

Catch Me If You Can:
An Examination of Art Restitution Cases from the Mediterranean to West Africa

by

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I. Introduction

In 2023, a headless bronze sculpture of Roman emperor Septimius Severus (145/46-211 CE) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Greek and Roman galleries was subject to seizure. The sculpture, worth around 25 million dollars, was deemed by authorities to have been looted from an archaeological site in Turkey around the 1960s. The work was among twenty items branded with a 'stolen' tag by the Manhattan District Attorney's (D.A.) office. It was also one of three Turkish objects headed back to the country. (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.; Cassady 2023)

The same year, an inquiry into the Met's collection by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) and the UK-based nonprofit Finance Uncovered, found artifacts to have been obtained via trafficking, with some of them exhibited. Works from countries that enacted restrictions on the illicit transport of cultural property were among the groups in the museum's collection. Records show a few objects were even plundered after curtailments went into effect. (Solomon 2023)

Instances of museums and other art institutions illegally obtaining and displaying works are not uncommon. And the outcry for restitution by the public and organizations such as the ones listed above, only continues to gain traction. What is restitution? UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) defines it as the "...return of lost cultural property, whether as a result of foreign or colonial occupation..." or trafficking. Cultural property is a varying spectrum. And what constitutes as such depends on what specifications a nation puts in place, i.e., the objects the Met was audited for. (UNESCO, n.d.)

Restitution is an argument that has multiple sides. Yet is often reduced to two points: Should looted objects be returned, or should they stay where they have resided since their plundering? This paper seeks to examine a group of four artworks whose countries of origin have a history of cultural property being smuggled out of its borders, whether that be the result of amateur classicists or war and colonization.

II. The Elgin Marbles

I begin with one of the most well-known cases regarding restitution, the Elgin Marbles, an assemblage of classical Greek marble friezes and sculptures at the British Museum in London, England. The assortment of artworks was originally a part of the Parthenon. The Parthenon is a classical Greek temple dedicated to the Greek goddess of wisdom, Athena, located atop the Acropolis in Athens. Due to the conflict between the Greeks and the Ottoman Empire in 1687, the temple was gravely damaged. (Solomon 2021)

English journalists would call for the conservation of the temple and its adornments, and, in 1770, British antiquities connoisseur Richard Chandler would echo their sentiments. Chandler vouched for plundering the monument in the name of salvation, claiming the Ottomans had no qualms about those who did. The pleas of the press and Chandler did not go unanswered. (Solomon 2021)

In 1799, Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin or Lord Elgin (1766-1841), was dispatched to Greece and tasked with cultivating a relationship with the then-current ruler of the Ottoman Empire, Selim III. Elgin was then instructed to examine Athens's numerous architectural structures, yet found great difficulty when attempting to do so at the Parthenon, as Ottoman soldiers demanded compensation. Elgin soon received consent from the Sultan, and his excavation would go on unobstructed. Selim III's approval was part of the catalyst for the ongoing struggle for the marble's recompense. (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d., Solomon, 2021)

Historians theorize Elgin may have misconstrued the Sultan's words regarding the permission he was given, to pursue his excavations. The Sultan stated; "When they wish to take

away some pieces of stone with old inscriptions and figures, no opposition be made.” Elgin misinterpreted that to mean he could break off pieces of the structure and take them back to Britain. Nevertheless, by 1832, the assortment of artworks had found a permanent home in the British Museum, twenty-five years after their initial arrival in England, due to the British government not taking an immediate interest in the works. (Solomon 2021)

For about the last forty-two years, the Greek government has campaigned for the restitution of the Parthenon sculptures, with one request even going as far back as the 1980s. (Solomon 2021) In 2009, Greece constructed a new museum close to the Acropolis. The Acropolis Museum exhibits portions of the sculptures that were not subject to seizure and highlights the bits that were. As an *NPR* (National Public Radio) article states, "...the contrast between the stark white plaster and the ancient honey-colored stone has a specific purpose. 'Everyone understands at once what is missing, because if you say numbers, you can't understand, but you can see how many are missing,' she says." (Poggioli 2009)

The British Museum and the governing bodies of the United Kingdom have taken a staunch stance regarding the restitution of Greek objects. The furthest they have gone is to offer to lend Greece the artifacts under the condition the country acknowledges the U.K.'s proprietary rights to the works. (Poggioli 2019) The U.K. has even been so bold as to dismiss *UNESCO's* 2021 call for the British Museum to revisit and settle the matter. A representative for the British government who spoke to *Artnet News* stated, "Our position is clear—the Parthenon Sculptures were acquired legally in accordance with the law at the time. The British Museum operates independently of the government and free from political interference. All decisions relating to collections are taken by the Museum's trustees." (Chow 2021)

The stalwart officials of the British Museum and its country's government are not the only obstacles keeping this debate ongoing. Enter the British Museum Act of 1963, a law that prohibits the sale of any object in the museum's possession unless under special circumstances. This legislation has also hindered the restitution of the Benin bronzes, an assemblage of bronze and copper sculptures and artifacts also plundered by British forces from the west-African country of Benin in 1897. Another claim for the keeping of the Parthenon objects and other works belonging to not only the British Museum but other institutions with pillaged artworks is the idea that their countries of origin will not be able to take good care of the works if they are returned. Yet a decades-old leak in the ceiling of one of the British Museum's galleries damaged not only the Parthenon artworks but other artifacts as well. (Ruiz 2021)

The British government has even gotten involved. As of March 2023, Rishi Sunak, the British Prime Minister, has doubled down on the British Museum's insistence on not returning the Parthenon marbles. Sunak stated, "The UK has cared for the Elgin marbles for generations...Our galleries and museums are funded by taxpayers because they are a huge asset to this country. We share their treasures with the world, and the world comes to the UK to see them. The collection of the British Museum is protected by law, and we have no plans to change it." To quote George Osborne, a chairman of the institution: "Dismantling it must not become the careless act of a single generation." This is an ironic statement, considering that dismantling is how the Parthenon marbles ended up in the museum collection. (Ho 2023)

Though Osbourne is not against compromise, he claims it would be beneficial for the establishment to discern if the works "...can be seen both in London and Athens, while treasures currently in Greece could be seen by new audiences here." Nevertheless, in March 2023, the same

month and year Osbourne published this statement, the Vatican Museum, Rome, Italy, would hand over three portions of the Parthenon sculptures that had been in their collection for about two centuries. The artworks would see themselves home by Greek Independence Day. (Grant 2023)

III. Priam's Treasure

Art institutions and their governing bodies take many precautions to ensure the artworks and artifacts they possess remain in their collections. Legislation such as the British Museum Act of 1963 is not uncommon, especially when restitution becomes a topic of discussion. The previously mentioned law is only one instance of this kind of 'finders-keepers' assertion.

World War II

During World War II, the Nazi party and German government destroyed and plundered artwork from public and private collections at the behest of the regime's leader, Adolf Hitler (1889-1945). Hitler wanted to build a museum in Linz, Austria, his birthplace. Führermuseum, translated to "Leader Museum," would only host works created by 'pure' or Aryan Germans. Furthermore, Hitler attempted to purge German art institutions of work by communists, Jewish people, and pieces that did not align with Nazi ideals. (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d., Little 2018)

Many seized objects were hidden in several German monuments, including Neuschwanstein and Hohenschwangau Castle, and in salt mines discovered in various regions

around the country. By the time the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) or the Soviet Union had defeated them, the Nazis had stolen items of cultural importance from several European countries, including Russia. In response, trophy brigades, the Soviet version of Crusaders, would be employed. However, instead of searching for the Holy Grail, an immeasurable number of objects considered cultural property were looted from an area in Germany: the Soviets would occupy. (Google Arts & Culture, n.d., Monten 2004, 37)

The USSR placed its trophy art in museums and repatriated several items through the 1960s. By then, they claimed there were no more stolen works to return. Despite their declaration, many questioned the proprietorship of the artworks Russia kept. The results of World War II, combined with the eventual fall of the USSR, led to the creation of the Russian cultural property law in the Spring of 1998. (Monten 2004, 37, Grimsted 2010, 217)

The legislation is comprised of multiple parts. However, its two main points are safeguarding objects from being expropriated once more and ending up outside Russia and its possession. The law aimed to establish "...necessary legal bases for bringing about the treatment of said cultural valuables as partial compensation for the damage caused to cultural property of the Russian Federation as a result of the plunder and destruction of its cultural valuables by Germany and its military allies during the Second World War..." (Akinsha and Grimsted, 2010, 414) As a result of the 1998 charter, a particular set of 'Trojan' artifact remains under Russian ownership.

A Tale of Two Cities

The city of Troy was corporeal, inspiring the famed Trojan War saga written in the *Iliad* by the Greek poet Homer. According to one legend, the ten-year conflict stemmed from a particular set of events, beginning with the Judgement of Paris. Zeus, king of the Gods and lord of the skies, had fallen for the sea-nymph Thetis. However, before he could act on his impulses, he would receive a prophecy stating any child born unto the goddess would be more powerful than his father. In thinking about how he dethroned his father, the Titan-tyrant Cronus, Zeus acted quickly. He married Thetis to the mortal King Peleus of Phthia.

The augury would pass, and Thetis would birth a child strong enough to rival a God. The Greek hero Achilles was nearly indestructible, save for his (left or right, sources vary) heel, which Thetis neglected to dip in the river Styx when dunking the rest of his body. Achilles' downfall is another story chronicled in the *Iliad*.

Moving forward, all but Eris, the goddess of discord and strife, were invited to the celebratory feast. Eris perceiving that as an insult, appeared at the banquet and tossed a golden apple into the crowd. The fruit, inscribed with the phrase for the fairest, caught the attention of three beings, Hera, queen of the Gods, Athena, goddess of wisdom and Aphrodite, goddess of love and beauty. Each considered themselves the fairest, and a fight over the apple ensued.

The narrative begins to diverge by this point. In one iteration, Zeus tosses the apple into the Trojan wilds. In another, he sends the fruit and winged messenger God, Hermes, to the city. Either version sees Paris, one of fifty sons fathered by King Priam of Troy (and a favorite of his), chosen to settle the celestial dispute. It was not Hera's offer of great power or Athena's offer of

wisdom akin to her own that swayed the prince. It was Aphrodite's proposal. She offered him the hand of the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris would then fall for Helen, wife of Spartan king Menelaus, which would lead to her kidnapping, marking the beginning of the battle portion of the saga.

While historians are still skeptical about the existence of Homer's conflict, the Bronze Age city carried on for about four thousand years. It had a few iterations, beginning as a settlement and expanding by the 23rd century BCE. Archaeological evidence suggests there were upper and lower parts of Troy, with its fortress and walls surrounding it having been strengthened and enlarged by the later Bronze Age. Furthermore, historians theorize, the city was affluent through commerce and agriculture. However, its alleged opulence could not prevent its decline; by 1180 BCE Troy grew derelict. And by the end of the Bronze Age, the city had fallen. While it was no longer a bustling metropolis, the ruins were still visited by those wishing to connect with the Greek heroes believed to have perished during the war on the land. (Fitton and Villing, n.d., 2019)

Despite now having evidence of the city's existence, not too long ago, many believed Troy to be just as mythical as they did the Homeric epic. This would change around the 19th century, beginning with Edward Clarke. Clarke was a traveler who, in 1801, would surmise the city to have been located in Hissarlik, Turkey. Though he came upon a different area in the same region that Clarke would base his hypothesis on coinage and writing found in the zone. He would conclude, Hissarlik and Ilion (or Ilios), Homer's name(s) for Troy, were the same. (Fitton and Villing, 2019)

In 1822, journalist and geoscientist Charles Maclaren (1782-1866) corrected his predecessor's mistake, pinning down the accurate location of the city in the same locality. The third man, Frank Calvert (1801-1908) would be the first to excavate the site in 1864 until his funding dried up. Calvert would then meet a man named Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890), whose amateur archaeologist exploits would do irreparable damage to the ruins. (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.; Stronk, n.d.; Fitton & Villing 2019; Solly 2017)

The son of a preacher, Johann Ludwig Heinrich Julian Schliemann, or Heinrich Schliemann, grew up in the small town of Neu-Buckow in Mecklenburg, Germany. As a child, he was infatuated with the Trojan myth. So much so that at the age of seven, he reportedly told his father he would excavate the city's walls. Schliemann would also separate from his first wife, marry a Greek woman, Sophia Engastromenos, and have two children with her: Andromache, named after the wife of Hector, brother of Paris, and Agamemnon, after the king of Mycenae, who led the Greek army during the Trojan War. (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.; Turner 1990, 36-42; Maurer 2009, 303-17)

Before that, he would work his way out of poverty. From a shop attendant in Fürstenberg he became an entrepreneur who could speak Dutch and Russian. Having found success in the ventures he would dabble in, including trade and marketing, Schliemann would make enough money to pick up where Calvert had left off. (Turner 1990, 36-42, Solly 2017)

“Trojan” Loot

In 1873, Schliemann struck gold literally and figuratively. The 'archaeologist' unearthed a cache of silver and gold tableware, equipment, and artillery fashioned of bronze, and two tiaras

which he titled the 'Jewels of Helen,' after Helen of Sparta/Troy. Schliemann also discovered around 8,750 rings of gold and electrum (a gold, silver, and copper alloy blend) objects.

Schliemann named the cache Priam's Treasure; after the aforementioned Trojan ruler. (Cline, Eric H., & Rubalcaba. Jill 2011, 32; Solly 2017; Charney 2018)

The discovery was a breakthrough one. Yet its resplendence is often overshadowed by the damage done to the ruins. Schliemann not only conducted his excavation without a permit but also disregarded Calvert's advice and plowed a giant hole into the earth instead of tinier ones. Geographical findings were left unrecorded, and, as it turned out, Priam's Treasure was not Trojan (in the Homeric sense). The cache pre-dated Trojan culture by about 1,250 years. (Solly 2017; Cline, Eric H., & Rubalcaba. Jill 2011, 30)

Not long after his discovery and near desecration of the ruins, the German businessman would export Priam's cache and a few other objects out of Turkey. Turkish officials had no knowledge of Schliemann's theft at first, and once they found out, he was temporarily banned from Hissarlik but would return and pass away shortly after. (Easton, D.F. 1994, 221-43; Solly 2017)

Around ten thousand objects in Priam's Treasure remain in the country at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. At the end of World War II, the Red Army seized a few artifacts from Berlin, Germany, and brought them to the Pushkin Museum in Russia. Russia and Turkey have discussed the return of the objects. However, the head of Turkey's Troy Museum, Ridvan Gölçük, has gone on record and stated that reparations are "...not very near." (Solly 2017; Hammer 2022)

While reparations are not likely, the items were to be temporarily reunified. In 2022, artifacts at the Prehistory and Early History Museum in Berlin, Germany, were to make their way to the Pushkin Museum as part of a show celebrating Schliemann's life. Unfortunately, the exhibition has been placed on hold indefinitely due to Russia and Ukraine's current state of affairs. (Pulver 2022)

IV. The Treasure of Ahmadou Sekou

Priam was not the only sovereign associated with gold. Mansa Musa was the ruler of the fourteenth-century Malian empire. Mansa Musa was born around the thirteenth century and is considered one of history's wealthiest men. The Emperor was credited with helping to spread the Islamic religion, and his pilgrimage to Mecca is as famous as his purported affluence. It was ultimately a stop on his journey that led to the economic crash, because while in Cairo, Egypt, Musa brought an overabundance of gold to the country's capital.

Aside from crippling a country's economy and proving detrimental to international trading routes, colonization played a part in the loss of the Emperor's gold. Musa's riches were not the only victim. The Treasure of Ahmadou Sekou was as well, becoming one of the more egregious examples of the destructive force that was colonization. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2000; Guèrin 2019)

The Tukolor Empire was a 19th-century West African kingdom spanning Senegal and Timbuktu, overlapping part of Mansa Musa's much earlier state. Unlike France, whose troops would go on to sack and plunder Tukolor's capital, Segou, the empire would have only two

rulers: its founding father and first king 'Umar Tal (1797-1864,) and his son, the last king, Ahmadou Sekou or Seku (1898). (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.; Guèrin 2019, 180)

Gold Digger

The siege of Segou on April 6th, 1890, was led by French general Louis Archinard. As a result of the Franco-Prussian War (or Franco-German War), the country was struggling economically. West Africa was rich in resources. And, having been colonized by France between the 19th and 20th centuries, the European country expected the region to supply the necessary materials to reconstruct the French economy. (Oloruntimehin 1974, 447-63)

Yet it was not Archinard's presupposition for his country's territories that spurred him on, nor the aspirations of French entrepreneurs to "...export and distributive trade, with the privilege to exercise control over prices of raw materials..." The conquest of the Tukulor Empire happened via a personal desire to have the Treasure of Ahmadou Sekou. What are the riches of the former Emperor? Sekou's treasure consisted of numerous items, including gold coins, precious stones, and artillery, all of which Archinard told the soldiers under his command was licit to seizure. (Foliard 2018, 869-898)

Now You See Me...

The most famous of Sekou's cache is his jewelry. The once 75 kilograms of gold regalia was scrutinized heavily by the French. Pieces deemed ancient, therefore valuable, were brought

to the country. Selections considered dispensable; were smelted for bouillon. Only 428 grams of Sekou's gold jewelry remain intact. (Guèrin 2019, 180)

Other sections of the Emperor's cache would make their rounds in France as well. Objects would find themselves in France's Exhibition of the Colonies for a few years, then again around 1900. In July 1910, the Army Museum in Paris, France, showcased Sekou's artifacts before they were moved to the Permanent Museum of the Colonies collection in 1933, which would transform into the Museum of Overseas France around the mid-1930s. (Foliard 2018, 869-898) As of 2023, pieces of Sekou's jewelry are on loan and display at the Met in New York.

In 2017, French President Emmanuel Macron vowed to return a few artworks to their respective African countries. As of 2022, France returned 28 such objects, yet none were of the Treasure of Ahmadou Sekou. Coincidentally (or not), selections of Sekou's jewels were to be displayed in the Quai Branly Museum's L'Afrique des Routes show of that same year. Of the ninety-thousand artifacts of Sub-Saharan African origin in France's possession, around 70,000 are in the Quai Branly museum in Paris, France. (Harris 2022; Foliard 2018, 869-898; Nayeri 2018)

V. Benin Bronzes

In 1897, seven years after the Tukolor Empire collapsed, the kingdom of Benin, ruled by Oba (king) Ovonramwen, would also fall to British, not French, military forces. Oba Ovonramwen (1914) would be the last unconstrained ruler of the Edo state. Each instance of a

European power colonizing parts or a part of Africa shares a theme, the urge to profit from trade. Ultimately, a disagreement regarding that objective led to tension between Britain and Benin. (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.; The Art Institute of Chicago 2013)

Here We Go Again...

There were a few factors that encouraged the ravaging of Benin. European countries who had a hand in colonizing West Africa held a meeting in Berlin to talk about peacefully reaffirm their places concerning trade. They were given enclaves and the ability to make pacts with those in charge of said regions. (Van Beurden 2022, 166)

Sometime in 1897, English envoys wished to meet with Ovonramwen. The Oba, however, was reportedly inaccessible and asked to speak with the representatives at a later date. The British proxies returned; but were attacked and killed by Benin soldiers, supposedly without Ovonramwen's consent. Among the deceased was James Phillips, consul general for Great Britain. In retaliation for the ambush, the United Kingdom sent out forces to attack and take the city. (Van Beurden 2022, 166; The Art Institute of Chicago 2013)

After the city had fallen, British soldiers wasted no time rummaging through the ruins of the carnage they had wrought. Among the items seized were Ovonramwen's sculpted tusks delegated for his familial shrines and, most famous of all, the Benin bronzes. What are the Benin Bronzes? They are an ensemble of panels and sculptures, each of varying shapes, sizes, imagery, and, surprisingly, materials. Despite the word bronze featured in their unofficial but official name,

the artifacts are crafted with both the aforesaid metal and brass. (Van Beurden 2022, 166; Blackmun 1997, 68)

Works such as uuhunmwun elao, or the *Heads of an Oba(s)*, are "Brass commemorative heads are commissioned by each oba (king) in the first years of his reign to honor his immediate predecessor." Human figures were not the only works created to honor royalty. Brass sculptures of roosters were fashioned to memorialize the kingdom's queen mothers. Roosters are the chosen animal due to their male status, a nod to the power of the queen mother being almost equal to that of a man. (The British Museum, n.d.; Ross 2000; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.)

Numbers

A 2018 study conducted by French scholars revealed that around 90 to 95 percent of African artifacts are not in museums on the continent but in about 160 notable art institutions. Aside from its infamous refusal to return the Elgin Marbles, the British Museum is also known for its estimated assemblage of 940 Benin Bronzes. Only a few of these are on display at a time. (Digital Benin, n.d.; Nayeri 2018; Hickley 2021; The British Museum, n.d.)

The British Museum does publicly acknowledge the horrors British colonial forces let loose upon the Edo state. A section on their website dedicated to the bronzes claims the institution is in contact with delegates from the Benin royal palace. The establishment also asserts its commitment to the *Benin Dialogue Group*. This is a collective made up of representatives from Benin, Nigeria, and a few European countries whose goal is to establish a museum in Benin City so that the bronzes, and other objects, may be displayed indefinitely. (The British Museum, n.d.)

The organization has even joined several museums in releasing the number of Benin artworks in their collection to the online index *Digital Benin*, a database dedicated to returning objects to Benin. However, the group has not restituted any plundered artworks in their collection. Conversely, other European institutions have seemingly done the opposite. ((The British Museum, n.d.)

In 2022, the Horniman Museum in London returned about 6 of the 72 objects in its collection. The remaining artifacts, about 66 of them, will remain with the institution as a loan for around 12 months. Aberdeen University, Scotland, UK, and Jesus College, Cambridge, UK, have also returned a Head of an Oba and a Cockerel piece, respectively. Germany has also restituted 22 Benin works as part of their bigger pledge to return all 1,130 artifacts from institutions in the country. (Sherwood 2022; Ahn 2022)

VI. Conclusion

In 2022 the Manhattan D.A. returned about 40 objects to Israel from the possession of billionaire Michael Steinhardt. The forfeiture would not be the first for the avid collector of antique goods. In December of that year, Steinhardt would hand over around 180 items and, similarly to Schliemann, would be prohibited from further obtaining antiquities. The trafficked works were valued at around 5 million and 70 million dollars respectively. Steinhardt is not the only offender. (Greenberger 2022)

Over an 18th-month period, the D.A. and Homeland Security would raid the home of one of the Met's board members, Shelby White. An unlisted number of objects were presumed stolen and subsequently seized before returning to their countries of origin, Italy and Turkey.

(Voon 2022)

Art institutions are not the only issue concerning restitution; private collectors pose as much of a threat. That does not exonerate these establishments nor shift the blame, as people such as Steinhardt and White are rarely in the spotlight. The public demand for reparations and the reconsideration of outdated museum policies has grown and is no longer in the hands of state and government-sanctioned officials either. Like Digital Benin, the Antiquities Coalition is also dedicated to the reunification of looted objects with their homelands. Each is an important resource in strengthening the pro-restitution argument.

As previously mentioned, restitution is a complicated argument, and for as many supporters as it has, there are just as many detractors. Take Nigerian-born art historian Moyo Okediji, who argues that looted items should remain where they currently reside. He argues that returning them serves no purpose considering their removal cost them their cultural significance and, along with it, their functionality. Granted, Okediji makes this argument concerning items from Benin, but it is a sentiment anti-restitution-ists share. (Okediji 1998, 10)

While war was a common denominator in the looting of the cultural properties of the countries I discussed, colonization played a larger role in the destabilization of the Tukolor Empire and Benin than it did for Greece and Russia (and Turkey.) In terms of the success and, or failure of the push for restitution, Most countries with plundered cultural property have had no

issue complying, I.e., France. Others, however, I.e., Great Britain, are adamant the objects belong to them and in their establishments, despite acknowledging how these items came into their possession. As a result of the split and mixed opinions and the blurred lines concerning legality, restitution is an issue with no clear victor, thus no end in sight.

Appendix A:



Figure 1- Pheidias, *temple relief*. 438BC-432BC. Marble. The British Museum, London, England

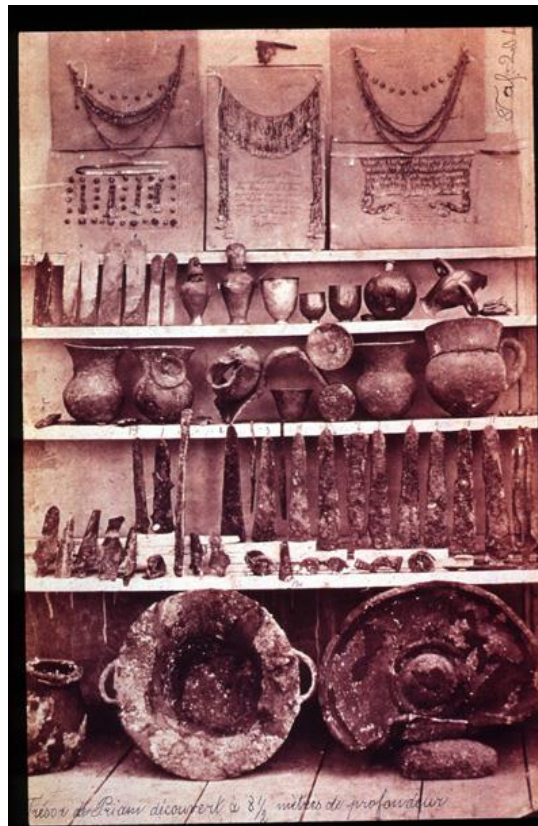


Figure 2 – Pheidias, *temple relief*. 438BC-432BC. Marble. The British Museum, London, England

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Figure 3 – *Jewels of Helen*. Gold. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russia

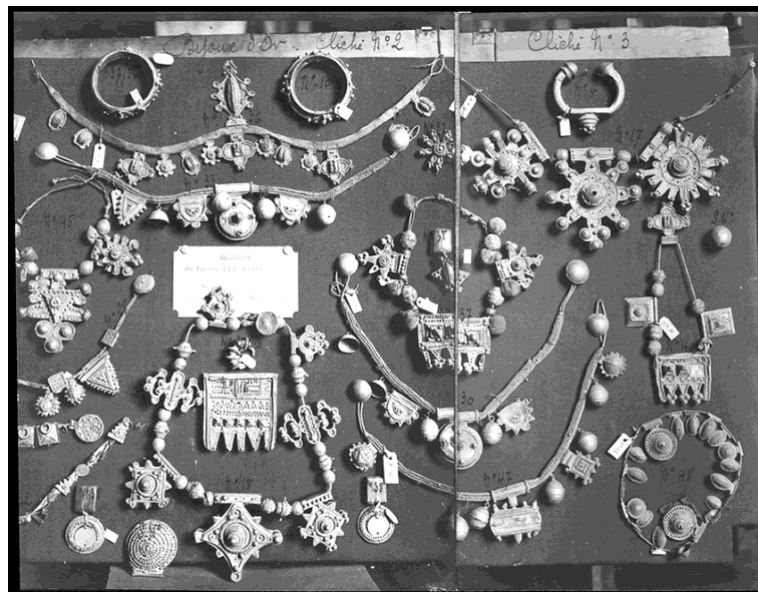


Catch Me If You Can

Figure 3 – Photograph of *Priam's Treasure*



Figure 4 – *Treasure of Ahmadu Segu*. Late 18th-early 19th century. Gold, silver, leather. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Manhattan, New York



Catch Me If You Can

Figure 5 – *Treasure of Ahmadu Segu*. 1964. Photo. Archives of the Quai Branly Museum, Paris, France

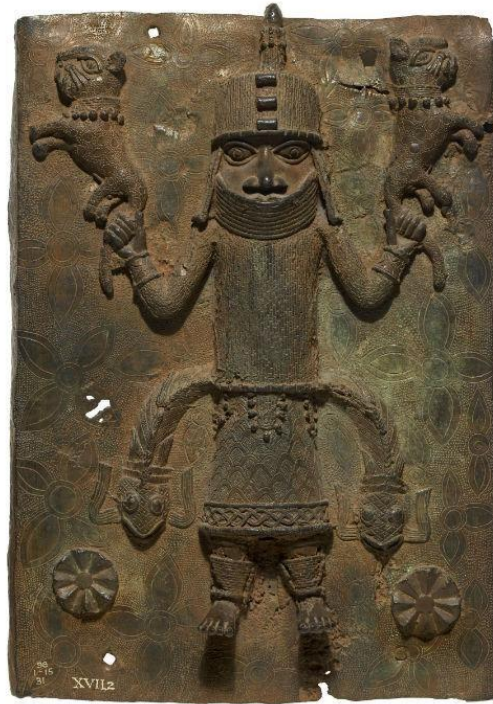


Figure 6 – *Benin Bronze plaque*. 16thC-17thC. Brass, iron. The British Museum, London



Catch Me If You Can

Figure 7 – *commemorative head*. 1800-1897. Brass, iron, soil. The British Museum, London, England

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