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### The Social and Political Consequences of Devotion to Biblical Artifacts

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# All the King's Horses

Essays on the Impact of Looting and the Illicit Antiquities Trade on Our Knowledge of the Past

Edited by Paula K. Lazrus and Alex W. Barker



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# The Social and Political Consequences of Devotion to Biblical Artifacts

NEIL BRODIE and MORAG M. KERSEL

media. "The Earliest Known Archaeological Reference to Jesus" (Wilford 2002), "Burial Box May be That of Jesus' Brother" (Kalman 2009), and "Stunning New Evidence that Jesus Lived" (Govies 2002) were among the many. These headlines announced the appearance of a commonplace limestone burial box or ossuary from the first century CE bearing the Aramaic inscription "James, Son of Joseph, Brother of Jesus." An article in the glossy archaeological magazine Biblical Archeology Review (BAR) proclaimed: "After nearly 2,000 years, historical evidence for the existence of Jesus has come to light literally written in stone. . . . The container provides the only New Testament-era mention of the central figure of Christianity and is the first-ever archaeological discovery to corroborate biblical references to Jesus" (Lemaire 2002:24)

Initial attention to the spectacular find focused on the fact that it might constitute tangible proof of the biblical narratives. Most of the Western world was soon caught up in the "James, Brother of Jesus" frenzy, which culminated in November 2002 with a public display of the ossuary at Canada's premier cultural institution—Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). The November exhibition of the ossuary in Toronto was purposefully timed to coincide with the annual meetings there of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), the American Academy of Religion (AAR), and the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), which brought it together with an audience of experts in the same city. Epigraphers, New Testament scholars, and archaeologists all

inevitable questions about authenticity followed tions, academic skepticism about its inscription began to mount, and the but with nothing certain known of its archaeological findspot or associahundreds have been excavated [Gatehouse 2005: 31; Magness 2005]), monly found in rock-cut chamber tombs in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and almost certainly genuine (ossuaries of that general type and date are comissue of authenticity soon provoked controversy. The ossuary itself is recently surfaced. Yet, although little was said about provenience, the time Israeli antiquities collector Oded Golan and about why it had only object biography—about how it came to be in the possession of the longwere rare, even though there were conflicting stories about the ossuary's ing provenience (and by provenience we mean "archaeological findspor") made the pilgrimage to the ROM to see the box. Discussions surround-

corroborating a similar account in 2 Kings 12:1-6 and 12:11-17. script recording repairs to Solomon's Temple carried out by King Jehoash, and the Jehoash Tablet, a stone fragment inscribed in Hebrew-Phoenician Solomon, which had been on display for many years in the Israel Museum, pomegranate said to be the only surviving artifact from the First Temple of other objects were named in the indictments, including an inscribed ivory of conflicting expert testimony as to the authenticity of the inscription ing, although reports indicated that the charges might be dropped because Law (Burleigh 2008:243-256). As of November 2011, the trial was ongofacts and illicit trafficking in artifacts under the 1978 Israeli Antiquities (Shanks 2009). Along with the James Ossuary inscription, numerous In December 2004, Golan was arrested and charged with forging arti-

would be more fully assured of their authenticity, and the debate would ongoing academic debate, but their exact nature and, thus, historicity is be settled (we would also be better placed to situate these artifacts in their found, and the nature of their associated objects and architecture, we antor of authenticity. If we could know exactly where the artifacts were though verifiable archaeological findspot remains the most reliable guaryet been made to establish the provenience of any of the artifacts, even materials and patinas. It is not obvious to us that any concerted effort has natural scientists are examining the physico-chemical properties of the studying the formal and grammatical properties of the inscriptions, and being determined by expert analysis alone. Epigraphers and linguists are biblical artifacts and their inscriptions has become the subject of much The authenticity and, thus, the historical integrity of these important

> subjective opinions on the authenticity or otherwise of these artifacts. epigraphers, archaeologists, and natural scientists lining up to offer their is that provenience is not the primary object of investigation? Why are issue, and if provenience is the ultimate guarantor of authenticity, why it appropriate historical contexts). Thus, we wonder, if authenticity is the when there has not been any serious investigation of provenience?

consequences of prioritizing authenticity over provenience might be. To artifacts' reception, and we think there might be political considerations suspect it might reveal much about the social and cultural contexts of the answer these questions, we consider how archaeological artifacts are transprovenience, and we want also to determine what the social and political issues of authenticity have come to overshadow and outweigh those of facts and for artifacts from the Holy Land more generally, why it is that too. That is why, in this essay, we want to ask, for inscribed biblical artiuations, and we go on to discuss how those revaluations have an economic and consumption. At the very least, it entails spiritual and historical revalformed into "relics," and how that transformation relates to their reception relics might affect the historical and thus political landscape of Israel. how demand for these spiritually, historically, and economically charged outcome. Next, we consider some political ramifications and investigate might reveal about museum governance in the twenty-first century. contexts of its decision to display the James Ossuary and consider what it Finally, we return to the ROM and reexamine the economic and ethical As archaeologists, we find this absence of enquiry surprising, and we

# Authentic Experiences

artifacts are seen as material facts testifying to the literal truth of the Bible, other small artifacts (Kersel 2006:99-108). Imbued with sacred aura, these a direct association with a biblically attested person or event, such as the ancient immediacy. At first sight, it might seem incongruous to consider Land as religious relics, and tourists continue to do so today. Gift shops in Pious pilgrims have long gathered archaeological artifacts from the Holy these small quotidian artifacts as relics in the same way as artifacts that have facts that can be witnessed and that are understood to embody a kind of Jerusalem and other centers offer for sale ceramic oil lamps, coins, and all these artifacts share a metonymic quality, in that they are all perceived to James Ossuary or ivory pomegranate, but we are attracted to the idea that

with a religious or spiritual aura for the owner or viewer. gift shops, what the objects have in common is that they are believed to might be encountered in museums, and small artifacts might be bought in which the past can be experienced (Gordon 1986:141; Wharton 2006:22). have been manufactured and used in biblical times, a fact that endows them be pieces of the Holy Land—pieces of the past in the present through Thus, while the James Ossuary, the ivory pomegranate, and Jehoash Tablet

no immediate concern and perhaps even thought to be irrelevant. archaeological origins unless they are specifically germane to the historical historical reconstructions achieved through archaeological research are of materially connects with biblical times satisfies the consumer. Complex the genuine artifact not only confirms the historicity of the Bible but also Jesus?" suffice when the answer is in the affirmative. The perception that underpinnings of a piece. Questions like "Does it come from the 'time of chasers of biblical artifacts rarely examine, question, or reflect on actual there is no real need to know exactly where the object came from. Pur-"the time of Jesus," as one tourist related, is enough to satisfy them, and findspot is stated. For most customers, knowing that something is from authenticity of the purchased object, whether or not its archaeological tourists and collectors do believe that the copied certificate assures the shop owners on their computers and photocopied for multiple uses, most 2006:119). Even though most certificates of authenticity are created by tificate and then I would know that the artifacts were real" (Kersel knew that in Israel if I purchased from a licensed shop I could get a certhem there because no one could give me a Certificate of Authenticity. saw a lot of interesting archaeological artifacts for sale, but I didn't buy been looted). One tourist stated, "I was just in Syria and Lebanon where I archaeological ethnographic research conducted in 2003-2004 as part of rial readily available for sale (although most has probably only recently from pre-1978 collections, and licensed dealers have archaeological matein licensed antiquities shops. In Israel, it is legal to buy and sell artifacts uities market in Israel, tourists were interviewed about their acquisitions Morag M. Kersel's (2006) doctoral investigation into the managed antiqmust be believed to be genuine. Fakes or replicas will not do. During ered a true relic of the biblical past, it must be genuine. Or, at least, it For any artifact to possess the necessary sacred aura, for it to be consid-An authentic experience of the past presupposes an authentic object

> argue that this desire for an authentic spiritual encounter with the biblical ing faith and offering a direct experience of the past. Thus, we would that it was not uncommon, even for people with archaeological training, of the Society for Biblical Literature Forum on problematic artifacts from even professionals can be blinded by an object that appears to be reaffirmto elevate such an object from the antiquities market to a status high or state that "so intense was our desire to see and hold our religious heritage the Holy Land, Christopher Rollston and Andrew G. Vaughn (2005) past is one reason why the authenticity of the James Ossuary and other higher than objects found in controlled excavations," thus admitting that can be as important as their potential historical value. ing as scientific (archaeological) ones. The spiritual value of these artifacts faith-based approaches to the past are as relevant, important, or as satistybiblical artifacts is at issue, but provenience is ignored. For many people, Tourists and collectors are not alone. In the epilogue of a special issue

# **Economic Realities**

very obvious reminders to the contrary, such as the 8 cm [3.25 in] high studies have long sought a standpoint of political neutrality from which to aesthetic experience tainted by the profanity of money. Nevertheless, academic research proceeds outside the commercial domain (despite some rarely disposed to consider the economic outcomes of their studies, nor do of exceptionalism could be made in relation to economics. Academics are mistaken belief in scientific exceptionalism. We believe that a similar claim conduct their research. Susan Pollock (2008) attributes this endeavor to a Scholars who work in the politically fraught subject area of Near Eastern with a pecuniary disposition they can generate large sums of money. cal artifacts can function both as capital and as commodities, and for those despite the economic myopia of academics and much of the public, bibli-Collectors and museum visitors concur, they do not want their spiritual or limestone lioness sold at Sotheby's New York for \$57.2 million in 2007). they countenance the influence of money on their work. They believe that

epigrapher André Lemaire in an antiquities dealer's shop in Jerusalem in of ritual regalia from the First Temple of Solomon. The pomegranate is 1981, when he recognized that its inscription might identify it as a piece the case of the ivory pomegranate. The pomegranate was first noticed by The commodity value of one of these artifacts is best demonstrated by

anonymous donor allowed the Israel Museum to buy the piece for increase in price over a period of six years was entirely due to Lemaire's \$550,000 (Burleigh 2008:16-17; Shanks 2005:62). This prodigious identification in 1983, the pomegranate's value sky-rocketed. In 1987, an he published it) for something like \$3,000. Once he had published his recategorization of the pomegranate from artifact to relic.1 thought to have been sold soon after Lemaire noticed it (although before

publication BAR (Lemaire 2002). "exclusive" article in the November/December 2002 issue of the BAS sequently able to announce the ossuary as an authentic artifact in an is proprietor of the Biblical Archaeology Society (BAS). Lemaire was conpeople have drawn profit from it anyway. Again, Lemaire was involved. inscription and asked Golan if he could publish it (Burleigh 2008:18). 2005:30). Lemaire recognized the possible biblical association of the him to inspect it two weeks later (Burleigh 2008:14-15; Gatehouse Golan first informed Lemaire of the ossuary in May 2002 and allowed Lemaire also brought the ossuary to the attention of Hershel Shanks, who Golan has not sold the James Ossuary since its original purchase, but

coverage in BAR, and in 2008, another book Unholy Business: A True Tale of commercial exploitation of the ossuary continued with Shanks maintaining in 80 countries (Moreland 2009:74). It was released on DVD in 2004. The directed, and produced by Jacobovici, was screened on Easter Sunday 2003 mentary program James: Brother of Jesus, Holy Relic or Hoax, written followed by a paperback edition (Moreland 2009:74). The television docuwhich \$28,000 went to Shanks (Gatehouse 2005:35). Shanks and Ben 95,000 visitors. The ROM announced it had made a \$270,000 profit, of six weeks from November 15, 2002 to January 5, 2003 and artracted (Jacobovici and Golubev 2004) in the United States and, altogether, shown His Family later in 2003 with an initial hardback print run of 75,000 copies The Dramatic Story and Meaning of the First Archaeological Link to Jesus and Witherington III were quick to follow up, publishing The Brother of Jesus: deal (Burleigh 2008:34-35; Gatehouse 2005:30). The exhibition lasted for sold the film rights to producer Simcha Jacobovici and arranged a book ossuary's authenticity, and by October 10, 2002, when he contacted the ROM about the possibility of placing the ossuary on display, he had already mercial potential. By September 2002, he had assured himself of the icance of the ossuary, it was Shanks who moved quickly to realize its com-But if it is Lemaire who deserves credit for recognizing the biblical signif-

> author Nina Burleigh (2008) investigating the background to Golan's trial Faith, Greed, and Forgery in the Holy Land was published, this time by

acquitted or if the charges brought against him are dismissed. An acquirothers have profited in his stead. Perhaps his luck will change if he is the ossuary, Golan has ended up facing criminal charges in court while was paid \$1,000 by the BAS in 2002 in the form of a "travel scholarship" cant. Lemaire, who seems to have set the commercial bandwagon rolling, with Golan's ownership, and its sale value would presumably be signifital would validate the authenticity of the ossuary's inscription together It is perhaps one of the ironies of the case that as the erstwhile owner of Shanks claims that Golan has earned "not a penny" (Burleigh 2008:200). (Gatchouse 2005:35). What, if any, money Golan made from these projects is not clear.

provenience is often ignored. While provenience might establish beyond is a less reliable method, does not challenge those interests. The same ness associates. Establishing its authenticity by expert consensus, even if it the Palestinian Authority, depending on where it was found, an outcome could be claimed as the legitimate property of either the state of Israel or ership and in so doing eliminate the potential for personal financial gain. doubt the authenticity of an artifact, it might also call into question ownargument applies to the small artifacts sold in gift shops. Authenticity is a inimical to the financial interests of Golan, the BAS, and its various busiillegal—might simply precipitate seizure or arrest. necessary prerequisite for sale. Provenience—which if it is post-1978, is If, for example, the James Ossuary was in fact excavated after 1978, it Money then, or the promise of money, might be another reason why

people seek a non-intellectualized experience of the biblical past through spiritual engagement, and authentic archaeological artifacts fulfill this ance of authenticity is. Second, we have demonstrated that people are ment with a historico-religious object or relic. Many Judeo-Christian things. First, that perceived authenticity is necessary for spiritual engage-So far, our discussion of biblical artifacts on the market has illustrated two making good money satisfying this public appetite for relics. It is tempt-Knowledge of provenience is not important for this experience, but assurrole by offering a piece of the past in the present—a tangible memory.

ple of the scientific exceptionalism critiqued by Pollock (2008). socioeconomic power. To pretend otherwise would be an egregious exammaterial expressions of identity are expressions of power, in this case, political identity. In the presently fractured terrain of Israeli politics, sciousness, and historical consciousness is a necessary aspect of social or and actions described exist in and are constitutive of a political context. tunately, we do not believe that the study can be left there, as the beliefs scamming unprincipled collectors—and to leave the study there. Unfor-Popular engagement with a perceived past presupposes a historical conmoney out of people who can afford to pay, or unscrupulous forgers ing to view the arrangement as a harmless one—wily operators making

as "the history that common people carry around in their heads," and for 1992:120-166). Yael Zerubavel (1995:3) has defined collective memory in the collective memory of the social group concerned (Halbwachs credible when they are present in a more primitive or less organized form ioned by archaeological practice, the narratives it helps compose are only 1994). But although the materiality of official tradition might be fashmemoration. Museums were not exempt from these projects (Azoulay agency of "scientific" fieldwork and research, which fashioned archaeologmade more "real" outside the textual authority of the Bible through the successive, though intertwined, religious and nationalist discourses were nation-state (Abu El-Haj 2001; Scham 2009; Zerubavel 1995). These colonial vision of a Holy Land and the later Zionist project of an Israeli tine and Israel has been actively instrumental in implementing the British of enforcing social identity or increasing social cohesion through historione. "Inventions of tradition" are a well-documented hegemonic means ical sites into tangible reference points for biblical validation and comscholar has argued in this vein that the practice of archaeology in Palescal affirmation (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), and more than one draw on each other, but for our present purpose the distinction is a useful tinction is overdrawn and are aware that official and unofficial narratives we believe to be its more demotic counterpart. We understand this discially sanctioned narrative or discourse, and "collective memory," which being realized as "tradition" or "collective memory." Although these terms imagination, and social theorists have talked about this consciousness lytical distinction between "tradition," which we consider to be an offihave been used interchangeably in the literature, we propose here an ana-Historical consciousness is forged at the nexus of history, memory, and

> Jerusalem and in places further afield such as Toronto. ple who visit the antiquities shops and museums of Tel Aviv and our purposes we are interested in the histories carried in the heads of peo-

neglected or intentionally excluded (Bauman 2004). The past that sells at lective memories applies as much to artifacts as it does to sites. Islamic past. We suggest that this commercially driven reification of colfor the time being, at least in Israel, not many people are buying the the admission kiosk is the one that is offered for public consumption, and Shavit 1997:61). The Islamic narratives of Palestinian or other groups are 1997). Nevertheless, this plural past is still a selective one, sanctified and Christian narratives and beliefs of site visitors (Bauman 2004; Silberman accommodate although not necessarily reconcile the various Jewish and the public presentation of archaeological sites, which are intended to omy, and publicly at least, it has forced more plural interpretations onto legitimized by the authority of the Bible (Abu El-Haj 2001:237–238; Tourism is an increasingly important component of the Israeli econ-

noticed before. In 1992, it was reported that "Jewish" coins were more and it is only recently that Islamic artifacts have started to join them. ticular types of artifacts and for the particular beliefs and histories that such as the ones discussed here. Together with the constituencies of museresponded, "Oh I know, but Herodian sells better, and it's all about cus the time of Jesus"). The mistake was pointed out to the proprietor, who Islamic piece was mislabeled as "Herodian" (another way of saying shop, on King David Street, an expert in Islamic ceramics noticed that an catering to an elite tourist base (Kersel 2006:120). During a visit to the ence was highlighted by an incident in a West Jerusalem antiquities shop from artifacts with a Jewish or Israeli connection." This customer preferhis/her opinion that the looters knew there was "more money to be made during Kersel's (2006:66) doctoral research, an IAA interviewee expressed valuable on the market than "Arab" ones (Abu El-Haj 2001:255), and This preferential demand for Jewish and Christian artifacts has been ket has in the past comprised Jewish and Christian coins and artifacts, ity (IAA) in 2009, for example, the material most in demand on the marthose artifacts help constitute. According to the Israel Antiquities Authorums such as the ROM, they constitute a selective demand, both for parlike the pilgrims, modern-day tourists like to view or to own sacred relics Israel that can be traced back to the medieval devotion of pilgrimage, and As we described above, there is a strand of modern-day tourism in

and the Jehoash Tablet. would queue up in museums to view artifacts such as the James Ossuary the customers are being offered what they demand—an artifact from the time of Jesus. These same tourists no doubt visit archaeological sites and tomer satisfaction." The lamp, while labeled incorrectly, is genuine, and

tively remembered history reinforces or underwrites an official version of tive memory as tangible facts of narrative history, and when this collectheir transformation into relics, they are rendered accessible to the collecsumers are, and through their cumulative acts of acquisition and devoof Jesus, they "concretize" history, but it is a specific, Judaeo-Christian coins from the time of Bar Kochba or an inscribed ossuary from the time sciousness, as the material confirmation of history. Whether small bronze tions, the academic literature, and ultimately the public and political condisinterested, driven as it is by faith and commerce, it might still have although the market in Israeli antiquities is to all appearances politically what artifacts are valuable also decide what history is valuable. Thus, relics also become charged with political significance. Those who decide cordant Christian tradition of a Holy Land, then these same artifacts as political legitimacy, as it does with the Jewish claim to Israel and the conexpense of another. tion, they encourage the materialization of one historical narrative at the ket in holy artifacts may not in itself be discriminatory, but the confake them or to dig them up. Islamic history is not concretized. The mar-Christians and Jews do not buy them, so they are worth less than their then passed onto the market, whence they enter museums, private collecthat monetary value causes them to be illegally excavated or faked, and political outcomes. Demand places a monetary value on artifacts, and history. Islamic artifacts are not encouraged to "appear" in the same way. Judaeo-Christian equivalents, and there is no real monetary incentive to When artifacts undergo the spiritual revaluations that are necessary for

## Museum Ethics

particularly, as McCane continued, the same persons "stood to profit subtials or academic affiliations." We might ask how this can have happened, presented to the SBL and to ASOR by persons with no scholarly credenthat "an artifact with no known archaeological context or provenance was In Byron McCane's (2009:20) discussion of the James Ossuary, he asserts

> subject it to rigorous and transparent academic scrutiny and scientific ossuary's display at the ROM, Shanks had obtained private assessments of stantially by displaying the artifact," as we have shown. Prior to the testing or even an assessment by the Israeli governmental body-the its inscription's authenticity from Lemaire and the Geological Survey of economic considerations were paramount for the exhibition broker crucially, did it establish provenience. "Due diligence" of this sort is stan-Israel (Burleigh 2008:34–35; Gatehouse 2005:30), but the ROM did not existence of Jesus, they ignored the skeptics. lure of the profit margin and the possibility of material verification of the McCane suggests—and all the published evidence supports him—that dard museum practice, but in this case, it appears not to have happened IAA—charged with the oversight of artifacts of national importance. Nor. (Shanks) and, more importantly, for the ROM itself. Led astray by the

tion. In many ways, a museum acts as a gatekeeper, occupying a position opened the gate to a man brandishing dollar bills without first conduct the ossuary as genuine, the ROM failed in its gatekeeping duty-it appropriate experts. By prematurely and perhaps mistakenly presenting public expects that all necessary checks have been performed by the sionals are keen to emphasize, museums enjoy the public trust (Cunc that allows it to decide what artifacts should be accepted as culturally ing the necessary baggage inspection. 2004). By the time an artifact is presented at exhibition as genuine, the that the museum should be diligent in its practice. As museum protesinvests authority in the museum for that purpose and expects in return important and on what grounds they should be accepted. The public The role of the ROM in this affair deserves more than a little atten-

of a saleable item. Not surprisingly, this mixing of roles was confusing, shaper of public interpretation, a fiduciary institution, and the promotes sacred relic, a suspected collaborator in the illegal trade in antiquities, a tions to the material curated and obligations to the museum's public. dance between different strands of the ROM's mission—between obligamuseum's mandate of public service. It exposed very publicly a discorsometimes contradictory, and ultimately perhaps damaging to the the ROM took on several roles at once. It became the custodian of a reality of the situation is more complex. In displaying the James Ossuary, But this characterization might be treating the ROM unfairly. The

They include the following: The strategic objectives of the ROM's mission are available online.3

- To produce nationally and internationally outstanding and innovative programs of agreed research and collections management
- which are understandable, meaningful, and consistently and fairly tions, including human resource management, and to have policies To use the highest ethical standards in all aspects of museum opera-

objectives also include the following: research material to the highest applicable standards. But the strategic gation to curated material. The ROM undertakes to acquire, curate, and These objectives might be characterized as expressing the ROM's obli-

- experience. To exceed visitor expectations for engagement and a meaningful
- To produce surpluses to fund operations and aspirations as defined revenues each year. in business plans, while increasing the proportion of self-generated

came into collision. sion obligations are laudable, but in the case of the James Ossuary, they establish its obligation to the public that supports it. Both of these mis-These objectives express a different aspect of the ROM's mission and

archaeological history" and to present "a balanced view of some scholars ward the various expert theories regarding its religious significance and duce an element of scholarly doubt and caution, promising to "bring forwhich has been described as the most important find in the history of New strategic objectives. The press releases were keen to emphasize that the 2002b, 2002c) clearly expose the dilemma posed by the ossuary to its recent, and to some, controversial claims about the container's authenticity, Testament archaeology" (ROM 2002c), but they were also careful to intro-ROM was the first museum to display "the world-famous James Ossuary, history and meaning, from both the scientific and social perspectives." Sup-ROM press releases issued at the time of the exhibition (ROM 2002a,

> objective, the desire to operate according to the highest ethical standards. generated revenue. But it would only be possible by abandoning another objectives of promoting meaningful visitor engagement and increasing selfmer 2009). This intention to explore controversy fits well with the strategic porting material on display at the exhibition espoused similar themes (Bre-

employees must: The amended 2001 ROM policy on ethics and conduct states that all

cil of Museums' (ICOM) Code of Ethics (revised edition, 2001) Association's Ethics Guidelines (1999) and the International Coun-[Royal Ontario Museum 2001]. . . . observe the principles established by the Canadian Museum

Article E states: Guidelines of the Canadian Museums Association are not very specific As regards unprovenienced archaeological artifacts, the 1999 Ethics

dures to avoid such situations [Canadian Museum Association tion, loan, or identification. They should therefore develop procean illicit, unethical or exploitative manner may be offered for dona-Museums should be particularly conscious that material acquired in

offered the highest ethical standard. According to the then-current 1986 But at the time of the exhibition, the ICOM ethics were explicit and ICOM code, a museum should not accept excavated material on loan:

or intentional destruction or damage of ancient monuments or owner or occupier of the land, or to the proper legal or governmenarchaeological sites, or involved a failure to disclose the finds to the cause to believe that their recovery involved the recent unscientific tal authorities [ICOM 1986]. . . . where the governing body or responsible officer has reasonable

acting according to the highest ethical standard (ICOM's) as required by an adequate account of provenience. Without such an account, it was not its own strategic objective. In short, the ROM should not have acquired the ossuary on loan without

uthenticity and emphasized again that the museum existed in part "... ossuary had been acquired on a legal market 40 years before the date of its export.4 When agreeing to the loan, however, the IAA "had no idea" of with the IAA over the loan of the ossuary and that the IAA had licensed unknown provenience, he replied that the ROM had held discussions to the ROM's director, William Thorsell, in June 2004 about this issue of Ossuary" (Royal Ontario Museum 2003). In response to a letter written from a controlled archaeological excavation, as is the case with the James ngly perhaps, it also admitted that the provenience was unknown: acts and specimens" (Royal Ontario Museum 2003). Finally, and damno help facilitate public understanding and debate about important artijuestioning of Golan, the ROM stood by its assessment of the ossuary's photographs of the ossuary in his home dated to 1976 (Barkat 2007). only evidence of ownership history that Golan has produced comprises cation, which is not acceptable due diligence. Since the ROM display, the source of information in this matter would have been Golan himself. The the qualifying "recent" stricture of the ICOM code. But the ROM's only exhibition. If this had been true, it would have placed the ossuary outside letter, the ROM's director also expressed the ROM's belief that the inscription (Burleigh 2008:57; Gatehouse 2005:30). Furthermore, in his the ossuary's potential importance as Golan had not mentioned the 'There is always a question of authenticity when objects do not come community as the point of demarcation between "recent" and "past" which has now been generally accepted by the international museum ROM must have taken his word at face value, without any material verifiepisodes of illegal or destructive misappropriation of cultural objects the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Critically, the date 1976 is later than the 1970 threshold established by and it was the standard that the ROM failed to meet. or loan should be avoided. This was the ethical standard set by ICOM ancient monuments or archaeological sites, and therefore its acquisition involved the recent unscientific or intentional destruction or damage of there will always be reasonable cause to believe that its excavation ROM itself admitted, and the ossuary's history is not known before 1976, sonable cause to believe," and although provenience is not known, as the (Brodie and Renfrew 2005:351–353). The ICOM ethics spoke of "rea-Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. In July 2003, in a further press release issued in response to police

> scientific communities against the museum's obligation to the publicobject of unknown provenience and not yet vetted by the academic and able position of weighing the ethical cost of displaying a newly surfaced appears that the ROM did want to assess the ossuary properly before diture. At a time when the ROM's direct public support was being public support, private benefaction, gate receipts, and other visitor expenpresenting visitors with the opportunity to view an astonishing find in the pressure on the ROM to act quickly or lose the financial boost of exhibitinstead to the Metropolitan Museum in New York or the Smithsonian agreeing to an exhibition, until Shanks threatened to offer the ossuary economic shortfall by increasing visitor-related revenues. Even then, it reduced, the ossuary was a "god send" (pun intended) for making good the history of archaeology. For its income, the ROM is dependent on direct of events that ultimately brought its reputation into question—a reputacourse of action. It chose the latter, but in so doing set in train a sequence allowed or forced them to choose between an ethical and a profitable museum staff to be less critical of the issue of the authenticity and less cog-ASOR meetings in Toronto (Gatchouse 2005:30). The pressure to capitaling the "find of the century." The ROM's hand was further forced when Institution in Washington, D.C. (Gatehouse 2005:30). This threat placed tion that museum ethics are designed to protect. nizant of ICOM's ethical advice. For the ROM, then, a discordant mission ize on the economic potential of the ossuary may have encouraged the that it would be displayed at the museum to coincide with the SBL and Shanks announced at the October press conference unveiling the ossuary When faced by the James Ossuary, the ROM was placed in the unenvi-

often in a state of flux. While ostensibly adhering to civic-minded manacquired on loan or through bequests, donations, or direct purchase) are eye to issues of provenience ensures that the demand for looted artifacts rival institutions. Their willingness in these circumstances to turn a blind a means of exhibiting prowess in the marketplace or of overshadowing relic, a treasure, or a work of art, or less publicly, as a visitor attraction or dates for public engagement, museums can easily embrace an object as a ticity, if it displays a forged object as genuine without first conducting the demand. But when the museum itself is arbiter and guarantor of authenfake, as might turn out to be the case with the James Ossuary, meet this persists. It also ensures that sometimes, perhaps often, objects that are The attitudes of museums toward unprovenienced objects (that are

appropriate due diligence, it betrays itself, and it betrays the public trust. The lie, as Oscar Muscarella (2000) has said, becomes great.

## Conclusion

sequences of the trade in biblical artifacts. demonstrate the wide-ranging social and political circumstances and consketch of its lineaments. We hope, however, to have done enough to than would normally be the case, and we have offered only a preliminary dal of the burial box has exposed more of the antiquities trade network economic and various forms of cultural capital that are in play. The scan-Bourdieu (1984), but it is hard not to recognize the multiple exchanges of distance. Latour would also resist reduction to the sociology of Pierre network, of people acting on objects and objects acting on people over territorial claims in Israel and museum governance in Canada. Bruno the ROM, and there are conceptual and physical distances, too, between Latour (1993) would recognize these observations as signs of a hybrid It is a long way from a rock-cut tomb outside Jerusalem to a gallery inside

mısappropriated it. appropriated their unforgettable phrase for our title. We hope they don't think we have Acknowledgments. David Gill and Christopher Chippindale will recognize that we have

### Notes

- scholarly work on the antiquities trade. 1. The effect on price of Lemaire's identification highlights the positive impact of
- 2. Electronic document, http://www.antiquities.org.il/shod\_eng.asp, accessed Novem-
- accessed November 21, 2011. 3. Electronic document, http://www.rom.on.ca/about/pdf/boardpolicies/vision.pdf,
- to a letter written by Neil Brodie on May 20, 2004. 4. Letter dated June 15, 2004, written by ROM director William Thorsell in response