, 40:1. pp. 27–36. doi:10.1080/10598650.2015.11510830

Newell, J. 2012. "Old objects, new media: Historical collections, digitization and affect". In *Journal of Material Culture. SAGE Publications Ltd*, 17(3). pp. 287–306. doi:10.1177/1359183512453534

Nickel, J. W. 1999. "Intrinsic value and cultural preservation". In *Arizona State Law Journal*, 31(2). pp. 355–362.

Okech, R. N. 2010. "Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism on World Heritage Sites: Communities' Perspective of Lamu (Kenya) and Zanzibar Islands". In *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 15(3). pp. 339–351. doi:10.1080/10941665.2010.503624

Owen, K. and Visscher, N. 2015. "Museum-University collaborations to enhance evaluation capacity". In *Journal of Museum Education*, 40(1). pp. 70–77. doi:10.1080/10598650.2015.11510835

Paterson, R. K. 2013. "Museums and the Dilemmas of Deaccessioning". In *Art and Heritage Disputes in International and Comparative Law" [special issue] (October 2013) 5 Transnational Dispute Management [online by subscription]*. pp. 1–12. Available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2357000>

- Pearce, S. M. 1995. *On Collecting: an investigation into collecting in the European tradition*. London: Routledge.
- Pearlstein, W. G. 1996. "Claims for the repatriation of cultural property: prospects for a managed antiquities market". In *Law and Policy in International Business*, 28. pp. 123–50. Retrieved from <http://www.questia.com/library/1G1-19534204/claims-for-the-repatriation-of-cultural-property>
- Pogrebin, R. 2019. "Clean House to Survive? Museums Confront Their Crowded Basements". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/03/10/arts/museums-art-quiz.html> [Accessed: 2 August 2019].
- Pollitt, J. J. 1978. "The Impact of Greek Art on Rome". In *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1974-2014)*, Vol. 108. pp. 155-174. doi: 10.2307/284245
- Poulter, E. K. 2013. "Silent Witness: Tracing Narratives of Empire through Objects and Archives in the West African Collections at the Manchester Museum". In *Museum History Journal*, 6(1). pp. 6–22. doi:10.1179/1936981612Z.0000000001
- Povoledo, E. 2008. "Ancient Vase Comes Home to a Hero's Welcome". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/19/arts/design/19bowl.html> [Accessed: 27 August 2019].
- Povoledo, E. 2011. "The Menil Is to Return Frescoes to Cyprus". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/24/arts/design/menil-collection-is-to-return-frescoes-to-cyprus.html> [Accessed: 21 August 2019].
- Ramsey, D. and Everitt, J. 2008. "If you dig it, they will come!. Archaeology heritage sites and tourism development in Belize, Central America". In *Tourism Management*, 29(5). pp. 909–916. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2007.11.002
- Rassool, C. 2001. "Exploring museum collections". In *SAMAB*, 25(2). pp. 43–49.
- Rassool, C. 2015. "Re-storing the Skeletons of Empire: Return, Reburial and Rehumanisation in Southern Africa". In *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41(3). pp. 653–670. doi:10.1080/03057070.2015.1028002

Rea, N. 2019. "Jamaica Joins a Growing Number of Nations Calling on the British Museum to Repatriate Its Cultural Artifacts". *Artnet* [Online]. Available at: <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/jamaica-repatriation-british-museum-1619821> [Accessed: 9 September 2019].

Renner, N. et al. 2015. "Bilingual Exhibits: Current Practices, Collective Knowledge, Outstanding Questions". In *Museums & Social Issues*, 10(1). pp. 66–82.

doi:10.1179/1559689314Z.00000000033

Republic of South Africa, Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. 1996. *The White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Roberts, R. C. 2013. "Questions of museum essence: Being, being with and finding connection in conversation". In *Museums and Social Issues*, 8(1&2). pp. 89–101.

doi:10.1179/1559689313Z.00000000009

Roy, A. M. 2017. *Engineering Power: The Roman Triumph as Material Expression of Conquest, 211-55 BCE*. Doctoral dissertation. Washington: University of Washington.

Rose-Greeland, F. 2016. "Cultural Internationalism and the Italian Model of Repatriation". In *Brown J. World Aff.* 23. pp. 143-154.

Ruehrwein, B. J. 2013. "The Art Museum as Trauma Clinic: A Veteran's Story". In *Museums & Social Issues*, 8(1–2). pp. 36–46. doi:10.1179/1559689313Z.00000000005

Rutledge, S. 2012. *Ancient Rome as a Museum: Power, Identity, and the Culture of Collecting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sabatini, A. J. 2011. "Museums and New Aesthetic Practices". In *Museums & Social Issues*, 6(1). pp. 71–79.

Sabharwal, A. 2017. "Digital humanities and the emerging framework for digital curation". In *College & Undergraduate Libraries*, 24:2-4. Pp. 238-256.

doi:10.1080/10691316.2017.1336953

Sambumbu, S. 2017. *Making Heritage in Post-Apartheid South*

Africa: Agencies, Museums and Sites. Doctoral dissertation. Cape Town: University of the Western Cape.

- Sarr, F. and Savoy, B. 2018. "The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage. Toward a New Relational Ethics". *Restitution Report 2018* [Online]. Available at: http://restitutionreport2018.com/sarr_savoy_en.pdf [Accessed: 24 July 2019].
- Save the Art. n.d. "About" [Online]. Available at: <https://savetheart.net/about/> [Accessed: 15 August 2019].
- Schmahmann, B. 2016. "The Fall of Rhodes: The Removal of a Sculpture from the University of Cape Town". In *Public Art Dialogue*, 6:1. pp. 90-115. doi: 10.1080/21502552.2016.1149391
- Schulz, M. 2012. "Turkey Battles to Repatriate Antiquities". *Spiegel Online* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/turkey-waging-art-war-to-repatriate-artifacts-from-foreign-museums-a-845159.html> [Accessed: 27 July 2018].
- Schwartz, S. 1999. "A Theory of Cultural Values and Some Implications for Work". In *Applied Psychology*, 48(1). pp. 23-47. doi:10.1080/026999499377655
- Scopacasa, R. 2014. "Gender and Ritual in Ancient Italy: A Quantitative Approach to Grave Goods and Skeletal Data in Pre-Roman Samnium". In *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 118, No. 2 (April 2014). pp. 241-266. doi:10.3764/aja.118.2.0241
- Shaw, A. and Krug, D. 2013. "Heritage Meets Social Media: Designing a Virtual Museum Space for Young People". In *Journal of Museum Education*, 38(2). pp. 239-252. doi:10.1179/1059865013Z.00000000025
- Shaya, J. 2005. "The Greek Temple as Museum: The Case of the Legendary Treasure of Athena from Lindos". In *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 109, No. 3 (Jul., 2005). pp. 423-442. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40026120>
- Shepherd, N. 2006. "Roots and Wings: Heritage Studies in the Humanities". In Marcus, T. and Hofmänner, A. (eds.). *Shifting boundaries of knowledge: A View on Social Sciences, Law and Humanities in South Africa*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Sherman, D. J. 1998. "Review of: The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg by Richard Handler, Eric Gable". In *The American Historical Review*, 103(3). pp. 960-961. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2650699>

- Shtrum, B. 2006. "LACMA's Classical Sculpture Collection Reconsidered — Again". In *Studies in Conservation*. 51:sup2. pp. 197-203. doi:10.1179/sic.2006.51.Supplement-2.197
- Sidibé, S. 2015. "When Repatriation Is Clear-Cut". *The New York Times* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/01/21/when-should-antiquities-be-repatriated-to-their-country-of-origin/when-repatriation-is-clear-cut> [Accessed: 27 August 2019].
- Siegel, R. 2013. "Proposal To Sell Detroit's Art To Save The City Draws Outrage". *National Public Radio* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2013/05/28/186948386/proposal-to-sell-detroits-art-to-save-the-city-draws-outrage> [Accessed: 17 October 2018].
- Singh, J. P. 2014. "Cultural Networks and UNESCO: Fostering Heritage Preservation Betwixt Idealism and Participation". In *Heritage & Society*, 7(1). pp. 18–31. doi:10.1179/2159032X14Z.00000000016
- Slyman, A. L. 1998. "Geneva Seizure". *Archaeology* [Online]. Available at: <https://archive.archaeology.org/online/features/geneva/> [Accessed: 21 June 2019].
- Smiraglia, C. 2013. "The Gazophylacium: An Argument for European Medieval Religious Sites as the First Museums in the West". In *Museum History Journal*, 6(2). pp. 237–252. doi:10.1179/1936981613Z.00000000016
- Soudien, C. 2006. "Memory and critical education: Approaches in the District Six Museum". In *African Education Review*, 3(1–2). pp. 1–12. doi:10.1080/18146620608540439
- Soudien, C. 2008. "Emerging Discourses Around Identity in New South African", *Museum*, (902156990), pp. 37–41. doi:10.1080/13698010802145119
- South African Museum. 1857. *Annual Report*. Cape Town: South African Museum.
- South African Museum. 1899. *Annual Report*. Cape Town: South African Museum.
- South African Museum. 1934. *Catalogue of the De Pass Collection: Objects Illustrating the Arts of Ancient Civilizations, Egyptian, Greek, Chinese, Persian and Others*. Cape Town: South African Museum.
- Speake, J. (ed.). 2003. *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia Volume One A to F*. New York; London: Fitzroy Dearborn.

- Spence, D. O. 2015. "Decolonisation, corruption and post-colonial politics in the Royal Malaysian Navy, 1946–1976". In *Journal for Maritime Research*, 17(1). pp. 49–63.
doi:10.1080/21533369.2015.1024520
- Stanford Libraries. n.d. "South Africa, Greece, Rome: a digital museum" [Online]. Available at: <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/SAGR> [Accessed: 31 August 2019].
- Starzmann, M. T. 2008. "Cultural imperialism and heritage politics in the event of armed conflict: Prospects for an 'activist archaeology'". In *Archaeologies*. pp. 368–389.
doi:10.1007/s11759-008-9083-7
- Sternfeld, J. 2010. "Thinking Archivally: Search and Metadata as Building Blocks for a New Digital Historiography". *Digital Humanities* [Online]. Available at:
<http://dh2010.cch.kcl.ac.uk/academic-programme/abstracts/papers/html/ab-747.html>
[Accessed: 14 September 2019].
- Stray, C.A. 1996. "Culture and Discipline: Classics and Society in Victorian England". In *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*. Vol 3, no 1. pp 77-85.
- Summers, Roger F. H. 1975. *A history of the South African Museum, 1825-1975*. Cape Town: Published for the Trustees of the South African Museum by A. A. Balkema.
- Swann, S. 2019. "Antiquities looted in Syria and Iraq are sold on Facebook". *British Broadcasting Corporation* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-47628369> [Accessed: 11 September 2019].
- Tait, A. A. 2015. "Publicity Rules for Public Trusts". In *33 Cardozo Arts & Ent. L. J.* pp. 421-471.
- Teather, L. 2009. "Universities, Museums, and Civic Formation". In *Museum History Journal*, 2(2). pp. 181–209. doi:10.1179/mhj.2009.2.2.181
- ter Keurs, P. 2009. "Collecting in the Colony". In *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 37(108). pp. 147–161. doi:10.1080/13639810902979321
- Terrill, G. 2014. "'Surprise!' Is Not Good System Design: The Upstream Process for Nominations to the World Heritage List". In *Heritage & Society*, 7(1). pp. 59–71.
doi:10.1179/2159032X14Z.00000000020.

Teslow, T. L. 2007. "A troubled legacy: Making and unmaking race in the museum". In *Museums and Social Issues*, 2(1). pp. 11–44.

The Art Newspaper Review. 2017. "Visitor Figures 2016". *Portal of the Brazilian Institute of Museums* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.museus.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/20170406-CPAI-Ranking2016Pub-Comp-.pdf> [Accessed: 23 June 2018].

The British Museum. 2019. "The Parthenon Sculptures Facts and figures" [Online]. Available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/statements/parthenon_sculptures/facts_and_figures.aspx [Accessed: 1 September 2019].

The Museum Association of the United Kingdom (MA). 2014. "Disposal Toolkit" [Online]. Available at: <https://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=15852> [Accessed: 17 June 2017].

Thomas, S. 2013. "The spectre of empire in the British art museum". In *Museum History Journal*, 6(1). pp. 105–121. doi:10.1179/1936981612Z.0000000007

Thomas, S. 2015. "Collaborate, Condemn, or Ignore? Responding to Non-Archaeological Approaches to Archaeological Heritage". In *European Journal of Archaeology*, 18(2). pp. 312–335. doi:10.1179/1461957114Y.0000000076

Thompson, J. 2003. "Cultural Property, Restitution and Value". In *Journal of Applied Philosophy*. 20. pp. 251 - 262. doi:10.1046/j.0264-3758.2003.00251.x

Tietze, A. 2018. "Antique Casts for a Colonial Gallery: The Beit Bequest of Classical Statuary to Cape Town". In Parker, G. (ed.). *South Africa, Greece, Rome: Classical Confrontations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 316- 335.

Timothy, D. J. 2014. "Contemporary Cultural Heritage and Tourism: Development Issues and Emerging Trends". In *Public Archaeology*, 13(1–3). pp. 30–47. doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000052

UNESCO. 1970. "Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property 1970" [Online]. Available at:

<http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php->

[URL_ID=13039&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13039&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html) [27 August 2019].

UNESCO. 1972. "The World Heritage Convention" [Online]. Available at:

<https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/> [Accessed: 24 August 2019].

UNESCO. 2011. "The Fight Against the Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Objects - The 1970 Convention: Past and Future" [Online]. Available at:

http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/2013_INFOKIT_1970_EN.pdf [Accessed: 27 August 2019].

UNIDROIT. 1995. "Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects" [Online].

Available at: <https://www.unidroit.org/instruments/cultural-property/1995-convention> [Accessed: 22 November 2018].

Vadasaria, S. 2015. "Necronationalism: managing race, death and the nation's skeletons". In *Social Identities*, 21(2). pp. 117–131. doi:10.1080/13504630.2015.1041014

Valdeón, R. A. 2015. "Colonial museums in the US (un)translated". In *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 15(3). pp. 362–375. doi:10.1080/14708477.2015.1015351

Van Dommelen, P. 1997. "Colonial constructs: Colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean". In *World Archaeology*, 28(3). pp. 305–323.

doi:10.1080/00438243.1997.9980350

Veblen, T. 1899. [1994]. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Dover Publications Inc, New York, NY.

Veres, Z. 2014. "The Fight Against Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Property: The 1970 UNESCO Convention and the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention". In *12 Santa Clara J. Int'l L.* 91. pp. 91-114.

Available at: <http://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/scujil/vol12/iss2/4>

Wedgwood [Online]. Available at: <https://www.wedgwood.com/> [Accessed: 13 June 2017].

Wenman, C. 2016. "The Nefertiti 3D Scan Heist Is A Hoax". *Cosmo Wenman* [Online].

Available at: <https://cosmowenman.com/2016/03/08/the-nefertiti-3d-scan-heist-is-a-hoax/> [Accessed: 14 November 2016].

- Whitney, K. 2011. "Going Virtual to Engage a Global Museum Community". In *Journal of Museum Education*, 36(3). pp. 289–296. doi:10.1080/10598650.2011.11510710
- Winter, T. 2013. "Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies". In *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2013 Vol. 19, No. 6. pp. 532–545. doi:10.1080/13527258.2012.720997
- Wilkinson, D. 2011. "The apartheid of antiquity". In *World Archaeology*, 43(1). pp. 26–39. doi:10.1080/00438243.2011.544889
- Willems, W. J. H. 2014. "The Future of World Heritage and the Emergence of Transnational Heritage Regimes". In *Heritage & Society*, 7(2). pp. 105–120. doi:10.1179/2159032X14Z.000000000029
- Wittlin, A. S. 1970. *Museums: in search of a usable future*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Wolkoff, J. 2010. "Transcending Cultural Nationalist and Internationalist Tendencies: The Case for Mutually Beneficial Repatriation Agreements". In *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 11. pp. 709–738.
- World Tourism Organization. 2012. *Tourism and Intangible Heritage*. UNWTO: Madrid.
- Worts, D. 2012. "Museums Rising to the Challenge of 'Social Relevance Circa 2012'". In *Museums & Social Issues*, 6(2). pp. 219–227. doi:10.1179/msi.2011.6.2.219
- Young, J. O. 2007. "Cultures and Cultural Property". In *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 24(2). pp. 111–123. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5930.2007.00359.x
- Zimmerman, M. J. and Bradley, B. 2019. "Intrinsic vs. Extrinsic Value". In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2019 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.). Available at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2019/entries/value-intrinsic-extrinsic/> (Accessed: 2 October 2019).
- Ziter, E. 2001. "The Sacred Museum". In *Theatre Survey*, Null (01). pp. 25–51.

11 APPENDIX

APPENDIX: THE COLLECTION⁵⁷

Accession Number	Description	General Provenance	Acquisition Method	Source	Date Received (R) - Date Accessioned (A)	Condition
SACHM71/151	Kylix (no recorded description)	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)03/08/1971	
SACHM71/155	Kylix	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)03/08/1971	
SACHM71/72	Kyathos, black	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)17/05/1971	
SACHM72/468	Small black-glazed askos. Round flattened body with handle and spout	Greek	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd ⁵⁸		Cleaned with soft brush. In excellent condition except for patchy glaze, on body, handle and rim of base.
SACHM72/469	Black glazed two-handled cup with flat base	Greek	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd		Cleaned with soft brush. Sound condition. Flaky glaze and slight discolouration (between rim and handles). Anlen Boshoff 12/01/2005.
SACHM73/515	Guttus or lamp filler with ring handle and spout. The centre medallion represents the forequarters and wings of a gryphon	Southern Italy	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)31/10/1973	Initial condition report: slight cracks in the glaze where handle and spout are joined to the bowl.

⁵⁷ This table presents a selection of the data collected from the Iziko archives as detailed in Chapter 2.

⁵⁸ Charles Ede Ltd, 37 Brook Street, London

SACHM80/3	Duck-shaped askos with greenish-black glaze. Flask-type vessel	Southern Italy	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)16/10/1979	Most recent condition report: dents and cracks on body surface and lip. Scratches on body and base. Discolouration on base and body just above base. Anlen Boshoff (2005).
SACHM1340	Reproduction of gold Vaphio cup. Excavated from behind tomb of Vaphio	Greek	Purchased	Galvanoplastic Institute of Wurtemberg; Miss Thorne	(R)29/07/1901 - (A)10/1964	
SACHM79/65	Bronze arrow heads, a small group of trophies, each consisting of three tri-lobed bronze arrow heads from Acragas (Agrigento) in Sicily	Greek	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd		Cleaned with soft brush. Excellent condition. Mounted on small stand (Anlen Boshoff 05/01/2005).
SACHM81/25	Copy of Greek maiden on base	Greek	Purchased	Deutscher Kunstverlag Munchen	(R)June 1980	
SACHM1396	Megarian Bowl with leaf motif	Greek	Purchased	Bought with Heberden Bequest		Encrustation
SACHM71/150	Bell krater, black glaze	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)03/08/1971	
SACHM71/152	Kylix	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)03/08/1971	
SACHM71/153	Kylix	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)03/08/1971	
SACHM71/154	Kylix	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)03/08/1971	
SACHM71/73	Kanthalos, black	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)17/05/1971	
SACHM71/74	Oinochoe, black. Three groups of incised horizontal lines. 71/72 - 71/74 from "Etruscan Bucchero Catalogue"	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)17/05/1971	
SACHM82/484	Vase in red polished ware	Greek	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd		Initial condition report: Fractures at lip repaired and two chips made good. With a tripod stand. Most recent condition report: Pitting. In

						excellent condition. Cleaned with a soft brush (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008)
SACHM82/485	Jug on pad base, concentric circles	Greek	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd		Initial condition report: Intact apart from some surface wear and slight encrustation. Most recent condition report: discolouration, pitting (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008)
SACHM91/323	Hellenistic amphora handle with stamp. Inscription of Anonios and a bunch of grapes. Certificate of authenticity included	Greek	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd		Most recent condition report: Excellent condition, mounted on stand (Anlen Boshoff 07/01/2005)
SACHM92/43	Gaily painted krater (replica) reproduced by a local museum (tag attached) blue, orange, yellow	Greek	Purchased	F. Lesueur ⁵⁹	(A)13/02/1992	Most recent condition report: Pitting and abrasion. Replica produced to show wear and tear like original. Base stamped, lead ornament tied to one handle: museum copy (Anlen Boshoff 11/01/2005).
SACHM81/26	Replica head of a Sphinx from the roof of the Ancient Greek temple of Aphaia on Aegina Island	Greek	Purchased	Deutscher Kunstverlag Munchen		
SACHM71/175	Black glazed amphoriscos with impressed decoration and disc shaped base. Decorated with palmettes, wavy lines	Greek	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)14/09/1971	
SACHM71/248	Fish plate, beige coloured depicting three fishes on a black background on a low pedestal foot	Southern Italy	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)12/11/1971	Most recent condition report: Cleaned with soft brush. Uneven section on outer rim. Roughness and discolouration on belly of one of the fish. Deep hole in outer edge of central decoration. Also uneven blobs inside central decoration. Underside of body in
SACHM72/856	Large hydria with three handles. Light grey-green/cream (?) background with dark lines. Long fat body with flat base. Patterned	Cyprus	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)12/10/1972	Initial Condition Report - The slip is thinly applied and rather worn in places. Most Recent Report - Cleaned with soft brush. Surface covered in fine white powder

⁵⁹ C4 Nottingham Court, Fir Avenue, Bantry Bay.

	with concentric circles and painted horizontal lines					encrustation due to salination/evaporation. Surface very pitted. Body in sound condition.
SACHM81/61	Phoenician Pottery: Shallow dish with decoration in brick red on biscuits (diagonal cross on floor, cross-hatching)	Phoenicia	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)13/04/1981	
SACHM83/259	Actor - Middle Comedy	Greek	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd. London		Most recent condition report: Several hairline cracks, small hole on side of right knee. Cleaned with soft brush and mounted on stand (Anlen Boshoff 05/01/05)
SACHM84/477	Europa riding on the back of Zeus who is disguised as a bull	Greek /Egyptian	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd. London	(R)09/07/1984	Initial condition report: Minor cracks and abrasions; some restoration to the lady's knees and the swirl of drapery over the bull's rump. Surface consolidated. (1984) Most recent condition report: Several hairline cracks (2.7 cm long on base); Hairline
SAMCH80/103	Pale coloured alabastron with goose and owl figures with rosettes	Greek	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd. London	(R)1980	Discolouration on the body of the vessel, and chips and cracks on the lip. White porous paint - not cleaned.
SACHM72/830	Brass replica of Roman ball or egg shaped flagon with stopper. Original in the Romisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne. Made by Alfred Mutz	Roman	Purchased	Mr Alfred Mutz ⁶⁰	(R)15/09/1972	
SACHM72/831	Replica in brass of a bronze Roman mirror in the Museo Nazionale at Taranto. By A. Mutz	Roman	Purchased	Mr A. Mutz	(R)15/09/1972	
SACHM72/651	Strigil - scraper for removing oil from body after bathing. Cast with a solid handle and with linear decoration on the back of the blade. Three punch marks (2 of	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)27/07/1972	Cleaned with soft brush. Not-active dark green patina. In excellent condition (Anlen Boshoff 12/01/2005).

⁶⁰ Mr Alfred Mutz, Largitzenstr. 84, Basel, Switzerland.

	them identical) probably maker's marks. Green patina					
SACHM70/116	Strainer. Bowl corroded through in one or two places	Roman	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)26/05/1970	Cleaned with soft brush. Holes in bowl area (not strainer holes). Pitting all over. Not-active green patina. Open crack in the body and a chip on the rim/lip (Anlen Boshof 11/01/2005).
SACHM1452	Ornamented patera. Samian ware. Ochre coloured	Roman	Purchased		(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1453	Samian patera. Bares the stamp of the Julia Potter	Roman	Purchased		(A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Large chip in rim. Deep scratches inside bowl area. Glaze chipped (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM74/233	Bowl. Roman red-ware (Samian), decorated en barbotine. On a ring base and with a down-turned rim. The decoration is in the form of small petal-like motifs	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)28/05/1974	Cleaned with soft brush. In excellent condition. Small black spot on inside of bowl (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM74/754	Bowl. Roman red-ware (Samian). Bowl has a high kick on the interior, the form being a variant of Dragendorff 31. The maker's mark was badly stamped and is not decipherable	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)06/21/1974	Cleaned with soft brush. Body (inside and outside) has extensive scratches and pitting. Discolouration, pitting on the base (Anlen Boshof 11/01/2005).
SACHM72/25	Diana of Ephesus wearing typical tall headdress, modelled on a plinth. Base very slightly defective. cf. Higgins ("Greek Terracottas") plate 58e, text pg.120	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd ⁶¹	(R)21/01/1972	Cleaned with soft brush. Soil encrustation visible on body. Base damaged - one corner missing with crack above this (hairline 2.5cm long). Red paint? Visible on hands and base. Mounted on mould stand (Anlen Boshoff 05/01/2005).
SACHM73/140	Lamp carrier	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)05/04/1973	In sound condition. Scratch - perhaps pencil mark? Dent in middle of base (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM71/76	Carafe, blue	Roman	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)17/05/1971	

⁶¹ Catalogue 85, no. 9

SACHM71/77	Goblet, pale blue. Drinking glass with deep flared ogee bowl and rounded rim set on short plain stem and small folded foot. Free blown. Typical example of domestic glass manufactured in Syria during later Roman Empire	Roman (Eastern Roman Empire)	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)18/05/1971 - (A)11/1979	Good, with slight encrustation.
SACHM71/176	Roman pelike, yellow glass with green handles, spiral striations on bowl. Neck restriction for sprinkling. Eastern Roman Empire	Roman	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London ⁶²	(R)14/09/1971	Cleaned with soft brush. Brown encrustation on inside. Possibly a slight crack on neck and wide rim. Excellent condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008)
SACHM71/163	Double balsarium, in pale green. The conjoint bodies with trailed decoration giving a branch-like effect. On a stand	Roman	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London ⁶³	(R)11/08/1971	Cleaned with soft brush. Excellent condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM71/164	Glass flask, with flattened body, mould-blown to give spiral ribs and the handle forming a figure-8. Green.	Roman	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London ⁶⁴	(R)11/08/1971	Cleaned with soft brush. In very good condition. Chip in lip. Discolouration on inside. Missing element where the handle joins the body (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM80/71a-c	Three iron styli. For inscribing a wax tablet. Charles Ede reference no. E7194, 5, 6. From list no.115, no.40	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)17/03/1980	Good condition. Cleaned with soft brush (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM71/142	Tablet erected by Titus Aelius Dionysus, an imperial freedman. Found on Via Appia outside Rome. For himself, his wife and his comrade Aelius Perseus	Roman	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London		Cracked right through - glued together in very unprofessional way. Back of tablet unworked. Cleaned with soft brush. Mounted. Encrustation, adhesive residue, pitting (Anlen Boshoff 04/02/2005).
SACHM71/200	Marble tablet - top of a cinerarium funerary urn with a bowl-shaped cavity. Found outside the Porta Pinciana in Rome and derives from	Roman	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)25/10/1971	

⁶² Catalogue 82, no. 249

⁶³ From catalogue "Roman Glass"

⁶⁴ From catalogue "Roman Glass"

	the Lowther Castle Collection. Found in 1726. Inscription dedicated to Marcus Coccius Narcissus					
SACHM76/214	Silver spoon. Cochleare. With round bowl and handle tapering into a point. For eating shell fish or snails	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)03/08/1976	Cleaned with soft brush. In superb condition (Anlen Boshof 13/01/2005).
SACHM81/27	Replica , head of unknown man	Roman	Purchased		11/3/81	
SACHM72/829	Replica in brass of Roman 1st C CE bronze bowl with collar. Rijks Museum G. M. Kam at Nijmegen. Made by Alfred Mutz, Largitzenstrasse 84, Basel, Switzerland	Roman	Purchased	Dr A. Mutz	(R)15/09/1972	
SACHM74/133	Replica belt buckle. Alemanic tomb - find of the 5th - 6th C CE from Ziefen (cr. Baselland) Switzerland. The original is in the Cantonal Baselland Museum, Liestal Switzerland, copy is made by DR H C Alfred Mutz from Basel	Roman	Purchased	Dr A. Mutz	(R)10/04/1974	
SACHM74/68a-d	Pins (4 pins mounted as a trophy) traces of gilding left	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)31/01/1974	Most recent condition report: Cleaned with soft brush. Mounted on stand. Good condition. Anlen Boshof 12/01/05.
SACHM72/238	Ritual incense shovel with rectangular pan, on 4 small feet and having grooved edges with ears at the corners nearest to the handle. Handle terminates in a palmette	Roman	Purchased	Charles Ede Ltd	(R)18/04/1972	Initial condition report: Neat repair to handle. Most recent condition report: Cleaned with soft brush. Front end of pan is cracked. Discolouration. Good patina. Good condition. A. Boshoff 06/01/2005.
SACHM73/382	Replica of bronze tap from a bath installation	Roman	Purchased	Dr A. Mutz	(R)08/08/1973	
SACHM79/64	Replica belt buckle. Small late Roman bronze. Original in Vindonissa Museum at Brugg,	Roman	Purchased	Dr A. Mutz	(R)23/03/1979	

	Cantonaargan Switzerland. Copy made by Dr Alfred Mutz. 3rd to 4th C CE					
SACHM71/75	Roman glass jug, pale blue in colour	Roman	Purchased	Folio Fine Art London	(R)17/05/1971	
SACHM72/832	Replica of Roman bronze belt buckle	Roman	Purchased	Dr A. Mutz	(R)15/09/1972	Most recent condition report: Excellent condition. Anlen Boshof 12/01/2005.
SACHM1328	Facsimile of Vaphio cup		Donated	Miss Thorne	(R)1917	
SACHM1360	Small with brownish glaze	Greek	Donated	Admiral Rawson	(R)28/12/1896	Initial condition report: Surface condition good.
SACHM1350	Bronze ewer handle	Greek	Donated	ex J. E. Taylor and A. de Pass Collections	(A)10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Surface chipped. On lower section, not active light green patina rust. Soil? Encrustation inside section. Where it is joined to body (Anlen Boshoff 13/01/2005).
SACHM1352	Bronze ring with silver bezel depicting head of Alexander	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass	(A)10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Patches of green, patina rust (Anlen Boshoff 13/01/2005).
SACHM1326	Column crater red-figure. Excerpt from the scene of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympus. The god rides a mule, escorted by a satyr and a maenad. Obv. 3 youths in himatia, 2 with sticks. Once attributed by Beazley to the Boreas Painter now Florence Painter	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass	(R)1929	Cleaned with soft brush. Outside of the rim badly chipped; also top section of handles. Deep scratch on section between lip and body. Red-figures show discolouration. No glaze on bottom section of base - worn away, Graffiti on base - NA (Babalwa Ramncwana
SACHM1327	Red-figure hydria. The court of Dionysos. The god reclines on a couch wearing himation and ivy wreath. 2 women dance before him. A white leopard crouches between them. Also a seated woman with a hare, a satyr with a drinking horn, and Eros above.	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Cleaned with soft brush. Rim chipped on the inside and the inside of the lip under the rim. Handles chipped and massive restoration work on body - not intrusive. White paint on female figure flaky. Rest of vase in sound condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06
SACHM1330	Lekythos, black body, one handle and mouth. Around top of body palmette designs. From the	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Cleaned with soft brush. Neck chipped. Scratches in the round of the body. Glazing/slip not visible. Where body is joined to base outer edges of base rough and devoid of glaze/slip.

	workshop of the Athena Painter (Boardman and Pope pg.10, no.7)					Bottom of base pitted (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1331	Lekythos, black body, one handle and mouth. Around top of body palmette designs. From the workshop of the Athena Painter (Boardman and Pope pg.10, no.8)	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Cleaned with soft brush. Top section of lip worn. Rough section on the inside of handle. Deep scratch on body (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1332	Hydria (kalpis), black-figure. One handle. Satyr playing flute with two goats dancing. Palmettes, dots and lines. Attributed to the Painter of Vatican G.49 (Boardman and Pope pg.9, no.4)	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Cleaned with a soft brush. Slight pitting and discolouration on body. Excellent condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1333	Red-figure kylix depicting scenes from the palaistra. Two youths preparing to wrestle on either side of cup. On one side they are watched by their trainer, on the other side the trainer converses with another male figure. Possibly the work of the Codrus Painter	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass	(R)1929	
SACHM1334	White-ground lekythos with faded figure possibly from a farewell scene. Ovolo and palmettes on shoulder with a meander above the main scene (Boardman & Pope no. 19)	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		
SACHM1335	Small lekythos with red/black colouration. Designs vague	Greek	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge		
SACHM1336	Black figure neck amphora. One side depicts a woman in a himation and a warrior carrying two spears and a shield. The other side shows two maenads dancing. A work by the Red-Line Painter (Boardman & Pope no.3; ABV 596)	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Most recent condition report: Cleaned with a soft brush. Rim broken and repaired. Handle similar fate. Base re-joined to body. Bottom of base chipped. Generally sound. Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008.

SACHM1337	Black-figure belly amphora (the Nolan amphora). One side shows a man and a youth, both carrying short cloaks and holding swords, standing on either side of a fully clothed man holding a spear. 'Nonsense' inscriptions are found alongside the figures.	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Most recent condition report: Cleaned with a soft brush. Crack/scratch just below rim edge. One handle had broken off and was repaired. Slight pitting on body. Section missing from underside of base. Very good condition. Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008.
SACHM1338	Black-figure plemochoe. Probably used to hold scented water. Red and black tongue and stylised 'ivy' patterns on lid and body. (Boardman&Pope no.13)	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass ⁶⁵		Most recent condition report: Cleaned with soft brush. Finial on lid chipped. Lid restored. Sheen is dull. Large base seems solid. Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008.
SACHM1339	Stamnos. Red-figure. 2 handles. Palmette and geometric designs. Front: middle aged man dancing with girl playing krotala-clappers. Second girl playing double flute. Back: two youths and a woman. Attributed to the Chicago Painters. For further detail see B	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass	(R)1929/30	Cleaned with soft brush. Marked discolouration on red figures, especially the 2 half-naked youths and the young woman. Pitting on meander cross band. One half of base damaged - glaze chipped off. Pattern below one of the handles also pitted and discoloured
SACHM1343	Lekythos red/black colouration, designs vague. Surface rough. Neck plus handle broken off	Greek	Donated	Admiral Rawson	(R)28/12/1896 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM1344	Black figure kyathos	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass	(R)1929	Most recent condition report: Extensively shattered and glued together again. Poor restoration job. Very fragile. Adhesive residue, open cracks (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1345	Lekythos. Red-figure on black background. Lines around top. Female with spear. Boardman and Pope no.18, pg.15	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Most recent condition report: Cleaned with soft brush. Neck broken-off just above top of handle, restored. Half of meander on shoulder has disappeared. Discolouration, scratched,

⁶⁵ ex Cecil Torr & De Pass collections

						stained, chipped, pitted (Anlen Boshoff 05/01/2005).
SACHM1353	Apulian Pelike red-figure. Woman on one side with mirror and basket, Eros on the other with mirror and wreath. Palmettes beneath the handles. White paint on wreaths, basket, mirrors, and wings. Ovolo at the neck. On the base a graffito K. Boardman and Pope	Greek	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge		Most recent condition report: Cleaned with soft brush. Extensively restored - vase was broken into two major pieces. Hole visible of Eros. Deep scratch on left ankle of Eros. Encrustation/soil on base. Inside rim is white paper residue from sticky paper?
SACHM1366	Aryballos, surface good. Decoration vague. Grey with red and black design	Greek	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899 - (A)10/1964	
SACHM1367	Black-figure and red. 2 seated female figures facing each other in silhouette. On each side are handles. Part gone: has been repaired. Curled lines. Boardman and Pope pg.11, no.11	Greek	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	Cleaned with soft brush. Half of the handles is missing. Deep chip crack inside and outside in same area, inside worse. Scratches. Glaze faded. Not in good condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1371	Amphora with elongated body. Black figure designs with vertical line designs on neck. Wavy and vertical lines on bottom of main body	Rhodes	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	Initial condition report: Reconstructed. Base missing. Encrustation in mouth.
SACHM1372	Aryballos with red and black design	Rhodes	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	Initial condition report: Surface repaired. Lip badly chipped.
SACHM1377	Small 'jug' with decorative knobs	Greek	Donated	S. R. French	(R)17/01/1887	Initial condition report: Surface rough. Lip badly broken.
SACHM1391	Stemless kylix. Black-figure. Has been repaired. A centaur with sword and a foot soldier opposing each other. Boardman and Pope number 9. (ABV 212-5)	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Most recent condition report: Cleaned with soft brush. Multiple cracks, but repaired. Not a good restoration job. Black slip faded in places exposing red surface. Encrustation on base (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008)
SACHM1395	Geometric designs on pyxis with two horses on lid. Busy pattern	Greek	Donated	Heberden Bequest	(R)01/1963	Most recent condition report: Extensively restored. Missing elements replaced, but not

						decorated to match original. Horse finials on lid damaged and restored by Joy v/d Berg 02/05. Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/08.
SACHM1398	Askos. Black with red designs of lions	Rhodes	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/9/1899	Surface good. Designs clear. Repaired. Pieces missing from the bowl and lip.
SACHM1399	Squat aryballos. Light beige and dark beige with dark brown patterns. Wheel-like motifs, decorative bird-like figure (headless). Boardman and Pope no.26	Rhodes	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	
SACHM1400	Corinthian aryballos. Beige with black patterns. Star-like motif on one side, decorative bird on disc-like mouth, and a pattern of circles and lines. Has handles	Rhodes	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	Most recent condition report: cleaned with soft brush. Decoration faded or completely worn away. Large surface chips. B Ramncwana 24/06/2008.
SACHM1401	Corinthian alabastron with red and black designs depicting geese with rosettes and palmettes	Rhodes	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	Most recent condition report: neck and lip reconstructed. Decoration faded in places. Cleaned with a soft brush. B Ramncwana 24/06/2008.
SACHM1402	Kotyle cup with wishbone handle. Base ring ware. Boardman and Pope number 22	Greek	Donated	S. R. French	(R)17/01/1887	Reddish grey with encrustation
SACHM1404	Aryballos - squat body. One handle and flat base. Boardman and Pope number 24	Greek	Donated	Mrs Crole-Rees	(R)01/04/1957	
SACHM1410	Aryballos. Grey with beige pattern. One handle, mouth. Long neck and squattish body on base. Quadruple brush strokes in white paint. Base ring ware. Boardman and Pope number 23	Cyprus / North Africa ?	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	Most recent condition report: Cleaned with a soft brush. Encrustation inside rim /neck. In sound condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008)
SACHM1489	Lekythos. Small, black with possible designs on base	Greek / Roman	Donated	J. O. Simpson	(R)04/01/1883	Broken lip, surface good.

SACHM1490	Lekythos. Small, grey with red/black designs (vague), surface is rough	Greek / Roman	Donated	J. O. Simpson	(R)04/01/1883	
SACHM4271	Black-figured olpe depicting Dionysos (?) on a chariot drawn by four horses. The figure holds a kantharos and vine. Chequer pattern at the lip, ivy frieze, floral band, and two red bands	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Cleaned with soft brush. Lip damaged. Body and handle in very good condition apart from some scratches and discolouration.
SACHM84/472	Wine taster	Greek or Roman	Donated	Mrs J. E. Gibbons ⁶⁶	(R)19/07/1984	Most recent condition report: Abrasion, chip, discolouration, pitting, scratch. Cleaned with soft brush. Discolouration prominent on inside or bowl; also scratches and chipped area. Pitting on outside of bowl and base. Rim chipped (Anlen Boshoff 13/01/05)
SACHM87/5	Oinochoe with trefoil lip and strap handle. It is set on a ring base and has an ovoid body. Black and orange horizontal lines on cream	Cyprus	Donated	Mrs Gloria Wilson ⁶⁷	(R)14/01/1987 - (A)20/01/1987	Initial condition report: Handle is cracked. Dark stain on jug in the area of the handle. In some places the decorative lines have faded.
SACHM1349	Gold ornament with gorgonion in centre.	Greek	Donated	Ex Warren and De Pass collection	(R)1929	Most recent condition report: Superb condition. A.Boshof 13/01/2005.
SACHM1351	Bezel of gold ring depicting robed figure facing left with staff in right hand. Unclear object held in left hand	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass	(A)10/1964	
SACHM1354	Marble head of a figure		Donated	F. Scott-Tucker	(R)1861?	
SACHM1329	Replica of Vaphio cup	Crete	Donated	Miss Thorne	(R)1917 - (A)10/1964	
SACHM1348	Broken clay lamp	Greek	Donated	Swift	(R)1946	
SACHM1361	Black squat lekythos (body has pumpkin-like indentations)	Greek	Donated	J. Purland	(R)22/12/1854	Most recent condition report: cleaned with soft brush. Body in good condition. Good patina. Outer section of rim very chipped.

⁶⁶ 32 Ave de Mist, Rondebosch, 7700

⁶⁷ 13 Fairbridge Road, Tableview.

						Abrasion/roughness on outer section of handle. Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008.
SACHM1365	Alabastron with dark horizontal and vertical stripes on body. Handle with hole	Rhodes	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	
SACHM1368	Skyphos with palmettes and stylized vine design. Figure with drinking horn on either side. No incision (ABV 567.III.; Boardman & Pope 12)		Donated	J. Offord		
SACHM1389	Seated lady with lifted hand	Greek	Donated	Ex Morse and De Pass collections		
SACHM1390	Terracotta lady dancing	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Most recent condition report: accretion on body, base and head. Hole in left side. Section missing on lower part of dress. Both arms glued to body. Two open cracks on inside of base. Most of slip not visible. (Anlen Boshoff 11/01/2005).
SACHM1392	Terracotta seated lady	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Most recent condition report: extensive repair work to entire figurine. Reglued to base which has three large cracks. Torso also glued together. Accretion on body, adhesive residue on body and base, discolouration on body, base and head (Anlen Boshoff 11/
SACHM1393	Terracotta youth sitting with hat hanging behind his neck	Greek	Donated	A. de Pass		Most recent condition report: corner section of base missing. Part of hat broken off, reglued. Traces of colour visible. Adhesive residue (Anlen Boshoff 11/01/2006).
SACHM1411	Terracotta figurine of Demeter		Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	
SACHM67/363a	Terracotta lamp	Greek	Donated	Mr E.N.P.	(R)21/03/1986 - (A)17/04/1986	
SACHM86/363b	Terracotta lamp, cream-coloured	Greek	Donated	Mr E.N.P. ⁶⁸	(R)21/03/1986 - (A)17/04/1986	Discolouration around lip, chip along rim, circular paper glued to base with no 1136 (old) and new accession no. Hole in centre of base,

⁶⁸ Evans, 49 Sunnyside Ave, Benoni

						knob-like feature in centre of inside base. Adhesive residue and pitting.
SACHM86/363c	Terracotta lamp	Greek	Donated	Mr E.N.P.	(R)21/03/1986 - (A)17/04/1986	
SACHM86/363d	Terracotta lamp	Greek	Donated	Mr E.N.P.	(R)21/03/1986 - (A)17/04/1986	
SACHM86/363e	Lamp in the shape of a human figure (?)	Greek	Donated	Mr E.N.P.	(R)21/03/1986	
SACHM87/6	Ceramic vessel resembling tear bottle with downturned rim. Ovoid shape tapers down to a narrow foot. Possibly from Asia Minor	Asia Minor?	Donated	Mrs Gloria Wilson ⁶⁹	(A)20/01/1987	Initial condition report: Foot is chipped.
SACHM1487	Terracotta lamp	Roman or Greek	Donated/Bequest	J. O. Simpson	(R)04/01/1883	
SACHM1403	Stirrup jar. Spout gone. Two handles and squat body and flat base. Patterns in dark and light brown on beige background with horizontal and vertical lines. Boardman and Pope number 21	Greek	Donated	J. Offord	(R)20/09/1899	
SACHM84/471	Lekythos, perfume container	Greek	Donated		(R)19/07/1984	Good
SACHM84/473	Small dish	Greek or Rome	Donated		(R)19/07/1984	
SACHM84/474	Stemmed bowl	Greek or Roman	Donated		(R)19/07/1984	Chipped
SACHM84/475	Stemmed bowl, broken base	Greek or Roman	Donated		(R)19/07/1984	Badly chipped
SACHM84/476	Small jug with handle	Greek or Roman	Donated		(R)19/07/1984	Good
SACHM86/349	Javelin (spear) head dug up on road from Salonica to Ceres in Macedonia, N.Greek 1917	Northern Greek	Donated		(R)21/03/1986 - (A)28/04/1986	Encrustation Pitted

⁶⁹ 13 Fairbridge Road, Tableview.

SACHM1388	Terracotta head, red/grey	Greek	Donated/Bequest	Col. D.H. Colnaghi ⁷⁰	(R)1931	
SACHM1397	Badly damaged stemmed kylix. Four dancing satyrs, man on horseback (?), woman playing an instrument (?) all alternate with eye shapes on the outside of the cup. Boardman and Pope no. 10 (ABV 632 ff.)	Greek	Donor/Bequest			Initial condition report: Badly damaged. Reconstructed with missing elements.
SACHM1689	Part of a string of Roman beads	Egypt	Donated	British School of Archaeology	(R)1912 - (A)14/10/1964	
SACHM1691	Part of a string of Roman beads	Egypt	Donated	British School of Archaeology	(R)1912 - (A)14/10/1964	
SACHM1707	String of Roman beads	Egypt	Donated	British School of Archaeology	(R)1912 - (A)14/10/1964	
SACHM3349	Ornament picked up at the ruins of Carteia in Spain (before 1830)	Roman?	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge	(R)29/12/1881 - (A)27/01/1965	
SACHM4088	Possibly piece of a Roman drain	Roman	Donated	Mrs Weserman	(R)04/1962 - (A)12/03/1965	
SACHM4592	Five pieces of pavement from a villa	Roman	Donated	Prof Doughty	(R)1937	
SACHM1483	Bronze instrument (medical) case. See SACHM1475 – 1483	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	Medical instrument case and 8 various instruments. No rust visible on instruments or outside of case. Active rust on inside of case. Patina (Anlen Boshoff 12/01/2005).
SACHM1465	Bronze ring mounted on black base	Roman	Donated	Ex Warren and De Pass collection		Cleaned with a soft brush. In good condition. A.Boshof 07/01/2006.
SACHM1685	String of Roman beads	Roman/Egyptian	Donated	British School of Archaeology	(R)1912 - (A)14/10/1964	
SACHM1460	2 lamps. One broken and repaired. One roundish, flattish, quite different from the other and later	Roman	Donated	A. de Smidt	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1461	Lamp	Roman	Donated	A. de Smidt		

⁷⁰ Excavated by Sir D.E. Colnaghi about 1864

SACHM1451	Lid of funerary urn from Tomb of the Scipios	Roman	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge	(A)12/10/1964	Initial condition report: Piece of side gone. Surface has encrustation.
SACHM1526	Lares (sing. Lar), Roman household god	Roman	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge	(A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Back of head - section of hair missing. Discolouration on back near base. Right foot damaged (Anlen Boshoff 06/01/2005).
SACHM86/365	Candle holder, top broken off	Roman	Donated	E. N. P.		Rim of candle holder where candle would go uneven and chipped. 3 feet unevenly made with indentation. Round section at bottom of base also has slightly chipped edge. Indentation on top of base - could be finger print? (Anlen Boshoff 31/01/2005).
SACHM1491	Small black kylix. Incised design on one side of bowl	Roman	Donated	J. O. Simpson	(R)04/01/1883 - (A)13/10/1964	Crack right through and some encrustation. One handle missing.
SACHM1362	Pot	Roman	Donated	J. Purland	(R)22/12/1854 - (A)10/1964	
SACHM1486	Lamp	Roman	Donated	J.O. Simpson (?)	(R)1883 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1462	Lamp. Taken from the bed of the river Tiber when repairs were being done to the St Angelo bridge in 1893	Roman	Donated	L.B. Yardley	(R)07/07/1920 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1455	Funerary urn "buried under the ashes in 79 CE" Pompeii	Roman	Donated	Mrs Polson	(A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Crack from rim to body. Deterioration of decoration. Concentric circles (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1456	Lamp	Roman	Donated	Sir H. Juta	(R)1917 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1495	Ribbed glass bowl	Roman	Donated	A. de Pass	(R)1931 - (A)13/10/1964	Cleaned outside with soft brush. Inside coated with iridescent residue - flaking off. Deep crack and encrustation leading from body to rim. Another small crack on one side of the ribs (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008)
SACHM1496	Glass amphora. Blue and yellow designs on black	Roman	Donated	A. de Pass	(R)1931 - (A)13/10/1964	

SACHM1497	Glass vessel. Two handles. Repeated "U" pattern on neck and body	Roman	Donated	A. de Pass	(A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Accretion/encrustation on body, rim (inside and outside) and handles. Top insides of handles not joined the same to body. Base of glass is smoother - long hairline crack across bottom of base. Strange bubbles on outside of base are
SACHM1498	Glass beaker	Roman	Donated	A. de Pass	(A)31/10/1964	Inside cleaned with soft brush. Rim unevenly fashioned. Iridescence on outside - greenish and purple (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM1499	Glass medicine bottle	Roman	Donated	A. de Pass	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1500	Glass beaker	Roman	Donated	A. de Pass	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1501	Glass vessel	Roman	Donated	A. de Pass	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1459	Lacrymatory? (large catalogue card and relevant register identify object as "Lacrymatory - Carlton ware)	Roman	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1492	Flask. Lacrymatory? Found at Bonn	Roman	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge	(A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Sandy accretion inside. Rim unevenly fashioned (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1493	Small glass 'lacrymatory'	Roman	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1494	Perfume bottle, long neck. Lacrymatory shape	Roman	Donated	C. A. Fairbridge	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1502	Round, green glass fragment	Roman	Donated	J. O. Simpson	(R)04/01/1883 - (A)13/10/1964	Some encrustation.
SACHM65/824	Glass tear bottle	Roman	Donated	Mrs Montagu Simpson ⁷¹	(R)28/01/1965 - (A)26/09/1966	
SACHM1525	Small toilet bottle. Repaired. Pieces missing	Roman	Donated	Probably J. O. Simpson	(R)04/01/1883 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1614	Gold ring	Roman	Donated	Ex MacGregor and De Pass Collections	(R)1929/1930	Excellent condition. Slightly crooked. A.Boshof 07/01/2006.

⁷¹ Benmore Farm, Sandown, Johannesburg.

SACHM1449	Pair of gold earrings. Delicate pattern of tiny circles	Roman	Donated	Ex Warren and De Pass collection		Superb condition. A.Boshof 13/01/2005.
SACHM1458	Roman iron horse shoe	Roman	Donated	Capt. T. Purland	(R)15/02/1898 - (A)13/10/1964	Initial condition report: Corroded, but seems stable.
SACHM1475	Tenaculum - medical instrument for holding and hooking. See SACHM1475-1483	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1476	Spatula for mixing ointments. See SACHM1475-1483	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1477	Ligula probe. See SACHM1475-1483	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1478	Medical instrument, probe. See SACHM1475 – 1483	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1479	Probe. See SACHM1475-1483	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1480	Medical instrument. Curette used as probe, also for extraction of ointments from jars. See SACHM1475 - 1483	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1481	Medical instrument, curette, used as probe, also for extraction of ointments form jars. See SACHM1475 - 1483	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1482	Medical instrument, curette, used as probe, also for extraction of ointments from jars	Roman	Donated	Dr Penfold	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1383	Lamp, terracotta	Roman	Donated	Mr S.R. French	(R)17/01/1887 - (A)12/10/1964	Encrustation on bottom section of lamp. Also discolouration. Round patch with white residue. Sound condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1485	Lamp	Roman	Donated (?)	J.O. Simpson (?)	(R)1883 - (A)13/10/1964	Most recent condition report: Uneven ridges where top section has been joined to bottom; more so near handle. Encrustation. Handle unevenly made. Radial pattern on top. B Ramncwana 24/06/2008.
SACHM1466	Fibula	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	

SACHM1468	Fibula	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM1469	Fibula	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM1470	Fibula	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM1467	Bronze pin	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM1471	Pin (mantel clasp)	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM1472	Pin	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM1473	Pin (mantel clasp)	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM1474	Pin (mantel clasp) corroded, green	Roman	Donated?	Dr Penfold?	(R)1909 - (A)04/01/1965	
SACHM86/350	Mosaic tessara	Roman	Donated		(R)21/03/1986 - (A)28/04/1986	Fragment
SACHM83/288	Lamp, found in Egypt by a family member of Mr D. F. King	Roman or Coptic	Donated		(R)02/05/1983	Good
SACHM86/351a-b	2 Fragments of Samian ware from Puddingpan Shoal in Thames Estuary , off Whitstable	Roman	Donated		(R)21/03/1986 - (A)28/04/1986	Fragments
SACHM86/364	Top portion/section of lamp	Roman (?)	Donated		(R)21/03/1986 - (A)28/04/1986	Broken, top half only extant
SACHM86/348	Cast of Scottish god, Taranis. Original found at Corstospitum (Corbridge) near Hadrian's wall	Roman	Donated		(R)21/03/1986 - (A)28/04/1986	Good
SACHM1394	Lady standing holding robe	Greek	Bequest			Repaired
SACHM89/60	Small earthenware flask. Red with straight black bands around the body. Flared lip also with black ring. The neck is ridged where it meets the handle. Base is flat	Cyprus	Bequest	Miss B.K. Danks, Bisset, Boehme & McBlain	(R)16/02/1989 - (A)18/02/1989	Initial condition report: Water marks. Badly encrusted. A. Boshoff 18/02/1989.

SACHM89/62	Round, fairly flat dish/plate on base with rim. Inside of plate dark brown with red bits near rim. Outside near rim is red, then brown and eventually near base, cream	Cyprus	Bequest	Miss B.K. Danks, Bisset, Boehme & McBlain	(A)18/02/1989	Initial condition report: Surface wear. Base chipped.
SACHM89/64	Neck amphora in black and brownish red on cream. Flanged foot. The handles make a right angle between shoulder and lip. Central bands in black and red around body. Wavy horizontal bands in red and black on neck. Black handles. Geometric pattern painted on	Cyprus	Bequest	Miss B.K. Danks, Bisset, Boehme & McBlain	(A)18/02/1989	Initial condition report: Surface wear, colours dull, foot chipped.
SACHM89/61	Limestone head of figurine broken off from body. Finely chiselled nose, but rest of features indistinct. Possible Greek influence	Cyprus	Bequest	Miss B.K. Danks, Bisset, Boehme & McBlain	(R)16/02/1989 - (A)18/02/1989	
SACHM1357	Bronze bell	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L.K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)10/1964	
SACHM1503	Glass jug	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	Has been repaired, heavy encrustation.
SACHM1504	Flask. Ridges on body as decoration	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Fine cracking and bubbling - part of manufacturing process. Rim unevenly fashioned. Stains all over. Iridescence visible (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM1505	Glass toilet bottle, long neck	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1506	Glass toilet bottle	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1507	Glass walnut-shaped bottle	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)29/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1508	Bottle with long neck	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	

SACHM1509	Small glass beaker	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959	In good condition. Encrustation on base and inside. Accretion and discolouration on body (Anlen Boshof 13/01/2005).
SACHM1510	Glass vessel with repetitive pattern on neck and body	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)31/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. In excellent condition. Uneven base - one side thicker than the other. Floral motifs, dark blue background - iridescence (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM1511	Piece of glass vessel. The neck and the base do not belong together. They were stuck together with putty to make a false base	Roman?	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1512	Ribbed bowl	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	Good condition. Encrustation and discolouration inside bowl area. Iridescence (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1513	Ribbed bowl. Distinct, large ribs around outside of bowl	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Accretion/encrustation on outside of bowl. Long cracks on one side of the bowl. Shiny deposit like mica(?) on surface near ribbing. Iridescence (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM1514	Flask with zig-zag design around it	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. Encrustation - accretion. Slight chip on inside of rim. Iridescence visible. Good condition (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM1515	Bottle neck. A base has been put on with putty or paste to make a false vase	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	Only bottle neck - body missing. Severely cracked and glued together. Iridescence (Anlen Boshof 13/01/2005).
SACHM1516	Jug. Broken	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1517	Ten glass fragments mounted on a background	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1518	Glass amphora. Used for wine or water	Roman	Bequest	Mrs L. K. Heberden	(R)21/09/1959 - (A)13/10/1964	
L64/6	Lekythos	Greek	Loan	Miss J Marquard		Most recent condition report: cleaned with soft brush. Chipping/ loss of glaze and slip on shoulder and handle. Section of base missing.

						Colour on body (lower section) partially missing (Anlen Boshoff 05/01/2005)
L64/7	Lekythos, squat. Red-figure. Hare decoration on one side. Leaf design. Pope no.31, plate XV	Greek	Loan	Miss J Marquard	(R)1957	Initial condition report: Neck and mouth broken off. No handle.
SACHM73/12	Terracotta lamp, light in colour	Greek or North African	Loan	Mrs North and sisters ⁷²	(R)23/03/1973	
SACHML64/4	Black-figure amphora. Depicting, between the eyes, Pan and a woman on one side and a partially restored image of a youth on the other. Female dogs are depicted under the handles. See Boardman and Pope no.2	Greek	Loan	Dr W.F. Wicht	(R)02/08/1964	
SACHML64/5	Squat lekythos depicting panther. Boardman and Pope no.20	Greek	Loan	Miss J Marquard		Most recent condition report: Cleaned with soft brush. Surface slip unevenly spread. Handle surface damaged on inside. Babalwa Ramncwana 2008.
SACHML75/13	Brown drinking vessel with two handles. Decorations in faded white	Greek?	Permanent Loan	National Gallery, Cape Town.	(R)16/01/1975	
L71/5	Ointment jar	Roman	Loan	Hessisches Landesmuseum ⁷³	(R)04/02/1971	
L71/6	Jug. One handle, Roman provincial	Roman	Loan	Hessisches Landesmuseum	(R)04/02/1971	Cleaned with soft brush, outside section of rim chipped, some pitting and discolouration. In very good condition (Anlen Boshof 10/01/2005).
L71/7	Lamp, oil	Roman provincial	Loan	Hessisches Landesmuseum	(R)04/02/1971	

⁷² "Sophka" Gwalia Road, Kenilworth, Cape Town

⁷³ 61 Darmstadt, Friedensplatz 1. Germany.

L73/11	Lamp, dark colour, with disc. With handle. Figurines impressed on top section of lamp	Roman	Loan	Mrs North and sisters	(R)23/03/1973	Encrustation on top section. Scratches on underside of lip. Pitting. Lettering stamped on base. Sound condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
L73/13	Lamp modelled in the form of a head, gargoyle-like (comedic?)	Roman	Loan	Mrs North and sisters	(R)23/03/1973	Discolouration and encrustation. Lettering (?) stamped on base. Good condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
L73/14	Lamp modelled as head	Roman	Loan	Mrs North and sisters	(R)23/03/1973	
SACHM1442	Lamp. Camel on disc walking to left	Roman	Exchange	Pedagogical Institute of Science, Jerusalem.	(R)08/01/1959	
SACHM1444	Lamp. Herodian type	Roman	Exchange	Pedagogical Institute of Science, Jerusalem.	(R)08/01/1959	Encrustation in several areas. Discolouration around lip. Good condition (Babalwa Ramncwana 24/06/2008).
SACHM1463	Lamp. Inscribed on base	Roman	Exchange	R.M. Tait	(R)1944 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1521	Bottle, dark green	Roman	Exchange	Bezalel National Museum in Jerusalem	(R)27/07/1960 - (A)13/10/1964	
SACHM1522	Bottle. Squat body	Roman	Exchange	Bezalel National Museum in Jerusalem	(R)27/07/1960 - (A)13/10/1964	Cleaned with soft brush. In excellent condition. Discolouration/stains on inside of container. Irregularities on lip/rim - maker's mistake (Anlen Boshof 07/01/2005).
SACHM1523	Bowl	Roman	Exchange	Bezalel National Museum in Jerusalem	(R)27/07/1960 - (A)13/10/1964	In good condition. Encrustation on outside of bowl. Iridescence (Anlen Boshof 13/01/2005).
SACHM3318	Bronze buckle	Greek (?)	Unknown			
SACHM1347	Lamp	Greek? Roman?	Unknown			
SACHM1359	Belly amphora. Attic, black-figure. 3 men on both sides one with a spear	Greek	Unknown			

SACHM1364	Stemmed kylix in 8 fragments, no handles, some pieces missing. Black figure. Background is orange. The decorations are around the outside of the kylix with a black ring around the top edge	Greek	Unknown		(A)10/1964	
SACHM1346	Bowl fragment. Grey with black design	Greek	Unknown		(A)10/1964	
SACHM1356	Cup with stem	Greek	Unknown		(A)10/1964	
SACHM1358	Pot	Greek	Unknown		(A)10/1964	
SACHM1484	Brick from the Colosseum	Roman	Unknown		(R)02/1825 - (A)13/10/1964	Surface rough.
SACHM5864	Two metal objects, "banana shaped", decorated with overlapping relief oakleaves and acorns. At each end is a part moulded in a shape that suggests cloth binding and ribbons. One of these items has lost this end piece.	Roman?	Unknown			
SACHM1347	Lamp	Greek? Roman?	Unknown			
SACHM1457	Pot fragments	Roman?	Unknown		(A)13/10/1964	
SACHM71/53	Small tear-drop shaped bottle. Green glass	Roman	Unknown	Mrs L.H.A. Whuter/Winter (sp?), Willow Green, Lismore Rd, Tokai.		

