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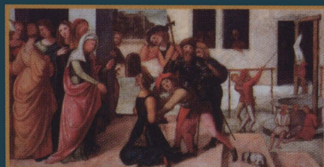
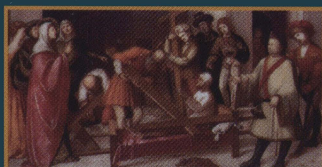
VOLUMES THIRTY-ONE & THIRTY-TWO

1997 – 1998





Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI—COLUMBIA

MVSE

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Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology
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The Museum Gift Shop is open the same hours as the Museum's galleries. The Museum is wheelchair accessible. Telephone: (573) 882-3591.

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Cover:
Three panels from the Picenardi Altarpiece (ca. 1520)
Altobello Melone (Italian, Cremonese School, ca. 1490–ca. 1543)
Center: *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, oil and tempera on wood transferred to masonite, (61.77). Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.
Predella panels: *Saint Helen Questioning Judas* (98.2.1) and *Proving of the True Cross* (98.2.2), both oil and tempera on wood. Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

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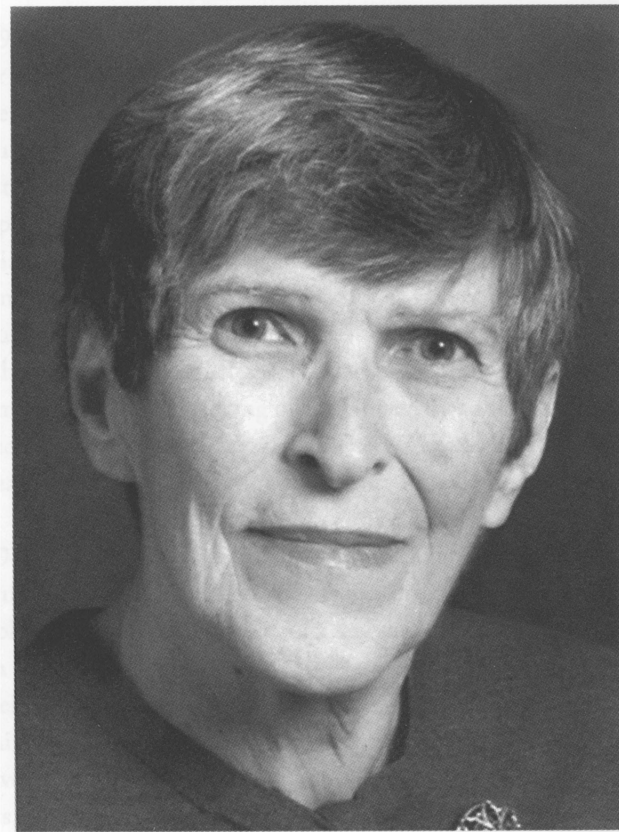


Gladys Davidson Weinberg
1909-2002

To the memory of Gladys Davidson Weinberg,
co-founder, curator of ancient art, assistant director, and research fellow
of the Museum of Art and Archaeology,
this issue of *MUSE* is respectfully dedicated.

Director's Report

The years 1997 and 1998 brought many changes to the Museum of Art and Archaeology. After a national search, I was appointed Director in the spring of 1997. I had been serving in the position in an interim capacity since the fall of the preceding year. During this period of leadership transition, the Museum continued to maintain high standards as it fulfilled its mission, which is worth restating here: "The primary purpose of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia is to serve the teaching and research programs of the student body and the community of scholars of the University as well as the people of our state of Missouri." Accomplishing this mission is done with the assistance of a dedicated staff, the guidance of the Museum's Advisory Committee, the active support of Museum Associates, the backing of the University administration, and the valued assistance of faculty, students and volunteers. I am pleased to have joined this organization and I welcome the opportunity to lead the Museum into the next century.

1997 and 1998 were busy ones for the Museum. Exhibitions, lectures, special events, and educational programs kept an active pace. A full listing is given at the end of this publication, but mention here of a few statistics is enlightening. In 1997, the Museum presented eight exhibitions, eight special lectures, thirty-two Midday Gallery Events, eight special events, nineteen educational programs, and five events sponsored by the Missouri Folk Arts Program. In 1998, the institution organized ten exhibitions, eleven special lectures, thirty-four Midday Gallery Events, twelve special events, eighteen educational programs, and eight Missouri

Art educator Jennifer Wax leads participants in the educational program "MASK–Music, Art and stories for Kids" in conjunction with the exhibition *India's Artistry: The Unseen Revealed.*

Folk Arts Program events. The number and variety of all these activities make the Museum of Art and Archaeology an important center of culture in the mid-Missouri community with something of interest to everyone!

Preparation began in 1997 towards securing the Museum's reaccredidation from the American Association of Museums. Our initial accreditation was achieved in 1973, and our first reaccredidation was awarded in 1983. The process entailed a thorough review of all the Museum's operations with special scrutiny of our professional standards of management. As part of the reaccredidation process, the Museum formally reviewed and reestablished its long- and short-term goals, addressing issues of staffing, exhibitions, collections care, publications, programs, finances, and facilities. With support of the University's Office of Research—the division to which the Museum reports, headed by John P. McCormick and subsequently by Jack O. Burns—new computers were acquired in 1997, greatly enhancing our communications ability. Also during this period, with the advent of the new director, funds that had been previously cut from the Museum's operating budget were restored. In 1997 the Museum's Advisory Committee was revitalized and recharged with the important roles of providing guidance to the Museum and helping raise awareness of the Museum in the community. To serve a similar function, a Student Advisory Committee was formed as well. A new design was unveiled for the Museum's thrice-yearly Calendar of Events, beginning with the summer 1997 issue. In fact the design of the calendar won an award from the American Association of Museums. The Museum also created a new Internet home page, making information about the institution's activities available to a worldwide audience. Collaboration on various projects with other MU departments continued to be important in 1997 and 1998, and these connections underlie many of the Museum's activities. Along these lines, a Museum Studies course was offered in the fall of 1998, focusing on the history and philosophy of museums.

Museum Associates pose for a photo during the trip to the St. Louis Art Museum exhibition *Angels from the Vatican.*

The Museum's friends group, Museum Associates, provided important ongoing support. Members of the Associates served on the organization's board and on special committees. A number of individuals worked as docents and as volunteers in the Museum Gift Shop. Among those who deserve special recognition for 1997 and 1998 were Presidents Peggy Glenn, Martha Trammell and Carole Sue DeLaite. I particularly wish to commend Mrs. DeLaite for her efforts in setting in place a foundation for development projects for the Museum. I also thank Bette Weiss for her continuing and generous service as Museum Gift Shop Manager. The organization's membership dues provide financial support for the Museum's acquisitions, publications, exhibitions, and educational programs. The Museum offers members a number of benefits such as invitations to exhibition openings, excursions, special receptions, and discounts on purchases in the Museum Gift Shop and on attendance fees at educational workshops. All of these offerings are highlighted in the listing that appears later in this issue. We are grateful to all of our Museum Associates and hope that they will continue their high level of involvement with the Museum.

Exhibitions

Among the most visible activities of the Museum are its exhibitions. A full schedule of those mounted in 1997 and 1998 appears later in this issue. 1997 began with *A Graphic Odyssey: Romare Bearden as Printmaker.* This traveling exhibition opened in February as part of the University's celebration of Black History Month and featured a comprehensive look at the work of one of the nation's most important twentieth-century African-American artists. This show was followed in April by *Parallel Visions: Contemporary Russian and American Painting*, an exhibition of loaned works that explored some of the current trends addressed by contemporary Russian and American painters. Other exhibitions hosted during the year included *The Time of Her Life: Jane Austen's Era*; *The Floating World: Japanese Art of the Late Edo*; and *Printed Images and Texts of*

Assistant Vice Chancellor for Human Resource Services Karen Touzeau takes a close look at works exhibited in *A Graphic Odyssey: Romare Bearden As Printmaker.*

Renaissance Nuremberg. Two exhibitions of twentieth-century art, *Tradition and Innovation in the Twentieth Century* and *The Aesthetic Energy of the Twentieth Century,* presented works that evidence the wide-ranging directions of contemporary art. These exhibitions displayed an array of objects from the Museum's permanent holdings as well as from collections of local lenders. A major undertaking in the fall was *Commitment: Fatherhood in Black America.* This show featured photographs of black fathers and their interactions with their children. The images were made by photographers Carol Patterson and Anthony Barboza, of Columbia and New York City, respectively. The exhibition coincided with the publication of a well-received book of the same title. In conjunction with the show, a panel exhibit of similar photos was circulated through all the schools in the Columbia Public Schools district.

In 1998, the exhibition schedule began with *India's Artistry: The Unseen Revealed.* This show featured over one hundred artworks from ancient times to the twentieth century and focused primarily on traditional commonplace arts. *Seventeenth-Century European Prints and Drawings*; *Passages: The Art of Jörg Schmeisser*; *Egyptian Faience*; and *Buckminster Fuller—Inventions* were smaller but equally interesting exhibitions. Running through the summer was the major exhibition *Three Centuries of Comic Art.* This show had three components that focused on eighteenth-century satire, nineteenth-century spoof, and twentieth-century subversions. Linked to University classes in the fall semester was the major traveling exhibition *Jupiter's Loves and His Children.* This show examined Greek mythology and artworks from ancient to modern times that were inspired by it. A smaller exhibit, *Greek and Roman Crafts: Metalwork, Textiles and Pottery,* linked to University classes offered during the year. Another popular display entitled *Wrapped Creatures: Animal Mummies from Egypt* opened in the fall and featured borrowed animal mummies and associated burial items from the ever-fascinating culture of ancient Egypt. This display also helped fill the void in the ancient gallery caused by the recall of the human mummy

From left: Museum shop Manager Bette Weiss, Museum director Marlene Perchinske, Museum Associate Mary Louise Bussabarger, 24th District Missouri Representative Chuck Graham, and guest Arlene Maminta share a light moment at the Museum Associates Annual Meeting and exhibition opening of *India's Artistry: The Unseen Revealed.*

and coffin of Pet-Menekh that had long been on view—that mummy had to be returned to its St. Louis lender after an eleven-year-stay here at MU. Lastly, the exhibition of contemporary art that opened at the end of October, *Twentieth-Century Sets and Series*, brought together works that were conceived by their makers as parts of groups or sets. The exhibition explored how artists, by creating works that are part of a larger whole, can expand upon and give fuller form to concepts and themes.

Acquisitions

The Museum added a number of objects to the collections in 1997 and 1998. These artworks are listed in full elsewhere in this publication, but several items are worth singling out for mention. An important ancient Greek pottery vase was acquired—a fragmentary *Red-figure Column-Krater* by the Leningrad Painter. It dates to the Classical period of the 5th century B.C.E. and shows a masterfully-painted symposium scene. Five works were added to the Roman collection, including a small but exquisite bronze sculpture of the 1st century, *The Infant Hercules Strangling Two Snakes.* This object was purchased with a combination of funds that included a donation from Museum Associates. A *Rhyton in the Shape of a Bull*, probably from the Amlash culture of ancient Iran, was donated by long-time Museum benefactors, Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks of New York.

In the area of European and American art, the Museum acquired nine paintings ranging in date from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries. These include two predella panel paintings attributed to Altobello Melone. These panels, *St. Helen Questioning Judas* and *Proving of the True Cross*, belonged to a sixteenth-century Italian altarpiece, the central panel of which, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, the Museum already owns. In this issue, readers will find an article on these paintings and the altarpiece as a whole, written by Prof. Norman Land of MU's Department of Art History and Archaeology. The article reveals how scholarship has brought together the various panels of Melone's lost *Picenardi Altarpiece.* The Museum is fortunate to now posses three of the six panels of this important Renaissance polyptych.

The Museum's collection of twentieth-century American art grew more than any other area. New acquisitions for 1997 and 1998 include *Kiss I*, a painting by Ed Paschke of Chicago; *Storyline*, a photo-etching from Robert Rauschenberg's series *Ground Rules*; *Morning Train* and *Slow Train Through Arkansas*, two lithographs by Missouri's Thomas Hart Benton; *Piss Discus*, a digital cibachrome photograph by

Andres Serrano; and *Phil/BAM*, a woven silk textile by Chuck Close. A portfolio of serigraphs entitled *10, Artist as Catalyst, A Portfolio to Benefit the Alternative Museum* adds ten prints to the collection made by important contemporary artists, including Adrian Piper, Luis Cruz Azaceta, Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid, Leon Golub, and Luis Jiménez. The addition of all these works helps to fill gaps and add depth to the Museum's twentieth-century collection.

Other areas of the collection grew with limited but welcome additions. A color woodblock print, *A Moonlight Scene over Yedo Bay at Kangawa*, by the nineteenth-century Japanese master printmaker Ando Hiroshige was acquired as a donation. A large collection of raffia and reed mats, collected in the Congo or Angola in the early twentieth century, were donated by Mr. Robert M. Brugger and add wonderful examples of weaving to the Museum's African collection. The PreColumbian collection welcomed the addition of three ancient ceramic works from Mexico—*Tripod Plate* and *Cylindrical Vessel with Relief Decoration* both from the Maya culture, and *Standing Figure with Severed Neck* from the Veracruz culture.

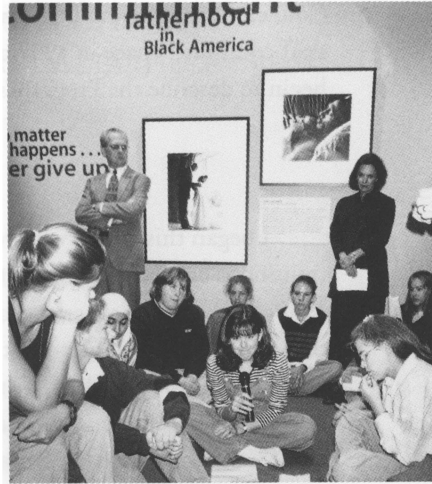
Education

The Museum's Education department continued to develop and present innovative school programs, while at the same time supervising and training the group of volunteer docents. The docent program requires that trainees audit the two-semester University course, Introduction to Western Art, and attend weekly in-depth sessions at the Museum. Enrichment sessions on special exhibitions are offered to both docents and trainees. Throughout the year, docents who have successfully completed training, lead numerous groups through the Museum, giving both general and specialized tours. The Museum is indebted to this corps of docents who provide so many hours of dedicated service. In 1997, the Museum benefited from a grant that was received from Columbia's

Printmaker Steve Wright poses with participants at a lithography workshop in conjunction with the exhibition *A Graphic Odyssey: Romare Bearden As Printmaker.*

Office of Cultural Affairs. The two-year grant, awarded in 1996, supported the development of a curriculum-based art survey project for public schools—grades 4 through 12.

Numerous other special educational programs were implemented, such as the 1997 teleconference that put a group of students from Columbia's Rock Bridge High School in communication with one of the fathers featured in the exhibition *Commitment: Fatherhood in Black America*. This engaging, interactive event used the photographs in the exhibit as a springboard for a dialog, and thereby gave the students a fuller awareness of the challenges and rewards of parenting. A complete listing of the Museum's public educational programs is provided at the end of this publication.



Students from Rock Bridge High School participate in a teleconference with one of the featured fathers in the exhibition *Commitment: Fatherhood in Black America.*

Missouri Folk Arts Program

The Missouri Folk Arts Program, a unit of the Missouri Arts Council that has operated under the administration of the Museum since 1993, continued to be active in 1997 and 1998. With funding from the Missouri Arts Council and the National Endowment for the Arts, the Program administered twenty Traditional Arts Apprenticeships in 1997 and eleven in 1998. This apprenticeship program puts interested novices with master folk artists so that aspects of Missouri's artistic heritage may be passed on to subsequent generations. Apprentices learned such varied skills as saddle making, old-time fiddling, ornamental iron working, African-American jazz tap dancing, and German bobbin lace making. A number of presentations were given around the state as part of the Program's Missouri Performing Traditions. Various folk artists performed at the *Big Muddy Folk Festival* in Boonville, at the *Tuesdays at the Capitol* series in Jefferson City, and at African-American jazz clinics in Kahoka and Kansas City, to name just a few venues. Beginning in May of 1998, and continuing through the succeeding months, the Missouri Folk Arts Program cosponsored the survey *Folk Arts of the African Diaspora in Kansas City*. This survey was made possible by a grant from the Lila B. Wallace Fund for Folk Culture and matching funds from the Missouri Arts

Council. Planning and implementation of other projects by the Folk Arts Program staff continued apace in 1997 and 1998, and the activities mentioned here only begin to describe the Program's important work.

I began this report with reference to changes at the Museum. Inevitably, transitions occur at any institution and the Museum is no exception. In 1997 and 1998, the Museum experienced a number of changes in staffing. A full listing of the staff is given at the end of this publication, but I particularly want to cite two persons who held key positions. In May of 1997, Christine Neal, Curator of European and American Art, left for a similar position in Georgia. In December of 1998, Luann Andrews, Curator of Education stepped down in order to explore other activities, after ten years of service to this institution. We wish all the best to Neal and Andrews, as well as to other staff members who left to pursue endeavors beyond the Museum. One of the things, however, that has not changed at the Museum is the quality and strength of this institution. As evidenced in this report, the Museum is committed to fulfilling its mission. Collection growth continues, care of collections is ongoing, and access to the collections through exhibitions, interpretation and publication is strong. Like any institution, we continue to face various challenges—a long-standing one being the lack of physical space—but these challenges are merely obstacles to be overcome. In the opening paragraph of this report, I stated that all the Museum's achievements are accomplished with the support of many individuals. I wish to commend all those persons who contributed their time and talents to making this institution what it is today, and to all of them I offer my sincere thanks.

Marlene Perchinske
Director

Reconstructing a Reconstruction: Altobello Melone's "Picenardi Altarpiece"

Norman E. Land

The paintings of the Cremonese artist, Altobello Melone (flourished ca. 1508–1535) are not very well known, in part because relatively few of them are located outside of Italy. The recent migration of two of his works, both predella panels, *Saint Helen Questioning Judas* (Fig. 8) and *Proving of the True Cross* (Fig. 9), to the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, is, then, especially welcomed. The arrival of the panels, which were formerly in a private collection in Milan, is unusually significant for another reason, too. The museum already owns the central panel of the altarpiece (Fig. 3) to which the two much smaller works originally belonged.[1] Most importantly the panels offer the opportunity to appreciate two paintings of singular beauty.

The attribution of the two predella panels (Figs. 8 and 9) to Altobello, who was a pupil of Romanino, seems certain.[2] One needs only compare the larger figures in them to the figures in his *Tobias and the Angel* (Fig. 1) and *Saint Helen* (Fig. 2), both in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and to the *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 3) to see similar morphological features.[3] The figures in the larger panels, as well as those in the two predella panels, share the same earthy, almost peasant-like, broadness of facial features and psychological presence. Those qualities, however, are tempered by a certain graceful ease to the poses of the figures, which carry themselves with an almost aristocratic self-confidence. In this regard we should notice, too, that the bright red color of the virgin's tunic in the *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 3) is echoed in one of the predella panels (Fig. 8), while the dark green of her mantle is repeated in both.

If the paintings just mentioned are all by Altobello, there is nevertheless a significant difference between the two predella panels (Figs. 8 and 9). Certainly both were drawn by Altobello, for, in addition to a similar quality of line and form, they each exhibit a consistency of invention. For example, in both panels there are indistinct figures in the background who peer around doorways and other portions of the architectural setting. The colors used in each panel, however, are not entirely the same. In *Saint Helen Questioning Judas* (Fig. 8) the flesh of the figures is

Fig. 1. *Tobias and the Angel.* (22.5 × 47.5 cm) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Photo no. A290).

pinkish and there is a relatively liberal use of bright red for some of their clothing, while in the *Proving of the True Cross* (Fig. 9) the flesh is colored a pale, grayish white and there are no intense reds to be found anywhere. Another difference between the two panels is that in one (Fig. 9) there is a darker, more somber atmosphere than in the other (Fig. 8). Lastly, in both panels portions of Saint Helen's clothing have been overpainted with a web of white highlights, but in one panel (Fig. 8) the lines were laid on with much more confidence and calligraphic elegance than in the other (Fig. 9). All of these similarities and differences suggest that the *Proving of the True Cross* (Fig. 9) was probably drawn and colored by Altobello, while *Saint Helen Questioning Judas* (Fig. 8), though drawn by him or at least under his supervision and guidance, might have been colored by one of his assistants. About fifteen years ago Francesco Frangi, inspired by the work of previous scholars, suggested that the panels we have mentioned so far, the two in Oxford (Figs. 1 and 2), and the three in Columbia (Figs. 3, 8 and 9), plus the *Finding of the True Cross* in the National Museum, Algiers (Fig. 6), also a predella panel, were once part of a single altarpiece, the so-called "Picenardi Altarpiece."[4] In other words, Frangi has proposed what scholars call a

"reconstruction" of the original work (see Fig. 5).

Between the Renaissance period and the beginning of this century, numerous altarpieces were removed from their original locations and their panels sold separately to mostly European and American collectors who often donated them to major museums. Thanks to the efforts of various art historians, a few of those "dispersed" altarpieces have been physically reintegrated and many others have been reconstructed. In other words, scholars have noticed from time to time that panels in one location and another originally belonged to a single altarpiece and have brought them together again, if only on paper, by means of photography.

The reconstruction of an originally multi-paneled altarpiece sometimes requires decades to accomplish. First, one scholar will connect two or more works; then, perhaps after a long while, others will suggest further additions. Yet another scholar might discover documentary evidence relevant to the task, while still another might question a portion of the reconstruction or reject it entirely. Eventually, when a consensus is reached, we gain a better idea of the original state of the altarpiece, and a better understanding of some particular aspect of the history of art. Sadly, however, the frame, which in the case of Renaissance altarpieces was an important part of the work of art, is almost always missing.

Too often, once the dispersed panels have been linked and the altarpiece's stylistic or other importance agreed upon, no further attention is given to the work. Rarely is the subject matter of a reconstructed altarpiece discussed, even though such discussion might help to establish its authenticity. That is to say, if the appearance and dimensions of the panels in question fit together, then their subject matter should also be integrated.

The recent reconstruction of the Picenardi altarpiece offers an excellent opportunity not only to retrace the complex history of a reconstruction, but to demonstrate the importance of iconography to a fuller understanding of the reassembled work.

In 1872 Federico Sacchi described three panels, formerly in the Picenardi Collection in Cremona as follows: "The Virgin and Child enthroned in the middle, Saint Helen and Tobias and the Angel [i.e., the Archangel Raphael] on the sides. Triptych in oil on wood; 1 m. 12 cm. high and 1 m. 42 cm. wide. This painting, coming from the gallery in the tower of the Picenardi [family], was sold to an English antiquarian in 1869."[5] The collection mentioned by Sacchi was originally formed by Conte Giovanni Battista Biffi of Cremona, a cousin of the Picenardi family, who died in 1807. In 1816 the collection was inherited by Serafino

Fig. 2. *Saint Helen.* (22.5 × 47.5 cm) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Photo no. A291).

Sommi (d. 1857), who planned to build a combination library and gallery ("Biblio-Pinacoteca") to house the collection. In 1820 the gallery-library was still under construction. By 1838 Sommi had made over his possessions to his sons, Girolamo and Antonio Sommi-Picenardi. Eventually, Marchese Araldi-Erizzo, also of Cremona, inherited the Sommi-Picenardi Collection, most of which was sold to Giovanni Baslini, a Milanese antiquarian, in 1869.[6] From Baslini at least two panels went in 1872 to an anonymous English dealer, from whom they were bought by J. D. Chambers.[7] Chambers, in turn, gave the two panels, *Tobias and the Angel* (Fig. 1) and *Saint Helen* (Fig. 2) to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford in 1897. The Missouri *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (Fig. 3), believed to be the central panel of the Picenardi triptych, might also have been sold by the anonymous English dealer, but to a collector other than Chambers.[8] In any case, the panel eventually entered the Contini-Bonacossi Collection in Florence and from there went to the collection of Samuel H. Kress in 1936.[9] In 1961 the Kress Foundation gave the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* to the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia. In 1950 Luigi Grassi, citing the aid of Luigi Salerno and Roberto Longhi, suggested for the first time

that the Missouri *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (Fig. 3), was once the central panel of a triptych (see Fig. 4) that included the Oxford panels (Figs. 1 and 2). Grassi also connected the Missouri and Oxford panels with Sacchi's description and hence with the Picenardi triptych.[10] That reconstruction has been generally accepted among scholars (see Fig. 4).

After Grassi's reconstruction appeared, other panels were linked to it. Federico Zeri first suggested that the *Finding of the True Cross* in Algiers (Fig. 6) was once part of a predella originally below the three larger panels.[11] Less convincing has been Mina Gregori's identification of a *Saint Helen Traveling to Jerusalem* in a private collection (Fig. 7) as a panel formerly in the predella.[12] Most recently, Frangi, rejecting Gregori's proposal, placed the *Saint Helen Questioning Judas* (Fig. 8), and the *Proving of the True Cross* (Fig. 9), in the predella of the Picenardi triptych, now viewed as a polyptych (see Fig. 4).[13] Frangi also identified the reconstructed polyptych (Fig. 5) with a seventeenth-century altarpiece once in the church of Sant'Elena in Cremona.[14] That altarpiece was described by Paolo Merula in a book of 1627 on churches in the city of Cremona: "the Virgin with the Christ Child and on the sides, the Archangel Raphael and Saint Helen."[15] Certainly the reconstructed

Fig. 3. *Madonna and Child Enthroned.* (22.5 × 47.6 cm) Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 61.77.

Fig. 4. Picenardi Triptych. Reconstruction proposed by L. Grassi.

altarpiece, which features a full-length figure of Saint Helen as well as episodes from her life in its predella, would have been appropriate in a church dedicated to her. We should notice, too, that normally a panel in the predella of an altarpiece will show a scene from the life of the saint above it. Each of the three panels in the predella of the Picenardi polyptych represents scenes from a single narrative, the life of St. Helen, which circumstance tends to confirm the suggestion that the polyptych was painted for the church of Sant'Elena.

Although the reconstruction is convincing, there are some important details regarding the dismantled Picenardi altarpiece that deserve consideration. One such detail is the measurements given by Sacchi. He says that the triptych he saw in the Picenardi Collection was 112 cm high and 142 cm wide. Together, the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (Fig. 3) and the Oxford panels (Figs. 1 and 2), which are each about 112 cm high and measure 142.3 cm in total width, are compatible with Sacchi's measurements. Thus we may assume that when Sacchi measured the three panels, they were not in a frame. Had they been, the dimensions certainly would have been greater. We should notice, too, that if the triptych seen by

Fig. 5. Picenardi Altarpiece. Reconstruction proposed by F. Frangi.

Sacchi contained predella panels, which, in any case, he does not mention, his measurement of the height would have been greater. We may also assume, then, that when Sacchi saw the three panels, the altarpiece to which they originally belonged already had been dismantled, and that the original work could have contained both additional side panels and a predella.

One curious feature of the reconstruction (Fig. 5) is that the background in the three large panels is discontinuous. In the Oxford panels (Figs. 1 and 2) the figures stand in a landscape. Moreover, the landscape in one panel (Fig. 1) is similar to that in the other (Fig. 2), as if the figures stand in one and the same

location. In the central panel (Fig. 3), however, the Virgin and Christ child are situated in an architectural setting. This use of both landscape and architecture as settings for the figures in a single altarpiece, while not unique—it recalls paintings by Giovanni Bellini and Cima da Conegliano—is very unusual. Still, the original frame might well have obviated the contrast between the architectural setting of the central panel and the landscapes in the side panels. For example, the frame might have somehow enhanced the impression that the Virgin and Child reside in a separate, even transcendent realm, while the two saints are, so to speak, earthbound.

There are, however, other features of the reconstruction that strongly suggest its authenticity. For example, the handling of the paint, which is consistent throughout the three large panels (Figs. 1, 2 and 3), has been described by Sydney J. Freedberg as follows: "A subtly worked calligraphy, made of threads of light, instills power in the quiet forms, and a shimmering illumination suffuses colours. The persons in the triptych resemble Romanino's, but they have been made more poignant, given a deliberately unbeautiful Germanic cast."[16] Also supporting the proposed reconstruction (see Fig. 5) is the fact that the width of each predella panel is virtually the same as the width of each of the large panels.

There are also significant thematic connections among the various panels that further authenticate the reconstruction. The story of Tobias and the angel, represented in one of the Oxford panels (Fig. 1) is told in the book of Tobit in the Apocrypha. Tobit, who accidentally had lost his sight and thought himself near death, instructed his son Tobias to travel to Media to collect some money owed him. Tobias found a companion, really the Archangel Raphael in disguise, to go with him on the journey, and they set off accompanied by a dog. On this journey, Tobias caught a fish, which Raphael instructed him to disembowel, keeping the heart, liver and gall. The first two named organs, Raphael said, could be used to drive off evil spirits, and the gall would heal Tobit's eyes. Eventually Tobias returned home and used the gall to heal his father's eyes. In the Oxford panel representing Tobias and the Archangel (Fig. 1), we see Raphael, holding a walking stick in one hand as he gazes out toward the viewer. He also grasps the hand of Tobias, represented as a small boy holding two fish on a string. At the feet of the Archangel a dog sniffs the ground. Significantly a small dog is also represented in two of the predella panels (Figs. 8 and 9), but even more significant is the way in which the Christ child in the central panel (Fig. 3) turns toward Tobias, who gazes back at Him. The two panels seem to suggest a thematic link between

Fig. 6. *Finding of the True Cross.* (28 × 50 cm) Musée National des Beaux-Arts, Algiers.

Fig. 7. *Saint Helen Traveling to Jerusalem.* (25.5 × 46.5 cm) Private Collection.

Christ and Tobias, both of whom are children: like Christ, who healed the blind (Matthew 12:22), Tobias was able to restore his father's sight. In addition, Christ was able to heal spiritual blindness, just as Tobias was able eventually to see that his companion was really an angel. Lastly, fish, like the ones held by Tobias, are a conventional symbol of Christ.

Fig. 8. *St. Helen Questioning Judas.* (22.5 × 47.5 cm) Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 98.2.1.

Saint Helen, the patron saint of the church of Sant'Elena in Cremona where the altarpiece was originally found, stands in the right wing of the triptych (Fig. 2). While gazing at the infant Christ in the central panel, she embraces the very Cross on which He will later be crucified. Like the Virgin, she is a mother and embraces the Cross in a manner that echoes the way in which the Virgin holds the Christ child. In addition, the gaze of Tobias and Christ at one another echoes the glance of St. Helen, who, in turn, looks at them, and the three gazes together suggest a rising diagonal from the lower left panel through the central panel and into the upper part of the right panel, linking all three both formally and iconographically. This rising diagonal implies the motion of raising a cross, such as occurred at Christ's Crucifixion, and echoes the movement of the cross lifted over the dead man in the predella panel under St. Helen (Fig. 9).

The scenes depicted in the predella panels (Figs. 6, 8 and 9) are from the legend of Saint Helen, mother of Constantine the Great. The story is told in, among other places, *The Golden Legend* of the Genoese bishop, Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1229–1298).[17] Helen sets out to find the True Cross, that is the Cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified. In Jerusalem, she found a group of Jews, one of whom, a man named Judas (who was later baptized and became Quiriacus, Bishop of Jerusalem), knew the whereabouts of the Cross but refused to divulge the

Fig. 9. *Proving of the True Cross.* (22.5 × 47.5 cm) Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 98.2.2.

location. Helen then had Judas put into a dry well until he either starved to death or revealed what he knew. In one of the predella panels in Missouri (Fig. 8), we see Judas kneeling before Helen, while in the background to the viewer's right-hand side, he is being lowered into or taken out of the dry well. After the True Cross and the other two on which the thieves were crucified were discovered near Golgotha, as is depicted in the panel in Algiers (Fig. 6), Helen could not identify the one on which Christ was crucified. She therefore instructed that each be held over the corpse of a man who had recently died. When the True Cross passed over him, he sprang to life. As is depicted in the other panel in Missouri (Fig. 9), the dead man was resurrected by the Cross.

We have been reading the predella panels horizontally, but the Renaissance viewer might also have read them vertically. For instance, the raising of the dead man in the right predella panel (Fig. 9) suggests the theme of resurrection which is brought about by Christ, shown with His mother (Fig. 5), through His crucifixion on the Cross held by Saint Helen.[18]

The proposed reconstruction of the Picenardi altarpiece, formerly in the church of Sant'Elena in Cremona, has taken decades to accomplish. Possibly other panels were also once part of the work and will eventually come to light. For the moment, however, we can say with some assurance that the reconstruction is

correct. Not only are the panels compatible in terms of measurements and the artist's style, they are linked thematically, too. The narrative scenes in the predella are directly related to the panel with Saint Helen holding the True Cross (Fig. 2). Moreover, the themes of blindness and healing not only connect the *Tobias and the Angel* (Fig. 1) with the figure of the Infant Christ in the central panel (Fig. 3), they are present in the scene in which Saint Helen interrogates Judas (Fig. 8), who is also blind to the message of Christianity, although according to the legend, his eyes will soon be opened.

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NOTES

1. For the Missouri panel, see *The Samuel H. Kress Study Collection at the University of Missouri*, ed. Norman Land (Columbia and London, 1999), pp. 53-61.

2. The attribution was first made by Francesco Frangi, in *I Campi e la cultura artistica cremonese del Cinquecento*, ed., Carlo Pirovano, (Milan, 1985), pp. 96-7. See also Marcantonio Michiel, *The Anonimo: Notes on Pictures and Works of Art in Italy Made by an Anonymous Writer of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. George C. Williamson, trans. Paolo Mussi, (New York, 1969), p. 50. Michiel says that Altobello was a pupil of the Brescian painter, Girolamo di Romano (ca. 1485-ca. 1560), better known as Romanino. For more information about Altobello and for further bibliography, see Marco Tanzi, "Melone, Altobello," in *Dictionary of Art,* ed., Jane Turner, 34 vols. (New York, 1996), 21: 93-94. Altobello's style, like that of a number of his contemporaries in Cremona, reflects his synthesis of several sources, not only Boccaccino and Romanino, but Albrecht Altdorfer and Albrecht Dürer, as well as sixteenth-century Venetian artists, especially Lorenzo Lotto, Giorgione, Titian and the much less famous Marco Marziale, who lived in Cremona from 1500-1507.

3. For the Ashmolean panels, see Christopher Lloyd, *A Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 114-155.

4. Francesco Frangi, in *Pittura a Cremona dal Romanico al Settecento*, ed. Mina Gregori (Milan, 1990), pp. 35 and 260. For the panel in Algiers, see note 11 below.

5. Federico Sacchi, *Notizie pittoriche cremonesi*, Cremona, 1872, p. 134: "La Vergine ed il Bambino in trono, nel mezzo, S. Elena e Tobia coll'Angelo, ai lati. Trittico dipinto in tavola ad olio; alto un metro e 12 centim., largo un metro e 42 centim. Questo dipinto, proveniente dalla Galleria delle Torri de' Picenardi, fu nel 1869 venduto ad un antiquario Inglese," cited by Luigi Grassi, "Ingegno di Altobello Melone," *Proporzioni* 3 (1950), p. 159, n. 25. In an inventory of the collection from 1827, the triptych is identified as the work of Gian Francesco Bembo, a Cremonese artist who was active between 1515 and 1543. See Gerolamo

Sommi-Picenardi, *Le Torre de' Picenardi* (Modena, 1909), p. 155, cited by Mina Gregori, "Altobello, il Romanino e il '500 Cremonese," *Paragone* 69 (1955), p. 4.

6. Facts relating to the collection and to the Sommi family may be found in Gerolamo Sommi-Picenardi, *La famiglia Sommi-Picenardi*, (Cremona, 1893), pl. XV (privately printed), cited by Lloyd, *A Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. 115; Giuseppe Picenardi, *Nuova Guida di Cremona per gli Amatori dell'Arti del Disegno*, (Cremona, 1820), pp. 304-310; and Pietro Maisen, *Cremona Illustrate e suoi Dintori*, (Cremona, 1865), p. 440.

7. Lloyd, *A Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Paintings*, pp. 113-115.

8. There was, however, a sale of 81 of the Picenardi paintings in Paris (Hotel Drouot) in April, 1881. The Missouri panel might have been sold then.

9. Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools, XV-XVI Century*, (London, 1968), p. 86.

10. Grassi, "Ingegno di Altobello Melone," pp. 153-155.

11. Federico Zeri, "Altobello Melone: quattro tavole," *Paragone*, 39, 1953, p. 43.

12. Mina Gregori, "Altobello e Gianfrancesco Bembo," *Paragone* 93, 1957, pp. 32-33.

13. Francesco Frangi, in *I Campi e la cultura artistica cremonese* pp. 96-7. See also Frangi, in *Pittura a Cremona*, p. 260.

14. Ibid.

15. Paulus Merula, *Santuario di Cremona*, pp. 226-7: "la Vergine col Bambino e ai lati l'Arcangelo Raffaele e Sant'Elena," cited by Frangi, *I Campi e la cultura artistica cremonese*, p. 97. Unfortunately, Merula did not mention the artist responsible for the work.

16. Sydney J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500 to 1600*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1991), p. 375.

17. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, transl. William Granger Ryan 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), 1:277-284. See also Butler's *Lives of the Saints: Complete Edition*, ed., rev. and suppl. Herbert Thurston, S. J. and Donald Atwater, 3 vols. (New York, 1956), 3: 346-348 (contains further bibliography on the life of Saint Helen).

18. I am indebted to William E. Wallace, Washington University, St. Louis, for this observation and others silently incorporated into this paper.

Fig. 1. Evarts Tracy, American, 1868-1929 and Egerton Swartwout, American, 1872-1944, architects. *Missouri State Capitol*, South Elevation, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1912-1917. Photo: Jeffrey L. Ball.

The Missouri Murals: Studies for the State Capitol Decorations

Jeffrey L. Ball

Introduction

Mention the Missouri State Capitol and mural painting, and most people think of Thomas Hart Benton's famous work *The Social History of Missouri,* which he painted for the lounge of the House of Representatives from 1934 to 1936. Yet this important mural cycle is not part of the original work at the capitol.[1] Predating his paintings is an extensive set of decorations carried out from 1919 to 1927 by dozens of artists in many different media, including seventy-eight murals by twenty-five painters.[2] The Missouri capitol (Fig. 1) was one of the last buildings to be extensively decorated in the tradition of the American Renaissance, and the amount of art work added to the new building was rivaled by few other structures in America.[3] The purpose of this article is to take a closer look at the original murals by means of the impressive collection of artists' studies that survive and are a part of the holdings of the Museum of Art and Archaeology and the Special Collections Department of Ellis Library, both at the University of Missouri-Columbia.[4]

Mural Painting In America At the Turn of the Century

State capitols are ideal buildings to decorate. The reason is to be found in the conceptual role of public art in the theories of many of the most popular muralists, sculptors, and architects in the United States during the period around the turn of the century. The leading spokesman among the muralists, Edwin Blashfield, wrote that "all municipal art should be at once a decoration and a commemoration. It *must* beautify and *should* celebrate; thus becoming a double stimulus, first to the aesthetic sense, second to the sense of patriotism."[5] These words were echoed by the architect Cass Gilbert:

> It [public art] is an inspiration toward patriotism and good citizenship, it encourages just pride in the state, and is an education to on-coming generations to see these things, imponderable elements of life and character, set before the people for their enjoyment and betterment...it is a symbol of the civilization, culture and ideals of our country.[6]

Where better to place such inspirational and educational adornments than in the spaces of a capitol building? It is, after all, the most important symbolic public building for a state, wherein are housed the functions of democratic government—the most cherished of American institutions. At the very least, on the idealistic level, state capitols are supposed to represent the qualities of justice, benevolence, and patriotism that are the hallmarks of the conceptions of a great and noble society.

It is on this ideal plane that public art during the period of the American Renaissance was meant to operate, and this was especially true for mural painting.[7] In their uplifting visions of history, their presentations of "heroes", and their unsullied and hopeful views toward ethics and government, muralists were seen to be serving in their traditional artistic role as illustrators of societal ideals:

> Throughout history the great decorated Public Building has been one of the most valuable assets of a nation, the stimulus of the indifferent, the educator of the ignorant, the teacher of aesthetics, patriotism and morals.[8]

It is in the state capitols built in the decades surrounding the turn-of-the-century that these sentiments were best fulfilled. They embody, more than any other building type in America, monumental architecture, sculpture, and mural painting in the grand manner; they are statements of the governments' ambition, pride, respect for their past, and hope for their future.

These ideas reached their seminal expression at the 1893 Columbian Exposition held in Chicago. The fair set the popular tastes for art and architecture for the next three decades, for it was in Chicago that the American public was exposed to the effects of the combination of sculptural, mural, and architectural decorations applied to monumental buildings. There had been important mural commissions in America before the fair, but none galvanized the popular imagination like those that were seen in Chicago.[9] The soon-to-be-finished decoration programs for the Boston Public Library and the Library of Congress only added to the sudden popularity of mural painting, and architects and artists wrote often in their professional journals of the need to complete new structures with the addition of decorative programs. Another sign of the increased interest in this type of art was the establishment of the National Society of Mural Painters, which was founded in 1895 to set professional standards and to further popularize the concept of public decoration. It was strongly felt by artist and architect alike that a building was not finished until it had been given the proper decorative touch by the

muralist, sculptor, designer, and decorator:

> it is surely the time to renew the alliance of architecture, the center point of all the arts, with painting, under the influence of the early Renaissance, while at the same time striving for a style in harmony with the best aims of modern civilization and artistic development.[10]

Or as Edwin Blashfield wrote in 1914, "Decorative Art is the art of embellishing the background of life."[11]

So, given their importance, state capitols often became the testing grounds for these developing ideas about the role of public art in America. Some of the largest and most elaborate mural cycles were commissioned for the newly built capitols, with those in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota leading the way. These commissions attracted the leading muralists of the day, providing significant amounts of work for Edwin Blashfield, Kenyon Cox, Edwin Austin Abbey, John La Farge, and Violet Oakley, among others.

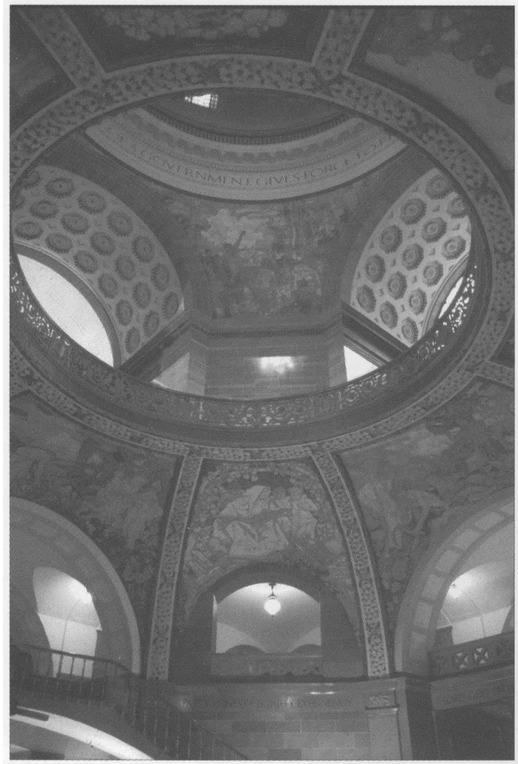

Fig. 2. Sir Frank Brangwyn, British, 1867-1956. Murals in Rotunda Areas, Missouri State Capitol, 1920-25. Photo: Jeffrey L. Ball.

The paintings ranged from historical events to symbolic statements of statehood but were mostly allegorical expressions of everything from agriculture to the settlement of the West. Three types of subjects were common. Large, white-clad female figures dominate many of the compositions: if she sits next to farming tools, she represents *Agriculture*; if it is palettes and brushes, she represents *Art*. A separate type of painting will include these figures with historical details; thus, pioneers are led to the west by figures of *Progress* or *Destiny*; George Washington lays down his sword at the feet of *Victory* or *Democracy*, rather than the Continental Congress. The third type of mural typically displayed historical events as straightforwardly as possible. This last type emerged around 1910 or

so, and slowly began to replace the earlier two types of subjects.[12]

The allegorical type of art is represented at the Missouri capitol in mostly sculptural works and stained-glass windows, but one large mural cycle demonstrates this style. These canvases are by the British artist Frank Brangwyn, who was commissioned to decorate the area under the dome, the most important public space in the building. For the lower level of the rotunda he painted eight canvases encompassing two themes (Fig. 2); four wide murals depict *Water, Air, Fire,* and *Earth,* and interspersed between these are four smaller paintings of *Education*, *Science* (Fig. 3), *Art*, and *Agriculture.* The conception here is that the elemental forces of nature are put to the service of mankind by means of intellectual advances, all for the greater good of the growth of Missouri. The universalist viewpoint of these lower dome paintings, which would fit equally well in any other state capitol, is made only slightly more specific in the canvases Brangwyn painted for the upper rotunda. Here he painted four murals for the dome pendentives, each showing a successive stage of "civilization" in the history of the state. The *First Landing* (of white settlers, Pierre Laclede in this case) gives way to the *First Settlers*, who are replaced by the *Home Builders*, which is in turn succeeded by the *Modern State.* The settings and figures in these works are generic and include such stereotypes as the pioneer mother and child, as well as typical Brangwyn symbols such as a bridge to represent modern technological advances. Overall, the themes presented in the two levels of paintings are best read in an allegorical context rather than in any specific historical terms, and thus are close to the conceptions articulated by Blashfield and the other leaders of the American Renaissance.

Fig. 3. Sir Frank Brangwyn, British, 1867-1956. Compositional study for *"Science"* as if seen from the lower rotunda, c. 1923-25, charcoal and pastels on composition board, 55.8 cm × 66.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.13.

The majority of the Missouri murals, however, are done in the more straightforward historical style and are the best example of a change in attitude by artists and critics in the period from 1910 to 1930 about the proper role and appearance of decorations for public monuments. By championing a style that relied on seemingly historically accurate depictions of past events and subjects, this art strives to communicate with the public in as democratic (i.e. realistic and illustrative) a guise as possible. The original murals for the Missouri capitol are the best example of this attitude and, like other works of the twenties, serve as the jumping off point for the socially conscious, Regionalist works of the 1930s that were championed by artists like Benton and Grant Wood.[13]

The types of murals that would be painted in these years were conditioned by the criticism that emerged around the turn of the century of the allegorical works of the earlier period. Critics such as Montgomery Schuyler, George Santayana, and Charles Shean began to see academic art as an anachronism in American culture. In an age of exploding industrialization and urbanization, how could imported styles from past ages and other countries have any pertinence in twentieth-century, democratic America? They could not, contended the critics. The trouble with "genteel" art, as George Santayana labeled it, was its separation of thought from the experience of American life. It resulted in an art of adornment and aestheticism rather than one that grew organically out of the experience of modern life. If murals were to retain relevance, they must appeal to the democratic spirit; they had to be accessible to all citizens.
For mural painting, the leading spokesperson for this viewpoint was the critic Charles Shean. In articles published in the *Craftsman*, such as "A Plea for Americanism in Subject and Ornamental Details," of 1901, or "Mural Painting From the American Point of View," of 1904, he wrote that a painter engaged in public work, paid by public

Fig. 4. Oscar E. Berninghaus, American, 1874-1952. Final composition for *"Surrender of the Miamis to Gen. H. Dodge, 1814"*, c. 1923-24, tempera charcoal and graphite on paper, 49.5 cm × 89.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.47.

funds, should look to the community and nation for which the works are destined for subject matter:

> [Monumental art] can't be a field for the exploitation of studio reminiscences of echoes of the old classical and academic art of Europe. It must have for its base the broad support of popular pride and appreciation.[14]

All American artists needed to do was to look around them, at their land, life, and history. Only then would an American school of muralists "of us and not among us" be produced. The public buildings of the nation would then be glorious statements of patriotism and citizenship:

> On their walls, our lawgivers and statesmen, our authors, scientists and inventors will find fitting remembrance. The growth of the State from the scattered and struggling colonies of the Atlantic seaboard to the Imperial Republic stretching from ocean to ocean; the sufferings and triumphs of our soldiers and sailors; the development of our varied industries will be there recorded. There, too, will be depicted the bustling life of our harbors, lakes and rivers, and landscape art will find new dignity and power in its larger field.[15]

A better description of the Missouri murals would be hard to write (Figs. 4, 5, 8).

It is within this art historical context that on April 10, 1917, Governor Frederick D. Gardner announced the formation of the Capitol Decoration Commission to finish the new Missouri capitol with the addition of appropriate works of art. The final report, issued in 1919 by the commission responsible for the construction of the building, set out the guidelines to be followed by the newly created Decoration Commission:

> Before concluding this report we wish to lay special emphasis upon the necessity of decorating the building both with artistic coloring of the walls...and with mural paintings in many places, and adorning it with appropriate statuary.... There are many spaces where decoration could be fittingly applied and which would bring out in strong relief and fine emphasis the striking and classic architecture. Its absence is a painful lack and a sore disappointment. The beautiful state capitols of Minnesota, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania and numerous other public buildings of the country are forceful illustrations of the value of artistic adornment.[16]

Through careful planning by the Capitol Decoration Commission during its

eleven-year life, the capitol was to be transformed from "a sore disappointment" to one of the great monuments of public decoration found in the United States.

The Capitol Decoration Commission

To the credit of the state government, most of the five members of the Capitol Decoration Commission were not chosen for political reasons, but instead, the core of the group was made up of experts in the art world. Serving as president was Dr. John Pickard, head of the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. Arthur Kocian, an art dealer from St. Louis and co-owner of the Noonan-Kocian Gallery, acted as the secretary, and the well-known St. Louis philanthropist and supporter of the arts William K. Bixby served as vice-president. The remaining two members of the Decoration Commission, both of whom seem to have had minor roles in the daily activity of the group, were Cora Herndon Painter, of Carrollton, the wife of a former Lieutenant Governor, and Kansas City banker John F. Downing, who had served on the commission involved with the *Liberty Memorial* project in that city.[17]

Pickard and Kocian emerge as the two most active members of the commission, and Dr. Pickard was the dominant force in its decision-making.[18] A scholar of ancient Greek art, Pickard was a well-known figure in the art world, serving, for instance, from 1915 to 1919 as the second president of the College Art Association. In his addresses to that body, and in his writings of the period, Pickard reflected a deep interest in the educational value of art. For him, art represented the highest achievements of any advanced civilization, and "is as valuable to the state as is agriculture."[19] For this reason "absolutely the most practical building that could be erected on the campus of a university is a great art gallery."[20] It is not hard to see the newly decorated state capitol—the art gallery of the state—as Pickard's "most practical building." His work for the

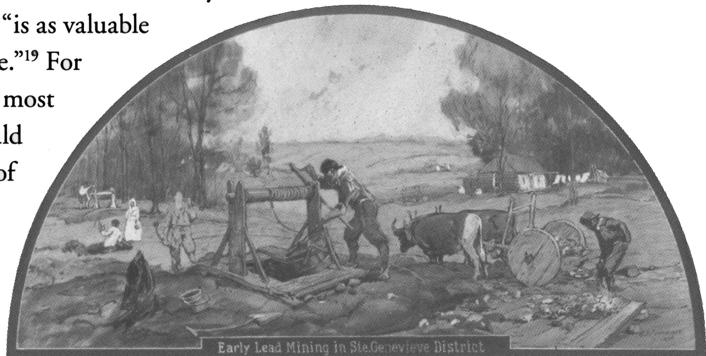

Fig. 5. Oscar E. Berninghaus, American, 1874-1952. Final composition for *"Early Lead Mining in Ste. Genevieve District"*, c. 1923-24, tempera on paper mounted on composition board, 49.7 cm × 81.1 cm. Special Collections, Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia.

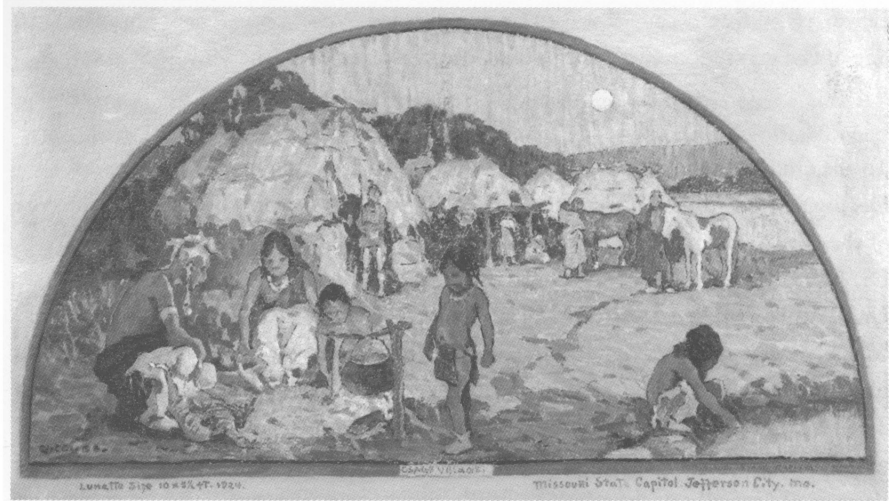

Fig. 6. E. Irving Couse, American, 1866-1936. Final composition for *"Osage Village",* c. 1923-24, oil on masonite, 30.3 cm × 40.8 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.37.

Fig. 7. E. Irving Couse, American, 1866-1936. Final composition for *"Log Cabins",* c. 1923-24, oil on masonite, 30.4 cm × 40.9 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.38.

Decoration Commission was the capstone of a career dedicated to raising the level of artistic appreciation among his fellow citizens.

Along with Pickard, Kocian ran the activities of the commission. Serving as secretary, he handled the bookkeeping and financial matters. More importantly, he brought his background as an art dealer to the group, an experience which was particularly invaluable in the day-to-day dealings with the artists. Some of the artists hired by the commission had exhibited in St. Louis at the Noonan-Kocian Gallery, and those connections led to the introduction of other artists to the group.

From 1917 to 1928, the Decoration Commission spent just over $1 million on the decoration of the capitol (the structure cost $3.75 million). Such an unprecedented amount of money available for the decoration of the capitol was unforeseen in the original plans for the rebuilding of the capitol, nor even at the time of the Decoration Commission's inception. The same fund that paid for the building, the Capitol Tax Fund, which paid off the original revenue bonds, also paid for the decorations. This tax was a special levy, voted on by the citizens of the state in 1911, and tied to the real estate values. Inflation during the war produced an excess of money that continued to pour into the state coffers until the mid-twenties. (The original tax levy had been set up to last until 1924, but the bonds for the construction were retired in 1918).[21]

The Decoration Commission began their work in 1919, after returning from a tour of other state capitols, where they were especially impressed by those in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania. The first areas worked on by the commission were the Senate and House of Representatives, the upper rotunda of the dome area, and the eastern end of the state museum (originally called the Soldiers and Sailors Museum). The murals (and other works) for these spaces were commissioned from 1919 to 1920. From 1921 to 1922, works were bought for the lower dome, the western museum (Resources Museum), and the Governor's reception room (now the Governor's office). The last murals were commissioned in 1923 and 1924 for the outer corridor of the second floor. The last years of the commission were taken up with mostly sculptural works for the exterior of the building.

The murals in each area are thematically connected. In the Senate, the important figures in the history of the state are celebrated (Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Daniel Boone), and in the House of Representatives, themes of war and peace are presented. Missouri's contribution to prominent battles in America's wars

are found in the eastern museum (Battle of Wilson's Creek of the Civil War, Indian attack on St. Louis during the Revolutionary War), and the state's resources, cities, and industries are found in the western half (Ead's Bridge, zinc mining, St. Louis). As seen earlier, the most important public area under the dome is decorated with murals by Frank Brangwyn that present a grand and lofty statement of the settlement of the frontier. The early history of Missouri—including industries, battles, heroes, inhabitants, and historic sites—are presented in lunettes along the second floor corridor (Ste. Genevieve, lead mining, Osage Indians, Santa Fe Trail, steamboats on the Missouri River). The Governor's chamber is used to highlight figures in education and literature (Samuel Clemens, James Rollins). As a whole, the images are meant to present a comprehensive review of the state—geographically, developmentally, and historically—and unifying it all is the common theme of celebrating Missouri.[22]

Once the subjects were decided upon, the artists were given details of the event or activity they were to depict, from which they formulated their compositions. These details were often gathered from local historical societies or resident "experts." When possible, the artists visited the sites where their scenes took place, and, in some cases, even talked to witnesses who were still living. For example, the *Taos Valley News* reported that "Victor Higgins came to Boon's (sic) Lick to paint the original sketch for his decoration, *The Indians Making Salt* (sic), and Bert Phillips traveled half over the state in quest of an old house that must be absolutely authentic in one of his panels. And so it seems the Taos group ought to be fairly familiar with Missouri."[23] Other methods to insure accuracy were also used. The daughter of Oscar Berninghaus recalled that in painting his first two murals, he "ordered costumes of the 1780s from a company in St. Louis and had them shipped to Taos where his model, Albert "Looking Elk" Martinez, and some of his friends from the Pueblo posed for the scenes depicted in *The Attack on the Village of St. Louis in 1780* and *Surrender of the Miamis to General H. Dodge, 1814*."[24] This search for historical authoritativeness is evident in the study for the latter work (Fig. 4). (This study is typical of most of the works in the museum's collection in that it is a final study which was used as a cartoon to be copied onto the final large canvas.) The focus in works like this is on the accuracy of setting, costume, and figure types, by which the viewer is meant to be offered a significant event from the history of the state in a clearly understandable manner. The style is illustrative and realistic (without being necessarily accurate), as is the history lesson presented.

Closely allied to the choice of subjects was the method of choosing the

Fig. 8. Newell Convers Wyeth, American, 1882-1945. Final composition for *"Battle at Westport, October 21, 1864"*, oil on canvas, 58.5 cm × 98.3 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.30.

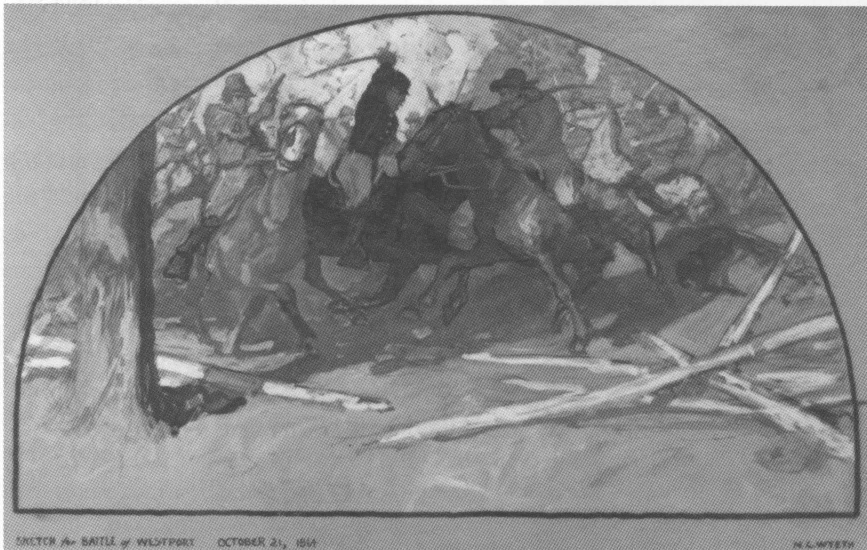

Fig. 9. Newell Convers Wyeth, American, 1882-1945. Early composition for *"Battle at Westport, October 21, 1864"*, c. 1920-21, tempera and charcoal on brown paper, 65.9 cm × 98.3 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.32.

artists. Unlike many other mural projects around the country, the Decoration Commission did not hold competitions to select artists. Instead, they chose the painters for specific tasks. Frank Brangwyn was considered the preeminent mural painter in the world by Dr. Pickard and Arthur Kocian, both of whom wanted the best artist to paint the rotunda areas.[25] Henry Reuterdahl and Adolph Blondheim were famous painters of the United States Navy and Army, respectively, and thus were contracted to paint canvases about the recent war, representative of those two branches of the military. The hiring of N.C. Wyeth to paint battle scenes from the American Civil War stemmed from his experience in illustrating articles and books on the subject. And who was better qualified to paint scenes of the landscape and city life of the state than Missouri artists who lived there and regularly painted them?

The commission's method of matching "experts" to subjects led to one of the most extraordinary actions of the group: the hiring of seven of the Taos Society of Artists.[26] The Noonan-Kocian Gallery was a regular stop for the traveling exhibitions made yearly by the Taos artists, so Kocian was familiar with their work. In addition, he was a close friend of Oscar Berninghaus, a St. Louis artist who spent his summers in Taos and was a member of the Society. Berninghaus had already worked for the Decoration Commission, painting two lunettes in 1920-21, when the need to hire artists for the second floor corridor came about in 1923. The scenes assigned to this area were to be views of key events and areas of development in the early history of Missouri. After Pickard was introduced to the rest of the Taos artists by Berninghaus and Kocian, it was decided to give the task of painting these murals to that group. Pickard explained his reasoning in a letter to William Bixby from Taos on August 28, 1923:

> Concerning the 18 lunettes. These are mostly frontier and Indian scenes, and could best be painted by artists familiar with frontier and Indian life. The one school known to me who are painting such scenes is the Taos school here in New Mexico. I went to Taos last Saturday [and] visited these men— the <u>best</u> of them, told them our problem, discussed the subjects, told them our price <u>$1000.00</u> for each lunette—suggesting that we could assign more than one lunette to each artist and asked if they were interested. Without exception, <u>every one</u> of the best men were much interested and wished to be considered. Couse, Blumenschein, Higgins, Ufer, Dunton. I told them of course this was only preliminary and that nothing definite could be done until the Commission met. But I have proven that we do not need to give this work to inferior artists and that $1000.00 per lunette is all we <u>need</u> to and all we <u>should</u> pay

> for this work. It is not my present thought that we should necessarily give all these lunettes to this Taos group or that we should exclude other painters.[27]

In the end, seven of the eight Society members were hired to paint twenty-one lunettes along the second floor corridor.[28] This may be the only instance of a community of artists being approached as a group to work on a large, public project.

The method of choosing the artists was not lost on them. It was a compliment to be chosen for one's work instead of having to compete with other artists. N.C. Wyeth expressed this in a letter to his mother when he wrote, "I feel particularly pleased that the job came to me, instead of scrambling for it with hundreds of others, as is usually the case. It is indeed encouraging to know that one's work is sufficiently worthy to be sought out."[29]

The criteria used by the commission in selecting artists for the capitol was based primarily on a concern for accuracy in presenting the chronicle of the state to its citizens. This was also the reason for the extent of research put into the subjects chosen for depiction whenever possible. The role of the murals as recorders of the state's history and past glory was as important as their role as inspirers. Indeed, the two roles cannot really be separated. The inspiring message was not conveyed by elevated and abstract morals presented in allegorical or symbolic forms, as in the murals from the turn of the century. Instead, the murals were to inspire by example, showing the viewer the great events, the sources of wealth in the land and its people, and the achievements of past leaders. The didactic and aggrandizing intent of

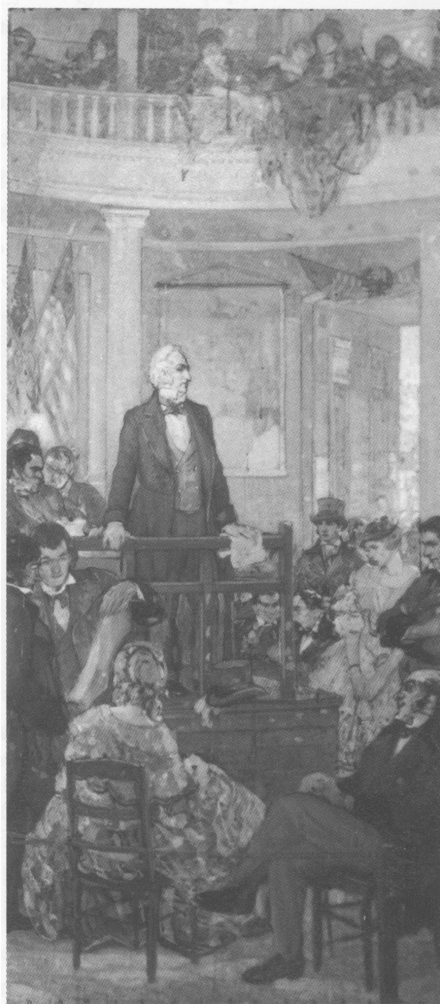

Fig. 10. Richard E. Miller, American, 1875-1943. Final composition for *"Benton's Speech at St. Louis, 1849"*, c. 1920-21, oil on canvas, 183.2 cm × 81.4 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 97.14.

the paintings is similar to that found in the allegorical images of earlier murals, but the means of presentation was to be more direct.[30]

The accuracy of each painting in depicting its historical subject is highly variable. It must always be remembered that the ultimate purpose of the paintings was to inspire a sense of pride about the state. Many of the chosen subjects were derived from popular conceptions of the history of the state, and often those events, such as Kit Carson meeting Washington Irving at Arrow Rock Tavern, a subject treated by Ernest Blumenschein, probably never occurred. More typically problematic, though, is the generally sanitized manner in which the subjects are usually shown.[31] A telling example of this is Oscar Berninghaus's painting of *Early Lead Mining in Ste. Genevieve District* (Fig. 5). His depiction of the mining practices of the day is generally correct since he derived his image from a series of illustrations he had produced in the early teens for a mining company.[32] His depiction of a harmonious relationship between the white settlers and their black slaves, as co-workers in an important early industry of the state, however, is a clear glossing-over of actual conditions.[33] The same could be said for Irving Couse's three paintings, in which he shows the transition from native to white culture, with *Osage Hunters* and *Osage Village* (Fig. 6), giving way to *Log Cabins* (Fig. 7), a depiction of an early frontier homestead of a white settler family. (As in the Berninghaus studies, these are virtually identical to the murals, except for size, and thus can stand in for them in the context of this discussion.) *Osage Village* is a typical Couse image of Native Americans, done in his studio-rendered style of modeled realism in the figures, with an interest in the illusion of lighting effects from within the scene (such as the cooking fire he uses here). His appropriation of native culture was to fit the costuming, setting, and figure types to a preconceived ideal of their way of life, which had more to do with romantic and Rousseauistic notions of such concepts

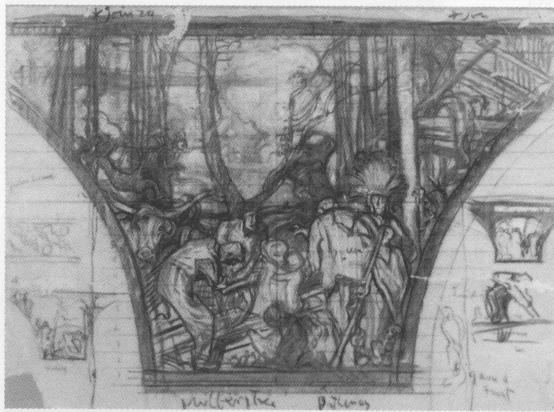

Fig. 11. Sir Frank Brangwyn, British, 1867-1956. Early composition for *"The Home Makers"*, c. 1920-22, charcoal and white chalk on gray paper mounted on composition board, 65.5 cm × 90.8 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.12.

as the "noble savage" than with an actual study of what life was like among the Osage tribes in the Missouri areas before statehood. More troubling was the *de facto* acceptance that these three scenes showed "progress" of culture, as Western ideas replaced those of the native populations. Not shown are the struggles that actually occurred in this transition, much less the psychological consequences of this triumphalism. This appropriation fit naturally with the mythologizing that ran throughout the entire building.

Historical accuracy was not the sole concern of the Decoration Commission, for they also strove to strike a balance between inspiration, illustration, history, and decoration. In a response to a question from the Taos artist Walter Ufer about the accuracy of the portraits of the figures in his murals, Dr. Pickard wrote that "if we label the individuals, no one living would be able to say that these are not good portraits of the special individuals involved."[34] This balancing of history and aesthetics can best be seen in one of the most successful of the mural paintings. N.C. Wyeth's *Battle of Westport* (Fig. 8) uses a motif of two charging cavalry lines, dramatically posed to demonstrate the key moment in a Union victory during the Civil War. An early study (Fig. 9) of the scene is very different, with a concentration on two large figures on horseback, locked in a clenched struggle which takes place in an indeterminate space. This preliminary composition was rejected for the final version, which is much more successful at pointing out both the struggle of the battle, as in the study, and the greater scale of the total scene, and thus raising it to the level of grandeur. As with most of Wyeth's work, the painting is vibrant, exciting, and clearly presents its theme. What it does not depict, however, is the actuality of war, and especially the horribleness of the fighting during the Civil War. Like many of the murals for the capitol, and similar to numerous history paintings such as Benjamin West's *Death of General Wolfe* (to cite a famous example), Wyeth's scene is realistic in style, but not real to life.

Historical accuracy was a point of complaint for some viewers, however, and all throughout the life of the commission, the members responded to statements from Missourians about the many works. A letter to Pickard from February 26, 1921, about Richard Miller's painting for the Senate Chamber, *Benton's Speech at St. Louis, 1849* (Fig. 10), is a good example.[35] The author of the letter had been consulted about the scene prior to its painting, and he was upset at the errors he saw in it when the work was finished. His complaints centered on Benton's pose—"he never stood before an audience as does he in this picture"—and the inclusion of women in the scene. "These paintings are not made for artists exclusively, but for

the Public whose money is paying for them," he continues. "The meeting this panel commemorates was the most momentous in the history of Missouri and the West, and Benton's speech was the climax to the Convention. Surely there was no need to take liberties with such an incident in so dramatic a setting. I protest against public money being spent to pervert history."

The Production of the Murals

The murals in the Missouri state capitol are painted in oils on canvases that are attached to the walls. The fresco technique—the traditional medium for murals—was not well understood by American artists, and thus rarely used. The revival of mural painting in the United States did not result in a revival of the traditional means of painting murals. Instead, the artists simply increased the size of their canvases to fit the new demands.

The artists involved in the Missouri capitol went through several phases before the painting of their final canvases, and Frank Brangwyn's studies are especially illuminating in illustrating this process. After receiving their subjects and studying the historical information, the artist began the mural by making idea sketches for the composition and elements of the final design. Brangwyn seemed to have worked up his compositions in parallel studies. One type is the linear arrangements, with charcoal and other line drawings of figures, general elements, and other such matters. The *Early Composition for "The Home Makers"* (Fig. 11) is a good example. Against a dense web of dark verticals, suggesting the forest setting of the scene, he places his figures, native and immigrant, and works out their poses and positioning with white highlights. The margins of the sheet reveal the "in process" nature of the study, filled as it is with small sketches of the whole scene, a single figure, numbering for transfer to

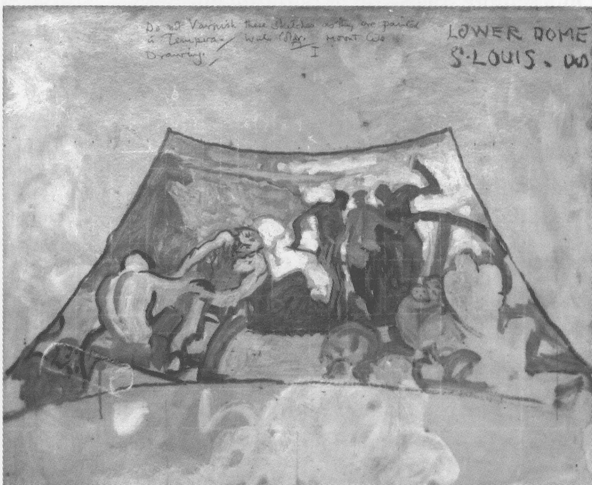

Fig. 12. Sir Frank Brangwyn, British, 1867-1956. Early composition sketch for *"Fire,"* c. 1923-25, tempera and white chalk on composition board, 63.6 cm × 75.9 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.19.

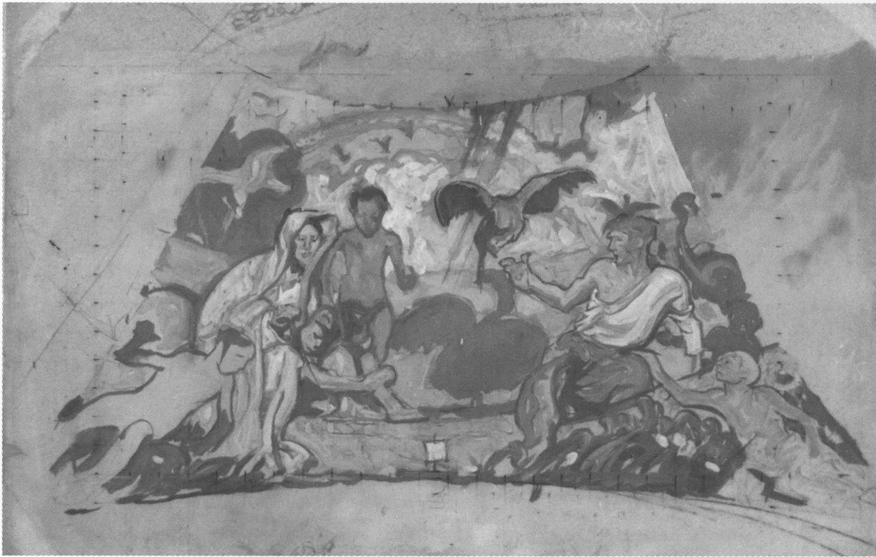

Fig. 13. Sir Frank Brangwyn, British, 1867-1956. Compositional study for *"Air"*, c. 1923-25, tempera and graphite on composition board, 63.5 cm × 76.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.10.

the final work, and written notations of elements to add, change, or remember in the later versions.

As he was working on the linear studies, Brangwyn also developed color treatments of the panels. These range from very broadly painted "ideas" to more fully developed studies tied closely to the compositional works of the linear type. Two examples will suffice. His *Early Compositional Sketch for "Fire"* (Fig. 12) is of the early type. The composition of the figures is only generally sketched in, and the focus is instead on the overall rhythms of the forms and harmonies of the colors. The negative outline of the figure on the far right (in the final panel it is a potter at a wheel) is especially revealing of this generalizing approach.[36] *Compositional Study for "Air"* (Fig. 13) illustrates the more completed type. Here the composition is more fully set as it will appear in the final mural, and even minor details are picked out, such as the toy sailboat at the bottom middle of the painting. Both of these color studies illustrate a major tenet of Brangwyn's ideals concerning mural painting. First and foremost, he felt, such paintings are decorations. Before they are to tell stories or inspire ideas, they should harmonize with their setting. As he explained to Allen True, the decorative painter must "be always careful—never in a hurry as regards the first idea and composition. The painting matters not a damn!

it is the architecture and decorative arrangement which counts."[37]

This approach is very different from artists such as Thomas Hart Benton, who tended to create his own architectonic space *within* his murals. Most of the other original Missouri muralists also tended to approach their paintings differently than Brangwyn. Since they were mostly studio artists, their murals tended to be larger versions of what they produced for the museums and galleries. Couse's and Wyeth's studies can serve to illustrate this point, with their reliance on traditional depictions of deep space and figural compositions. Compare this to Brangwyn's studies with their determined flatness and overall decorative detailing. It is significant that Brangwyn was one of the few artists hired to work on the capitol who had extensive experience as a mural painter.

The final step before the actual painting of the mural was a "finished" study. Brangwyn's *Compositional Study for "Science"* (Fig. 3) is a good example of this type. Here the entire composition is included, as is the coloring, background elements, and pertinent details. Overlaid on this is a gridwork of lines, which aided in the final transfer of the study to the painted mural. In many ways, this type of study was the last freely creative stage, and the final painting (the actual mural) was mostly anticlimactic, since it mostly involved the more mechanical transfer from the small to the large. All of the vivid working out of the ideas necessarily had to occur before the artist was to attack the large canvas, where there was little room for error given its consequences.

The finished studies had a more practical role, for they were sent to the Decoration Commission for final approval before the actual mural was painted. The artists were paid in increments, receiving a portion of their contracted fee as they reached successive stages of the painting process, and the approval of the detailed sketch was the second stage, after the signing of the contract. Upon completion of the final canvas, they received a third payment, and the remainder was paid when the artist installed the mural in the capitol.[38] When the time came to attach the canvases, usually done so as not to interfere with the legislative sessions, they were shipped to Jefferson City, where, in most cases, the artists supervised the installation. When this was not possible, other artists were hired to supervise the work. Richard Miller installed Charles Hoffbauer's large canvas for the House of Representatives, for instance, because of Hoffbauer's illness.

The correspondence between some of the artists and John Pickard is especially enlightening of the give-and-take involved between the painters and the commission; it reveals that the group had a strong say in the appearance of some

Fig. 14. Walter Ufer, American, 1876-1936. Final composition for *"Chouteau's Treaty with the Osages"*, c. 1923-24, oil and graphite on canvas, 51.1 cm × 63.4 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 87.46.

of the works for the capitol. Letters to Walter Ufer reveal the process of oversight by the Decoration Commission. Pickard wrote Ufer on March 27, 1924 about their reactions to his sketches for his paintings:

> In the treaty scene [*Final composition for "Chouteau's Treaty with the Osages"* (Fig. 14)], we prefer the sketch showing the large gateway frame with the landscape beyond, but we think that to the right and left of that gateway in the empty space in the stockade there should be a figure. Chouteau did not need an interpreter, still the figure of the interpreter would do no harm. In the muster scene [*Final composition for "The First Discussion of the Platte Purchase"* (Fig. 15)], the figure standing on that little stump in the center, I do not like. Make a larger base to stand on. Now the figure on the stump looks to me very much like my thumb sticking up in the air. Mr. Parker [Lester Shepherd Parker] suggests that the people wore uniforms at these meetings, and that it would be worthwhile to introduce more uniforms in the picture. I do not like this standing figure. He seems to be too large in proportion to the other figures. Of course, I know you are going into details, and that your Indians are representing the Osage Indians with their peculiar scalp lock, and I know also that they are only your rough sketches. The Commission feels that you are going to make a great success of the pictures, but that we feel that we should make these strong suggestions at this time.[39]

It is clear that in some cases, the Commission used the finished studies to control the work of the artists and assure themselves that they were getting what they wanted in the final paintings. This is a far cry from the autonomy that Benton was to have in the 1930s with his paintings for the capitol.

Saving the Artists' Studies

Luckily, a large number of the sketches for the Missouri murals have been saved. Some are scattered among collections housing the works of the many artists who painted murals for the capitol; most notably, final studies by Brangwyn in the collection of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, and Irving Couse's sketchbooks in the Couse Family Archives, in Santa Fe. The majority of the surviving studies, however, are held by the Museum of Art and Archaeology and Ellis Library at the University of Missouri-Columbia. In this collection are fifty-nine studies by seventeen of the artists who worked on the decoration of the capitol. This is a fortuitous and, in many ways, unique occurrence. In most large decoration programs, such as that for the Missouri capitol, with several artists painting many canvases, the studies for the finished works would remain in the artists' private collections. They would then be scattered among dealers and museums upon the death of the artist, if not sooner. It is a rare opportunity to find so many studies

Fig. 15. Walter Ufer, American, 1876-1936. Final composition for *"The First Discussion of the Platte Purchase",* c. 1923-24, oil on canvas, 59.6 cm × 73.3 cm. Special Collections, Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia.

by several artists for the same project collected in one place. The collection of studies at the University of Missouri-Columbia may be the only one of its kind in the country.

The existence of the collection is due to the efforts of John Pickard. Acting in his role as a teacher, he had the foresight to request from each artist a donation of their studies to the Department of Art History at the University. He clearly spells out the purpose of the studies in a letter to Allen True:

> These will be wonderful things for us to have and will be of the greatest possible value in the instruction of the thousands of students who are coming and will continue to come to the University. You could hardly do anything that would have a greater educational influence than the presentation of these sketches.[40]

Dr. Pickard was diligent in the pursuit of these studies. As late as December 1928, four years after the artist had finished his lunettes, and on nearly the last day of the existence of the Decoration Commission, he wrote Irving Couse, asking him to send "the sketches of your panels in the Missouri state capitol."[41] All told, only eight of the twenty-five artists to paint murals for the capitol did not give some of their studies to the University.[42]

These studies are primary documents in understanding the mural decorations of the Missouri capitol. Coming at the end of the American Renaissance and the beginning of the American Scene and Regionalist movements, this building is an important place to study the transitions that were occurring in American art, especially the type used in the public realm. This collection of studies is one of the chief means of trying to understand the processes, purposes, and meanings of the art work that went into this important monument.

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NOTES

1. In fact, one of the architects of the capitol, Egerton Swartwout, probably would have disapproved of Benton's mural in the space of the house lounge. In a letter to the Capitol Decoration Commission, in which Swartwout lays out his ideas for the decoration of the building, he writes about this room: "It should be remembered that this room is not a monumental room, but is a Lounging Room or large waiting room for the members of the house and it should be warm and attractive in appearance which never could be obtained by the stone and mural treatment." The senate lounge still retains its original decoration of tapestries designed and executed by the Lorenz Kleiser Tapestry Works, Edgewater, New Jersey. Letter dated September, 1921, William K. Bixby Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

2. In charge of the decoration of the capitol was a commission whose final report is the primary source on the subject, since their original records have not been located. See John Pickard, *Report of the Capitol Decoration Commission, 1917-1928* (Jefferson City, 1928).

3. The structure of the present Missouri capitol was built between 1912 and 1917 after the previous building was destroyed by fire on February 6th and 7th, 1911. The architects of the building were Evarts Tracy and Egerton Swartwout, a firm of young designers from New York City, both of whom received their training in the offices of McKim, Mead, and White. They were chosen for the job in a blind competition, which drew sixty-nine entries from major firms around the country, including the most prominent designer of public buildings at the time, Cass Gilbert. (In fact, Gilbert's design for the Minnesota State Capitol is the closest precedent for the Missouri building.) This competition was the first to be held under the guidelines of the American Institute of Architects, and reflects the increasing professionalism of the architectural field during the Progressive era. The new building is the fifth Missouri state capitol, the fourth in Jefferson City. The two main sources on the building are the original report of the Building Commission, *Final Report of the State Capitol Commission Board* (Jefferson City, 1918), and Marian M. Ohman's, *The History of Missouri Capitols* (Columbia, Missouri, 1982).

4. This research grew out of my work on an exhibition co-sponsored by the Museum of Art and Archaeology and the Missouri State History Museum at

the capitol. This exhibition, *The Missouri Murals: Studies for the State Capitol Decorations*, was held from 1989 to 1990 at four different venues around the state, and was the first extensive look at these studies within the context of their original purpose. See also Jeffrey L. Ball, "Missouri Murals," MA Thesis, University of Missouri–Columbia, 1998.

5. Edwin Blashfield, "Mural Painting," *Municipal Affairs* 2 (1898) p. 99.

6. Cass Gilbert, "The Greatest Element of Monumental Architecture," *American Architect* 136 (August 5, 1929) p. 143.

7. For the most important realignment of thinking toward the academic art of the period see Richard Guy Wilson, Dianne H. Pilgrim, and Richard Murray, *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917*, (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts, 1979). The work of the academic artists was the dominant style of a period in which historians have concentrated most of their attentions on the social, realistic revolutions of the Eight, and early experiments by Americans with European-inspired forms of abstraction. Some art historians even question the reality of an "American Renaissance." For a discussion of this, see Lois Dinnerstein, "Opulence and Ocular Delight, Splendor and Squalor: The American Renaissance as a Concept," *Arts* 54 (November 1979) pp. 158-163. See also H. Barbara Weinberg, "Renaissance and Renascences in American Art," *Arts* 54 (November 1979) pp. 172-176.

8. Edwin Blashfield, Address before the American Institute of Architects, 1914, quoted in "The Painting of Today," *Century Magazine* 87 (April 1914) pp. 837-844.

9. There had been forms of wall painting since early Colonial days, but the earliest mural decorations of public buildings in the country were paintings done for the United States Capitol in the 1830s and 1850s. These were painted by Italian artists, and many American painters after the Civil War felt that the true beginning of "proper" mural painting was John La Farge's murals for Trinity Church in Boston in the late 1870s. See H. Barbara Weinberg, "John La Farge and the Decoration of Trinity Church, Boston," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33 (December 1974) pp. 323-353.

10. Candace Wheeler, "Decorative Art," *Architectural Record* 4 (April-June 1895) p. 413.

11. Blashfield, "The Painting of Today," p. 837.

12. For a general discussion of the various categories, see Sarah J. Moore, "In Search of an American Iconography: Critical Reaction to the Murals at the Library of Congress," *Winterthur Portfolio* 24 (Winter 1990) pp. 231-239. In her article, Moore labels those that promote the allegorical as "cosmopolitan universalists" and those calling for historically-based paintings "cultural nationalists."

13. Benton's *Social History of Missouri* mural is a good example of this later style. Painted in 1936 and 1937, this work is located in the Lounge of the House of Representatives in the Missouri capitol. It avowedly presents a similar theme as the original murals, a "truthful" history of the state from pioneer days to the modern era. But what makes this work dramatically different is Benton's idea of a social history which mixed highbrow and lowbrow cultures and also attempted to show the more troubling aspects of that history. In Benton's painting, we are presented with lynchings, the expulsion of the Mormons from the state, and scenes of political corruption, alongside the scenes which celebrated the state.

The work is also very different in how it was painted, for Benton used tempera and fresco techniques, painted *in situ*. He also modeled his figures and faces from living models, often of people that worked in the building or in Jefferson City.

14. Charles Shean, "Mural Painting From the American Point of View," *Craftsman* 7 (October 1904) p. 19.

15. Ibid., p. 27.

16. *Final Report of the State Capitol Commission Board*, pp. 33-34.

17. The Commission also made use of different advisers, the most important of which was the main architect of the building, Egerton Swartwout. Even after he had to resign as an official adviser following a dispute between him and the state over a commission for the design of the Speaker's podium, Swartwout continued to give his advice to the Decoration Commission. He also provided many of the contacts with artists in the New York City area. The importance of the architect's opinions concerning the decoration of his structure was a continuation of the American Renaissance tradition. For an earlier example of this attitude, see Emily Fourmy Cutrer, "Negotiating Nationalism, Representing Region: Art, History, and

Ideology at the Minnesota and Texas Capitols," in Patricia M. Burnham and Lucretia Hoover Giese, editors, *Redefining American History Painting.* (New York, 1995) pp. 277-293.

18. The original records of the Decoration Commission have been lost, but much of the character of its workings can be pieced together from the documents that do survive. The most important groups of documents that remain are two collections of Bixby papers, one at the Missouri Historical Society and the other at the Special Collections Department of Washington University, both in St. Louis. The papers at Washington University are particularly interesting, since they are mostly letters from Pickard or Kocian informing Bixby of updates on Commission activities, or relating to him what he missed at meetings.

19. From his second speech as President of the College Art Association. Quoted in Allen Weller, *100 Years of Teaching Art History and Archaeology: University of Missouri-Columbia, 1892-1992*, (Columbia, Missouri, 1992), p. 16.

20. Ibid., p. 6. This is from a speech in 1915 to the American Federation of Arts.

21. For the decorations of the capitol, the following was expended: $346,000 for murals, $473,000 for sculptural works, $10,000 for tapestries, $70,000 for decorative windows, and $41,800 for furnishings. For their money, the Decoration Commission hired thirty-three artists to provide 128 works of art.

22. The selective nature of the images is obvious when you think about what was not depicted. There are, for instance, no images of troubling issues such as slavery, the vicious nature of the Civil War fighting in the state, or the brewery and wine industries. Historical amnesia is by no means uncommon in public art at the time, of course. One of the most effective points of attack on these works by artists like Benton, Ben Shahn, and the Mexican Muralists was their return to these more troubling (and thus more "realistic") subjects.

23. "The Artist Colony Corner," *The Taos Valley News*, (October 18, 1924) p. 1.

24. Quoted in Gordon E. Sanders, *Oscar E. Berninghaus, Taos, New Mexico: Master Painter of American Indians and the Frontier West*, (Taos, 1985) p. 40. Ernest Blumenschein used a similar process for his portrait of General Pershing. "Pershing sat for the artist twice and sent his general's uniform to Taos where the local

tailor pressed and posed in it." George Schriever, "Taos Artists in Jefferson City," unpublished paper, collection of the author, p. 12.

25. In a generally complaining letter about his pay, Brangwyn explained his reasons for accepting a commission in a place he probably had never heard of, "as I said in my previous letters, the desire to do this work for such a noble public building outweighs any question of profit to myself, so I am willing to keep to the price of £5,000.00, clear of all expenses other than those that are connected with the doing of the work, i.e. materials and assistance in my studio. I do not ask for the benefit of Exchange, as I am not a speculator." Letter dated January 27, 1920, Brangwyn to Kocian, Bixby Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

26. The Taos Society of Artists was the official name of a group of artists that migrated to the Taos region beginning in 1898, and used the region, its landscape, and its native and Hispanic populations as subject matter for their "Western" paintings. Most of the artists spent only part of the year in Taos, but almost all of them eventually moved there permanently by the late 1920s.

27. Bixby Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

28. In addition to the artists listed in the letter, Blumenschein was already hired, and Bert Phillips was added at some point after October, 1924. Pickard wrote Bixby on October 2, 1924 (Bixby Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis) that "at our meeting on Sunday we decided to use six of the Taos group of artists as painters of the lunettes: Ufer, Blumenschein, Higgins, Couse, Dunton, and Berninghaus." Joseph Sharp was the seventh member of the Taos group.

29. Betsy James Wyeth, editor, *The Wyeths: The Letters of N.C. Wyeth, 1901-1945*, (Boston, 1971) p. 641.

30. The "inspirational" aspect of the murals can also be easily read as propaganda for the state. As stated above, the aggrandizement of the state's heritage left no room for "difficult" subjects, such as slavery. This complaint was at the root of Thomas Hart Benton's retelling of the state's history in the murals he painted for the House Lounge in the 1930s.

31. Most egregious of all is the common theme of "triumphant" civilization, especially as a replacement for the native cultures that existed before the immigration of white settlers to the region. See below.

32. See Sanders, *Oscar E. Berninghaus*, p. 46.

33. In contrast, Thomas Hart Benton treated the same subject in his mural for the capitol, and depicted the work as being driven by whippings and forced labor.

34. Pickard to Ufer, letter dated January 24, 1924, Rosenstock Arts, Denver.

35. The letter is in the Floyd Shoemaker Collection at the State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia. It is a copy of the original letter, and is unsigned. The author of the letter is probably Floyd Shoemaker, who became the head of the State Historical Society in 1915. My thanks to Professor Osmund Overby for the clarification and identification as to the author of this letter.

36. The lack of precision is even found in the written notation "Lower Dome S. Louis". Brangwyn never came to the capitol and all of his paintings were executed in his studio in London. His student, Allen True from Denver, Colorado, installed the works in Jefferson City.

37. Underlining is Brangwyn's. Letter dated May 6, 1923, Allen T. True Collection, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C. True painted sixteen small murals for the capitol in conjunction with Brangwyn's large pendentive scenes.

38. A few of the contracts survive. They are located in the Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, at the University of Missouri–Columbia. For the large lunettes in the museums, the fees were between $2,500.00 and $3,500.00, for the smaller lunettes in the second floor corridor it was $1,000.00, and elsewhere it varied according to the artist and the size of the commission. For instance, Brangwyn was paid approximately $65,000 for all of his work in two separate contracts. He did not submit his works for approval, a concession to his reputation.

39. Pickard to Ufer, March 27, 1924, Rosenstock Arts, Denver. As a letter like this reveals, Pickard was particularly adept at striking the balance between being critical and supportive of the artists.

40. Letter from Pickard to True dated April 2, 1924, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C. Pickard's attitude about the sketches is also reflected in his writings for the College Art Association; in them he stressed the importance of real works of art in education, not reproductions. See Weller, *100 Years of Teaching*

Art History, pp. 15-16. The venue for which Pickard intended these works may have been the newly completed library at the University. In a letter to Bixby about the possibility of his collection being lent to the school for exhibition while a new house was being finished, Pickard mentions the new library as a structure that was "practically fire-proof".

Not all of the artists agreed with Pickard's sentiments. In an undated letter to True, Brangwyn wrote that he sold the best of his sketches to a dealer. He would see what he could find for Pickard but felt that "it is hard to ask for these sketches for nothing after the price that they paid for the job."

41. Pickard to Couse, dated 27 December 1928, Couse Family Archives.

42. Of those eight, only studies by Ernest Blumenschein have been located (in the Museum of New Mexico). I have not been able to find any studies by Gari Melchers, Victor Higgins, Herbert Dunton, Robert Ball, Charles Hoffbauer, Ralph C. Ott, or Adolphe Blondheim. The Museum of Art and Archaeology also has in its collections sculptural, stained-glass, and tapestry studies for works decorating the capitol.

A Pair of Cymbals and a Metalworker

†A.E. Raubitschek
Jane Biers

The resonant, clashing sound of metal cymbals was a familiar and necessary accompaniment to some religious celebrations in the Greek and Roman worlds, increasing the orgiastic excitement and frenzy that was such a striking component of some cults. Although the Greeks apparently played cymbals only at these types of celebrations, the Romans also used them on secular occasions—at performances of mime and pantomime.[1] They were played by holding one in each hand and clashing them together, as we know from representations in ancient art (Fig. 1).[2]

Ancient Greek and Roman cymbals were small, generally with a diameter of 10-14 cm, and had a rounded central boss and narrow rim that contrasts with modern cymbals, which have a wide and prominent rim and are larger.[3] Ancient cymbals have been well studied, beginning as long ago as 1876 with what is still a good account of the subject by Max Fränkel.[4] His work and that of later scholars demonstrated the role of cymbals in both religious and secular ceremonies, based on inscriptions on some of them, representations in art, and, in particular, references in ancient authors.[5] From this evidence we know that cymbals were originally closely connected with the cults of Demeter, Dionysos, and Cybele. For example, Pindar refers to the goddess Demeter as bronze sounding (*chalkokrotos*), and the *Scholion* explains that cymbals were used in her cult, for the goddess went around with cymbals and drums in search of her daughter Persephone.[6] The use of cymbals in the Eleusinian Mysteries—the secret rites and worship of Demeter at Eleusis in Greece—is thus old and well attested. The god Dionysos, too, is said to have used drums and cymbals in his great conquest of the East, but it was probably the women accompanying him who employed them.[7] Cymbals were also used in worship of Cybele, for the geographer Strabo reports that Pindar addressed the "Great Mother" (Cybele) as one who was worshipped with the music of cymbals,[8] and the same information can be found in Catullus, Lucretius, and Virgil, whose commentator, Servius, explains that the cymbals are connected with the Great Mother, because they are similar to the half-globes of heaven (*hemicycliis caeli*).[9] As Fränkel showed, they were also considered appropriate offerings for the goddess

Artemis.[10] Cymbals have sometimes been confused with the libation bowls called *phialai* (Greek sing. *phiale*), but Lilian H. Jeffery argued that shallow bowls with inscriptions, dating to an early period, more likely functioned as bowls rather than cymbals.[11] Shield bosses also resemble cymbals, but Anthony Snodgrass has collected a long list that differentiates between them.[12] Most scholars agree that not every rimmed bowl should be called a cymbal, but only those with prominent bowls and rims, with holes on top for chains or straps, and especially those that come in identical pairs.[13]

Fig. 1. Maenad playing cymbals, detail from a red-figure volute-krater from Ruvo. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy, 2411. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Several years ago an unusual pair of ancient cymbals was added to the collections of the Museum of Art and Archaeology.[14] The cymbals each consist of a cast, brass disc with a rim and central boss pierced by a hole (Fig. 2).[15] The boss, the diameter of which equals more than half the overall diameter, is flat on the top, and the sides are straight and flaring (Fig. 3). The rims have a small flange on the top and are slightly angled so that when struck together the point of contact is not at the edge. They give off a resonant, high-pitched sound. Part of a chain that may once have linked the pair has survived. Preserved are seven metal rings of three sizes (Fig. 4).[16] Gouges in the inner face of several of them suggest that they were once linked by thinner rings, or S-shaped hooks.[17] A loop of flattened wire, rectangular in section, is also preserved, for attaching the chain to one of the cymbals. The ends of the loop passed through the hole in the center of the cymbal and were then bent back to hold the loop in place.[18]

A faint cross-hatched pattern decorates the inner edge of the central depressions of the cymbals, but they are otherwise undecorated except for two sets of punched inscriptions that include the name and patronymic of the metalworker and are the cymbals' most unusual feature (Figs. 2 and 5). The names of craftsmen in the ancient Mediterranean world do not often appear on their work, and none had

Fig. 2. Brass cymbals. Gift of Robert Haber in honor of Saul and Gladys Weinberg. Museum of Art and Archaeology, acc no. 85.124 a and b. [cymbal A at top; cymbal B at bottom]

hitherto been known on cymbals. Some painters of Athenian vases signed their names, as did some potters (or workshop owners), and the names of a number of Roman potters, or workshop owners, are also known; terracotta figurine- and lamp-makers, whose objects are mold made, frequently wrote their names in the molds; gem cutters sometimes put their names on their work; and a series of coins from Syracuse bears the names of some of the die engravers.[19] But the majority of small artifacts produced in the Greek and Roman world in metal, pottery, terracotta, and semiprecious stones usually are not assigned to a specific artisan, and often not even to a specific workshop. The full name of a metalworker on this pair of cymbals thus adds considerably to their interest. The inscriptions are completely preserved and for the most part legible. The first consists of two signs that may be the letters M or Σ (m or s; *mu* or *sigma*), repeated twice on each cymbal and located at points marking one quarter of the circumference (Figs. 2 and 5). On cymbal A one of the signs is written in the opposite direction from the others. These signs are formed from dots that are deeper and larger than those of the second texts. They were clearly inscribed first, because one of the signs on cymbal A forced a letter of the second inscription to be written at a lower level (Fig. 6). Also, another of these earlier signs may have caused the abbreviation of the last phrase of the second inscription on cymbal A (see below). The meaning of the signs (whether M or Σ) is obscure, but perhaps

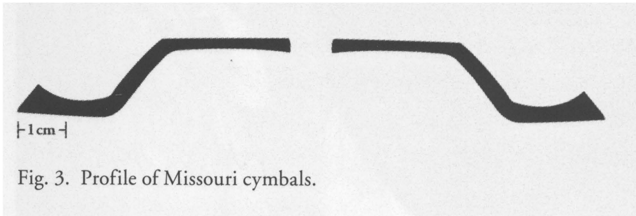

Fig. 3. Profile of Missouri cymbals.

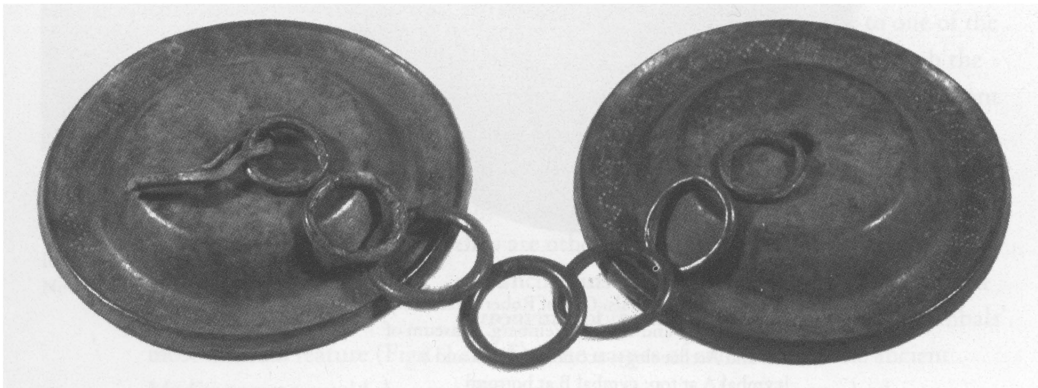
Fig. 4. Rings and loop from Missouri cymbals.

they marked the two members of this particular pair of cymbals, or (more likely) one of a great number of pairs made in the same workshop.

The second, and main, inscription begins with the name of a metalworker. The meaning of the inscription is clear except for the last phrase, which is obscure but may give the metalworker's ethnic (his city, or place of origin). The inscription consists of two sets of practically identical texts, one well written (A), the other not (B). They read as follows:

A: Τ(ίτος) 'Αριανὸς 'Αγαθοβούλου ἐποίησ(Ѡ)εν Ταουαυ(Ϻ)

B: Τ(ίτος) 'Αριανὸς 'Αγαθ<ο>ρούλου ἐποίησεν(Ϻ)Ταουαυπ(Ϻ)

The inscriptions exhibit a number of mistakes. In A, the lower curve of the s or lunate *sigma*, in the name 'Αριανὸς was written twice (Fig. 7); the s in ἐποίησεν was written at a lower level, because the preexisting Ѡ had not left enough room (Fig. 6); and the last word or phrase of the inscription possibly had to be abbreviated because the inscriber ran out of space. In B, there are more mistakes than in A. The underlined letters indicate errors made by the copyist who also omitted a letter. Thus, the s of 'Αριανὸς is misformed (Fig. 8); the θ of 'Αγαθ<ο>ρούλου is incomplete; the first o of 'Αγαθ<ο>ρούλου was omitted, as was the bottom stroke of b, producing an r, or *rho* (Fig. 9); the p of ἐποίησεν is written with a second cross bar (Fig. 10); the s is written as an o; the second e is incomplete (Fig. 11); and the first a of Ταουαυπ is written without a crossbar (Fig. 12). Finally, the last phrase of the main inscription on B consists of seven letters, whereas on A there are only six, perhaps because the scribe ran out of space. Evidently, when he inscribed the text on B, he was not copying the text from A, because he added this additional letter at the end.

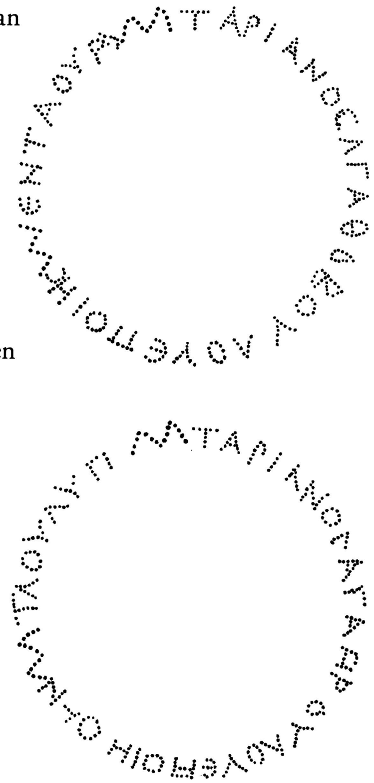

Fig. 5. Inscriptions on Missouri cymbals. [cymbal A at top; cymbal B at bottom]

Identical texts on pairs of cymbals seem to be standard, and misspellings of supposedly identical inscriptions are not unknown. The name of the owner on an inscribed pair in Heidelberg is misspelt on one (Fig. 13).[20] There are also an inscribed pair in New York and another in London that repeat the name of the owner, but correctly (Fig. 14).[21] A pair of cymbals

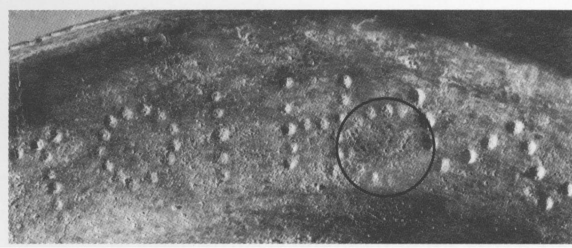

Fig. 6. Detail of inscription on cymbal A: *sigma* written at lower level. Photo: Howard Wilson.

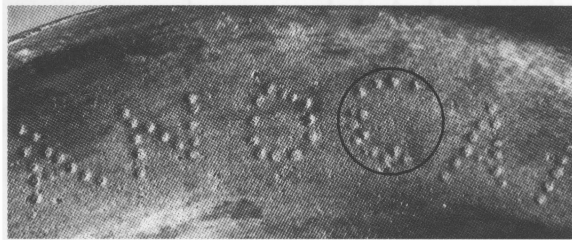

Fig. 7. Detail of inscription on cymbal A: lunate *sigma* written twice. Photo: Howard Wilson.

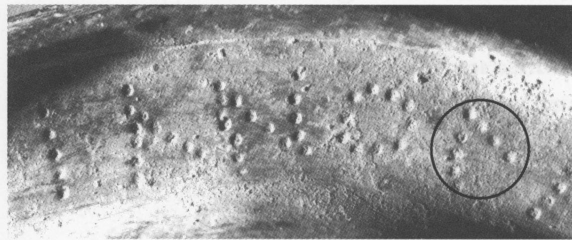

Fig. 8. Detail of inscription on cymbal B: misformed *sigma*. Photo: Howard Wilson.

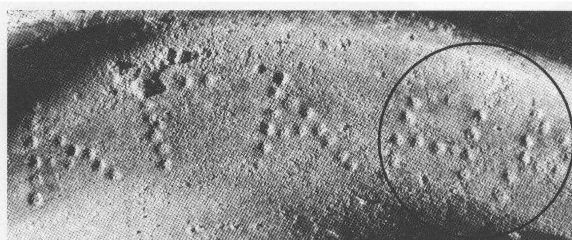

Fig. 9. Detail of inscription on cymbal B: incomplete *theta*, *beta* written as *rho*. Photo: Howard Wilson.

with the same name as on the London pair is now in the National Museum in Copenhagen.[22]

The translation of the first part of the second set of inscriptions on the Missouri cymbals is clear. They both say "T(itos) Arianos (son of) Agathoboulos made..." There are problems with the full interpretation, however, because of the obscure meaning of the final phrase. Considering the conventional signatures, one would expect here either the ethnic of the manufacturer—his city, or place of origin—or a reference to the manufactured object. Both are possible here. Taoua might be a corruption of Taua, or Taba, the name of a city in the Egyptian Delta, known in the Roman period.[23] The additional letters υπ on B may refer to 'Lower Taua.' If this interpretation were correct, it would provide us with evidence that many of the cymbals found in Egypt were not only used there but also made there.

The other interpretation explains the inscriptions as referring to the objects made, identified as τὰ οὖα, possibly an abbreviation or corruption of τὰ οὔατα. Homer and others use the word in the sense of "handles" or "ears."[24] Could it be that in antiquity, cymbals were referred to as ears? Alternatively,

since it seems unlikely that cymbals themselves were called, or could be considered to be, "handles," perhaps the reference is to the actual handles of the cymbals. The rings preserved with the Missouri cymbals may seem unworthy of special mention, but they may have replaced or been combined with more elaborate handles like those preserved with the pair of cymbal-clappers from Egypt, now in the British Museum (Fig. 15).[25] A similar elaborate handle is preserved in the Louvre.[26] The υπ in B may in that case be understood as referring to the position of the handles below the cymbals, and the inscription would read "made the handles below." In this case the Missouri cymbals should more properly be called clappers.[27] They are, however, larger than the clappers in the British Museum and the Louvre Museum. The diameter of those clappers measures about 7 cm, some 4 cm smaller than the Missouri pair. A set of clappers on a plain bronze fork, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, is also small.[28] Furthermore, the use of the word τὰ οὔατα to mean handles is poetic and archaic. It seems unlikely, therefore, that it is being used here in the sense of handles.

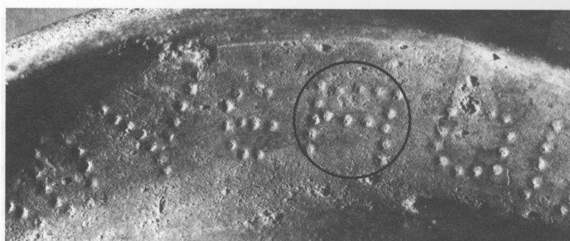

Fig. 10. Detail of inscription on cymbal B: *pi* written with double crossbar. Photo: Howard Wilson.

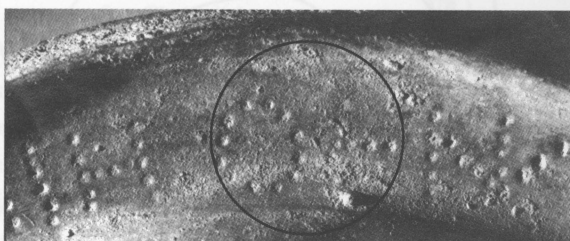

Fig. 11. Detail of inscription on cymbal B: lunate *sigma* written as O, second *epsilon* incomplete. Photo: Howard Wilson.

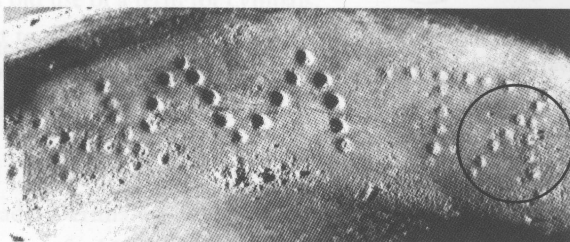

Fig. 12. Detail of inscription on cymbal B: *alpha* without crossbar. Photo: Howard Wilson.

The date of the cymbals and of the inscriptions can now be considered. Cymbals themselves are venerable musical instruments of Asiatic origin.[29] A very early example, dating to ca. 1300 B.C., comes from the shipwreck at Ulu Burun off the coast of Turkey.[30] Greek cymbals dating to the Archaic period, ca. sixth century B.C., are preserved in the National Museum, Athens.[31] Other early cymbals are in

Copenhagen, London, and Boston.[32] The pair in Heidelberg are dated mid-third century B.C.[33] The shape of cymbals changed little over the centuries. One of the pairs in the British Museum is dated from the third century B.C. to the fifth century after Christ and is very similar to the earlier ones.[34] Shape is thus no indication of date. Even if it were, the Missouri cymbals differ from all other cymbals known to us; the latter all have a rounded central boss, whereas the Missouri cymbals are flat on

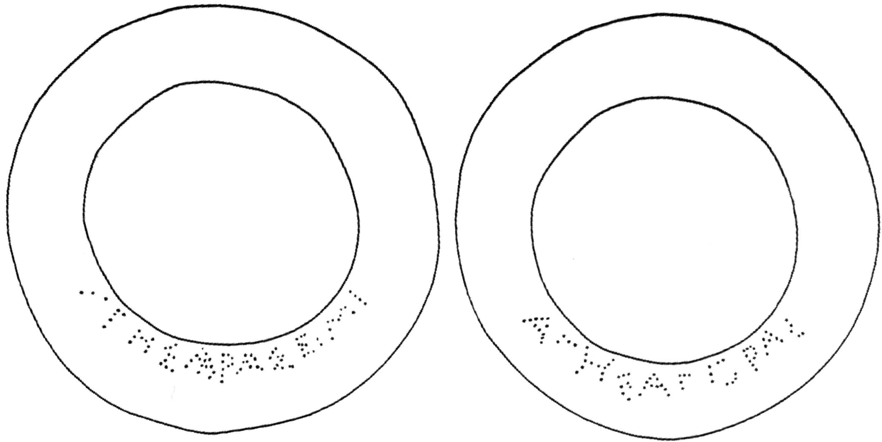

Fig. 13. Drawing of inscribed cymbals in Heidelberg, after Borell, *Heidelberg*, p. 44. Courtesy of the Antikenmuseum des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, Inv. F 188.189.

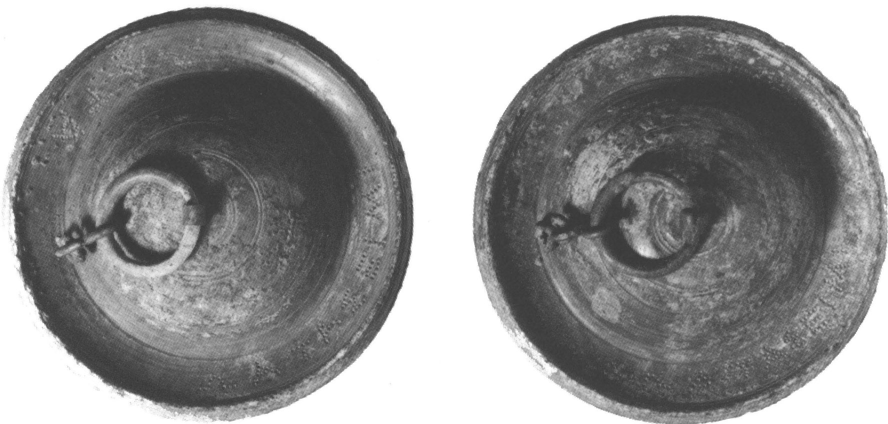

Fig. 14. Pair of cymbals in the British Museum. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

top (Fig. 3).[35] For a date, therefore, of the manufacture of the Missouri cymbals we must depend on the inscriptions, as is mostly the case with all preserved cymbals. If the first inscriptions, the M or Σ, are really letters then they could be older than the second inscriptions. If the sign Σ is a *sigma*, its form places it in the late Hellenistic period, the first century B.C., whereas the letter forms of the second inscriptions are Roman in date, as confirmed by the full Roman name of the artisan. If the sign is a *mu*, it may be later than the Hellenistic period; M or ᗰ both occur. The forms of θ (*theta*), ε (epsilon), and c (sigma) in the second inscription belong in the second century after Christ.[36] It seems more likely that the engravings on the cymbals were done close in time, in the second century, but perhaps by two different engravers.[37] One can imagine that the cymbals were marked shortly after casting so that the pair would not become separated, while the inscriptions designating the manufacturer were added later by another craftsman. In conclusion, this pair of cymbals possesses unusual features. Their shape is apparently unique. They bear two inscriptions, one perhaps designating them as a pair, the second naming the manufacturer. The inscriptions may preserve an old use of a term for cymbals, calling them ears, or the term may refer to now missing handles. A third explanation of this part of the text is that it designates the city of Taua or Taba in Egypt, where there may have been a brass workshop.[38]

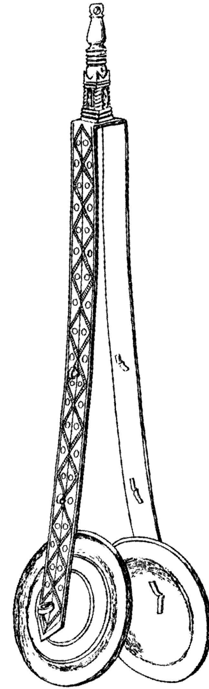

Fig. 15. Drawing of cymbal-clappers in the British Museum, after Anderson, *British Museum*, Fig. 39.

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Jane Biers was Curator of Ancient Art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia. Her publications include a monograph on a Roman bath at Corinth and joint authorship of the volume on the university's excavations at Mirobriga, Portugal.

NOTES

1. For discussion of percussion instruments in Greek music, see Martin L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992) pp. 122-128; John G. Landels, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome* (London and New York, 1999) pp. 81-85; for cymbals in mime and pantomime, see Alain Baudot, *Musiciens romains de l'antiquité* (Montreal, 1973) pp. 59, 62.

The Greek word for a cymbal κύμβαλον is derived from κύμβη and κύμβος meaning "cup" and also "boat." Strangely, ancient Greek authors invariably refer to cymbals in the plural rather than using the dual, the Greek form that specifically designated pairs of objects.

2. See also a sixth-century B.C. bronze figure in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes, Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York, 1915] pp. 13-15, no. 28); a nymph on the François vase (Museo Archeologico, Florence); and Daniel Paquette, *L'instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1984) p. 206, P12-P14.

3. The firm of Avedis Zildjian in Norwell, Massachusetts, has been making cymbals since 1623, using a special alloy. The firm now makes 70% of present-day cymbals.

4. Max Fränkel, "Weihgeschenke an Artemis Limnatis und an Kora," *Archäologische Zeitung* 34 (1876) pp. 28-33. Fränkel published three cymbals, two of which are inscribed dedications that he convincingly attributed to the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis. The dedications were made by women, perhaps on the occasion of their marriage, since an epigram (*Anthologia Palatina* 6, 280) describes a girl's dedication of her toys, including drums, to Artemis Limnatis.

5. Edmond Pottier's review of the entire material in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* (Paris, 1887) p. 1698, 18 *s.v.* "Cymbalum" emphasizes the oriental and religious origin of cymbals and their secularization throughout the Roman Empire. Hans Hickmann, "Cymbales et crotales dans l'Égypte ancienne," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 49 (1949) pp. 451-545 is an extensive and important publication; Robert D. Anderson, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 3, *Musical Instruments* (London, 1976) pp. 23-28, nos. 22-28, supplements Hickmann. For Egyptian cymbals, see also Christiane Ziegler,

Les instruments de musique égyptiens au Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1979) pp. 65-66, 68-69; and Lise Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991) pp. 67-68. Other useful discussions of cymbals may be found in Max Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin, 1949) pp. 63-64, 214 and *Musikgeschichte und Bildern,* 2A, *Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1963) pp. 60, 62, fig. 33; Paquette, *Instrument*, pp. 206, 212; and Brigitte Borell, *Katalog der Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst der Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg,* 3, i, *Statuetten, Gefässe und andere Gegenstände aus Metall* (Mainz, 1989) pp. 43-44, no. 46.

6. Pindar, *Isthmia*, 7. 3. A *Scholion* is a comment written in the margin of an ancient manuscript by an early commentator.

7. Diodorus 2. 38. 6. See also a wall painting from Pompeii, Naples Museum, inv. no. 8795, in which a pair of cymbals rests on a short flight of steps together with other items associated with the worship of Dionysos (John Ward-Perkins and Amanda Claridge, eds., *Pompeii AD 79* [New York, 1978] no. 192).

8. Strabo, *Geography*, 10. 3. 13.

9. Catullus, 63. 19-21; Lucretius, 2. 618-620; Virgil, *Georgics*, 4. 64. For Servius, a fourth century grammarian and commentator, see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1996).

A pair of cymbals from Egypt bears a Greek inscription "to the Great Mother" (Hickmann, "Cymbales et crotales," pp. 460-462). A single cymbal in the Bibliothèque Nationale is inscribed with a Latin inscription to her (Ernest Babelon and J. Adrien Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris, 1895] pp. 706-707).

10. Fränkel, *Weihgeschenke.* See note 4.

11. Lilian H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, rev. edition (Oxford, 1990) p. 194, note 3. She points out that the inscription from Epidauros on a *phiale* is a single dedication (not a pair) to Asklepios by a man, Mikylos (pp. 180, 182, no. 10); it would be the only dedication of a cymbal by a man and to Asklepios. Another inscribed *phiale* from Arcadia (pp. 210 and 215, no. 12) is a dedication of a woman Kamo to Kore. P.G. Kalligas, however, called both of these *phialai* cymbals ("Αρχαϊκὰ χάλκινα ἐνεπίγραφα ἀρχαῖα οτὸ 'Εθνικὸ Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο τῆς Αθήνας," *Horos* 5 [1987] pp. 166, 167, nos. 23 and 34). Two other examples

Jeffery may unjustifiably have called *phialai* (*Local Scripts*, pp. 194, 200, no. 39). These are the two dedications by women (Hoporis and P...nthos) to (Artemis) Limnatis, which Fränkel had already connected with the epigram of Timarete who dedicated to Limnatis before her wedding her musical instruments (*tympana*) and her various toys (Fränkel, *Weihgeschenke*, p. 29).

12. Anthony Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armor and Weapons* (Edinburgh, 1964) pp. 38-41, 44, 47, 56, 223-224, notes 6 and 11.

13. Berthold Fellmann, who devoted a whole chapter to cymbals in his publication of the bronze belt decorations from Olympia, agrees with Jeffery and Snodgrass (*Frühe Olympische Gürtelschmuckscheiben aus Bronze, Olympische Forschungen* [Berlin, 1984] pp. 100-102).

Independently of these discussions, Wegner claimed that a small inscribed bronze disk from the Acropolis in Athens is actually a cymbal (*Musikgeschichte*, pp. 60, 62, fig. 33). Neither the shape of the object nor the inscription encourage this interpretation.

14. Acc. no. 85.124 a and b; gift of Robert Haber in honor of Saul and Gladys Weinberg. Diameters: 12.1 cm (a) and 12.35 cm (b); weight: 333 grams (a) and 331.5 grams (b). Published: "Recent Acquisitions," *Muse* 20 (1986) p. 33; *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA: A Checklist* (Rome, 1997) John Bodel and Stephen Tracy, eds, p. 134. Isabelle Raubitschek first recognized the importance of the cymbals.

15. Brass is an alloy of copper and zinc. The cymbals are not true brass since they have more than trace elements of tin. They are more properly called tin brass. The composition of both cymbals is similar, but there are slight differences. They were, however, probably made at the same foundry and may have been produced at the same time.

Analyses: Cymbal A (85.124a): copper: 88.11; lead: 0.17; tin: 3.40; zinc: 7.15.
Cymbal B (85.124b): copper 87.47; lead: 0.06; tin: 2.70; zinc: 8.64.

The analyses were done on the Cameca MBX electron microprobe in the Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences at Harvard University. We gratefully acknowledge the help of Henry Lie, Director of Conservation at Harvard University Art Museums, David Lange, Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences, Harvard University, and Dr. Paul Craddock, Department of Scientific Research, The British Museum.

For discussion of the use of brass and the manufacturing process in antiquity, see Paul T. Craddock, *Early Metal Mining and Production* (Washington, D.C., 1995) pp. 292-302; Justine Bayley, "The Production of Brass in Antiquity with Particular Reference to Roman Britain," *Occasional Paper* No. 50, *2000 Years of Zinc and Brass* (British Museum, London, 1990) pp. 7-27.

16. Acc. Nos. 85.124 c-i. The two smallest (c and i, diameter 2.5 cm) are crudely made from wire that has been roughly flattened on three sides. (The fine striations left by the tool are still visible.) The second group consists of only one ring (e, diameter 3.4 cm). Formed of wire that has been flattened on two sides, it is better made than the two in the first group. The four rings that comprise the third group are the most substantial (d, f-h, diameters 2.9, 3.5, 3.6, 2.9 cm). The wire is round in section, and the rings are solid and heavy. The material of the rings has not been analyzed.

17. S-shaped hooks are preserved in the chain linking a pair of cymbals in Heidelberg (Borell, *Heidelberg*, no. 46). Cymbals could also be linked by a leather strap. See the pair carved on the tree trunk support for a marble centaur in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Marit Jentoft-Nilsen, "A Musical Instrument," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 [1983] pp. 157, fig. 1).

18. Acc. no. 85.124. j (length 4.5 cm). For a similar attachment for a chain of rings, compare a pair of cymbals from Pompeii, Naples Museum, inv. no. 76943 (*Pompeii AD 79*, p. 182, no. 188; M. Lista, "Oggetti di uso quotidiano," in *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, [Naples, 1986] p. 197, no. 127; *Pompeii, Life in a Roman Town*, Annamaria Ciarello and Ernesto de Carolis, eds. [Milan, 1999] p. 268, no. 348). See also a pair in a private collection: *Mythen, Mensen en Muziek, Mededelingenblad* 75-76 (1999) no. 110.

19. William V. Harris concludes that skilled craftsmen in the ancient world were more literate than the general population (W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* [Cambridge, Mass./London, 1989] p. 22).

20. Borell, *Heidelberg*, no. 46.

21. New York: Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pp. 454-456, nos. 1778, 1779, dated fifth to fourth century B.C. on the basis of the letter forms (name Kallistheneia); London: *British Museum Guide to Greek and Roman Life* (London,

1908) p. 220, fig. 230. On one of the British Museum pair the name (Oata) is written twice. A pair in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (inv. 3568a-b) is inscribed with the name Timokles, dated fourth century B.C.: *Mythen, Mensen en Muziek*, no. 109.

22. Christian Blinkenburg, *Lindos, Fouilles et recherches – 1902-1914*, 1, *Les petits objets* (Berlin, 1931) p. 155, under no. 456, National Museum, Copenhagen, inv. no. 6335, said to come from a tomb in Elis, Greece. We thank John Lund, curator at the National Museum for information about this pair.

23. See Pauly-Wissowa, 6 (Stuttgart, 1931) cols. 2478-2479.

24. We searched the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and Packard Humanities Institute data bases. We thank professor Eugene Lane, Classical Studies, University of Missouri, for his assistance.

25. Anderson, *British Museum*, pp. 26-27, no. 27, figs. 39, 40. Cymbal-clappers consist of two cymbals attached to a forked handle. They differ from castanets, which were made of wood and not attached to a handle (West, *Ancient Music*, p. 125).

26. Ziegler, *Louvre*, pp. 68-69, no. 92.

27. For good discussion of cymbal-clappers with bibliography, see Ziegler, *Louvre*, pp. 65-66, 68-69. Anderson publishes two still attached to their handles (*British Museum*, pp. 26-28). For figures playing clappers, see Ziegler, *Louvre*, p. 66, a small bronze figure holding clappers; for another bronze figure playing clappers, see Lenore O. Keene Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece* (Mainz, 1981) p. 128, no. 3, pl. 2. A set was illustrated in *Hesperia Art* 14, no. 17.

28. *Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983) pp. 157-158. The total height with their forked handle is 16.1 cm. We thank Dr. Jentoft-Nilsen for information about the Getty clappers.

29. See, for example, a terracotta plaque from Larsa, dated early second millennium B.C., showing a cymbal player (Joan Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities* [London, 1969] pl. V, b).

30. George F. Bass, "A Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kaç)," *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (1986) pp. 288-289.

31. Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 7959, dated 500-480 B.C. We are indebted to the late Saul S. Weinberg for this reference.

32. Copenhagen: Blinkenburg, *Lindos*, p. 155; London: pair in British Museum, *Greek and Roman Life*, p. 220, fig. 230, inv. no. 1906.4-12.1, inscribed and dated fourth to second century B.C.; Boston: Mary Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts* (Greenwich, Conn., 1971) p. 428, no. 622, dated fifth century B.C. and, like the Copenhagen pair, also said to come from a tomb in Elis.

33. Borell, *Heidelberg*, no. 46.

34. British Museum, inv. no. GR 1814.7-4.702 and 702*. The single cymbal in the Biblothèque Nationale, Paris, with a punched Latin inscription, although undated, was found with sigillata pottery. Its shape is no different from earlier cymbals. See Babelon and Blanchet, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, pp. 706-707.

35. Dr. Anderson, who has looked at many cymbals and published the ones from Egypt in the British Museum (see note 5), tells us that he has never seen ones of this shape but that this does not mean that the cymbals are suspect (personal communication).

36. Brass was rarely used before the first century B.C., but from that century onward was in general use in many parts of the Roman world. See Bayley, "Production of Brass," p. 7. The material of Missouri's cymbals cannot, therefore, be used as chronological evidence, except to suggest a late Hellenistic or Roman date.

37. In that case, the first set of marks should be the letter M, or *mu*, rather than s or *sigma*, since the second inscription uses lunate *sigmas*.

38. The cymbals unfortunately provide no clues to their use in antiquity, whether they were used in cult rituals, served as a dedication, or perhaps played a purely secular role in the second century after Christ. Cymbals and representations of cymbals were frequent offerings in tombs and sanctuaries in Egypt (Hickmann, "Cymbales et crotales," pp. 465-476).

Fig. 1. Mosaic fragment of a kneeling gazelle, fifth century. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 70.12.

The Gazelle Mosaic: An Inhabited Scroll in Missouri

Amélia Canilho

Floral scrolls occupied by human and animal elements performing a variety of activities were an extremely popular motif of Roman decorative art. The popularity of these "peopled" or "inhabited" scrolls was such that they became the stock-in-trade of Roman and Early Byzantine mosaic art. On display at the Museum of Art and Archaeology is a circular mosaic fragment representing a gazelle kneeling in the middle of an acanthus scroll (Fig. 1), which is a particularly interesting example of this type of decorative device.[1]

The acanthus scroll[2] is composed of six interconnected leaves arranged in alternating directions: they are seen in side views, one pointing upwards, the following one downwards, curling and overlapping with geometric regularity. The leaves are rendered in three distinct color schemes, which follow in sequence and repeat: light-brown and tan, brick red-red and pink, grayish green and light brown. The leaf tips are highlighted in white and the outer contours defined in black or brick red. Three lines of black tesserae projecting upwards from the first leaf may be the beginning of tendrils. The gazelle, nestled in the elliptical area defined by the leaves, is represented in profile, facing left, its long horns and ears curving slightly to follow the contour of the scroll. Its hindquarters rest on a red leaf that reappears in the area between the back and the neck of the animal and starts again next to its lower jaw, curving downwards towards its front legs. The gazelle's front legs and its rump abut the scroll, giving the impression that the animal is hiding in the vegetation. Three varying shades of brown and tan were used on the body of the animal; white highlights the belly, legs, chest, neck and the area below the eye. The eye consists of a black tessera encircled by smaller red and white tesserae. Black outlines the body, with the exception of the neck and belly, where red was used. Below the gazelle's hindquarters and attached to the acanthus scroll by a thin line of black tesserae is a large light brown and tan pomegranate with white highlights. The background of the piece is white.

The peopled scroll, a vine, acanthus or laurel rinceau with added vegetal, human or animal motifs, originated in Late Classical and Hellenistic Greece but its full development and widespread use occurred in Roman times, with continued

popularity into the Early Byzantine period.[3] The motif is particularly common in mosaics, but it is also present in other forms of decorative art such as wall paintings,[4] architectural decoration,[5] and metalwork.[6]

In mosaics, peopled scrolls were a rather common border motif for mythological, pastoral, agricultural or hunting scenes throughout the Empire. From the fourth century onwards they will just as commonly appear as field decoration.[7] Their widespread use is attested in Italy,[8] in the Western provinces,[9] and in North Africa,[10] but this was a particularly favored motif in the eastern provinces[11] and it is there that the closest stylistic parallels to the Missouri gazelle are to be found. For the general development of mosaics in the northwest provinces and their chronology see Klaus Parlasca, *Die Römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin 1959), specifically the pavement from Fliessem, pp. 16-18, pl. 21-22.

Comparison to four Early Byzantine pavements from Daphne and Yakto, suburbs of Antioch (modern Antakya, Turkey), points to a common artistic tradition. The pavements are: the *triclinium* of the Constantinian Villa,[12] the Worcester Hunt mosaic,[13] the border of the Mosaic of the Rams' Heads[14] and the borders of rooms 2 and 4 of the Yakto complex.[15] These four pavements and the Missouri gazelle share a similar iconographic type, in that they all have scrolls with representations of animals. In the Anthiochene examples they are, however, shown in flight and on a black background unlike the gazelle in our piece, which is represented at rest and on a white background. It is the treatment of the acanthus scroll, specifically, that places all these examples within the same tradition and distinguishes them from pavements in neighboring areas. The scrolls run in regular spirals. The leaves are shown only from the side, as if folded, with serrated edges pointing inwards, followed by another leaf shown in the same manner but with the serrated edges pointing outwards.

The earliest example of the group is the hunting mosaic from the Constantinian Villa (Fig. 2). It displays these characteristics in the classicizing, naturalistic style of the so-called "Constantinian Renaissance" evident in the abundance of details, the careful rendering of the flowers and fruits that occupy the center of the scrolls, the delicate tendrils that stem from the acanthus and the delicate coloring achieved by the use of glass tesserae in tones of gray, gray-green and green. Despite this, the leaves are very large and uniformly lit, with no attempt at balancing light and shade. A coin of Constantine, the Great (reigned A.D. 311–A.D. 337), imbedded in the mortar provides a *terminus post quem* for this pavement.[16]

Fig. 2. Detail of the border of the hunting mosaic of the Constantinian Villa (Daphne, near Antioch), fourth century. Louvre Museum, acc. no. Ma3444. Photo courtesy of Louvre Museum, Paris.

The fragments from the Yakto complex show a further simplification of the vegetal characteristics of the acanthus leaves so that they appear very flat against the dark background. This impression is emphasized by the dark, linear shading on the rib of the leaves, which gives the impression of a spiral running parallel to the scroll and from which the leaves protrude. The fragments from the Yakto complex are dated by Levi to the period of A.D. 350–A.D. 400, on purely stylistic grounds.[17]

A further development towards schematization occurs in the border fragment from the House of the Rams' Heads (Fig. 3). The rinceau is on black ground; the leaves are gray-green with white highlights and various shades of red on the underside. The scrolls contain a hunting putto, a pomegranate, and a ram protome rendered in light gray, gray and light violet. The acanthus leaves are shown in a side view, their serrated edges alternately pointed up or down. The midrib of the leaves is a circular light line on the dark background that hints at the ribbon-like effect of the shading in the scroll from the Yakto Complex, but that impression is not carried through as the midrib of each leaf is interrupted where a new leaf begins. The effect is somewhat schematic but still naturalistic. Occasionally, the serrated edges of more leaves appear on the underside of the scroll in an attempt at

perspective that is not entirely successful. This detail is absent in the Missouri piece as the area where it could have been present is not preserved. Overall, however, the treatment of the scroll is very similar.

Levi dates this mosaic to A.D. 500 on stylistic grounds. The archaeological evidence, however, points to a late fourth-early fifth century date: in the layer immediately below the mosaic were found two coins, one of Valentinian I (reigned A.D. 364–A.D. 375), and another of the same emperor or of Valens (reigned A.D. 364–A.D. 378), and pottery and lamps dated to the late fourth-early fifth century. These finds provide a *terminus post quem* for the pavement.[18] In light of the archaeological evidence, the mosaic of the House of the Rams' Heads is more appropriately dated to the fifth century.[19]

The Worcester Hunt mosaic (Fig. 4) presents a later stage of this development. The vegetal motif has degenerated into a purely ornamental element. The arched line that is still reminiscent of a midrib on the Yakto border has become an outline with an identical line defining an inner contour so that the leaves are arranged inside double geometric spirals. Their serrated edges are rendered in light tones on the dark background and stem alternately from the inner or the outer arch in a purely decorative, schematic rendering. There is controversy on the date of the Worcester Hunt mosaic. Levi proposes a sixth-century date on stylistic grounds.[20] However, new evidence from neighboring areas, specifically

Fig. 3. Mosaic fragment from the House of the Rams' Heads (Daphne, near Antioch), fifth century. Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland. Antioch Subscription Fund, acc. no. 1937.130. Permission to reproduce courtesy of the Baltimore Museum of Art.

Fig. 4. Border of the Worcester Hunt, House of the Worcester Hunt, Room 1 (Daphne, near Antioch), fifth century. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, acc. no. 1936.31. Photo courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.

Apamea, and the reexamination of the stylistic evolution of the hunting mosaics of Antioch suggest the last third of the fifth century as a more reasonable date for the Worcester Hunt.[21]

From a purely stylistic perspective the Missouri gazelle would fall somewhere between the Constantinian villa and the Worcester Hunt mosaics in that it does not display the delicate naturalism of the first nor the crude schematization of the second. The closest stylistic parallel for the treatment of the acanthus rinceau is offered by the fifth-century pavement of the House of the Rams' Heads (Fig. 3). Apamea, now Qalaat al-Mudik, in northern Syria, provides another workable parallel in the border of the mosaic of Meleager and Atalanta (Fig. 5) dated to the last quarter of the fifth century.[22] This luxuriant border is composed of large, full acanthus leaves shown in side and oblique views with naturalistic shading. Protomes of lions, bears, ducks, fish, and bulls erupt from the scrolls. One hunting putto appears on each of the four sides of this rectangular border and in the corners there are vegetal masks like those from the Constantinian Villa at Antioch, all on a black background. The acanthus rinceau is rather more detailed and naturalistic than that of the Missouri example. The vegetal characteristics are more obvious, less schematic, better understood. The leaves are a fuller, more elaborate version of those around the Missouri gazelle, but they are arranged in a similar manner: each leaf stems from its predecessor, which thus acts as a sort of receptacle. This specific detail makes these mosaics a group unto themselves. In other areas, there prevails a tendency to treat the scroll as one continuous flat leaf with one or two jagged sides, emerging from a calyx that comes to resemble a horn or a cornucopia, spiraling towards its center. This trend, present in early fourth-century mosaics of Aquileia[23] became a standard in North African mosaics[24] and appears also in third to seventh-century mosaics in Jordan,[25] Israel,[26] Lebanon,[27] and Cilicia.[28]

Thus, from a purely stylistic standpoint, the treatment of the acanthus scroll alone establishes a close relation between the mosaic fragment from Missouri and the parallels from the Daphne suburb of Antioch as well as the neighboring area of Apamea.

As for the treatment of the animal itself, the Missouri gazelle is represented in a somewhat more naturalistic manner than the foliage. Anatomical proportions are correct, even though some details are simplified. Highlights in white and tan tesserae add volume to the body, namely around the forelegs, belly and hindquarters, but the separation between anatomical areas is done with a few lines of color and some disregard for their plastic and organic qualities, as is obvious in the chest, legs and belly. Foreshortening is awkward, as, for example, in the depiction of the muzzle, mouth, horns, and right front leg. The latter, especially, sticks out at an awkward angle from the animal's chest. Overall, the effect is one of simplified naturalism because the animal's representation is abbreviated but not quite cartoon-like. These characteristics place the gazelle within the repertoire of

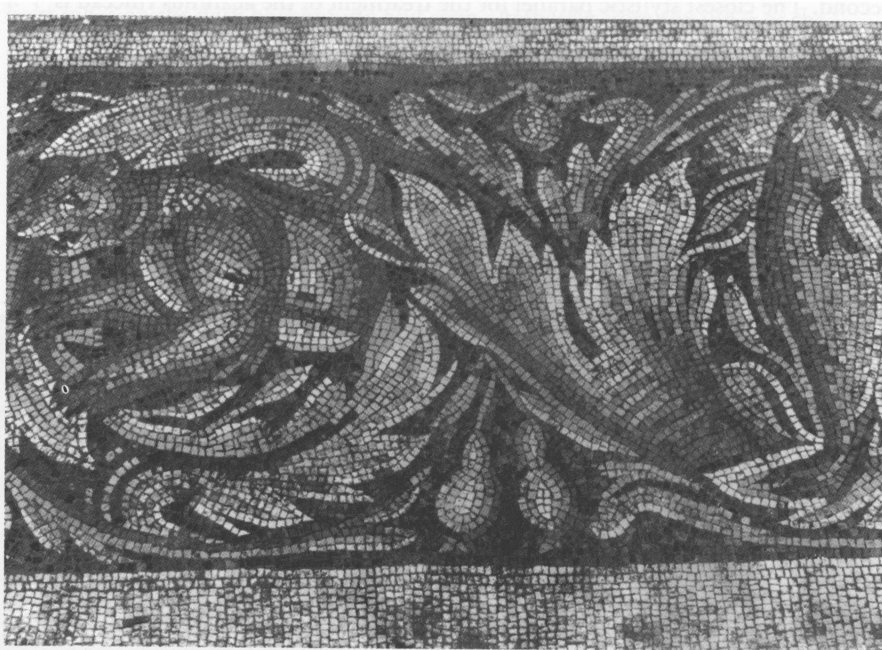

Fig. 5. Detail of the border of the mosaic of Meleager and Atalanta (SW corner of Apamea, Syria), last quarter of the fifth century. Photo courtesy of Janine Balty, Centre Belge de Recherches Archéologiques a Apamée de Syrie, Brussels, Belgium.

animal representations produced in Antioch and neighboring areas in the fifth and early sixth centuries.

This type of kneeling or seated animal occurs frequently within hunting, pastoral and harvest subjects. In general, after the Constantinian age, there is a move towards more ornamental, less organic representations of animals, with liveliness of movement and formulaic stances replacing anatomical realism.[29] In North Africa, two mid-third-century mosaics from El Djem display the range of use of the kneeling animal type in that province. In the Hare Hunt mosaic,[30] one hare hides in the middle of a circular thicket of vegetation with hounds and hunters about to descend upon it. A set of kneeling animals appears in the mosaic of the Dice-players,[31] a still life mosaic with xenia motifs, where beasts of the amphitheater share space with ocean creatures, dead and live fowl, fruits and plants and two kneeling gazelles. The whole composition is organized into square registers surrounded by a laurel border. One other interesting parallel is that of a kneeling gazelle from the Maison de l'Arsenal (also known as Maison du Virgile) in Sousse,[32] which is surrounded by xenia motifs but, unlike those in the example from El Djem, these are scattered throughout the available space, with no border other than a stalk of millet extending along the outer edges of the mosaic. These three examples share, if not a common theme, an affinity of style. The creatures are

Fig. 6. Reclining feline, detail of the border of the mosaic in the nave of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba, Jordan, sixth century. Photo courtesy of Fr. Michele Piccirillo.

elegant, with long bodies, graceful necks and, in the case of the gazelles, very large, alert eyes. They are of a type with the Missouri gazelle but not of the same style. Antioch and its neighboring areas provide closer parallels.

Jordan provides several examples of peaceful animals nestled in the middle of an acanthus scroll: a gazelle and a feline in the border of the mosaic from the nave of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba (Fig. 6), a stag in the border of the nave mosaic in the Chapel of Elias, Maria and Soreg in Jerash, a sheep and lion in the field decoration of the nave of the Upper Chapel of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Makhayyat (Mt. Nebo) (Fig. 7) and several animals in the field decoration of the nave of the church of the Palm Tree at Umm Al-Rasas.[33] They appear in a Christian context, in mosaics that display a combination of harvest, pastoral and hunting subjects. The animals are represented in simplified forms, outlined in black, with anatomical partitions and details defined by stark lines and very linear shading. They are shown within a circular area defined by two or three leaves with very jagged edges and well-defined midribs, almost totally devoid of their vegetal character. The animals with their surrounding foliage appear cartoon-like. They represent an interesting development of the type but are not very close parallels for the Missouri gazelle.

Fig. 7. Reclining sheep, detail of the field decoration of the mosaic in the nave of the upper Chapel of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Makhayyat (Mount Nebo), Jordan, sixth century. Photo courtesy of Fr. Michele Piccirillo.

Closer stylistic, if not iconographic, parallels can be established with three pavements from the Yakto and Daphne suburbs of Antioch. Kneeling or seated animals appear in hunting mosaics of the area: a gazelle in the mosaic of Megalopsychia, one ibex and two hares in the Worcester Hunt (Fig. 8) and a goat in the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt (Fig. 9).[34] These animals are part of larger field

compositions. They are unharmed and motionless amidst wounded and fleeing animals pursued by hunters through a landscape suggested by scattered clumps of vegetation. The vegetation surrounds none of these animals, but they share a similarity of treatment with the Missouri gazelle: they are naturalistically rendered, despite the simplified anatomical details and the linear shading. This is particularly true of the representation of the ibex in the Worcester Hunt (Fig. 8) and the goat in the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt (Fig. 9), especially in details such as the bend of the animals' left legs which stick out from their chests just as awkwardly as the right leg in the Missouri gazelle.

The eastern provinces provide other examples that may establish a link in the stylistic evolution of the treatment of animals from the fifth- and sixth-century mosaics of Antioch and the late sixth-century mosaics of Jordan: the stiff, immobile animals in the Martyrion of Seleucia,[35] the rather decorative, ornamental animals in the border of the House of the Rams' Heads (Fig. 3) and the lively but simplified forms of the animals in the mosaic of Meleager and Atalanta from Apamea (Fig. 5). It is within this stylistic context that both the animal and the scroll in the mosaic fragment from Missouri are to be placed.

The depiction of animals resting amidst an acanthus scroll is very rare, as the four examples from Jordan would indicate. They are more often shown as animal protomes bursting from within a scroll, arranged as a border motif on a dark background. White background for borders is not very common either. Six examples can be mentioned. Two in Madaba, in the Baptistry Chapel and in the Church of Al-Khadir, both mosaics dated to the sixth century and occupied by scenes of hunting, fowling and herding; one at Umm Al-Rasas in the Church of the Priest Wa'il where various standing animals and one horseman survived the Iconoclasts; another at Zay, in the territory of Gadara of Peraea with foliate masks, birds, a horned ram and a cup on a pedestal;[36] the border of the mosaic from the villa at Jenah, Lebanon; and the border of a mosaic from Nahariya, Israel.

The use of the inhabited acanthus as field decoration occurs in the sixth-century churches of the Priest John (Fig. 7) and of St. George at Khirbat al-Makhayyat (Mount Nebo area), at Umm Al-Rasas in the Church of Bishop Sergius, Church of the Lions, Church of the Palm Tree, and Church of the Rivers, all dating to the late-sixth century, and in a secular context in the seventh-century mosaic in the Burnt Palace at Madaba.[37] Judging by size alone, the scroll from Missouri may have been a field element. It is 91.44 cm in diameter, which places it among the larger examples in the groups defined by Claudine Dauphin in her

study of the use of peopled scrolls in Eastern mosaics. Because of its diameter, it is to be placed alongside the large scrolls used, for example, in the field decoration of the mosaics in the Chapel of the Priest John and the Church of Saint George.[38] As a border element it would have been part of a rather large border that could have measured up to 1.20 meters. Large borders of over 1 meter in width are also mentioned in Dauphin's study, but the scrolls in them are usually smaller than our example.[39]

The white background coupled with the large size of the scroll, would reinforce the possibility that this may have been a field element rather than a border element. These two characteristics also place it within the traditions defined by the sixth-century mosaics of the churches of the Priest John, St. George, Bishop Sergius and the seventh-century mosaic from the Burnt Palace at Madaba.

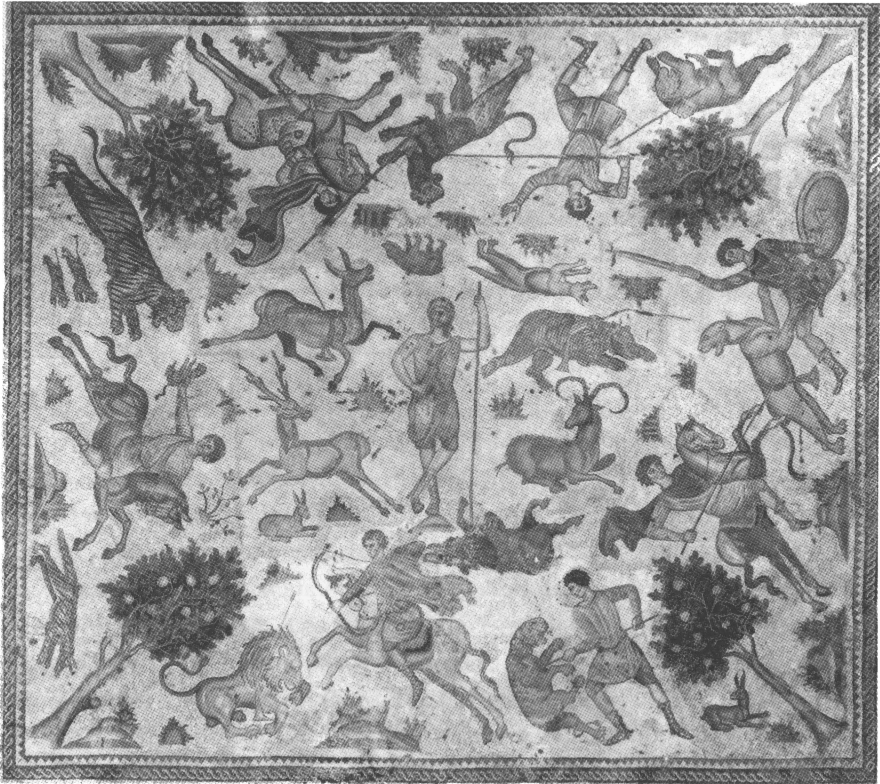

Fig. 8. The Worcester Hunt, field decoration, fifth century. House of the Worcester Hunt, Room 1 (Daphne, near Antioch). Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, acc. no. 1936.30. Photo courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.

However, the style of representation is without a doubt very different, as is the technical quality of the work as defined by tesserae count. The piece in Missouri uses approximately 100 tesserae per square decimeter in the background and 144 in the figure of the gazelle, which places this on a par with the finest examples from the Imperial Palace in Constantinople and the House of the Rams' Heads in Antioch.[40] The Jordanian mosaics are coarser, with lower tesserae count and wider spacing of tesserae. Also, they are laid in a more simplified way than in the Missouri piece, where they follow contour lines very closely. The use of a pomegranate as a space filler occurs in mosaics in Constantinople, Antioch (Constantinian villa, House of the Rams' Heads), Misis, Jenah, Madaba and Jerash.[41]

The stylistic and iconographic evidence points to the suburbs of Antioch as a likely place of origin for the Missouri gazelle, but the absence of an archaeological context leaves us in the dark about the type of building it decorated and its cultural and religious context. Here we can only speculate, based on the settings of other mosaics excavated under controlled conditions. The museum purchased this piece on the art market. According to information provided at that time by the dealer, the mosaic fragment had been excavated at Daphne in 1965 and later held in a private collection. Art dealers are notorious for fabricating deceptive provenances for antiquities, however in this case, the dealer's statement appears to be strongly supported by the evidence of stylistic and iconographic comparanda.

Whereas in Antioch the peaceful animals are without the enclosure of a vegetal element, and a part of the hunting scenes that decorate the floors of private homes, in Jordan they appear surrounded by foliage in association with hunting, pastoral and harvest scenes in the pavements of churches.

Within a pagan context, the peopled scroll has either a purely organic function within hunting scenes, i.e., animals hide in vegetation to escape death or capture or cower before an unavoidable fate, or it is an appropriate component of a Dionysiac or Orphic scene, in which the animals are either to be viewed as the symbols of wild, unrestrained Nature or the beneficiaries of the soothing spell cast by the divine musician's lyre. As the composition of the pavements changes, so does the symbolism attached to a motif that will endure one more change with the advent of Christianity.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the Christian church became the most important source of patronage for mosaic workshops. Traditional (pagan) motives that lent themselves to Christian interpretation were readily adapted to new purposes

by the mosaicists. The transfer into a Christian context of rural and hunting scenes, often enclosed in a vine or acanthus scroll, occurred predominantly in sixth-century Eastern churches where they are part of the wide repertory of representational motives that replaced the geometric and nonfigurative themes of earlier church pavements.[42] The popularity of these motifs seems to be borne out by the fact that the peopled scroll was used as decoration for the floors of churches more often than for any other building.[43] The motionless, sometimes cowering animals seen in the secular scenes of hunting and *venationes* of Antioch acquire a new dimension when present on the floor of a church.

The symbolism attached to the inhabited scroll as it was transferred from a pagan to a Christian context includes a wide range of themes,[44] namely: mankind's stewardship of the Earth whose bounty is offered to God and thus establishes human supremacy over the natural world and specifically over animals,[45] and the Animal Paradise in which the beasts "are transformed into the peaceful assembly described by Isaiah."[46] Within these themes, individual elements are given an added symbolic value. For instance, a lamb recalls the Good Shepherd, a dove is linked to the Baptism of Christ, a deer to the soul's yearning for God, a caged bird is the soul imprisoned in the body.[47] However, a number of animals appear to have no symbolic value: the gazelle is one such.[48] Nonetheless, it is present in the border or field decoration of several Jordanian mosaics, as mentioned previously, in an unquestionably Christian context.

Fig. 9. Detail of reclining goat from the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt (possibly from a house on Mt. Stauris, Antioch), late-fifth–early-sixth century. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D.C., acc. no. 38.74 a, c. Photo courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

In Antioch, peaceful animals parade around the ambulatory of the sixth-century Martyrion of Seleucia and also in the fifth-century mosaic in the Hall of Philia, two examples of Christian mosaics, which are believed to illustrate the Peaceful Kingdom described by Isaiah.[49]

The adaptability of the peopled scroll to a variety of settings and contexts was the very reason for its longevity and popularity. According to C. Dauphin, "It is simply a neutral theme, read, understood and interpreted according to the mentality of the onlooker, for the life of artistic motifs is far longer than that of their original significance. Like most other motifs from the Graeco-Roman artistic repertory, the inhabited scroll passed into Jewish and Christian art alike, taking on different meanings according to the period, the religion, the building and the onlooker."[50]

The fact that the closest stylistic parallels to the Missouri gazelle were found in private villas at Daphne,[51] where the motif is used within a pagan context, coupled with the iconographic connections to the sixth-century Christian mosaics of Jordan, namely, the peaceful, seated gazelle, the white background and large size of the scroll, raise an interesting possibility. This fragment could be viewed as an example of a transitional period in Antioch during which pagan motifs and the workshops that produced them were coming under the patronage of the Christian churches and bringing with them their traditional (pagan) repertories of motives.

In light of the available evidence, I propose that the Missouri gazelle was a field element of a mosaic produced for a Christian building in Antioch or its suburbs sometime in the fifth century. This date would place it within the years of production of its closest stylistic parallels, the mosaic fragment from the House of the Rams' Heads and the hunting mosaics of Antioch and Apamea.[52]

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NOTES

1. Acc. no. 70.12. Dimensions: vertical axis - 83.82 cm, horizontal axis - 91.44 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Acquisitions," *Muse* 5 (1971), p. 6, illus. on cover; Osmund Overby, ed., *Illustrated Museum Handbook* (University of Missouri Press, Columbia & London, 1982) p. 7, fig.11; Museum of Art and Archaeology, *All That Creepeth Upon the Earth: Animals in Art from the Ancient World* (Museum of Art and Archaeology, Columbia, Missouri, May 30–August 2, 1992) no. 59.

2. Catherine Balmelle et al., *Le décor geométrique de la mosäique romaine,* (Paris, 1985) motif no. 64,e.

3. The changing form of this motif is summarized by: Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements,* (Princeton, 1947) pp. 489-517; Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee and John B. Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 18 (1950) pp. 1-43, pls. 1-26; Ernst Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976) p. 71; Claudine Dauphin, "A New Method of Studying Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements (Coding and Computer Analysis) with Special reference to the Levant," *Levant* VIII (1976) pp. 113-149; Idem, "Byzantine Pattern Books: A Reexamination of the Problem in the Light of the 'Inhabited Scroll'," *Art History* I, 4 (1978) pp. 400-423; Idem, "Symbolic or Decorative? The Inhabited Scroll as a Means of Studying some Early Christian Mentalities," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) pp. 10-34.

4. Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls," p. 7, note 22. See also Levi, *AMP*, pp. 489-517.

5. Cf. the limestone lintel (acc. no. 67.177) with rinceau enclosing rampant animals in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology: "Acquisitions," *Muse* 2 (1968) p. 5; K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality, Catalogue of the Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1977–1978* (New York, 1979) no. 146.

6. Cf. one Early Byzantine silver and gilt bracelet (acc. no. 68.175b) with openwork vine scroll in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology: "Acquisitions," *Muse* 3 (1969) p. 11, illus.; Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "Three Early Byzantine Ornaments," *Muse* 26 (1992) pp. 46-52, illus. The minor arts, and metal-work specifically, first made use of this motif and were responsible for its

continuation according to Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls," p. 4 and p. 42.

7. This is particularly true in the eastern part of the Empire. Dauphin, *Levant* VIII, pp. 113-149, studied 116 mosaics of the fourth to the seventh centuries, C.E., from Constantinople, Cilicia, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine (Israel, Jordan, and the West Bank) with peopled scroll decoration and found that the motif had been used almost exclusively in borders in second- and third-century mosaics. In mosaics of the fourth to the seventh centuries there was a 50-50 split between borders and fields (p. 119).

8. For a general account see Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls," pp. 1-43 and Levi, *AMP,* pp. 489-517.

9. In addition to the Western mosaics included in the studies mentioned above, it is worth including a reference to the Spanish pavements of the villa de El Pesquero (José Maria Alvarez Martinez, "Nuevos documentos para la iconografia de Orfeo en España," in Peter Johnson, Roger Ling and David J. Smith, eds., *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics: Held in Bath, England, on September 5–12, 1987* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, supp. ser. 9) (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1994) pp. 217-223, figs. 7-9); a mosaic with a victory scene in the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano *(Corpus de Mosaicos de España I,* #43, pp. 45-46, pl. 77); a pavement from the villa of El Hinojal *(CME I,* #65, p. 52, pls. 95-98, 107); the mosaic of Portman *(CME IV,* #93, p. 83, pl. 46); the pavement from the villa of Hellin (Sebastián Ramallo Asensio, J. Jordán Montes, *La villa romana de Hellin (Albacete)* (Murcia 1985) pp. 17-18); and that of the villa del Ramalete *(CME VII,* p. 70ff.). All of these mostly fourth-century pavements display a marked simplification of the motif that, although still retaining some of its vegetal characteristics, is represented in a stiff, decorative manner with leaves sprouting from horn-like elements, tendrils ending in leaves or fruits, the whole scroll making a very pronounced spiral whose center is occupied by running animals, animal protomes and also the usual fruits and flowers. Overall they display very close stylistic ties to North Africa.

10. For the general development of North African mosaics see Katherine Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford, 1978).

11. For a general development see Ernst Kitzinger, "Stylistic Developments in Pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian", La *Mosäique Greco-Romaine. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique,* (Paris, 1963 [1965]) pp. 341-351.

12. Levi, *AMP,* p. 226ff., 501-2, pls. LII, LIV-LV; Richard Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes II. The excavations of 1933-36* (Princeton, 1938) pp. 197-200, pls. 62-8; Irving Lavin, "The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and their sources," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963) p. 190, no. 21; Frances F. Jones, "Antioch mosaics in Princeton," *The Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 40 (1981) no. 2.

13. Levi, *AMP,* pp. 363-5, 504-5, pls. CXLIVb-d; Stillwell, *Antioch,* pp. 200-2, pls. 70-1.

14. Levi, *AMP,* pp. 350, 504, pls. LXXXIId; Stillwell, *Antioch,* pp. 188-189 n. 60, sections 4 and 2, pls. 45-6; *Early Christian and Byzantine Art. An exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art. April 25-June 22* (Baltimore, 1947) p. 131, no. 667.

15. Levi, *AMP,* p. 503, pls. CXLIIIg and CXLIVa.

16. Stillwell, *Antioch,* p. 197ff.; Levi, *AMP,* p. 226, 625; Lavin, *DOP* 17, p. 190, n. 21.

17. Levi, *AMP,* pp. 279-283, p. 503 relates the acanthus scrolls of the Yakto complex to the fourth-century mosaics from the basilicas of Aquileia and on p. 626 the fragments are dated to the period between A.D. 350 and A.D. 400.

18. Levi, *AMP,* p. 350: the archaeological material was found only under one of the four border fragments discovered in Room 1 of the House of the Rams' Heads, but as Levi points out they were all part of the same mosaic; see also the chronological table, p. 626.

19. An interesting stylistic and chronological comparison is provided by the Phoenix mosaic, the one other Antiochene mosaic decorated with a border of rams' heads, which are very similar in style to those in the House of the Rams' Heads. Found below the Phoenix mosaic was a coin of Theodosius II (reigned A.D. 401–A.D. 450) that would provide "a date for the mosaic at least posterior

to the beginning of the fifth century A.D." Levi, *AMP*, p. 351, pls. LXXXIII, CXXXIV–CXXXV.

20. Levi, *AMP*, pp. 363-365, 503, and chronological table, p. 626. Levi's conclusions are based in comparisons with the Antiochene pavements of the Megalopsychia Hunt (A.D. 450–A.D. 475), the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt (dated to A.D. 500–A.D. 526), the Martyrion of Seleucia (dated on the basis of earthquake damage to before A.D. 526), and the Jordanian pavements of the churches of St. John the Baptist, St. George, and Saints Cosmas and Damian (A.D. 529–A.D. 533) in Jerash.

21. Levi, *AMP*, p. 587ff., saw the twisting of the animals necks in a direction opposite that of the body, and a simplification of volume that make the animals look like toys or caricatures, as indications of a new stylistic evolution. Cécile Dulière, "Ateliers de mosäistes de la seconde moitié du Ve. Siècle", *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan de recherches archéologiques 1965-1968 (Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie. Miscellanea* 6, Brussels, 1969) p. 128, points out that these characteristics were already present at Apamea in the portico mosaic (dated to A.D. 469) and on the mosaic of the Amazons (dated to circa A.D. 475). Lavin, *DOP* 17, p. 190, n. 20, sees no stylistic discrepancies to justify Levi's dates and proposed that the hunting mosaics of Antioch be dated to the last quarter of the fifth century based on their stylistic unity.

22. Janine Balty, *Mosäique Antiques du Proche-Orient. Chronologie, Iconographie, Interpretation, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire Ancienne* 140 (Paris, 1995) p. 172, pl. xxiv.2; Idem, "Les mosäiques de Syrie au Ve. siècle et leur repertoire", *Byzantion* 54 (1984) pp. 437-68, pl. XI.2; Idem, *Mosäique Antiques de Syrie* (Brussels, 1977) pp. 118-123 and figures; Dulière, *Miscellanea* 6, pp. 125-130, pl. LII.

23. Levi, *AMP*, p. 499, fig. 183.

24. In North African mosaics the tendency towards stiff ornamentation is already present in the third-century Boar Hunt mosaic from Carthage (see Dunbabin, *North Africa*, pp. 48-49, 252, pl. XI.21), but it is more prevalent in fourth-century mosaics that display a type of scroll very similar to that used in the Boar Hunt border (several examples from Carthage, #24, pp. 53-54, 252, pl.XIII.26-28; #23a, pp. 104, 168-169, 252, pl. XXXV.92; #32, pp. 62, 119-121, 252, pl. XLIII.109; #41, pp. 57-58, 62, 144, 253, pl. XVI.35-37. Also present in a mosaic from

Constantine, #4, pp. 56-57, 255, pl. XVI.34 and one from Dougga, #7, pp. 99, 257, pl. XXXIV.89). The tendency continued into the fifth century as seen in a mosaic from Tabarka and another from Thuburbo Maius (Tabarka, 1 i, pp. 122, 271, pl. XLV. 111-113; Thuburbo Maius, 7, pp. 170, 274, pl. LXVII.171).

25. Cf. the border of the mosaic in the nave of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba, dated to A.D. 578; the mosaic in the nave of the Church of Bishop Sergius at Umm al-Rasas, dated to A.D. 587–588; the mosaics in the nave of the Upper Chapel of the Priest John in Khirbat al-Makhayyat (town of Nebo), dated to A.D. 565; and the mosaics in the Church of St. George, also in Khirbat al-Makhayyat, dated to A.D. 535–536. In all of these the acanthus scroll consists of two to four continuous leaves with two very jagged sides, stemming from a calyx-like blossom and curving inwards to form the top and bottom halves of the scroll. See Michele Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman, Jordan, 1993) p. 106, figs. 78-95, pp. 234-235, figs. 365-371, p. 174, figs. 218-233, p. 178, fig. 245, respectively. Another variant consists of two continuous leaves seen in strict profile view, the ribs forming the outer contour of the circle and the jagged side of the leaf curving inwards as seen, for instance, in the borders of the mosaics in the nave of the Church of the Deacon Thomas in the ‘Uyun Musa valley and in the nave of the Church of Al-Khadir. See Piccirillo, *Jordan,* p. 187, figs. 257-258, 263 and p. 129, figs. 142-143, 149, respectively.

26. The treatment of the acanthus scroll in Israeli mosaics is very similar to the second type listed above for Jordan, as can be seen in the border of the Orpheus Mosaic from Jerusalem (Levi, *AMP,* p. 507, fig. 186, n. 26), in the border fragments of a third-century mosaic from Shechem (Nablus), and in the border of a geometric mosaic from a fourth-century–seventh-century monastery at Tell Basul. See Ruth and Asher Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements in Israel* (Rome, 1987) pp. 129-130, pl. CLI-CXCI (Shechem) and pp. 137-138, pl. CLXII (Tell Basul). A fourth-century–fifth-century mosaic in Nahariya shows an interestingly dotted midrib, ibid., pp. 113-114, pl. CXXVI.

27. Maurice Chebab, *Mosäiques du Liban (Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* XIV-XV, Paris, 1958-1959), specifically a mosaic from Jenah, pl. XXX.

28. Cf. Ludwig Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien, I: Frühchristliche Mosaiken in Misis-Mopsuhestia* (Recklinghausen, 1969) pls. 26-112, the border of the fourth-century mosaic from the martyrium of Misis-Mopsuhestia.

29. Ibid., p. 584.

30. Dunbabin, *North Africa,* p. 49, n. 13, pl. XI.22.

31. Ibid., pp. 125, 170, pl. XLVII.118.

32. Ibid., pp. 81-82, 125 n. 58, pl. XLVII.117.

33. Piccirillo, *Jordan,* p. 106, figs. 85-86, p. 296, fig. 568, p. 174, figs. 218-219, 230, 233, pp. 241-242, fig. 394, respectively.

34. See n. 12 and n. 20 above; Levi, *AMP,* pl. LXXVIIa, pls. CLXXIII-CLXXVII, pls. LXXXVd and LXXXVIa, respectively. See also, Sheila D. Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (*Corpus of Mosaic Pavements in Turkey, Subsidia Mediaevalia* 15, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988) pl. 199.

35. Levi, *AMP,* pp. 359-363, pl. LXXXIXb.

36. Piccirillo, *Jordan,* p. 118, figs. 102-103; p. 129, figs. 142-143, 149; p. 242, fig. 396; p. 324, figs. 670-672, respectively.

37. Ibid., p. 174, figs. 218-233; p. 178, fig. 245; pp. 234-235, figs. 365-371; p. 236, figs. 373, 376; p. 241, figs. 394-395; p. 240-241, fig. 390, respectively.

38. Dauphin, *Levant* VIII, pp. 126-127, n. 48-50, defined four groups of inhabited scrolls by diameter. This example belongs to Group 4, scrolls with a diameter of more than 90 cm, with three examples in Madaba (vine scrolls in the "Cathedral" and two fragments of unknown provenance) and one each in the churches of the Priest John and Saint George in Khirbat al-Makhayyat. Group 1 (30–50 cm scrolls) includes the borders of the Worcester Hunt, Rams' Heads, Bird Rinceau, the Martyrion from Antioch, Jenah in Lebanon, and Damascus Gate in Jerusalem.

39. Ibid., p. 123, n. 38-40, also defined four groups of inhabited scrolls by width of borders. The Missouri gazelle would belong to Group 4 (with borders ranging from 80 cm to over 1 m), which is represented in Constantinople, Urfa (Edessa), Snafiya, and Madaba. Group 2 (50–60 cm) includes the Antiochene mosaics of the Constantinian villa, the Worcester Hunt, and the Martyrion of Seleucia. Group 3 (60–80 cm) includes the House of the Rams' Heads and the House of the Bird Rinceau.

40. Ibid., p. 125 n. 43.

41. Ibid., p. 128 n. 53.

42. Dunbabin, *North Africa,* pp. 230-231 and n. 153-162.

43. Dauphin, *Levant* VIII, found that among the 116 pavements that were the object of her study, 55.2% were in churches, 9.5% in houses, 8.6% in synagogues, 2.6% in baths, 1.7% in courtyards, 1.7% in funerary chambers, and 20.7% were without a specific context.

44. Dauphin, *Byzantion* 48, pp. 19-34.

45. Henri Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park, Pa., 1987) pp. 67-72, specifically mentions the mosaics in the Upper Chapel of the Priest John and in the Church of Saint George at Khirbat al-Makhayyat, as an example of human mastery over the beasts and a definition of "humanity's place in the natural world created by God" (p. 71), as well as the Eucharistic feeling that permeates this *prosphora* or "offering," of the Earth's bounty to God alongside with the sharing of the communion bread.

46. Dunbabin, *North Africa,* p. 230 n. 157. See also p. 231 n. 158-160.

47. Dauphin, *Byzantion* 48, pp. 12-18, provides an interesting listing of some of these interpretations.

48. Ibid., p. 18.

49. Isaiah 11:6-8, *The New English Bible* (Cambridge, 1970). See also Levi, *AMP,* pp. 359-363, pls. LXXXVII-LXXXIX and, pp. 317-319, respectively. An unquestionable inscriptional connection to the biblical passage heralding the coming of the Messiah occurs only in a group of five mosaics studied by Sheila D. Campbell, "The Peaceful Kingdom: a liturgical interpretation," in Johnson et al., ed., *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics,* pp. 125-134. The animals represented are, by and large, those referred to in the passage from Isaiah.

50. Dauphin, *Byzantion* 48, p. 34.

51. Bohdan Philip Lozinski, "The Phoenix mosaic from Antioch: a new interpretation," in Johnson et al., ed., *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics,*

pp. 135-142, proposes that the "villas" of Daphne may have been, "... not private homes, but festival halls, wedding halls, or places for teaching or performing religious dramas, dances and hymns. The baths attached to them would have served for purifications." (p. 142).

52. The controversy over the dates of the hunting pavements of Antioch is summarized by Dunbabin, *North Africa,* p. 223 n. 128, p. 225 n. 136. See also n. 21 above.

Fig. 1. Bronze Statuette of the God Men, Roman, ca. 2nd century, Anatolia. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 83.68.

A Men Miscellany: Three New Objects Concerned with the Moon-God Men

Eugene Lane

I

Regular readers of *Muse* will already be acquainted with the mostly Anatolian moon-god Men, on whom the author published an article in the volume for 1984.[1] In it I presented a bronze statuette of Men, as well as a portrayal on the thumb-plate of a lamp. In this article, I will present three new objects: an iron ring, a bronze appliqué, and an inscribed bronze plaque, which provide new information about this divinity.

Since the publication of that article in 1984 a great deal of new information has become available on Men, and we can take advantage of this new information to give the reader an idea, not just of the god's physical appearance, but of his power and the range of activities attributed to him. New epigraphical discoveries, mostly from Turkey, are constantly being published, and thus our understanding of the god is rapidly changing. In particular, the category of the confessional steles (so-called because in them the dedicant sees his misfortune as the result of an offense against the god, and confesses) is rapidly increasing, and each new discovery, as it seems to answer one question, opens up two new ones. We learn more and more about the organization of Men's temples, their officials and possessions, but so much that is not obvious to the twenty-first-century student is simply taken for granted by these often abbreviated and ungrammatical documents, that much remains obscure.[2] It will be enough to cite the text of one of these to show how intriguing and tantalizing they can be.[3]

> "Syntyche, [wife] of Theogenes, [made this dedication] to Men Artemidorou Axiot(t)enos. After her husband Theogenes had found a hyacinth stone, then [later] while it was lying in her house the stone was stolen, and when she was searching for it and being interrogated she prayed to Men Axiottenos to help her to satisfaction in regard to it; and it was found burned and disfigured, wrapped in a linen shirt, put by the thief in the place where it was lying when [still] undamaged. And so the god, having appeared [i.e. shown his power]

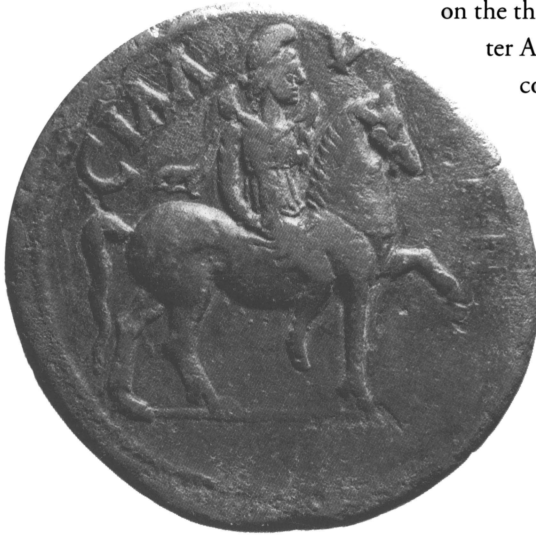

Fig. 2. Coin Depicting Men in Equestrian Pose, reign of Commodus, ca. 185 C.E. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 76.78.

on the thirty-first day, ravished Glycon's daughter Apphia, who was [still] a virgin, who had committed the theft and done this. And because she [Syntyche] slighted (?) the god's power, since she had been asked by the virgin's mother to keep silent, the god also became angry at this [namely] because Syntyche did not make known and exalt the god, therefore by means of [punishing] her thirteen-year-old son Heracleides he made her set up the [report of the] punishment at his place, because she acted in men's interest rather than in that of the god. It is Syntyche, daughter of Apollonius and Meltine, who has brought to public knowledge the punishment."

Apparently in this complicated and condensed little narrative,

1) Theogenes found a hyacinth stone.
2) The stone was stolen by Apphia, who used it in some "magical" ritual, and then returned it damaged to the place where she had found it. Apphia's use of the stone must have been of the erotic kind, well known from the Greek Magical Papyri, and effective, as it attracted her lover and she became pregnant.[4]
3) In the meantime Syntyche has discovered the stone missing and asked Men's help.
4) But she does not thank the god for helping her find the stone, as Apphia's mother has drawn her into a cover-up, which involves blaming Apphia's pregnancy on none other than the god himself!
5) The god became angry and punished in an unspecified way Syntyche's thirteen-year-old son Heracleides. (At any rate, whatever Heracleides' misfortune may have been, it was attributed to divine anger at his mother.)
6) Finally Syntyche confesses all that has happened and publishes the story on the stele which we have.

Now it is not my intention to give an exhaustive account of the new epigraphical material on Men and what it continues to show us about the involvement of the deity in the lives of the simple people in many areas of Asia Minor. Rather I wanted to give a background of how the god behaves, the power which his worshippers credit him with, to my presentation of three additional Men-objects in the Museum of Art and Archaeology all acquired since my 1984 article.

Now, we may ask, how did the worshippers physically envision this easily angered god who was so close to their everyday activities? Let us refresh our memories by returning to the bronze statuette of the 1984 article (shown again here, Fig. 1). It remains one of the best representations of the god known, and can serve again to acquaint the reader with the physical appearance of this divinity in his worshipper's eyes.

He stands with his raised left hand holding a staff or scepter (now lost). In his outstretched right hand he holds a plate of fruit, showing that he is *inter alia* a god of agricultural fertility. (More normally he holds either a *patera*—a shallow vessel—for libations, or a pinecone, a symbol of immortality.) He is dressed in the so-called Phrygian costume, Greek iconographical shorthand for any person or divinity supposed to come from the area east of the Aegean, such as Trojan heroes.[5] (This costume typically involves the so-called Phrygian cap with its point turned over forwards; a belted, long-sleeved *chiton*; often but not always a cloak (*chlamys*); tight-fitting pants (*anaxyrides*); and boots.) Frequently Men is shown with a bucranium (bull's head) next to or under one foot, but this detail is lacking in the Missouri statuette.

Fig. 3. a) Ring with Intaglio Gem Depicting Men, Roman, 1st century C.E. b) Impression. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 86.1.

Men, as we observed already in 1984, is also widely shown on coins, something which points to his being an official god of the cities of Asia Minor. On coins he is not only shown standing but also frequently riding. The Museum of Art and Archaeology has a number of such coins, like that from Sillyon illustrated here (Fig. 2).

II

The first of the new objects to be presented here is an iron ring,[6] with a gem of Men set in it (Fig. 3). (Note the damage near Men's left foot: otherwise the gem is well preserved.) The stone is said to be carnelian. The representation is somewhat similar to that on a gem in Munich,[7] but does not show Men turned so far to his left. Nor does Men on our gem hold the so-called cornucopia of the Munich piece, but clearly a *patera*. In addition on our gem, Men has a cloak behind his back, something lacking on the Munich gem. He is double-belted, as is the statuette which I published in 1984, and probably goes back to the same cult image in Nysa but is left-right reversed in respect to the statuette. This fact of course shows

Fig. 4. Bronze Appliqué of Men, Roman, ca. 2nd century, probably from Anatolia. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 89.61.

that the picture of Men was meant to be seen on impressions from the gem, not on the gem itself.

This is the only Men-gem preserved in its original setting, and indeed, preserved iron rings are not common, given the perishability of the material. They seem, however, to have been extensively used. Initiates into the Samothracian Mysteries, for example, received iron rings to protect them from danger at sea.[8] A well-preserved iron ring that can be compared with ours is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.[9]

III

The second artifact which I wish to bring to the reader's attention is a bronze appliqué of unknown original use (Fig. 4).[10] Men is shown in bust, his head turned left, looking down somewhat sorrowfully. The deep-set eyes were originally inlaid with silver. The Phrygian cap is covered with stars—an attribute which Men frequently shares with Attis,[11] as on coins of Juliopolis in Bithynia and the well-known silver plate from the Hildesheim treasure.[12] The two horns of the crescent are decorated with wavy lines. I can find no exact parallel but there are somewhat similar crescents split lengthwise, as on the Hildesheim plate.[13]

The back of the appliqué is flattened, with an irregular surface, and a hollow behind the face. I can see no traces of whatever glue or other substance may have held it to the surface which it originally decorated.

Fig. 5. Bronze Votive Plaque with Dedication to Men, Roman, 2nd–3rd century, Anatolia, Phrygia. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 96.9.

IV

But probably the most interesting of these objects, at least from a historical point of view, is a bronze votive plaque with inscription (Fig. 5).[14] The letter forms help suggest a date for this object, probably second or third century. Now an inscription is an artifact and a text at the same time, an artifact that tells a story, or part of a story, leaving the scholar to fill in the gaps with his imagination. And, after discussing three speechless objects, we have now come back to the kind of thing with which we began this article, the tale of Syntyche.

The inscription, which is rendered in what we call punctate or punched-dot lettering, reads

Ἀρτειμᾶς Κουρν-
ούτου Μηνὶ Οὐα-
ράθῳ εὐχὴν
δι' Ἑρμαίου Κλη-
vac. δο vac. νίου

"Arteimas, son of Cornutus, (gave this as) a vow to Men Ouarathos by the agency of Hermaios, son of Kledonios."

Punctate lettering is not especially common, but it does occur in far too many places and times in antiquity for it to serve as any indication of origin or date. Nonetheless I admit that when I saw this piece I was immediately reminded of another piece in the Museum, which I published in *Muse* several years ago.[15] It is illustrated here as Figure 6. It also has punctate letters and letter-forms reminiscent of the plaque. It is a bronze base with an omphalos on top, on which a statuette originally stood. (An omphalos is a representation of the stone that presumably marked the navel of the world in Apollo's shrine at Delphi.) Although the divinity to whom the piece is dedicated is not mentioned in the inscription, the presence of the omphalos makes it certain that Apollo is meant. I concluded that Mombogaios, the name of one of the dedicants, points to a connection with Hierapolis-Bambyke in Syria, near the Euphrates and the current Turkish frontier. The Semitic name of the place is Mambug. It is the site of the worship of an exotic form of bearded Apollo, who was associated with the principal divinity of the place, the so-called Syrian goddess.[16]

But to return to my subject. The new bronze plaque reminded me of the bronze base, so I had a hunch it might be from the same area, in spite of the fact that Men is principally Anatolian in distribution and scarce in Syria. Perhaps one confirmation of the hunch can be found in the previously unrecorded epithet Ouarathos. It resembles the Arabic root *wrth*, which has to do with inheritance. For instance, the word for "heir" is "waarith." It is also the case that in Palmyrene dialect (or close to the geographical area of my hunch) it shows an initial w-, not the y- expected in Aramaic. On this hypothesis, Men Ouarathos would be the inherited or ancestral Men (he is elsewhere called "Patrios," i.e., God of our Fathers).[17]

A second possible confirmation of my hunch comes from the extremely uncommon proper name Kledonios, which is derived from κληδών, an omen from something heard by chance. A careful review of the epigraphical and papyrological indices, both in hardcopy and CD ROM form, yields only three people in antiquity with this name. One is a recipient of a letter from the philosopher and bishop Synesius of Cyrene; he appears to have been *praeses* of the Libyan Pentapolis in 404. The second is the recipient of two theological letters from Gregory Nazianzen, the fourth-century church father; he was a presbyter. Both are too late for our consideration. The Kledonios, however, who possibly concerns us here was a legal official of some sort, described as τοὺς δικαστὰς εἰσάγων, or "bringing the judges in." He was taken captive and led prisoner by the Persians, together with the emperor Valerian, in the notorious debacle of A.D. 260.[18]

Fig. 6. Inscribed Bronze Omphalos, Roman, ca. 3rd century, Syria attributed. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 84.53.

We also know that these events took place in Samosata, a city on the Euphrates in ancient Commagene, now in Turkey, not far from the Syrian frontier or from Hierapolis-Bambyke. This city was also the hometown of Lucian, the main source of our knowledge about the Syrian goddess.[19]

Now what does this incident have to do with our piece? At the risk of being accused of indulging in historical fiction worthy of Colleen McCullough, I can imagine a scenario as follows: Hermaios, son of the historically attested Kledonios, is at Samosata with the Roman army during

these critical events. At some point he travels, perhaps on official business, to the shrine of Men Ouarathos. He agrees to help his friend Arteimas, who could not himself make the trip, repay a vow he had previously made to this divinity. Would it be too much to speculate that Arteimas had made a vow to Men Ouarathos to give him an offering if he remained safely out of Persian captivity? In the case of the Syntyche inscription, cited above as an example of the kind of powers attributed to the god, we had something much more complicated. But here these people, of some importance and associated with the army, may be seen appealing to the same god for personal safety whom the peasant woman Syntyche had appealed to in the case of the disappearing hyacinth stone. A regional divinity can be a great equalizer of social station among those who worship him. All this of course is sheer speculation, but given the rarity of the name Kledonios and the known presence of one bearer of it in this area in the year 260, the possibility is not to be ruled out.

In conclusion we can say that the three new items published here, while having nothing in common except their connection with the god Men, together add to our picture of the cult. We already knew that Men appeared on engraved ring-stones. Now we have our first instance of one preserved in its original setting. The fact that it is an iron ring, rather than one in a more precious metal, perhaps points to the popularity of the cult among less wealthy people. The appliqué shows that a bust of Men could be used for decorative purposes, perhaps on a container of more perishable material. It need not have been used in a strictly religious context. But the most intriguing is the votive inscription, which by virtue of its attesting both a new epithet for Men and a very unusual personal name has allowed us to speculate about a historic scenario for its dedication. There is no proving its correctness. But—who knows?—it may just be right.

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NOTES

1. Eugene N. Lane, "Two Portrayals of the Moon-God Men," *Muse* 18 (1984) pp. 55-61.

2. For a comprehensive treatment of all confessional inscriptions, involving Men and/or other divinities, known to its time, see Georg Petzl, "Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens" (= *Epigraphica Anatolica* 22 [1994]).

3. This was first published by G. Petzl and H. Malay in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 28 (1987) pp. 459-472; further interpretation was given by A. Chaniotes *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 15 (1990) pp. 127-8; the translation used here, which endeavors to capture the breathless incoherence of the original, was first published by Ramsay MacMullen and Eugene N. Lane, *Paganism and Christianity: a Sourcebook, 100-425 C.E.* (Minneapolis, 1992) p. 104.

4. The word "magical" must be used with caution. Magic is easier to recognize than to define, and the word is subject to endless dispute, to the extent that in two recent co-edited publications (*Ancient Christian Magic : Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* [Princeton, N.J., 1999] and *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* [Leiden, 1995]) Marvin Meyer, while continuing to use the conventional word "magic," has declared his preference for the term "ritual power."

For some examples of erotic magic see the selection presented by MacMullen and Lane, *Paganism*, p. 10, or P. Mich. 757, no. 40 in the internet exhibition catalogue "Traditions of Magic in Late Antiquity," www.hti.umich.edu/exhibit/magic. The first example is particularly apposite here in that it shows how recondite materials, such as a hyacinth stone, could be required for such rites.

5. See the publication by Jane Biers, *Muse* 26 (1992) pp. 31-45, of a mirror which she interprets as illustrating the judgment of Paris. In my opinion it could equally well illustrate the story of Aphrodite and Anchises, known from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (see "A Note on Persons Wearing Phrygian Costume," at the end of this article). But no matter whom it illustrates, the male figure is identified as a Trojan by his Phrygian costume. For divinities wearing this kind of attire, see my article on a statuette of Attis ("A Statuette of Attis and his Cult," *Muse* 11 [1977] pp. 38-46 [with William H. Barnes]), and on a statuette of Sabazius ("A Syncretistic Statuette," *Muse* 8 [1974] pp. 34-37). Both of these divinities were at

least thought by the classical and Hellenistic Greeks to have originated in Asia Minor. On this whole subject, see L. E. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments: Greek God or Phrygian?" *Hesperia* 63 (1994) pp. 245-262.

6. Acc. no. 86.1, gift of the Arts and Sciences Student Government; exterior diameter 0.021m.; interior diameter between 0.0175 and 0.014m.; height of bezel, 0.013m; width of bezel 0.010m.

7. E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis:* 2, *The Coins and Gems* (Leiden, 1975), no. G19.

8. For the Samothracian Mysteries see especially Susan Guettel Cole, *Theoi Megaloi. The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden, 1984).

9. *Die antiken Gemmen des kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien* 3 (Vienna, 1991) no. 1673. The profile is given on Pl. 234.

10. Acc. no. 89.61, Weinberg Fund purchase; height 0.052m.; maximum width 0.053m.

11. See E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis: 3, Interpretations and Testimonia* (Leiden, 1976), p. 92, note 27.

12. Illustrated E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis:* 1, *The Monuments and Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1971), end of plates.

13. See also ibid., nos. 93, 261, and 287, while the long flaps of the cap find a parallel on ibid., no. 140.

14. Acc. no. 96.9, Weinberg Fund purchase; height 0.039m.; width 0.072m.

15. "A Bronze Base from Syria," *Muse* 23-24 (1989-90) pp. 74-81.

16. Our main source of information on the cult is Lucian's pseudo-serious essay "On the Syrian Goddess." The best treatment of this highly enjoyable piece remains that of R. A. Oden, *Studies in Lucian's De Syria Dea* (*Harvard Semitic Monographs* 15, Missoula, Mont., 1977).

17. The resemblance of the epithet to the Arabic root was first pointed out to me by my son Michael, who has studied Arabic. I also went to the Columbia mosque and discussed these words with the imam. For the fact that the Arabic, rather than

the expectable Aramaic, form occurs in Palmyrene, see J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyréen épigraphique* (Cairo, 1935, p. 71); J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions,* I (Leiden, 1995) p. 471, *s.v.* "yrs." For Men Patrios, see E. N. Lane, *CMRDM* :3, *Interpretations and Testimonia* (Leiden, 1976), p. 77 (Antioch in Pisidia).

18. This was the only time that a Roman emperor was actually captured by the enemy. Subsequently the Persian king Sapor sent Kledonios as an emissary to the Roman official M. Fulvius Macrianus (or Macrinus—not to be confused with Macrinus, the emperor briefly in power after Caracalla's assassination in 217). Our Macrianus had held the office of *praefectus annonae,* and later was himself to claim the imperial dignity in an uprising against Valerian's son Gallienus. At all events, Sapor sent Kledonios to Macrianus with a request from Valerian that he (Macrianus) come join him (Valerian) in captivity. Macrianus not only did not obey but tried to persuade Kledonios to remain with him and not return to Valerian. Kledonios however decided not to desert his master and returned to captivity in Persia.

19. Our principal source on these events is the anonymous continuator of Cassius Dio, as preserved in Petri Patricii Excerpta Vaticana, ed. U. P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt,* 3 (Berlin, 1901, reprinted 1955) p. 742, no. 159. I know this text only through its inclusion on the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae CD-ROM. This Kledonios is listed in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* (Stuttgart, 1894-1978) XI, col. 585, and in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1971-80) I, Cledonius 1. As to the two other people by that name, one is the recipient of Synesius' forty-second epistle. He is listed as *RE* XI, col. 585, Kledonios 2. The third received from Gregory three short letters (nos. 107-109 in *Saint Gregoire de Naziane, Lettres, II* ed. Paul Gallay [Paris, 1967]) and two long theological ones (nos. 101-102 in Gregoire de Nazianze, *Lettres théologiques* ed. Paul Gallay [Paris, 1974]). The *PLRE* I distinguishes another Kledonios praised in Gregory Nazianzen *Carmina* (ed. Migne, in his *Patrologia Graeca* 37, col.1460.121 - col. 1461.179), but I think unnecessarily. Admittedly, we do know of a person who went by the Latinized version of this name, Cledonius. He was a Latin grammarian from Constaninople, whose work survives. See *PLRE* II, Cledonius 2.

A NOTE ON PERSONS WEARING PHRYGIAN COSTUME

Although Dr. Biers has shown (*Muse* 26, [1992] pp. 31-45) that the iconography of the mirror (Fig. 6) is essentially that of the Judgment of Paris, the author has always found the identification mythologically unsatisfactory. The problem lies in the fact that there is only one goddess in the representation. Now the whole point of the Judgment of Paris is that he must be judging—among three goddesses, all of whom claim to be "the fairest." But what can this scene be, with only one goddess? I submit that the educated ancient viewer would have thought immediately of the story of Anchises and Aphrodite, recounted in the *Homeric Hymn* to that goddess. (Even if he did not know the hymn, he would certainly have known about the outcome of its events in the *Aeneid.*) In this story the Trojan prince Anchises is, like Paris, a herdsman in the mountains. The gods, put out that Aphrodite has caused them all to fall in love with mortals but has never done so herself, conspire to make her fall in love with him. On this interpretation, the presence of only one goddess is accounted for, and the presence of Eros or Cupid is equally as appropriate as in the tale of Paris. As the issue of this union was none other than the Roman ancestral hero Aeneas, the story was of exceptional importance for the Romans and the Italian peoples in general. Anchises has not been much recognized in art. If one looks him up in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC),* (Zürich, 1981–), however, one finds a bronze Etruscan mirror-case, dated to the mid-fourth century B.C. (*LIMC s.v.* "Anchises", no.4) which shows to the viewer's right a seated youth in Phrygian costume, in the center a semi-nude seated female figure, while a youthful nude winged male figure (Eros or Cupid) stands between them, and another such figure appears on the viewer's left. The scene, on the whole, is reminiscent of that on the Missouri mirror, but makes the goddess much more prominent. Although Fulvio Canciani, the author of the *LIMC* article, comments that other interpretations may be possible, it seems also possible that Anchises has simply been left unrecognized in ancient art because people have not been looking for him.

Acquisitions

1997 and 1998

Fig. 1. Leningrad Painter, *Red-figure Column-Krater,* ca. 470–450 B.C.E., acc. no. 98.14a and b

Greek and Roman Art

Greek

Rattle: Child in Cradle, Greek, ca. 2nd c. B.C.E., terracotta, (97.20), Weinberg Fund.

(Fig. 1) Leningrad Painter, *Red-figure Column-Krater (Fragmentary),* Greek, Attic, ca. 470–450 B.C.E., pottery, (98.14a and b), Weinberg Fund.

Roman

Large Cup, Pontic Sigillata, Roman, Black Sea area, mid-1st c. or later, pottery, (97.2), Weinberg Fund.

(Fig. 2) *Wedding Procession,* Roman, possibly from Syria, 1st–2nd c., terracotta, (97.21), Weinberg Fund.

Fig. 2. *Wedding Procession,* 1st to 2nd c., acc. no. 97.21

Fig. 3. *Infant Hercules Strangling Two Snakes,* 1st c., acc. no. 98.1

African Red Slip Ware Bowl (Form 53A): *Biblical Scene, the Judgment of Solomon,* Roman, Tunisia, ca. 350–430 or later, pottery, (97.22), Weinberg Fund.

(Fig. 3) *Infant Hercules Strangling Two Snakes,* Roman, 1st c., bronze, (98.1), Weinberg Fund, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates.

Votive Plaque: The god Men with Lions, Roman, 3rd c., bronze, (98.4), Weinberg Fund.

West Asian Art

Iran

Bull Rhyton, Amlash culture (?), ca. 1000 B.C.E, terracotta and gold (?), (98.13), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

East Asian Art

Japan

Ando Hiroshige, Japanese, 1797–1855, *A Moonlight Scene over Yedo Bay at Kanagawa* (from the series *Famous Views of the Fifty-Three Stations on the Tokaido Highway*), 1855, color woodblock print, (98.48), gift of Ruth Ellis in memory of her husband, President Elmer Ellis.

African Art

Congo or Angola

(Fig. 4) *Four Embroidered Textiles,* Kuba people, early 20th c., raffia, (98.20–23), gifts of Robert M. Brugger from the collection of Melvin Brugger.

Nineteen Woven Mats and One Conjoined Bundle of Woven Mats, early 20th c., reeds and raffia, (98.24–43), gifts of Robert M. Brugger from the collection of Melvin Brugger.

Chieftain's Stool, early 20th c., wood, (98.44), gift of Robert M. Brugger from the collection of Melvin Brugger.

Fig. 4. *Embroidered Textile,* early 20th c., acc. no. 98.23

Central American Art

Mexico

(Fig. 5) *Tripod Plate,* Maya culture, Late Classic period, ca. 600–900, pottery, (98.10), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

Cylindrical Vessel with Relief Decoration, Maya culture, ca. 300–900, pottery, (98.11), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

Standing Figure with Severed Neck, Veracruz culture, Late Classic period, ca. 600–900, terracotta, (98.12), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

European and American Art

Paintings

Frank Holmes, American, b. 1938, *Interior with Three Oranges,* 1993, oil on canvas (97.1), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates–Members' Choice.

Four painting studies for murals in the Missouri State Capitol by Richard E. Miller, American, 1875–1943, *Daniel Boone at the Judgment Tree; President Jefferson Greeting Lewis and Clark;*

Fig. 5. *Tripod Plate,* ca. 600–900, acc. no. 98.10

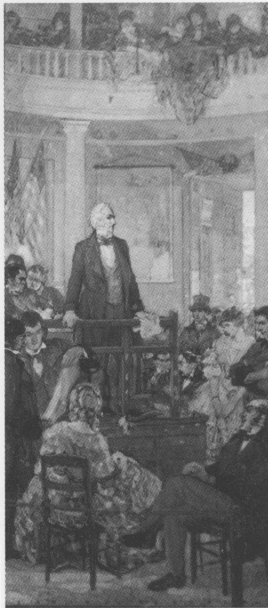

Fig. 6. Richard E. Miller, *Benton's Speech at St. Louis, 1849*, ca. 1922, acc. no. 97.14

(Fig. 6) *Benton's Speech at St. Louis, 1849; Blair's Speech at Louisiana, Missouri, 1866,* all ca. 1922, all oil on canvas, (97.12–15), transferred from Ellis Library, University of Missouri–Columbia.

(Fig. 7) Ed Paschke, American, b. 1939, *Kiss I,* 1996, oil on linen, (97.17), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Two paintings attributed to Altobello Melone, Italian, Cremonese School, ca. 1490–ca. 1543, (Fig. 8) *St. Helen Questioning Judas* and (Fig. 9) *Proving of the True Cross,* both ca. 1520, both oil and tempera (?) on wood panel, (98.2.1–2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Nicolai Cikovsky, American, b. Russia, 1894–1984, *Still Life,* ca. 1930s–1940s, oil on illustration board, (98.47), acquired with funds donated by Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Witt in memory of their sons Eric and David.

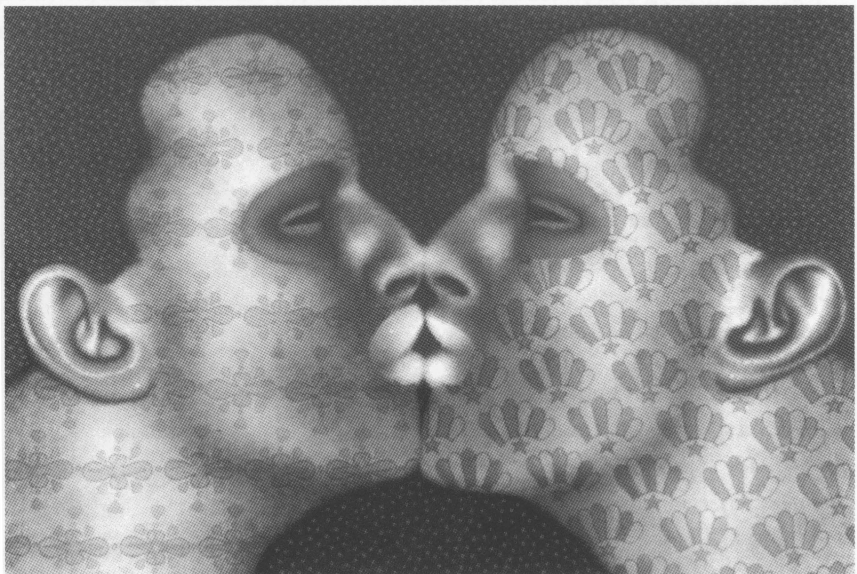

Fig. 7. Ed Paschke, *Kiss I,* 1996, acc. no. 97.17

Fig. 8. Attributed to Altobello Melone, *St. Helen Questioning Judas*, ca. 1520, acc. no. 98.2.1

Fig. 9. Attributed to Altobello Melone, *Proving of the True Cross*, ca. 1520, acc. no. 98.2.2

Fig. 10. Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid, *Lenin at the Palladium, May Day, New York City,* 1992, acc. no. 97.16.8

Fig. 11. Ben Sakoguchi, *Yellow Peril,* 1992, acc. no. 97.16.10

Graphics

Two engravings by Johann Jacob Frey the Elder, Swiss, 1681–1752, *Jesus with the Woman at the Well,* 1740, after Carlo Maratti, Italian, 1625–1713, and *Raptus Proserpinae (The Abduction of Persephone),* 1746, both on laid paper, (97.4–.5), gifts of Jeffrey B. Wilcox.

Four etchings by George Cruikshank, English, 1792–1878, *TAURUS—A literary Bull; GEMINI—Odd-fellows; VIRGO—Unmatched enjoyment; CAPRICORNUS—A Caper-o'-corns,* all undated, (97.6–9), gifts of Bette Weiss.

Godefroy Engelmann I, French, 1788–1839, *Suisse. Canton de Berne. Jeune Fille de la Ville (Young Country Girl),* 1825, color lithograph, (97.10), gift of Bette Weiss.

Miss Pierpont, English, 19th c., *Fashionable Court & Walking Dresses for Aug. 1825,* 1825, colored engraving, (97.11), gift of Aimée Leonhard.

10, Artist As Catalyst, A Portfolio to Benefit the Alternative Museum, 1992, a portfolio of ten serigraphs with additional pages for title, introduction, and acknowledgements, and with portfolio case; introduction by Robert Storr, American, n.d.; Ida Applebroog, American, b. 1929, *Untitled;* Luiz Cruz Azaceta, Cuban, b. 1942, *Lotto: The American Dream;* Leon Golub,

Fig. 12. Jörg Schmeisser, *Here and Now, Echoes from a Distant Past*, 1993, acc. no. 98.5

American, b. 1922, *Interrogation;* Luis Jiménez, American, b. 1940, *The Mass of Mankind ... Thomas Jefferson Quote;* Jerry Kearns, American, b. 1943, *American Noir;* (Fig. 10) Vitaly Komar, American, b. Russia, 1943 and Alexander Melamid, American, b. Russia, 1945, *Lenin at the Palladium, May Day, New York City*; Adrian Piper, American, b. 1948, *Let's Talk;* (Fig. 11) Ben Sakoguchi, American, b. 1938, *Yellow Peril;* Andres Serrano, American, b. 1950, *Red River #10;* Lorna Simpson, American, b. 1960, *Cure/Heal,* all 1992, (97.16.1–.14), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

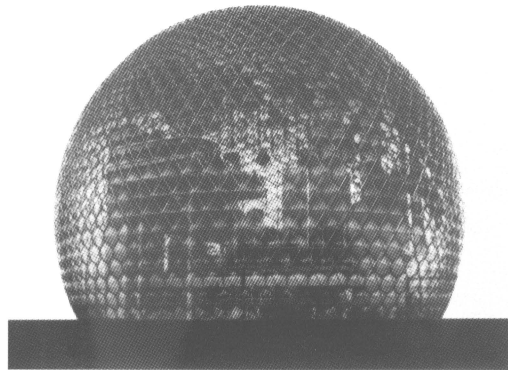

Fig. 13. Buckminster Fuller, *Building Construction/Geodesic Dome*, 1981, acc. no. 98.6.6.2

Randy Louis Arnold, American, b. 1957, *Beginnings*, 1995, monoprint and drawing on paper, (97.18), gift of the artist.

Ernest Trova, American, b. 1927, *Untitled* (from the *Falling Man* series), 1970, serigraph, (98.3), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Mann.

(Fig. 12) Jörg Schmeisser, German, b. 1942, *Here and Now, Echoes from a Distant Past*, 1993, color etching, (98.5), gift of MU Student Fee Capital Improvements Fund.

Buckminster Fuller, American, 1895–1983, *Inventions: Twelve Around One*, 1981, a portfolio of thirteen serigraphs in white on polyester film and thirteen serigraphs in gray on paper, with additional pages for title, texts, essay, and colophon, and with end wrappers and clamshell case; *4D House; Motor Vehicle—Dymaxion Car; Prefabricated Dymaxion Bathroom; Building Construction—Dymaxion Deployment Unit*; *Dymaxion Dwelling Machine—Wichita House;* (Fig. 13) *Building Construction/Geodesic Dome; Synergetic Building Construction—Octetruss; Tensile-Integrity Structures—Tensigrity; Geodesic Structures—Monohex; Undersea Island—Submarisle; Laminar Geodesic Dome; Watercraft—Rowing Needles; Non-Symmetrical Tension-Integrity Structures,* (98.6.1–.19), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, purchased in honor of Professor Osmund Overby upon his retirement.

Fig. 14. Robert Rauschenberg, *Storyline*, 1997, acc. no. 98.7

(Fig. 14) Robert Rauschenberg, American, b. 1925, *Storyline* (from the series *Ground Rules*), 1997, photo etching, (98.7), gift of Museum Associates.

Thomas Huck, American, b. 1971, *Chili Dogs, Chicks, & Monster Trucks* and *Kohler City Revisited,* two woodcuts (from the series *2 Weeks in August: 14 Rural Absurdities*), both 1998, (98.8–.9), anonymous gift in memory of William R. Daniels.

Fig. 15. Thomas Hart Benton, *Slow Train Through Arkansas*, 1941, acc. no. 98.46

James Rosenquist, American, b. 1933, *Tin Roof*, 1978, etching and aquatint, (98.15), gift of Kathryn Ashenbrenner.

William Fick, American, b. Indonesia, 1963, *Hooligan III*, 1993, linocut, (98.16), gift of the Art Department–Print Area, University of Missouri–Columbia.

Two lithographs by Thomas Hart Benton, American, 1889–1975, *Morning Train,* 1943 and (Fig. 15) *Slow Train Through Arkansas*, 1941, (98.45–.46), gifts of Robert M. Barton.

Photographs

(Fig. 16) Andres Serrano, American, b. 1950, *Piss Discus*, 1988, digital cibachrome photograph, (98.19), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Fig. 16. Andres Serrano, *Piss Discus*, 1988, acc. no. 98.19

Mixed Media

Jennifer Losch Bartlett, American, b. 1941, *The Elements: Air, Water, Fire, Earth*, 1992, soft ground etchings with aquatint, painted

cement, patinated iron, glazed ceramic, and enamel on wood with brass, (97.19.1.1-.2, 97.19.2.1-.2, 97.19.3.1-.2, 97.19.4.1-.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Sculpture

Olin Levi Warner, American, 1844–1896, *YA-TIN-EE-AH-WITZ, "POOR CRANE," CHIEF OF THE CAYUSUES*, 1891 or later, bronze, (97.3), gift of George Schriever in memory of his wife Placide Daues Schriever.

Fig. 17. Charles Thomas "Chuck" Close, *Phil/BAM*, 1991, acc. no. 98.18

Louis Pearson, American, b. 1925, *Flame*, not dated, bronze, (98.17), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Albert M. Price.

Textile

(Fig. 17) Charles Thomas "Chuck" Close, American, b. 1940, *Phil/BAM*, 1991, silk, (98.18), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Exhibitions

1997 and 1998

A Graphic Odyssey: Romare Bearden As Printmaker
February 6–March 30, 1997

Fig. 1. *A Graphic Odyssey: Romare Bearden As Printmaker*

Romare Bearden (1912–1988), born in North Carolina, is one of the most renowned African American artists of the twentieth century. After studying in Paris where he was exposed to European modernist trends, Bearden set up his studio in New York City in 1956. Adapting Cubism to suit his own purposes, Bearden began working in collage and combined this avant-garde language with his own heritage. He mastered a variety of printmaking techniques: serigraphy, lithography, etching, aquatint, sugarlift, collagraphy, and photolithography—all represented in this exhibition, which highlighted thirty years of Bearden's printmaking oeuvre, ranging in date from circa 1945 to 1980 (Fig. 1).

Parallel Visions: Contemporary Russian and American Painting
April 16–June 15, 1997

Fig. 2. *Parallel Visions: Contemporary Russian and American Painting*

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of artistic suppression by Soviet authorities, Russian artists have experienced the freedom to

paint, exhibit, and travel. Rarely shown outside major urban centers, this thought-provoking and challenging exhibition marked for many Museum viewers their first exposure to contemporary Russian art. Both contemporary Russian and American artists joined forces, showing many similarities, as well as differences, in the treatment of some of the art's most traditional themes. Thanks to the Maya Polsky Gallery in Chicago, two American artists included in the exhibition were Ed Pashke and Nicolas Africano (Fig. 2).

The Time of Her Life: Jane Austen's Era

May 3–October 5, 1997

Jane Austen (1775–1817) is one of England's most renowned and beloved authors. To discuss the works of this celebrated novelist, the Jane Austen Society of North America-Central Missouri Region hosted a local conference. In conjunction with the conference, the Museum featured objects from its permanent collection to complement Austen's literary works—many of which were executed between 1750 and 1850. Among those items were lacquer and tortoiseshell boxes, miniatures of porcelain, and ivory and two books on loan from Special Collections, University of Missouri–Columbia Libraries (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. *The Time of Her Life: Jane Austen's Era*

Tradition and Innovation in the Twentieth Century

June 19–November 30, 1997

This exhibition emphasized major artistic movements of the twentieth century. Imagery from numerous art-historical periods ranged from Egyptian to Renaissance to Modern and Surrealism. The exhibition served a tradition of rotating artworks in the Modern Gallery to help preserve the condition of works on paper and to display more art from the Museum's permanent collection.

The Floating World: Japanese Art of the Late Edo

July 12–September 28, 1997

This exhibition featured a selection of the Museum's colored woodblock prints by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1864) that depict various aspects of the Kabuki theater and its actors, as well as objects that represent Japanese traditional costume and decorative arts. Among these objects were loans from MU's Museum of Anthropology and other Missouri collections. Four main themes: fans, weapons, tea, and dress in two- and three-dimensional works complemented the exhibition (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. *The Floating World: Japanese Art of the Late Edo*

Printed Images and Texts of Renaissance Nuremberg

September 20, 1997–Feb. 1, 1998

Selected from the Museum's permanent holdings, this exhibition displayed in the Corner Gallery an impressive collection of works on paper with examples from five centuries and several European countries. Nuremberg was one of the earliest and finest printmaking centers in the Western World—elevating printmaking from craft to art. Innovations of artists such as Michael Wolgemut and Albrecht Dürer showed an unprecedented level of technical virtuosity. Additional highlights included leaves from the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and the *Nuremberg Bible.*

Commitment: Fatherhood in Black America

October 18–December 14, 1997

This exhibition of black-and-white photographs depicted African American fathers as

Fig. 5. *Commitment: Fatherhood in Black America*

supportive and nurturing parents. This powerful documentation was a story of black fathers throughout America and their commitment to their children. Viewers were encouraged to look, listen, and learn from these fathers. The words and images revealed energy, resolve, and determination. Photographer Carole Patterson conceived the project as a statement of artistic and social significance to confront stereotypic modes of perception (Fig 5).

Fig. 6. *The Aesthetic Energy of the Twentieth Century*

The Aesthetic Energy of the Twentieth Century
December 13, 1997–Oct. 11, 1998
Onlookers were invited to progress through a sequence of *isms*—from Expressionism to Postmodernism—in the Modern Gallery. Expanded labels on key works provided information regarding the artist, subject matter, or theoretical underpinnings of a movement. Traditional favorites included Dale Chihuly's *Lime Persian Single with Vermillion Lip Wrap*, Jerry Kearns' *American Noir,* and Lorna Simpson's *Cure/Heal* (Fig. 6).

Fig. 7. *India's Artistry: The Unseen Revealed*

India's Artistry: The Unseen Revealed
January 20–May 10, 1998
A diverse selection of objects focused on traditional, commonplace arts. Many of the objects served domestic, devotional, or

utilitarian uses, but several pieces for public or temple display were included. Elements of India's rich and varied religious heritage included Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Islam. Six different media—ceramics, paintings, carved stone, and wood, textiles, and metalwork—exhibited a variety of artistic styles that ranged from rustic to classical. Conceived by Professor Emeritus Robert Bussabarger, the works ranged in date from the second century to the late twentieth century. More than 100 objects from the Museum's South Asian collection, as well as loans from Professor Bussabarger, local collectors, and MU's Department of Art, completed the show (Fig. 7).

Seventeenth-Century European Prints and Drawings
February 10–June 21, 1998
As part of a continuing program to exhibit works from the permanent collection, this exhibition featured works on paper from the Age of Baroque. Etchings, engravings and drawings showed the development, diversity, and legacy of art from the seventeenth century. A wide range of subject matter highlighted various interests of that period.

Greek and Roman Crafts: Metalwork, Textiles and Pottery
March 14–October 4, 1998
A small exhibit from the permanent collection was reinstalled to complement a University course on ancient technology. First shown in 1996, the exhibit included examples of cast bronze objects, cold-worked metal vessels, and engraved, gilded, and enameled jewelry. Loomweights, spindle whorls, a weaving comb, and a textile fragment from Egypt represented textile making. Examples of wheel-made, mold-made, stamped and glazed pottery explored the manufacturing of pottery in the Greek and Roman world.

Three Centuries of Comic Art: 18th Century—Satire *(through August 23),* **19th Century—Spoofs** *(through August 23),* **20th Century—Subversions** *(through August 30)*
June 6–August 30, 1998
The eighteenth century British artist, John Collet, satirized the changing role of women, the institution of marriage, and the rough-and-tumble of everyday life. The nineteenth-century French artist Honoré Daumier called into question the supposed classic ideals of liberty, civic obligation, and sacrifice by substituting for these themes images of indulgence and lust in his *Ancient History* series.

Fig. 8. *Three Centuries of Comic Art*

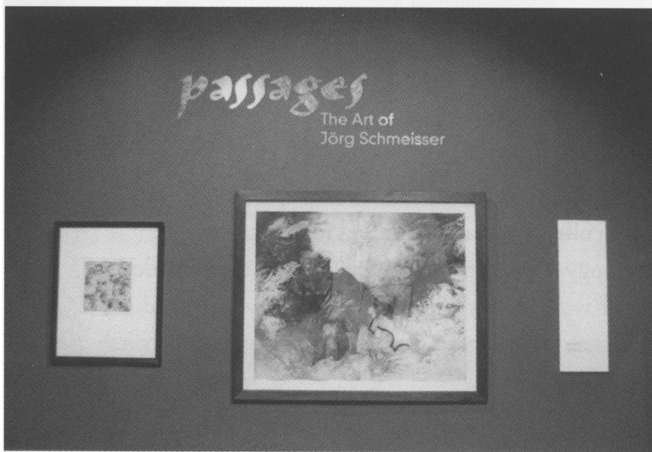

Fig. 9. *Passages: The Art of Jörg Schmeisser*

Twentieth century artists Foolbert Sturgeon (a.k.a. Frank Stack), Robert Crumb, Aline Kominsky-Crumb, and Gilbert Shelton poked fun at everything from how we treat our pets to our involvement with the television set. This exhibition challenged cultural assumptions, revealed social contradictions, and provoked anxiety while eliciting chuckles to lighten the heart and stimulate the mind (Fig. 8).

Passages: The Art of Jörg Schmeisser

July 5–November 8, 1998

Jörg Schmeisser is a master printmaker who began his career in 1965 making archaeological drawings for excavations under the direction of Saul and Gladys Weinberg, the Museum's founders. The exhibition featured works from all phases of his professional life, with special attention to his early career. Included was *Here and Now, Echoes from a Distant Past* (1993), a Museum acquisition (Fig. 9).

Egyptian Faience

July 18–September 6, 1998

A small exhibit highlighted Egyptian faience, a colorful composite of quartz and copper oxides made in the ancient world. Drawn mainly from the permanent collection, the exhibit included shawabtis, amulets, scarabs, and jewelry.

Wrapped Creatures: Animal Mummies from Egypt

September 8, 1998–August 2001

In ancient Egyptian religion, animals were associated with particular divinities, and by about 500 B.C.E. mummified animals had become part of religious ritual. A small exhibit of animal mummies included the mummy of a hawk, lent by MU's Museum of Anthropology, a cat mummy, the mummy of a baby crocodile, the mummy and coffin of a shrew, and two small bronze coffins, one for a snake, the other for two lizards, all a loan from the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. A bronze coffin for a pair of kittens, an anonymous loan, was also part of the exhibit.

Jupiter's Loves and His Children

September 26–December 20, 1998

More than fifty works in pottery, bone, metal, drawings, prints, watercolors, paintings, and books illustrated the continuity of classical mythology from the sixth century B.C.E. to the twentieth century. Jupiter, king of the pagan gods, was depicted in his pursuit and conquest of several women. Other images focused on the exploits of offspring that resulted from his conquests. Metamorphosis played an important role in this exhibition, for part of Jupiter's power was his ability to change his appearance. The exceptional quality of the artistic and scholarly components of this exhibition was achieved by collaborative efforts of a number of institutions and individuals. Loans by seventeen individuals or institutions included works by such major artists as Marcantonio Raimondi, Nicolaes Maes, Angelica Kauffmann, Edward Burne-Jones, Lovis Corinth, and Elaine de Kooning (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10. *Jupiter's Loves and His Children*

Twentieth-Century Sets and Series

October 31, 1998–May 9, 1999

Sets and series form an important part of our artistic legacy. Photographs in this exhibition included

Fig. 11. *Twentieth-Century Sets and Series*

images from the portfolio of Dr. Erich Salomon, a pioneer of photojournalism and early master of the candid indoor shot. Salomon captured the political and social scene of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Frank M. Mayfield, president of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., launched a project in 1946 to portray the natural beauties, industrial activities, and cultural characteristics of Missouri. This exhibition presented a selection of paintings from this collection given to MU in 1950. *Elements: Air, Water, Fire, Earth* by Jennifer Bartlett was originally conceived as a set of four backdrops for a dance production in London. After completing the designs in paint, Bartlett began creating a series of pastel drawings, and then turned to prints and objects (Fig 11).

Buckminster Fuller–Inventions

Opened November 21, 1998

This exhibition provided a visit into the futuristic world of inventor and architect R. Buckminster Fuller (1895–1983). The Museum acquired thirteen designs by Fuller, including the geodesic dome, the needle boat, and the Dymaxion house. Due to their large size, only five prints from the collection were displayed. However, the complete collection could be seen via a slide projector in the gallery and was accompanied by audio commentary. The Climatron at the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis is an example of Fuller's geodesic dome. His octetruss design is a central building component of the International Space Station.

Loans & Exhibitions To Other Institutions

1997 and 1998

Loans

To the San Antonio Museum of Art January 3–March 9, 1997, and the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, April 6–June 15, 1997, two ancient Roman finger rings in the continuing tour of the exhibition *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, an exhibition originally organized, hosted, and circulated by the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, September 6, 1996–December 1, 1996.

To Jesse Hall, University of Missouri–Columbia, eight photographs from the collection *Songs of My People*, March 10, 1997–January 29, 1998.

To the Mulvane Art Museum, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas, nine South Asian stone and metal sculptures, for the exhibition *Temple and Village: Patterns, Prints and Sculptures from India,* May 23–July 6, 1997.

To the Hayward Gallery, London, England, and to six subsequent venues in Great Britain and the United States, *Harlem Girl I* by F. Winold Reiss for the exhibition *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance*, June 19–August 17, 1997.

To Jesse Hall, University of Missouri–Columbia, plaster reproduction *Bust of Homer*, for display by The Honors College, month of June, 1997.

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri–Columbia, four paintings by Richard E. Miller, studies for murals in the Missouri State Capitol, for an ongoing exhibition beginning February, 1998.

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri–Columbia, twelve photographs from the collection *Songs of My People* for display during Black History Month, February, 1998.

To the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, six ancient Anatolian vessels, Hacilar and Yortan cultures, for long term loan beginning June, 1998.

Exhibitions

To all twenty-six schools in the Columbia Public School District, *Commitment: Fatherhood in Black America*, traveling photo panel display, March–May, 1997.

Museum Activities 1997

Lectures

February 4
Naomi J. Norman, Associate Professor, University of Georgia, "Dead Men Do Tell Tales: A Roman Cemetery in Carthage." Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

February 6
Mary Schmidt Campbell, Dean, Tisch School of the Arts, New York University, "Romare Bearden: The Phenomenon of the Black American Artist."

March 21
David Anfam, Independent Art Historian, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., "Mark Rothko: An Introduction."

April 18
John Olan Norman, Associate Professor, Department of History, Western Michigan University, "Art Patronage in Russia and America."

September 12
Randy Arnold, Guest Artist, Department of Art, in the George Caleb Bingham Gallery. Sponsored by the Department of Art and the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

September 19
Ruth Duckworth, ceramicist.

September 22
Robert Lindley Vann, Professor, School of Architecture, University of Maryland, "The Sunken Cities of Lycia." Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

November 17
Paul Rehak, Senior Research Fellow, Duke University, "Matriarchy, Medicine and Myth in Prehistoric Aegean Art." Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

Midday Gallery Events

January 29
Christine C. Neal, Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "And the Winner is..."

February 5
Daniel Frye, Assistant Professor, College of Education, Curriculum and Instruction, "Visual Hip Hop."

February 12
Anthony Butts, Ph. D. Candidate, Department of English, "Love: Without Prejudice."

February 19
Venetta Whitaker, Assistant Professor, Department of Educational Administration, "The Still Hunters: In Quest of Creativity."

February 26
Christine C. Neal, Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "A Graphic Odyssey: Romare Bearden as Printmaker."

March 5
Birgit Wassmuth, Associate Professor, Advertising, School of Journalism, "The Documenta: Defining the Ragged Edge of Contemporary Art."

March 19
Susan Langdon, Adjunct Associate Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Significant Others: Looking for the Women of Dark Age Greece."

March 26
Stephanie Watkins, Senior Conservator, Missouri State Archives, "History and Care of Photographs for Individual Collectors." Maura Cornman Memorial Lecture.

April 2
John Zemke, Assistant Professor, Department of Romance Languages, "The Romancero: An Hispanic Oral Tradition."

April 9
Kathleen Slane, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Pottery from Missouri's Excavations at Tel Anafa: Finds and Publication."

April 16
Christopher Salter, Professor and Chair, Department of Geography, "The Road as a Work of Art."

April 23
James Curtis, Professor, German, Russian, and Asian Studies Department, "Parallel Visions: A Gallery Tour."

April 30
John Klein, Assistant Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "The 'Portrait As' in the Twentieth Century."

June 11
Kerry Walter-Ashby, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of English, "Jane Austen."

June 18
Elizabeth Kramer, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Esther as an Exemplar in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries."

June 25
Carol Grove, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Tower Grove Park and Victorian Landscape History."

July 9
Lynn DuBard, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Earthworks: Cultural Materialism."

July 16
Aimée Leonhard, Assistant Conservator, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Art, Tea and Theatre: Japanese Culture in the Late Edo."

July 23
Laurel Wilson, Associate Professor, Department of Textile and Apparel Management, "Japanese Kimonos: Dyeing and Decorative Techniques."

September 3
Greig Thompson, Chief Preparator, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Under the Influence: The Asian Connection in Contemporary Western Ceramics."

September 10
Randy Arnold, Guest Artist, Department of Art, "Prints, Paintings and Drawings."

September 17
Birgit Wassmuth, Associate Professor, Advertising, School of Journalism, "Documenta X."

September 24
Matthew Averett, Graduate Student Assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Dürer's *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand.*"

October 1
Larry Ross, Department of Anthropology, "Exploring the Lost Maya."

October 8
Anne Rudloff Stanton, Assistant Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Printed Images of Renaissance Nuremberg."

October 15
Michael Ugarte, Professor, Department of Romance Languages, "Films: Pedro Almodovar."

October 22
Marlene Perchinske, Director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Gallery tour of *Commitment.*"

October 29
Eileen Garner, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Italian Renaissance: Kress Study Collection."

November 5
William R. Biers, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Boring Beasts? Animals

in Corinthian Ceramics of the 6th Century B.C."

November 12
Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Tapping Hooves: A Bronze Figure of Dancing Pan."

November 19
Howard Marshall, Professor and Chair, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "The Thomas Hickman House: Tradition and Style on the Missouri Frontier."

December 3
Debra Page, Associate Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*She is Becoming*...in the Art of Leonor Fini."

Special Events

May 12
Hickman High School students participated in a teleconference with one of the artists whose work was exhibited in *Parallel Visions: Contemporary Russian and American Painting.*

September 29
Jörg Schmeisser, Printmaker, "40th Anniversary Opening Event," Museum Associates After Hours Reception and Public Lecture.

October 20
Rock Bridge High School students participated in a teleconference with one of the featured fathers in the exhibition *Commitment: Fatherhood in Black America.*

October 24
"*Commitment: Fatherhood in Black America*"
Museum Associates After Hours Reception.

November 1
"40th Anniversary Birthday Celebration"
Museum Associates After-Hours Reception.

November 6
"Public Forum," Round-table discussion related to *Commitment* exhibition, Daniel Boone Regional Library.

November 8–9
Osmund Overby, Professor and guide, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "A Husker Holiday: The Go Big Red Art Tour," Trip to Lincoln and Omaha, Nebraska.

December 5
Carole Patterson, photographer, "Book Signing: *Commitment.*"

Children's Educational Programs

February 23
"Collaborative Collage: Workshop for Families." Elementary school-aged children accompanied by an adult.

April 26 through May 8
"Collaborative Student Exhibition"
Seventh grade art work on exhibit at Columbia Art League
Reception: April 27

August 5
"All Around the Mulberry Bush."
Ages 3–5
Children viewed Japanese kimonos and talked about how silk is made. Kris Simpson, Curator of MU's Museum of Entomology, brought a silk moth and cocoon for students to observe. Participants studied the silkworm's food source—a mulberry bush on campus—and created "worm" designs with colored spaghetti.

August 6
"FANtastic." Ages 6–7
Children searched the exhibition, *The Floating World: Japanese Art of the Late Edo,* to find fans depicted in the artworks. They talked about color, style, size, and purpose before creating their own fans.

August 7
"Swords and Warlords." Ages 8–9
This program focused on Japanese weapons and warriors. Children studied Japanese woodblocks, from which prints are made, and talked about the printmaking process. Participants created linocuts and examined reproductions of Japanese swords.

August 8
"Tea for Two—cultures!" Ages 10–12
While viewing exhibition engravings and woodblock prints, students talked about costumes, manners, and serving utensils as they relate to Japanese and English tea ceremonies. Using the raku process, participants glazed and fired tea bowls, then partook of an English tea.

September 25
"Looking for Clues." Drop-in Family Night Flashlight Tour.

September 28
"Are There Monsters in the Museum?" For elementary ages.

October 12
"Why Doesn't the Mummy Rot?" For elementary ages.

October 19 and 26
"Father-Child Photo-essay Workshop." Fathers with children, ages 9–12.

October 30
"The Mummy, of course!" Drop-in Family Night Flashlight Tour.

November 13
"The Magic of Masks." Drop-in Family Night Flashlight Tour.

November 23
"How Did the Ancients Do That?" Drop-in Family Night Program.

Adult Educational Programs

February 22 and 23
"Oil and Water Don't Mix."
Steve Wright, MFA in sculpture and Ph.D. candidate, Department of Art, taught a lithography workshop in conjunction with the exhibition, *A Graphic Odyssey: Romare Bearden as Printmaker.*

September 27 and 28
"Collagraph Workshop."
Tom Huck, Adjunct Instructor, Department of Art.

October 11
"Linocut Workshop."
Tom Huck, Adjunct Instructor, Department of Art.

Missouri Folk Arts Program

April 1, 8, 15, 22
"Tuesdays at the Capitol."
A series of performances and demonstrations of African American gospel, jazz tap dance, blues, old-time fiddling, German bobbin lace making, Colombian folk dance, and Western saddle making at the Union Hotel, Jefferson Landing, Jefferson City, Missouri.

April 5
"Big Muddy Folk Festival."
Certificates ceremony and jam session by artists from the Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program, Boonville, Missouri.

Museum Activities 1998

Lectures

February 9
David B. Whitehouse, Director, Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, N.Y., "Luxury Glass in Ancient Rome." Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

March 22
Paul Wallace, Professor, Department of Political Science, presentation and discussion of the video, "Kamala and Raji: Working Women of Ahmedabad."

March 23
Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Baths and Bathing in Ancient Corinth." Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

April 3
Ed Paschke, Artist and Professor, Northwestern University, "The Evolution of Ideas."

June 7
Aline Kominsky Crumb, Feminist Artist, "Aline Kominsky Crumb: First Lady of Underground Comics," Museum Associates' Public Lecture at Art in the Park.

July 12
Osmund Overby, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "An Angel in our Midst."

October 7
James Harrell, Professor of Geology, University of Toledo, "Roman Stone Quarrying in Egypt's Desert." Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

October 9
Karl Kilinski II, Professor, Southern Methodist University, "Myth, Meaning, and Metamorphosis in the Eye of Zeus." In honor of Professor Osmond Overby.

October 23
Mary D. Sheriff, Professor, University of North Carolina, "Reading Jupiter Otherwise: or Ovid's Women in Eighteenth-Century Art."

November 2
Ian Jenkins, Assistant Keeper, Depart-

ment of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, "Cypriot Sculptors and the Market for Miniatures in Archaic Greece." Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

December 4
Anne Rudloff Stanton, Assistant Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology; Constance Schenk, Instructor Emerita, Stephens College; and Barbara Overby, Artist, "Paris to Santiago: Treasures of the Pilgrimage Routes."

Midday Gallery Events

January 28
Robert Bussabarger, Professor Emeritus, Department of Art, "*India's Artistry: The Unseen Revealed*: Exhibition Highlights."

February 4
Joel Brereton, Associate Professor, Department of Religious Studies, "The Religions of India: An Overview."

February 11
Anand Prahlad, Assistant Professor, Department of English, "Voodoo Aesthetics and Their Implications."

February 18
Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Recent Acquisition."

February 25
Matthew Averett, Graduate Research Assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*Seventhteenth-Century European Prints and Drawings*: Exhibition Overview."

March 11
Deb Krause, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "A Brief History of American Pottery."

March 18
Goodie Bhullar, Librarian, Ellis Library, presented the film "India and the Infinite: The Soul of a People."

March 25
Debra Page, Associate Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Problem of Portraiture in Postmodern Culture."

April 1
Betty Robins, Art Collector, "The People's Art of India: My Forty-Year Connection."

April 8
Edward Mullen, Professor, Department of Romance Languages, "Langston Hughes: International Writer."

April 15
Robert Bussabarger, Professor Emeritus, Department of Art, presented the film: "The Sword and the Flute."

April 22
Moushumi Chakraborty, Dancer, University of Missouri–St. Louis, "Dance of India."

April 29
William R. Biers, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Ancient Technology."

June 10
Luann Andrews, Curator of Education/Public and Docent Programs, and Aimée Leonhard, Assistant Conservator, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Au Revoir to the Egyptian Mummy—Teacher's Pet and Conservator's Challenge."

June 17
Matthew Averett, Graduate Research Assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Baroque Theater."

June 24
Ken Gaul, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Rubens's Medici Cycle."

July 1
Cynthia Foht, Undergraduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "John Collet."

July 8
Debra Page, Associate Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Honoré Daumier."

July 15
Frank Stack, Professor, Department of Art, "20th Century-Subversions."

July 22
Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Egyptian Faience."

September 2
Matthew Averett, Graduate Research Assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*Passages*: *The Art of Jörg Schmeisser*, Exhibition Overview."

September 9
Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Wrapped Creatures: Animal Mummies from Egypt."

September 16
Matthew Averett, Graduate Research Assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "John K. Hulston Hall and Fifteen Years of Building a Better Mizzou," in honor of Professor Osmund Overby, on his retirement.

September 23
Marlene Perchinske, Director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Museums for a New Millennium."

September 30
David J. Schenker, Associate Professor, Department of Classical Studies, "*Jupiter's Loves and His Children*, the Myths."

October 7
Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Ancient Art in *Jupiter's Loves and His Children.*"

October 14
Debra Page, Associate Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*Jupiter's Loves and His Children,* the Later Works."

October 21
Magdalena Garcia Pinto, Associate Professor, Department of Romance Languages, "The Enduring Seduction of the 'Leda and the Swan' Theme."

October 28
Haskell Hinnant, Professor, Department of English, and Theodore A. Tarkow, Associate Dean, College of Arts and Science, "*Jupiter's Loves and His Children,* the Myths, Versions Old and New."

November 4
Debra Page, Associate Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*Twentieth-Century Sets and Series*, Exhibition Overview."

November 11
Marlene Perchinske, Director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Day Without Art."

November 18
Patricia Crown, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "*The Judgment of Paris* by Edward Francis Burney."

December 2
Nick Peckham, Architect, Peckham & Wright Architects, Inc., "Inventions by Buckminster Fuller."

December 9
Julie Youmans, Desirée Long and Guests, and Cameline Consort of Early Instruments, "Humours of Love."

Special Events

January 24
India's Artistry: The Unseen Revealed Opening Reception.

March 27
"Prints and More: A Day at The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art and the Arabia Steamboat Museum," Museum Associates Trip to Kansas City.

April 29
"Noon Luncheon for Mothers and Daughters," Museum Associates, friends, sisters, or substitutes were welcome. Demonstration by Ruth La Hue, owner, My Secret Garden.

July 16
Museum Associates Trip to The Saint Louis Art Museum exhibition *Angels from the Vatican.*

September 25
Jupiter's Loves and His Children, Members' Preview and Reception, MU Faculty Brass Quintet.

September 27
"Love that Tiger! Ice Cream Social," Open House at the Museum.

October 9
Reception in honor of Professor Osmund Overby upon his retirement.

October 25
Preview for trip to Chicago and Mary Cassatt Exhibition, Light Brunch in Cast Gallery.

October 30–November 1
Museum Associates Trip "Chicago: Mary Cassatt, Contemporary Art and Modern Architecture All Around."

November 7
"Museum Birthday Party," with Gift Shop Sale.

December 1
"Day without Art" observance.

December 3
"Thank you! Docents and Volunteers." Breakfast at Reynolds Alumni Center.

Children's Educational Programs

February 12
"Looking for Meaning in Modern Art." Ages 8–12. Flashlight Tour.

February 15
"How Did That Last So Long?" Ages 8–12. Family Tour.

February 22
"MASK—Music, Art and Stories for Kids." Ages 8–12. In conjunction with *India's Artistry.*

March 12
"Illuminating the Unseen in Indian Art." Ages 8–12. Flashlight Tour.

March 15
"What Did the Ancients Do for Fun?" Ages 8–12. Family Tour.

April 9
"Looking for Clues in Ancient Pottery." Ages 8–12. Flashlight Tour.

April 19
"How Did the Artist Begin the Work?" Ages 8–12. Family Tour.

June 9 and 10
"Bye Bye Mummy." Ages 6–8. Children learned how the mummy was wrapped and how its coffin was decorated. They viewed Xrays and CAT scans of the skeleton and examined ancient Egyptian objects during a hands-on exercise.

June 15–18
"Mummy Mania." Ages 9–12. Children participated in a four-day series on the mysteries of ancient mummification and burial ceremonies, as well as modern archaeology and scientific analysis.

July 21 or 23
"Fun in the Ancient World." Ages 9–12. Children explored what the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans did for fun. Discussion included Egyptian board games, Greek Olympic Games, and Roman games of chance. In a hands-on activity, participants examined related ancient artifacts.

September 24
"If I Were a Shoe, Where Would I Be?" Ages 8–12. Flashlight Tour.

October 15
"Searching For Animums and Animals." Ages 8–12. Flashlight Tour.

October 31
Halloween
"ANIMUMS: Animal Mummies in the Museum." Ages 5–6.
Participants viewed crocodile, hawk, shrew, and cat mummies in the Museum, traced the domesticated cat's history, created animal mummies, and shared refreshments.

"Pet Cemetery." Ages 7–9.
Participants discussed ancient Egyptian animal mummification, viewed scarab beetle from MU's Entomology Museum, created scarab pendants, and shared refreshments.

"Cat-Scan: Solving the Mystery Inside the Wrappings." Ages 10–12.
Participants discussed the significance of Egyptian animal mummies. They heard analyses of animal mummy CAT scans from College of Veterinary Medicine specialists. Participants recreated patterned wrappings and shared refreshments.

November 5
"Who's Jupiter in Love With Now?" Ages 8–12. Flashlight Tour.

Adult Educational Programs

April 26
"Relief Printmaking Workshop." Tom Huck, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Art.

Missouri Folk Arts Programs

April 7, 14, 21, 28
"Tuesdays at the Capitol."
A series of performances and demonstrations of Hawaiian hula, old-time fiddling, German bobbin lacemaking, and blacksmithing at the Union Hotel, Jefferson Landing, Jefferson City, Missouri.

April 4
"Big Muddy Folk Festival."
Certificates ceremony, performances and demonstrations by traditional artists from the Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program, Boonville, Missouri.

May 30, Fulton
June 6, Jefferson City
June 27, West Plains
"Saddle, Song, and Story."
A Series: oral traditions of rodeo and ranch cowboys accompanied by exhibition and cowboy arts demonstrations.

MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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(through 4/97)
Director
(beginning 5/97)

Patricia Podzorski
Assistant Director
(beginning 9/98)

Luann Andrews
Curator of Education/Public and Docent Programs
(through 12/98)

Jane C. Biers
Curator of Ancient Art

Christine C. Neal
Curator of European and American Art
(through 5/97)

Debra Page
Associate Curator of European and American Art
(beginning 7/97)

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Clerk, Museum Store
(beginning 6/97)

Beth Cobb
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Erin Dalcourt
Senior Receptionist
(beginning 9/98)

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Debbie Friedrich
Administrative Assistant/Fiscal Officer

Scherrie Goettsch
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Aimée Leonhard
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(8/98–9/98)

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Membership Coordinator
(beginning 4/97)

Stacia Schaefer
Graphic Designer
(through 7/98)

Matt Taylor
Graphic Designer
(beginning 7/98)

Barbara Smith
Assistant Preparator
(beginning 7/97)

Greig Thompson
Chief Museum Preparator

Bette Weiss
Manager, Museum Shop

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Laura Wilson
Exhibitions Assistant
(through 4/97)

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Missouri Folk Arts Program Director

Julie Youmans
Missouri Folk Arts Program/Missouri Performing Traditions Coordinator

Lisa Thayer Braschler
(3/97–8/98)
Jay Clark
(beginning 9/98)
David Gold
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Nikki Anderson, Scott deBrestian, Elonda Clay Harrison, Lisa Parrish, Karen Peck, Werner Schweibenz
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Matthew Averett, Danielle Parks, Kenyon Reed
Student Assistants

Anthony Bates, Lisa Bishop, Brandy Black, Ginger Black, Cherice Fleming, Eric Fuemmeler, Chad Hector, Kristi Jones, Scott Latman, Travis Long, Terry McClure, Amy Pippin, Josephine Pottebaum, Justin Roling, Kale Rose, Jessica Royer, Jen Schiller, Tania Shindo, and Heidi Tebbe
Work Study Students

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Averil Cooper
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Dorinda Derow
Bernadine Ford
Eleanor Goodge
Ann Gowans
Dot Harrison
Helen Holroyd
Darlene Johnson
Linda Keown
Mary Beth Kletti
Vesta LaZebnik
Nancy Lowe
Sally Mertz
Meg Milanick
Bernice Prost
Dixie Speer
Lynn Willbrand
Pat Wills
Beverly Wright

Docents Emerita

Johnnye Coulter
Lovina Ebbe
Nancy Frazier
Ann La Brunerie
Carol Lane
Marie Wright

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Patricia Cowden
Dorinda Derow
Ellen Dominique
Bernadine Ford
Denise Gebhardt
Eleanor Goodge
Ann Gowans
Dot Harrison
Helen Holroyd
Linda Keown
Mary Beth Kletti
Nancy Lowe
Sally Mertz
Meg Milanick
Barbara Payne
Bernice Prost
Judy Schermer
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Marie Wright

MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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