

MVSE

VOLUME FIFTY-ONE

2017



Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

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The Museum of Art and Archaeology is open from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Tuesday through Friday and from noon to 4:00 p.m. Saturday and Sunday. Admission is free. The museum is closed on Mondays, from December 25 through January 1, and on University of Missouri holidays: Martin Luther King Day, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, and the Friday following. Guided tours are available if scheduled two weeks in advance.

The Museum Store is open from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Tuesday through Friday and from noon to 4:00 pm Saturday and Sunday.

Back numbers of *Muse* are available from the Museum of Art and Archaeology and may also be downloaded from the website.

All submitted manuscripts are reviewed.

Front cover:

Mary Bourke (American, 1945–)
Virtual Vanitas, 2007
Oil on canvas
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (2017.16)
Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund
Photo: Erin Pruhs

Back cover:

Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670)
David with the Head of Goliath, ca. 1625–1630
Oil on canvas
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (69.115)
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

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Director's Report 2017



ALEX W. BARKER

Museums by their nature tend to take the long view. By that standard—and most others—the Museum of Art and Archaeology had a successful 2017, advancing its mission and mandate across all areas. It was a tumultuous year, however. Unrest on the campus in 2015, and the circumstances that spurred unrest in the first place, led to cuts in state funding, decreasing enrollments, budget reductions, and changes in leadership at the system, campus, and college levels. The impacts of those changes continued to be felt throughout 2017, but some sense of normalcy began to return as concerns were addressed, changes were made and broadly communicated, and administrative leaders were recruited to replace those who had departed. Late in 2016 Dr. Mun Choi was named president of the University of Missouri system, and in May 2017 Dr. Alexander Cartwright was appointed chancellor of the University of Missouri campus; both are engineers. I served on the university-wide committee to select a new dean of the College of Arts and Science, and in late November 2017, Dr. Patricia Okker was named to that position. Okker, a member of the University of Missouri faculty since 1990, had previously served as chair of the Department of English and as senior associate provost and had been appointed interim dean following the departure of Dr. Michael O'Brien the previous year.

The impact of the 2015 turmoil continued to be felt, however. Over the summer of 2017 the University of Missouri announced changes affecting the academic programs most closely allied with the museum. As a result, by fall 2017 the Department of Art History and Archaeology was dissolved and its faculty divided. The art historians joined a new School of Visual Studies that also included the Department of Art, Film Studies, and the Digital Storytelling Program, while classical archaeology faculty and faculty of the Department of Classical Studies merged in a new Department of Ancient Mediterranean Studies. Museum staff worked with faculty of the Department of Art History and Archaeology and with Ellis Library staff to ensure that the department's existing visual resources database and image library would be maintained. Other closely allied departments were recommended for closure or elimination of all or parts of their graduate programs. In addition, interdisciplinary programs like the Ancient Studies Program would also be eliminated. This program was shared between the Departments of Art History and Archaeology, Classical Studies, Anthropology, History, Philosophy, Religious Studies, the Museum of Art and Archaeology, and the Museum of Anthropology. As part of these large processes of review and restructuring, the Museum

of Art and Archaeology and the Museum of Anthropology underwent a full program review by external assessors. The review was conducted in September by David Robertson, former president of the Association of Academic Museums and Galleries, and Brent Tharp, director of the Georgia Southern University Museum; he had previously visited the Museum of Art and Archaeology as an American Alliance of Museums (AAM) accreditation reviewer. After discussions between Pat Okker, then interim dean of the College of Arts and Science, and the staff of the Museum Excellence Program at AAM, the reviewers were given four formal charges: (1) Assess the museums' contributions to the teaching, research, and outreach missions of the University of Missouri and identify some areas of strength and opportunities for improvement; (2) Identify key issues the university should think about as it plans for the museums' next 10–15 years, to help inform the university's current decision-making about things that will have long-term impact; (3) Offer advice on whether there are things the university is doing with/in the museums that it should stop doing so that it can concentrate on other, more strategic priorities, to make the most of its limited resources; and (4) Offer an opinion on whether the two museums should be combined. At a practical level the reviewers were also advised not to recommend increases in staffing or resources, as no increases were possible under current circumstances.

The review concluded that the two museums meet the highest standards in the field, have developed excellent exhibition, research, and educational programs despite limited resources, and are primarily challenged by issues of location, presence, and accessibility:

The development and regular assessment of the museums' mission statements and core documents have built a strong foundation for their thoughtful and impactful contributions to the teaching, research, and outreach missions of the university, which is clearly proven in the continued development of extraordinary collections well managed, preserved, and made accessible for the university's and the public's benefit. The two museums hold exceptional and encyclopedic collections of artifacts that are supporting a wide range of exhibits, public programming, undergraduate and graduate learning experiences, and research. This is in keeping with any major research institution and the university should take great pride in the long-term development of these collections. They not only serve the students and Missouri communities but also bring important attention to the university and its resources as they are often included in important travelling exhibitions and serve as the focus of research occurring around the world.

Currently the two museums have realized economies by combining some back-of-house operational resources (director, fiscal officer, security staff), while maintaining separate curatorial, collections, and programmatic staff reflecting the very different content areas and constituencies of the two institutions. To date no final decisions regarding the administrative organization of the two museums have been made.

The museum remained focused on its mission despite these uncertainties. Over the course of the year we offered a rich range of exhibitions. *Rooted, Revived, Reinvented: Basketry in America* traced the development of American basketry from its origins in Native American, immigrant, and slave communities to its presence within the contemporary fine art world (Fig. 1). The exhibition questioned the idea of baskets as containers and offered fertile ground for ancillary programming. The exhibition was curated by Dr. Jo Stealey and Dr. Kristin Schwain, with assistance from the museum's Rachel Straughn-Navarro and more than a hundred University of Missouri students, staff, and faculty. After closing at the museum in May, the exhibition began a national traveling schedule including eight venues. It was accompanied by an exhibition catalogue published by Schiffer Publishing.

The Lasting World: Simon Dinnerstein and the Fulbright Triptych followed an arc of works by Dinnerstein from early hyper-realist prints to his iconic Fulbright Triptych and to later, dreamlike works such as *Purple Haze* and *Passage of the Moon*. The artist took part in multiple programs including a scholarly symposium placing his works in a larger context, a film series, book club programs, and in-gallery events (Fig. 2). Individual works were accompanied by a set of labels, each prepared by University of Missouri scholars from different disciplines and with different approaches to the themes and meanings of each work and their relationships to one another. The labels offered multiple viewpoints reflecting the differing personalities, perspectives, and disciplinary backgrounds of the scholars and were shown as clusters of cards mimicking the ephemera tacked to the wall in the *Fulbright Triptych*.¹ The exhibition opened in concert (literally) with the world premiere of an orchestral work by composer Robert Sirota based on Dinnerstein's art and presented as part of the Mizzou International Composition

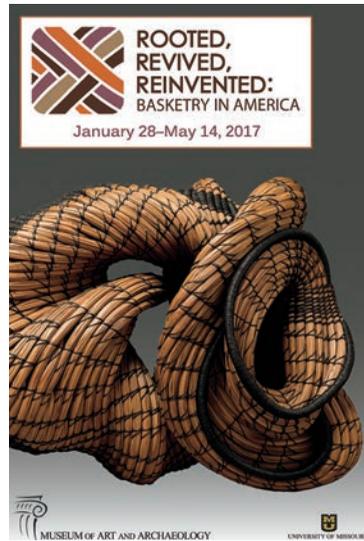


Fig. 1. *Rooted, Revived, Reinvented: Basketry in America*, exhibition poster by Bruce Cox.



Fig. 2. Artist Simon Dinnerstein discusses his work in the Gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

Festival. The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue (*The Lasting World: Simon Dinnerstein and the Fulbright Triptych*, 2017), and an additional publication is planned, based on the scholarly presentations in the symposium. After closing at Missouri, the exhibition began a national tour and moved first to the Arnot Art Museum in Elmira, New York. Just as the exhibition opened in Missouri with a musical premiere, so at its last venue at the Nevada Art Museum in Lake Tahoe it is scheduled to close in 2018 with a musical performance by noted pianist Simone Dinnerstein, Dinnerstein's daughter. Working with Dinnerstein was—and still remains—a remarkable and memorable experience, and the exhibition was an opportunity for the museum to explore additional dimensions of interpretation within an otherwise familiar genre.

Regularly changing exhibitions of works on paper included *Picturing Black American Families*, which featured works from the photographic collections *Fatherhood in Black America* and *Songs of My People*. The exhibition opened in October 2016 and ran through the end of February 2017. It was succeeded by *Romance of Ruins*, curated by Dr. Benton Kidd, curator of ancient art. The exhibition examined the ways in which the Graeco-Roman legacy was portrayed in the late Renaissance, Neoclassical, and Romantic periods. In August, it was followed by *Impressions of Modernity: Prints from 1870 to 1945*. This exhibition, organized by curator of European and American art Dr. Alisa Carlson, remained on display until late in the year and offered an opportunity to highlight recently acquired prints including works by Manet, Pissarro, Vlaminck, Dix, and Rivera, among others. In June, the museum also presented a work by a student artist, Bill Chlanda, whose *Process of Healing*, an examination of abuse and recovery, was selected as a winning submission in the University of Missouri's annual Visual Arts and Design Showcase. The museum also continued presenting selections from its rich holdings of Japanese woodblock prints with *Courtiers, Courtesans, and Crones: Women in Japanese Prints*, on display from late June through late October. In addition, it offered a brief summer exhibit, *Mid-Century Modern: American Abstract Painting 1955–1970*, in the middle bay of the museum's modern galleries. At the end of the year we opened *Page-Turners: Medieval and Early Modern Illustration* as a focus exhibition in the Prints and Drawings Gallery. The exhibition was organized by Alisa Carlson with curatorial assistance from Christine Wytko, graduate student in the Department of Art History and Archaeology.

All these exhibitions reflected the professionalism, skill, and grace under pressure of the museum's preparators, Barb Smith and Matt Smith (aka "Team Smith"). Museum professionals can appreciate the critical role of preparators but may not fully understand the challenges faced by preparators within university museums, with all the attendant strictures of a larger institution whose focus is not museum collections and whose policies reflect other priorities and concerns. Barb and Matt continue to handle these challenges with aplomb, and the best testament to their ability is how effortless they make it look.

In addition to our own exhibitions, museum staff also worked with Union Station Kansas City to provide programmatic support for *Pompeii: The Exhibition*, including presentations by Benton Kidd ("The Ruins of Pompeii: A 400-Year Old Tourist

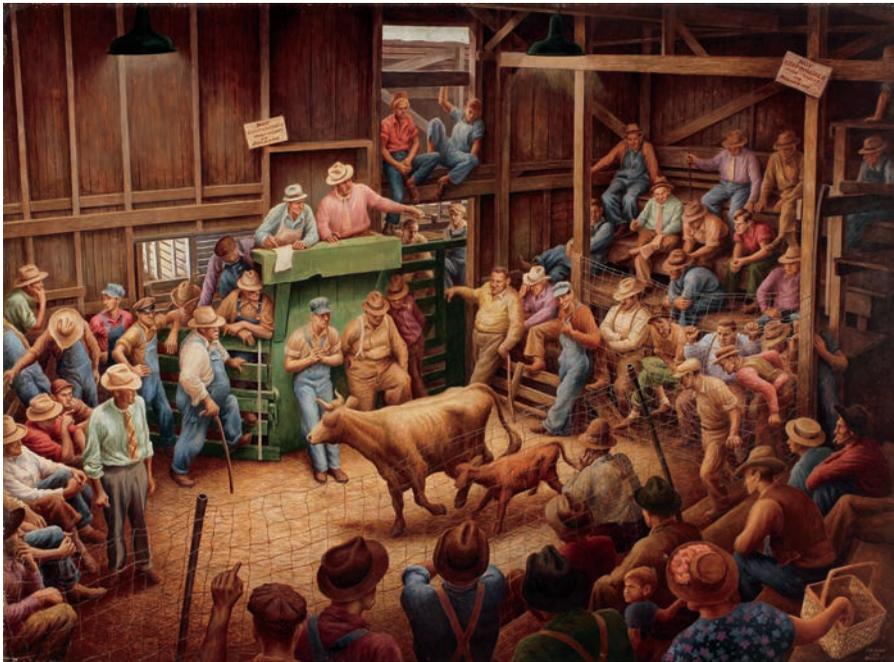


Fig. 3. Jackson Lee Nesbitt (American, 1913–2008). *Farm Auction, Jackson County*, 1947, 45 x 76.5 cm, tempera on composition board (2014.85). Gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Attraction”) and coordination of programs offered by other University of Missouri faculty including Dr. Alan Worthington of the Department of Geological Sciences.

We welcomed back to the museum a beloved work that had been on tour. In 2016–2017 Jackson Lee Nesbitt’s *Farm Auction, Jackson County* (Fig. 3) was lent as a featured part of the exhibition *Art for Every Home: Associated American Artists*, organized by the Mariana Kistler Beach Museum of Art, Kansas State University. The exhibit had multiple venues in 2016 and ended at the Syracuse University Art Galleries, Syracuse, New York (January 26–March 26, 2017). We also worked with the University of Missouri’s Ellis Library, lending multiple works for exhibitions organized by the museum but presented in the Ellis Colonnade.

In 2016 the museum had recorded its largest attendance (more than 20,000 visitors to the second-floor galleries). Since this represented the first full year of operations after reopening in the Mizzou North Facility, it is not surprising that attendance declined in the following year, as this is a familiar pattern following expansion or reopening. Second-floor gallery attendance declined to 12,489.² Not included in that total were attendees at some exceptional off-site programs, such as the many events organized by the Missouri Folk Arts

Fig. 4. School children attending a program centered around Willie Cole's *Man, Spirit, Mask*, H. (left to right) 99.5, 101, 95.7 cm, mixed media on paper (2000.6a–c). Gilbreath McLorn Museum Fund. Photo: Cathy Callaway.



Program (MFAP) and a delightful lecture by noted artist Willie Cole. Cole's February visit, organized and sponsored by the museum, included a standing-room-only presentation in the Mizzou Student Center's Leadership Auditorium ("Transformer"), as well as in-gallery presentations and programs (Fig. 4), studio arts practica with students, programs at Lee Expressive Arts Elementary School (with whom we have a formal Partners-in-Education relationship), and installation of a student-based art project using recycled and found materials at the Columbia City Hall. Also in February, the MFAP welcomed talks by the university's own Elaine Lawless and by Jon Kay from Indiana University. Lawless and Kay jointly presented "Life Stories in Words and Art" at Orr Street Studios in the North Village Arts District, and later Kay presented "Work Baskets and Tourism" in support of both MFAP's ongoing programs and the museum's *Rooted, Revived, Reinvented* exhibition. Other public offerings supporting both programs were April's "White Oak Baskets of Leona Waddell," a lecture offered by Brent Björkman of the Kentucky Folklife Program, and a program, Basket Show and Tell (Fig. 5).

In August, Alisa Carlson offered "Thomas Hart Benton's Candor, Politics, and Fall from Grace," and



Fig. 5. Kentucky Museum Director Brent Björkman (left) and University of Missouri professor Jo Stealey (right) discuss basket making while visiting artist Beth Hester (standing center) teaches a small basket-making project, Basket Show and Tell. MFAP director Lisa Higgins sits to the right. Photo: Deborah A. Bailey.

in October Brooke Cameron, professor emerita, University of Missouri Department of Art (and newly minted museum docent), offered “A Printmaker,” examining the variety of printed forms through the lens of her own career as an artist and teacher. Howard Marshall, professor emeritus, Department of Art History and Archaeology, presented “Fiddler’s Dream: Further Explorations of Missouri’s Traditional Music,” and the museum continued its collaboration with the School of Music by offering the Ninth Annual Music and Art Concert performed by Ars Nova Singers, with presentations by museum staff and docents. The concert featured choral works paired with works selected from the museum’s permanent collection and examined parallels between the visual and performing arts. Our collaboration with the School of Music continued through a series of in-gallery concerts, including separate performances by mezzo-soprano Julia Bentley, the Honors Guitar Quartet, the Honors Saxophone Quartet, and the Graduate String Quartet.

The museum’s educators, Dr. Cathy Callaway, Rachel Straughn-Navarro, and Dr. Arthur Mehrhoff, continued to support the museum’s educational mandate through outreach and programming efforts. They welcomed thousands of P–12 schoolchildren for tours and programs at the museum, such as Blues in the Museum (Fig. 6), and offered thirty-seven separate educational programs. These included activities connected to Art in Bloom, the Museum Associates annual membership event that pairs local floral



Fig. 6. Blues in the Museum event (connected with the Blues in the Schools program).
Photo: Cathy Callaway.

artists with works from the museum's exhibitions (Figs. 7 and 8), and family programs like Basket Bombing, Basket Cases, and Weaving Community.

Educator Cathy Callaway also led the museum's Ad Hoc Film Series, which links (albeit loosely) films with topics being addressed by museum exhibition and public programs. For 2017, films included *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*, *Tea with Mussolini*, *Paterson*, and *The Quince Tree Sun*. The museum's Art of the Book Club organized a series of events including presentations, films, and discussion groups around Nicole Seitz's *The Spirit of Sweet Grass*, Christopher Woodward's *In Ruins*, Thomas Hart Benton's *An Artist in America*, and John Williams's classic *Stoner*, set on the University of Missouri campus, the latter recommended by Simon Dinnerstein.

The Missouri Folk Arts Program, ably led by Dr. Lisa Higgins with Debbie Bailey (Folk Arts specialist) and graduate assistants Ryan Habermeyer and Kate Stockton-Kelley, coordinated workshops for community scholars in both Fredericktown and Columbia; produced five events for the public in Jefferson City (twice), St. Louis, West Plains, and Columbia (Figs. 9 and 10); managed eight traditional arts apprenticeships; and assisted nine Folk Arts grantees for the Missouri Arts Council. In addition, as noted above,



Fig. 7. Ying Hu, graduate student in the Department of Art History and Archaeology, leads an origami activity for children at Art in Bloom. Photo: Cathy Callaway.



Fig. 8. Art in Bloom children's program combining baskets and flowers. Photo: Cathy Callaway.



Fig. 9. Van Colbert (left), master banjo picker from Willow Springs, and his apprentice Cindy Parry shared favorite tunes at the Missouri State Museum's Backyard Concert Series at the Historic Jefferson Landing in Jefferson City. Photo: Deborah A. Bailey.



Fig. 10. Master storyteller Gladys Caines Cogswell told stories to a St. Louis audience at KDHX radio's The Stage, following a *Then and Now: Apprentice Journeys* interview by MFAP's Lisa Higgins. Cogswell discussed her experiences as both an apprentice and later a master artist in the Traditional Arts Apprentice Program. Photo: Deborah A. Bailey.

MFAP presented programs by visiting scholars in support of museum exhibitions. MFAP is one of the most storied and respected programs of its kind in the nation, and we're proud to be part of their achievements.

Docents continued their regular regimen of training and ongoing enrichment, but here too the events of 2015 continued to be felt. Docents received formal training through the Diversity Awareness Partnership on addressing difficult discussions such as issues of inclusion and race, and how to field questions and listen to other experiences in the galleries. Alyssa Liles-Amponsah of the university's Division of Inclusion, Diversity, and Equity, Nikki McGruder of the Diversity Awareness Partnership, and I offered a joint



Fig. 11. For the program on confronting challenging works Alyssa Liles-Amponsah, University of Missouri Division of Inclusion, Diversity, and Equity, discusses Keijo Steele's painting *Representing History: The Battle of the Overpass*, ca. 1938, oil on Masonite (2014.196). Gift of the Museum Associates. Photo: Daniel Boone Regional Library.

program on confronting social issues in art. We engaged the audience in a discussion of challenging works including Albert Pels' *American Tragedy* (1936; 2013.18), Louis Leon Ribak's *Nocturne* (ca. 1937; 2015.4), and Jack Keijo Steele's *The Battle of the Overpass* (ca. 1938; 2014.196) (Figs. 11 and 12). All had been added to the museum's permanent collection before the campus unrest began. The event was cosponsored by the Daniel Boone Regional Library One Read Program.

In addition to programs and tours offered by docents to visiting groups, the docents also regularly organize and schedule special docent-led public tours on topics such as Coins of Antiquity; Death, Burial, and Funerary Art; and Regionalism. Such tours not only engage the public with deeper investigation of specific themes that highlight the museum's collections but also give docents the chance to talk at greater length on topics particularly meaningful or relevant to them.

Museum Associates continued their advocacy for and support of the museum



Fig. 12. Alex Barker, museum director, leading a discussion in the gallery for the program on confronting challenging works. Cosponsored by the Daniel Boone Regional Library for the One Read program. Photo: Daniel Boone Regional Library.

under the leadership of Gary Anger (president), Diana Groshong (vice president through November 2017), Tootie Burns (vice president beginning in November), Dennis Sentilles (treasurer), and Valerie Hammons (secretary); all of the Associates' activities—as well as a wide range of event planning and logistical arrangements—are overseen by Bruce Cox, assistant director, museum operations. In addition to funding exhibition openings, the Associates sponsored a series of fundraising and membership events. These included Art in Bloom (pairing local floral artists with works from the museum's exhibitions) (Fig. 13); Art After Dark (a student-run juried art show and celebration organized by the Museum Advisory Council of Students [Brianna Veal, president], with financial support from Museum Associates); the annual Paintbrush Ball and Crawfish Boil; and the Holiday Fête. As a separate 501(c)3 organization, the Associates also sponsored a special event associated with its annual business meeting and an event to celebrate the unveiling of a clay mural by students at Lee Expressive Arts Elementary School that depicted works from



Fig. 13. Art in Bloom People's Choice award for best use of color and variety of flowers and honorable mention for People's Choice award for best in show. Design by Ruth LaHue, My Secret Garden, Columbia, Missouri. Design inspired by the painting on the right: *Herder with his Cattle in a Mountain Landscape*, ca. 1856, by François Roffiaen (Belgian, 1820–1898) oil on wood, gift of Sherry and Gary Forsee (2012.12); on the left, *Portrait of Thomas Withers Nelson*, ca. 1844–1845, by George Caleb Bingham (American 1811–1879) oil on canvas. Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2003.5).

second floor, eliminating leaks due to inadequate sealing of joints and condensation from inadequately insulated windows. We also worked to address flickering lights in display cases—a continuing concern that has frustrated multiple remedial projects by university facilities staff.

Museums are, however, made less of bricks and mortar than of the dedicated people who work in them and whose commitment and passion bring them to life. We lost several valued staff over the course of 2017; one to retirement, one to another museum, and a third to opportunities in the private sector. Dr. Arthur Mehrhoff, the museum's longtime academic coordinator, retired in late 2017. He had planned to step down earlier in the year but stayed on until after the Dinnerstein symposium, which he had organized; we will miss him deeply but wish him (and his wife, Sheryl) all the best. Rachel Straughn-Navarro, assistant museum educator, departed to join her husband, Sean, in Kansas; Rachel has accepted a position as a Kress Fellow at the Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas. She is currently completing her doctoral dissertation in the University of Missouri's Art Education program, and we look forward to frequent return visits. Finally, collections specialist Kenyon Reed stepped down in January to accept a private sector position in St. Louis, nearer to both his father and his beloved St. Louis Blues hockey team.

Because the museum's staff is small such departures are bittersweet, but they were balanced by additions. In March we added another promising young professional to the staff. Erin Pruhs joined us as full-time collections specialist, bringing previous experience from the Milwaukee Public Museum, the Frederick Pabst Mansion, the St. Louis Science Center, and the Missouri History Museum (among others) (Fig. 15). We also added two assistants: Muhamedali Khenissi working on our Institute for Museum and Library



Fig. 15. Erin Pruhs, collections specialist. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

Studies (IMLS)–funded project to digitize catalogue cards as part of the migration of older records to the new Argus platform, and Antonio Vazquez, working on the museum's library and publications exchange program.

In 2016 we had begun a major project, funded by the IMLS, to migrate the museum's existing collections records to a new Collections Management System. Because the museum is located far from campus, the need to make the collections more accessible from a distance had become imperative, and collections and curatorial staff worked throughout the year to correct extant records and prepare for migration to the new platform, including working with beta testers across campus and at select institutions elsewhere. In April the migration took place without major mishap, and by later that month the new platform was fully operational. Corrections and improvements continued throughout the year and included adding new functionality to serve offsite audiences and researchers better. At the same time, we initiated a digitization project to add images of all the older 5" x 8" catalogue cards to their respective digital records; some of the cards included handwritten annotations.

In addition to these IMLS funds, the museum was also awarded a discipline-specific grant by the Missouri Arts Council, and MFAP received grants from both the Missouri Arts Council and the National Endowment for the Arts. Our ability to secure and administer such grants owes much to the care and concern of Carol Geisler, the museum's able fiscal officer; all of us depend on her acumen and attention to detail. Staff of the Museum of Anthropology arranged for an externally funded site visit to the university's Museum Support Center (MSC) through the Collections Assessment for Preservation (CAP) Program. Object conservator Christine Del Re (Fellow, American Institute for Conservation) and architect Craig Patterson (Fellow, American Institute of Architects) recommended improvements to the MSC building systems, procedures, and materials. While this was ostensibly a Museum of Anthropology initiative, the resulting improvements in ambient environments and storage conditions also benefited the Museum of Art and Archaeology, which stores some small collections, pedestals, and vitrines at the MSC.

Museum staff continued their work on accreditation and museum assessment. Registrar Linda Endersby took part in a Museum Assessment Program (MAP), Collections Stewardship site visit in March, assisting a historical museum, and in June I took part in a MAP, Collections Stewardship review of a major natural history museum. As is often the case I came away with a stronger sense of mission and purpose and a renewed appreciation of the similar challenges and obstacles that museums everywhere face.

Museum staff also continued to be active in professional and scholarly realms. Linda Endersby presented "Straight from the Source: Providing Collections Access for Object-Based Research" at the Association for Registrars and Collections Specialists meeting in Vancouver, B.C., and "Don't Let Undocumented Collections Paralyze You: Practical Tips and Case Studies for Deaccessioning 'Found in Collection' Items" at the meeting of the Association of Midwest Museums in Des Moines. She also serves as a member of the board of the Coalition of State Museum Organizations, as treasurer of the Missouri Association

of Museums and Archives, and as a member of the Program Committee of the American Alliance of Museums. Lisa Higgins presented “Boot Lasts and Basket Lists: Joe Patrickus’s Customized Art and Life” at the American Folklore Society Annual Meeting in Minneapolis and coedited (with Jackson Medel) *On Public Folklore in and near Missouri*, a special issue of the *Missouri Folklore Society Journal* (volumes 33–34, 2011–2012, published 2017). Cathy Callaway was an invited participant in the 2017 Dementia and Museums Symposium at the Nasher Museum, Dallas, Texas, and published “Educational Programming for ‘Cultural Bricolage’: Artists’ Books Conference and Exhibition” in *Art Education* 70 (2017) no. 6, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00043125.2017.1361772>. Her article, “Reverse Ekphrasis: The Visual Poetics of Nancy Morejón and Rolando Estévez,” appeared in *Afro-Hispanic Review* 36, no. 2 (Fall 2017). Callaway also serves on the EdCom planning committee for the American Alliance of Museums, as well as serving as assistant editor for both *Muse* and *Museum Magazine*, the Museum Associates’ publication. I serve as president of the 11,000-member American Anthropological Association, as a member of the Finance Committee (past treasurer) of the Society for American Archaeology, as a member of the Cultural Heritage Committee of the Archaeological Institute of America and of the Social Sciences Advisory Board of the University of Southern New Hampshire, and I am a national grants panelist for IMLS. I was also an invited participant at a meeting titled “Don’t Raid the Cookie Jar: Creating Early Interventions to Prevent Deaccessioning Crises,” held at Harvard Museums of Science and Culture. The meeting was sponsored by the American Alliance of Museums, Association of Art Museum Directors, American Association for State and Local History, Association for Academic Museums and Galleries, and New England Museum Association. I was also an invited participant at the National Science Foundation (NSF)–sponsored workshop “Transparency and Qualitative Social Science” (Dean Plemmons and Trisha Phillips, principal investigators), which sought to develop interdisciplinary standards for qualitative data transparency and access. I presented two papers at the American Anthropological Association meetings in Washington, D.C.: “Heritage v. History” and “Matter and Substance in University Anthropology Museums.” I also presented “Museum and Curatorial Activities in Research Universities,” in the special session “The Role of the Arts in Research Universities” at the Society for Applied Anthropology meetings in Santa Fe. I published “Representing Anthropological Collections in the Gilded Age” in *Reviews in Anthropology* 46 (1) 2017. In addition, as the New Year opened, Benton Kidd and I took part in the Archaeological Institute of America/Society for Classical Studies meetings in the midst of a delightful blizzard that prevented many from attending and left those of us already there spending leisurely time chatting with old (and new) friends; given the number of canceled papers and missing participants there was really nothing else to do. While a nightmare for the organizers, it had the agreeable albeit unintended benefit of re-creating the atmosphere of meetings years ago that were smaller and more intimate.

While museum staff do not have formal teaching appointments, staff teach regularly as both ad hoc lecturers in courses taught by others and as faculty-of-record for courses within their cognate departments. In 2017 Benton Kidd taught Greek Myth Through Art

and Literature for Classical Studies (CH 1060); Alisa Carlson taught The Renaissance Artist for the Department of Art History and Archaeology (AHA 4630/7630); and I offered readings classes in Anthropology (ANTH 9090) and Art History and Archaeology (AHA 7960). Through such academic instruction the museum extends its reach and contributes in yet another area of the university's larger mission, expanding the ability of academic departments to meet the changing needs of their students in flexible and novel ways, while allowing museum staff the ability to engage students in contexts outside the galleries.

While to my mind the museum's accredited status is a point of particular pride (part of the less than 3 percent of museums nationwide that have achieved that distinction), the museum's ongoing efforts were recognized in other ways as well. In 2017, American Art Awards named the Museum of Art and Archaeology the best museum or gallery in Missouri and one of the top twenty-five galleries or museums in the nation. The award specifically recognized the museum's high standards and careful balancing of the various parts of its mission and concluded that we "punch above our weight." The museum's outstanding corps of docents was recognized as well. Those of us within the museum have long understood that the docents are the museum's primary public face, and we're both proud of and humbled by their commitment and support. Local print and broadcast media celebrated the work of museum docents in January (*Prime Magazine* and KOMU News <http://www.komu.com/news/docents-provide-insight-education-on-columbia-museums.>); Valerie Hammons was featured (Fig. 16). Officially appearing in January 2018 but circulated right before Christmas, it made a wonderful way to end the year.

In troubled times it is doubly important that mission-based institutions like ours remain focused on their purpose and promise. It would have been easy to sit back and rest on our



Fig. 16. Valerie Hammons, museum docent, on the cover of *Inside Columbia's Prime Magazine*, January 2018.

oars, waiting to see which way the wind would blow and how the storms already past and in prospect would affect us. Instead the museum moved forward. While much has changed (and change often seems the only constant), the museum's mandate remains unchanged, and I take quiet pleasure and deep pride in how well the museum's staff, volunteers, and supporters remained true to their values and committed to our shared vision. The museum is blessed with an outstanding staff and a supportive community, and I am blessed by the quality and character of the colleagues with whom I work each day. I look forward to what 2018 will bring.

NOTES

1. Museum educator Rachel Straughn-Navarro programmed a touch-screen panel that allowed visitors to examine and explore each of the dozens of small cards and images enriching the *Fulbright Triptych*. The cards and images ranged from classical Renaissance works to a hand-lettered card used in preschool teaching by Dinnerstein's wife, Renée. The program identified each card and image and explained their significance.

2. The museum uses very conservative means of recording attendance, counting only those visitors to the second-floor galleries who provide basic demographic information as identified by the guards. Autocounters in the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts on the first floor recorded, however, an additional 3,872 visitors in 2017.

Authenticating a Portrait of the Young Hadrian



BENTON KIDD

Since its acquisition nearly thirty years ago, scholars have occasionally posed questions regarding the authenticity of the Museum of Art and Archaeology's portrait of the youthful emperor Hadrian (Fig. 1). These disputes revolve around a number of copies of this portrait type that are seventeenth-century imitations of an ancient forerunner (Fig. 2). The portrait type itself is also unusual, which has compounded suspicions regarding authen-



Fig. 1. Portrait of the youthful emperor Hadrian. Roman, 138 CE, Göktepe marble, H. 54.4 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates (89.1). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



Fig. 2. Portrait of the emperor Hadrian. Seventeenth-century imitation of the Roman type, white marble set in colored marble bust, H. 110 cm. Photo: courtesy of Tomasso Brothers Fine Art, London.

ticity of the known examples. The type shows a youthful emperor wearing a neckbeard, contrary to the full beard characteristic of Hadrian's other imperial portraits. Additionally, heavy-lidded eyes and a languid turn of the head impart a dreamy artifice to the portrait, a bearing that also contrasts starkly to the virile stoicism of Hadrian's typical images. Most scholars have now concluded that this youthful portrait type is posthumous, created after Hadrian's death in 138 CE and meant to represent a *renatus*, or reborn, emperor, perhaps in an alternate guise; the various interpretations are further reviewed below. Iconography notwithstanding, the focus of this study will be on authenticating the portrait by the isotopic signature of its marble, a variety unlikely to have been used by seventeenth-century Italian sculptors or anyone attempting an outright forgery at some later date. The marble has been identified as one originating from Göktepe, a newly discovered marble site not far from the ancient Karian city of Aphrodisias in southwestern Anatolia (modern Turkey). Hadrian and some of his predecessors clearly held this city in great favor, and Hadrian seems to have had a fondness for Aphrodisias's renowned sculptors, some of whom he brought to Rome for various commissions. After the emperor's death, one or more of those same sculptors probably created the museum's portrait and at least one additional example in the same marble. The relationship between these two is discussed below.

The Portrait Type and Its Interpretations

The unusual "rejuvenated" portrait of Hadrian is unprecedented for a posthumous emperor portrait, particularly one who was sixty-two years old at the time of his death. A number of theories have been proposed to explain the portrait's remarkable iconography and its meaning regarding Hadrian's legacy.¹ Some scholars have sought to identify the youthful image with various numismatic and literary allusions to Hadrian and the legendary early Roman kings Romulus and Numa. While Hadrian may have lauded Numa as an *exemplum*, and therefore likened himself to this illustrious second king of Rome,² the fully bearded representations of Numa on Roman coins do not seem a credible match for the portrait in question.³ On the other hand, coins of Hadrian with Romulus on the reverse may establish a stronger link between the emperor and Rome's first king.⁴ Moreover, an image of Romulus carrying trophies (*spolia opima*)⁵ is said to be based on a statue type, which has been compared to the youthful Hadrian image, particularly regarding the turn of the head.⁶ An additional idea, also based on the youthful portrait's head-turn and neckbeard, identifies the emperor with the hero Diomedes, a subject known in a Greek statue type of the fourth century BCE.⁷ Others have connected the young image of Hadrian with a posthumous spiritual rebirth, rather than reincarnation as a heroic avatar. Various causes for the rebirth image have been suggested, including the sacrifice of Antinoös, the emperor's Bithynian lover who may have purposely drowned in the Nile in the belief that Hadrian would thus recover from ill health;⁸ Hadrian's initiation into the mysteries of the goddess Demeter at Eleusis in Greece;⁹ or a more generic rebirth that simply returned the emperor to youth, eradicated the sickness that had beset him in his later years, and thus made him a more suitable candidate for deification.¹⁰

Hadrian and Aphrodisias

Hadrian is known to have traveled the Roman provinces extensively, perhaps more than any other emperor. The *Historia Augusta* reports that no other traveled with so much speed and over so much territory.¹¹ Even more remarkable in comparison to his predecessors, Hadrian traveled for the sake of learning firsthand, in addition to requirements for the imperial business itinerary.¹² That itinerary was extensive, covering cities and towns in Europe, Asia, and North Africa.¹³ He visited Asia Minor at least twice, bestowing various places with imperial largesse, some projects colossal in scale.¹⁴ While a specific visit to Aphrodisias cannot be documented, the emperor's presence in Karia in 129/30 is confirmed,¹⁵ and the grand bathhouse known as the "Olympian Baths" was perhaps dedicated to him and Aphrodite, presumably in memory of his visit to the goddess's eponymous city.¹⁶ A letter from the emperor to the city also confirms that the city remained an imperial favorite and, as such, enjoyed tax exemptions.¹⁷ He may have also funded its aqueduct; at the very least, a letter confirms his interest in its completion.¹⁸ It is also evident that Hadrian was fond of the artists of Aphrodisias's celebrated school of sculpture, since he brought some of them to Rome for work and also imported their native marble. We can infer that they requested their local stone, knew its characteristics, and appreciated its high quality.¹⁹ We might further surmise that Hadrian himself liked exotic marbles and used them frequently in his building projects.²⁰

Marble Analysis of the Missouri Portrait

From the above evidence we can extrapolate that Hadrian, like several of his predecessors, regarded the Karian city of Aphrodisias with high esteem and thus accorded it special status. Additionally, Hadrian clearly had a liking for its sculptors, who had a strong presence in Rome and at the emperor's country estate at Tivoli. Aphrodisian work at Tivoli includes the now-famed "Furietti Centaurs" and perhaps the "Fauno Rosso."²¹ Additionally, other Aphrodisian



Fig. 3. Portrait of the youthful emperor Hadrian. Roman, 138 CE., Göktepe marble, H. 30 cm. From Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli, Italy, Museo della Villa Adriana, no. 2260. Photo: MIBACT-su concessione dell'Istituto Villa Adriana-Villa d'Este.

sculpture—with unknown, original contexts—includes the “Little Barbarians” from the Lesser Attalid Group, dated to the Hadrianic period,²² and the Esquiline Group in Copenhagen that most scholars consider a late antique work.²³ Even more relevant to the present study is another portrait of the emperor nearly identical to the Missouri head, found in the Canopus at Tivoli in 1954 (Fig. 3).²⁴ Petrographic and isotopic analyses of the marble of all these sculptures, both black and white, have shown that the marble is the variety now known as “Göktepe.” This marble, especially the white, carries a telltale strontium-rich signature. Black marble has much less strontium, and this is a less characteristic feature. This ancient quarry, which supplied Aphrodisias with both black and white stone, was only rediscovered in 2005,²⁵ making it highly unlikely that a seventeenth-century sculptor (or a later one) would have used marble from this source, since the quarry was only active through the fifth century CE.²⁶

In 2008, samples from nine white marble sculptures in the museum’s collections were sourced using isotopic and petrographic analyses. While the results of most of the samples were not unusual, the Göktepe result from the Hadrian portrait was unexpected.²⁷ To the list of Hadrianic work in Göktepe marble from Aphrodisias, we can now add the museum’s portrait of the young Hadrian. This eliminates the likelihood of it being a forgery since Göktepe marble ceased being imported into Rome after late antiquity. This result also establishes a connection between the museum’s portrait and the Tivoli head of the same stone, but we cannot currently reconstruct the specific context of these remarkable portraits. At the very least, we might conclude that they were created as part of cenotaphic monuments to the reborn, deified emperor.

NOTES

1. For the interpretation of the portrait as Diomedes, see F. Albertson, “A Portrait of Hadrian as Diomedes,” *Muse* 27–28 (1993–1994) pp. 1–29 and n. 29; as Romulus, see S. F. Schröder, “Hadrian as neuer Romulus? Zum letzten Porträt Kaiser Hadrians,” *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 36 (1995) pp. 292–297, and E. Haley, “Hadrian as Romulus or the Self-Representation of a Roman Emperor,” *Latomus* 64.4 (October–December 2005) pp. 969–980; as a rejuvenated initiate of the Eleusinian Mysteries, see A. R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (Hove/East Sussex, 1997) p. 302 for the posthumous coin with the neckbeard portrait from which the portraits were identified; as *Hadrianus renatus*, reborn in youth with the dead Antinoös, see N. Hannestad, “Über das Grabmal des Antinoös: Topographische und thematische Studien im Canopus-Gebiet der Villa Adriana,” *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 11 (1982) pp. 98–99; as a suitable candidate for deification, relieved of sickness and returned to youth, see M. Beckmann, “The Youthful Portrait of Hadrian,” paper given in Toronto at the 2017 Archaeological Institute of America annual conference.

2. Birley, *Restless Emperor*, p. 111 and R. Zoepffel, “Hadrian und Numa,” *Chiron* 8 (1978) p. 412.

3. Haley, “Hadrian as Romulus,” p. 978. Zoepffel also points out that Hadrian’s full, graying beard and silver hair link him to descriptions of Numa. Given that proposition, this would eliminate any link between Numa and the youthful neckbeard image of Hadrian. See “Hadrian and Numa,” n. 86.

4. Haley, “Hadrian as Romulus,” p. 976.

5. A painted image of this Romulus is known from the House of M. Fabius Ululitremulus on the Via d’Abbondanza at Pompeii, recorded in 1913. See M. della Corte, “Campania, IV, Pompei, Continuazione dello scavo in via dell’Abbondanza,” *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 10 (1913) p. 14.

6. Haley, “Hadrian as Romulus,” pp. 978–979.
7. See Albertson, “Portrait of Hadrian,” pp. 1–29 for the interpretation as Diomedes and n. 29 for others who also identify the portrait with the hero. For copies of the Greek statue type of Diomedes, see, for example, Munich Glyptothek, inv. no. 304 (B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen*, 2: *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* [Munich, 1979] pp. 79–99, no. 9, pp. 100–105, figs. 38–46 and Albertson, “Portrait of Hadrian,” n. 30) and Paris, Louvre, no. Ma890 (MR 265). This copy entered the Louvre collections in 1801, formerly the property of cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis, First Duke of Richelieu and Fronsac (1586–1642), French clergyman, nobleman, and statesman, who rose to prominence under the Bourbons. For further discussion of the Diomedes identified as a work of Kresilas and the various copies, see A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik: Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig, 1893) pp. 311–325, pp. 312–313 for the Louvre copy. Another copy in Naples, National Archaeological Museum, no. 144978, was excavated in 1925 in the Sanctuary of the Sibyl at Cumae. It was first published by A. Maiuri, *Il Diomede di Cuma (Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell’arte, opera d’arte, fasc. 2* [Rome, 1930]) and in many later sources, including A. Andrew Stewart, “Notes on the Reception of the Polykleitan Style: Diomedes to Alexander,” in *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition*, Warren G. Moon, ed. (Madison, Wisc., 1985) pp. 246–261, fig. 14.11.
8. Hannestad, “Über das Grabmal,” pp. 98–100.
9. Birley, “Restless Emperor,” p. 302.
10. Beckmann, unpublished hypothesis (above, n. 1). Beckmann also points to an image of Hadrian on Alexandrian coinage from early in the reign, which may reflect a three-dimensional portrait type with a neckbeard. This could possibly be the portrait type revived after Hadrian’s death. It leaves the head-turn unexplained but other emperors also show this characteristic. Moreover, a portrait of Nero (Corinth Archaeological Museum, no. S1088), for example, shows both a head-turn and the neckbeard. See Brunilde S. Ridgeway, “Sculpture from Corinth,” *Hesperia* 50 (2014) pls. 91–97. For the Alexandrian coin, see M. Bergmann, “Zu den Porträts des Trajan und Hadrian,” in A. Caballos and P. León, eds., *Italica MMCC, Actas de las jornadas de 2.200 Aniversario de la Fundación de Italica* (Seville, 1997) pp. 139–148.
11. *Historia Augusta* 13.5.
12. *Ibid.*, 17.9.
13. *Inter alia*, see Birley, *Restless Emperor*, chapters 13–14 and H. Halfman, *Itinera principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1986) pp. 188–210.
14. Perhaps most well-known is the colossal temple at Kyzikos. Parts of its seventy-foot colonnade were still standing as late as the fifteenth century when the antiquarian Cyriacus of Ancona documented it (B. Ashmole, “Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 19:3/4 [1956] pp. 179–191; *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, Edward W. Bodner and Clive Foss, eds. and translators [Cambridge, Mass., 2003] p. 73). The strobate is still visible today in the marshes near the town of Erdek.
15. Halfman, *Itinera principum*, pp. 193 (noting *Inscriptiones graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, vol. 4, 1033) and 204. J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, K. Clinton, ed. (Philadelphia, 1989) no. 68, I.12.
16. See A. Wilson, “The Hadrianic Olympian Baths at Aphrodisias: Layout, Operation, and Financing,” in R. R. Smith, J. Lenaghan, A. Sokolicek, and K. Welch, eds., *Aphrodisias Papers 5: Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias* (Portsmouth, 2006–2012) p. 182, for the argument that the bath’s dedicatory inscription, beginning with “for the emperor . . .” is to Hadrian.
17. Such a privilege may have been continuous since the time of Octavian (Augustus) who called the city “the only [one] in all of Asia that I have selected to be my own.” Both Octavian’s and Hadrian’s letters come from the theater, where they are still in situ on the wall. See J. Reynolds, et al. at <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph080034.html>, nos. 8.29, 8.34 (accessed June 2018). See also

M. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 2000) p. 89, for more on Hadrian's clarification of Aphrodisias's tax exemptions.

18. See J. Reynolds, "New Letters from Hadrian to Aphrodisias: Trials, Taxes, Gladiators, and an Aqueduct," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13 (2000) p. 5; *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* 2000:1096.

19. D. Attanasio, M. Bruno, and A. B. Yavuz, "Quarries in the Region of Aphrodisias: The Black and White Marbles of Göktepe," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 22.1 (2009) p. 345.

20. The most obvious example would be the Pantheon, which includes stone from all three continents of the empire. The Tivoli estate is also rife with imported stone.

21. Today in the Capitoline Museums. These works were discovered in 1736 by antiquarian Cardinal Giuseppe Alessandro Furietti during his excavations of the *Accademia* at Tivoli. The centaurs, thought to be copies of Hellenistic sculptures in bronze, were carved by Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias. The sculptors' signatures survive on the plinths of both centaurs. While it is not certain that Aristeas and Papias carved the fragmentary faun, the red stone (*marmor Iassense rosso*) is from the Iasos quarry, not far from Aphrodisias. See D. Attanasio, M. Bruno, and W. Prochaska, "The Asiatic Marbles of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (2013) pp. 4358–4368.

22. Though these were dated Republican in earlier studies, they have been redated to the Hadrianic period based on their marble identification. See D. Attanasio, M. Bruno, W. Prochaska, and A. B. Yavuz, "Aphrodisian Marble from the Göktepe Quarries: The Little Barbarians, Roman Copies from the Attalid Dedication in Athens," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 80 (2012) pp. 65–70.

23. The problematic group of deities, signed by Aphrodisian sculptors and now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. nos. 619–623), might be late antique as suggested by many scholars. Found on the Esquiline in 1885, this group's original placement is unknown. See D. Attanasio, M. Bruno, W. Prochaska, and A. B. Yavuz, "Reevaluation of the Marble Provenance of The Esquiline Group Sculptures (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen) Following the Discovery of the Aphrodisian Marble Quarries at Göktepe," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 121 (2015) pp. 567–589. For discussion of the group's confounding dating evidence, see M. Moltesen, "The Esquiline Group: Aphrodisian Statues in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek," *Antike Plastik* 27 (2000) pp. 111–131.

24. Albertson's "Tivoli-Columbia" type. See Albertson, "Portrait of Hadrian," p. 15.

25. Attanasio et al., "Quarries in the Region of Aphrodisias," p. 313. Bruno et al., "An Update on the Use and Distribution of White and Black Marbles from the First Century AD to Late Antiquity," *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone: Proceedings of the IX Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity* (ASMOSIA 10 [May 2012]) pp. 461–468.

26. Attanasio et al., "Quarries in the Region of Aphrodisias," p. 344. See also Bruno et al., "Update."

27. The museum thanks Robert Tykot for the initial testing and Donato Attanasio for the final identification of Göktepe for the portrait of Hadrian. See B. Kidd, D. Attanasio, and R. H. Tykot, "Determining White Marble Provenance of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri," in ASMOSIA (Tarragona 2009) pp. 239–240.

The Biography of a Dokimeion Columnar Sarcophagus Fragment*



ANTONE PIERUCCI

It has become popular over the past few decades to view objects as not merely the passive repositories of human actions but rather as integral actors in them. One such theory that attempts to articulate the relationship between humans and objects is object biography. Central to this theory is that an object accrues meaning over time through the social and cultural interactions in which it is involved. In the past this theory has been used for objects with a distinct change in their use and contexts and has articulated the shifting role these objects played in the lives of the individuals owning or using them.¹ A fragment of a columnar sarcophagus in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, although its life trajectory most likely followed an expected path from quarry to burial, has nevertheless acquired meanings over the course of its history. Using the theory of object biography and analyzing three biographical episodes in particular, this article examines the process whereby this fragment became invested with meaning (Fig. 1).² Artifacts divorced from their original context are unfortunately often seen as static and devoid of meaning, and this fragmentary single figure could be the object of similar misapprehensions, since it is not only without context but also separated from the sarcophagus of which it was once a part. Despite this, however, it is possible to discuss the vital role such



Fig. 1. Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus fragment. Roman, ca. late-second to third century CE, white Dokimeion marble, H. 63 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (2004.88), Weinberg Fund. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

a sarcophagus played as an active vehicle for the owner's status and wealth. Following an object from its conceptual origin to its final known biographical episode presents a clear narrative structure that cannot be found through any other theoretical approach. From its construction at a quarry in central Asia Minor to its expected use within a burial, to its eventual accessioning into the museum, this sarcophagus fragment acquired multifarious meanings as it actively participated in various social milieus.

Provenance

In 2005 and again in 2007 the museum tested the fragment's marble using stable carbon and oxygen isotope mass spectrometry, EPR, and petrography. The results showed that the marble was quarried at Dokimeion, one of many Roman production centers in Phrygia in Asia Minor.³ The growing demand for sarcophagi in the second century CE resulted in the development of major production centers in Asia Minor, as well as in Athens and Rome. Asia Minor, where columnar sarcophagi first developed, had a long tradition of relief-decorated sarcophagi dating back to the Hellenistic period.⁴ Sarcophagi produced at Dokimeion—often called the *hauptgruppe*, or main group, of sarcophagi from Asia Minor—number approximately 500 extant examples of various stylistic types including garland, figured-frieze, and columnar sarcophagi. Two hundred and thirty examples survive of the columnar, making it the most commonly produced type from this production center.

Dokimeion Columnar Sarcophagi

A Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus is made of two parts: the lid and the chest. The so-called kline lid in the form of a mattress, on which one or more figures recline, is the norm for most of these sarcophagi. The heads of the reclining individuals on the lid were intended to be carved with portraits of the deceased. The chests of the sarcophagi, comprised of two long sides and two short ones, were slightly larger than the dimensions of a single individual and, in fact, the remains of more than one individual have often been discovered in those sarcophagi unearthed in controlled excavations.⁵ An especially noteworthy example is the Antakya (Antioch) sarcophagus, which was excavated in 1993 and in which the remains of a man and two women were found (Figs. 2a and b).⁶

The decoration on these sarcophagi usually surrounds all four sides of the chest.⁷ It consists of a carved architectural framework with five intercolumniations on the long sides and three on the short ones. Within these intercolumniations stand or sit figures separated by spirally fluted columns with Corinthian capitals. The architectural details differ, allowing scholars to recognize three subgroups within this type. The first subgroup has a horizontal architrave with triangular pediment in the center above, flanked by arched pediments (Fig. 3a). The second subgroup displays a series of arches on all four sides, supported by columns (Fig. 3b). The most common subgroup is the third.⁸ This type has an entablature on both long sides with triangular pediment flanked by arches



Figs. 2a and b. Antakya Sarcophagus, Antakya Archaeological Museum, Antioch, Turkey. Image: <http://www.livius.org/pictures/turkey/antakya-antioch/antioch-sarcophagus/antioch-sidemara-sarcophagus-9/and-14/>.



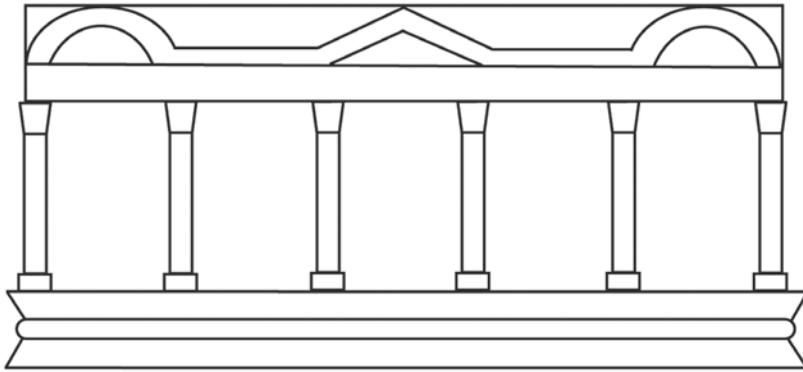


Fig. 3a. Type 1, horizontal architrave (after Guntram Koch and Hellmut Sichterman, *Römische Sarcophage* [Munich, 1982] fig. 17c).

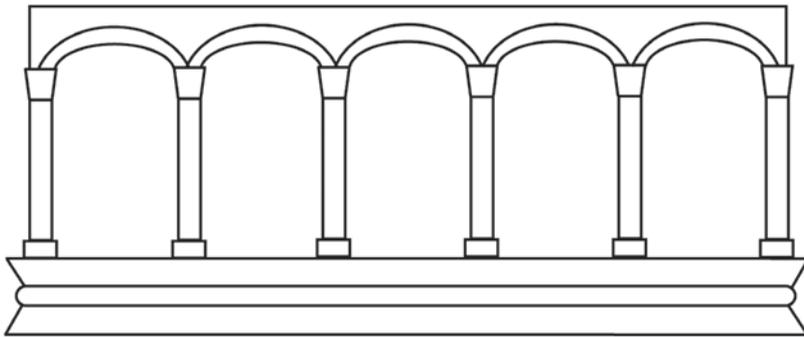


Fig. 3b. Type 2, series of arches (after Koch and Sichtermann, fig. 17b).

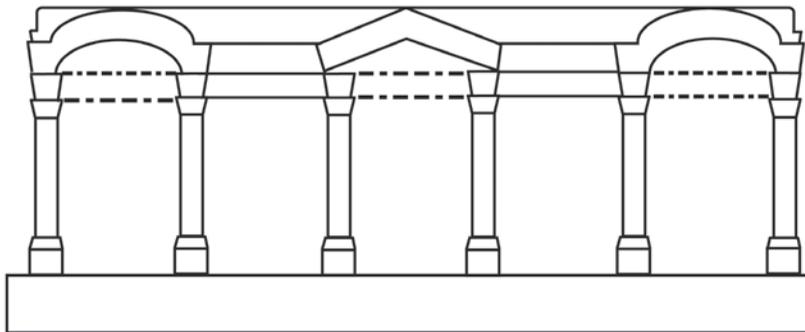


Fig. 3c. Type 3, main type of entablature (after Koch and Sichtermann, fig. 17d).

(Fig. 3c) but with a triangular pediment on the short sides flanked by a horizontal entablature.⁹

Because of the lack of controlled excavations and the fragmentary nature of the evidence as a whole, the relationship between these three different subgroups has not been fully determined. Because of stylistic similarities with the figured-frieze or “Torre Nova” type of sarcophagi of the mid-second century, the first two subgroups of Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi are generally thought to have begun around this time as well.¹⁰ Scholars suggest the third subgroup originated shortly thereafter, around 160 CE, with the so-called Melfi sarcophagus being an early example. In the third century the third subgroup dominated the production of columnar sarcophagi from Dokimeion.¹¹

Scholars have used the architectural decoration’s degree of stylization to determine the relative date of many Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi. The architectural decoration of the earliest examples is carved in more detail than the decoration on sarcophagi of later date. H. Weigand first established this distinction and used it to argue that there were two distinct types of columnar sarcophagi, a Lydian type and a Sidemara type. He postulated that the former, which is distinguished by more detail, is, therefore, earlier in date; the more stylized architectural detail of the latter indicates a later date.¹² These two types are not, however, distinct from one another but, instead, represent the fluid transition of a single type of sarcophagus from an earlier form with detailed ornamentation to a later form with more stylized decoration.¹³

The Museum’s Fragment

The preserved architectural decoration of the museum’s fragment consists of a horizontal entablature with an architrave elaborately decorated with a band of Lesbian cymation leaves topped by a band of egg and dart molding, a row of dentils, and another band of cymation leaves (Fig. 4). In the frieze above, the hindquarters of a lion are preserved striding to the right, and the remains of a triangular pediment are visible in the upper left corner of the fragment. The same architectural decoration, with slight variations in execution, appears time and again on columnar sarcophagi from Dokimeion. These details most clearly and decidedly prove that the museum’s fragment comes from one of them. Comparison of the museum’s fragment with the important Ankara A sarcophagus, dated ca. 205 CE, suggests a relative date for the museum’s piece. According to Hans Wiegartz, the Ankara A sarcophagus represents a transition between the early columnar sarcophagi and the later ones.¹⁴ Of particular note is a change in the architectural detail with now only a single egg flanked by two dart patterns placed over the capitals of the columns. Although much of the dart pattern and most of the egg of the museum’s fragment is missing, what remains of the dart molding in the form of small knobs make it clear that the reconstructed molding could only have consisted of two darts with a single egg between. There is insufficient room for an intervening dart pattern, a second egg, and a terminating dart as appears on the architectural decoration of earlier sarcophagi.¹⁵



Fig. 4. Architectural detail and head of Figure 1.



Fig. 5. Detail of upper left corner of back of Figure 1.

The remains of an acanthus leaf on the lower right corner of the museum's fragment (in the form of a stylized scroll-like leaf) are identical to those found on the Ankara A sarcophagus, an additional stylistic similarity between that sarcophagus and the museum's fragment.¹⁶ This stylized form differs greatly from that of earlier columnar sarcophagi like the Melfi one, decorated with exquisitely life-like leaves. Such details do not provide an absolute date but suggest that the museum's fragment was not produced in the early phase of the sarcophagus type (160–190 CE) but, rather, sometime after and should be identified as belonging to the third subgroup of Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi with the triangular pediment flanked by a horizontal entablature on the sides.

The youth on the museum's fragment belongs to a figure type that appears on many Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi.¹⁷ A young man wears a knee-length tunic that is cinched just below the waist by a belt tied in a square knot (Fig. 1). He is shown facing to his right, drawing back his cloak that is pinned on his right shoulder. His hairstyle, like that of many other figures in the Greek-speaking Roman provinces at the time, is inspired by that of Alexander the Great.¹⁸ Although occasionally interpreted as simply a "draped youth," the extended arm gestures of the more complete figures suggest that the youth is a Camillus, or attendant at a sacrifice. This figure type appears on all three subgroups of Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi.¹⁹ Although many of the other figures on these sarcophagi appear with regularity on other local variants, like those produced at Aphrodisias, the figure type of a youth seems to be used only on those columnar sarcophagi produced at Dokimeion.²⁰ As the extant examples illustrate, the type first started appearing on Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi early in the production phase (see Izmir C, ca. 170 CE) and continued all the way to the end (see Akşehir A, ca. 245–250 CE).²¹ In almost every representation, this young man appears at one or both corners of one of the short sides of the sarcophagus, with the figure of a lion striding along the entablature behind the young man's head.²²

To conclude this analysis, one can say with some certainty that the museum's fragment once belonged to the most common subgroup of columnar sarcophagi produced at Dokimeion. Based on the architectural similarities between the museum's fragment and the Ankara A sarcophagus (205 CE), the fragment was probably created sometime in the late second or early third century CE. Although a more specific date cannot be determined from the evidence at hand, the provenance provides the vital context within which the fragment was first quarried, roughed out, and then sculpted.

First Biographical Episode

It has been estimated that the entire process of quarrying and sculpting a single Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus would have taken five skilled laborers over a year. Partially because of this time commitment as well as the very real worry of a change in the market resulting in the stock's loss of value, it has been suggested that Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi were not mass produced but were created by commission alone.²³ In this model, therefore, the customer acts as the catalyst for the creation of the sarcophagus by going to the sculptors' workshop to order one. This model is not perfect, especially in the cases where Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi have been found far from Asia Minor, as in Rome, making a personal commission difficult.²⁴

Although it is impossible to know for certain the exact circumstances that led to the construction of the museum's fragment, it is nevertheless possible that it originated as such a commission. Despite the uncertainty of its conceptual origin, an analysis of the tool marks on the surface of the fragment reveals the first biographical episode of its life as it passed between the hands of the multiple individuals who shared in its creation. Evidence from the first stage in the history of this specific fragment appears in the form of tool marks left at different stages of production (from *officina* to the sculptors' workshop). They are evidence not only of the fragment's first biographical episode but also of the biographical intersection between the object and the people who created it.

Although the tools were not used in a unique manner, the marks they left behind are, in a sense, the fingerprints of the individual sculptors who participated in the creation of the sarcophagus. In a way, therefore, they reflect the organization of the industry itself as the fragment moved through the production process. For instance, the heavy point work on the back of the fragment, the interior of the sarcophagus, was most likely done by the workshop that received the block of marble from the quarry and roughed it out into a more careful shape.²⁵ This process was achieved by the use of a heavy pointed chisel, as is attested by the marks left on the fragment (Fig. 5). It has been suggested, most notably by J. C. Fant, that the word *officina* that appears with regularity on inscriptions at the Dokimeion quarry refers to such a workshop that carved the marble block into a rough shape. Such examples of roughed out sarcophagi chests and kline lids have been found at the site of the ancient quarry at Dokimeion. This method was an important step in the production process because it both reduced the weight of the block itself (making it easier to transport) and revealed any hidden faults beneath the surface of the marble.²⁶

Evidence of either a claw chisel, or possibly a claw chisel over light point work is attested in the form of a band approximately 4.3 cm wide at the top of the fragment (Fig. 5). This small band is separated from the heavy point work below it by a groove approximately 4–5 mm wide made by a flat chisel. Following the line of this chisel mark one can clearly see that it meets at the upper left corner with another chisel mark, this one vertical. This further indicates that the fragment was on a corner of the sarcophagus of which it was once a part, with the chisel line carved to create the interior corner.

Additional marks left on the fragment indicate an intermediate stage of carving that most likely occurred at the site of the sculptors' workshop. After receiving the roughed-out sarcophagus from the quarry-based *officina*, this workshop, possibly located at the quarry or maybe in a nearby city, would then begin the process of adding the decoration along the outside of the chest. The remains of this stage of the carving can be seen on the top of the museum's fragment where the marble extends 2 cm up to form a lip that would have acted as half of the joint for the lid (Fig. 6). Here light point work appears, formed by a smaller point chisel than the one used on the back of the fragment. Tellingly, the top of the lion, which is seen striding along the top of the entablature, is also left in this half-finished state (Fig. 6).

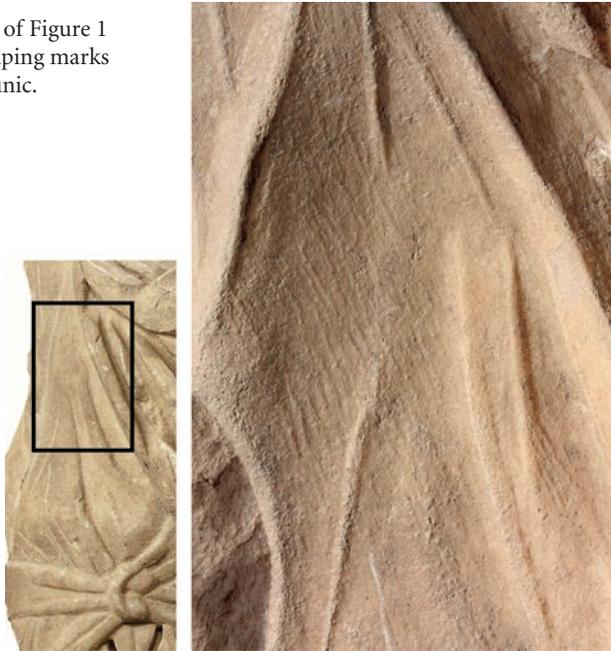
This indicates that at the very least the architectural decoration was roughed out in this manner as well but was subsequently finished.²⁷ The roughing out of figures by means of a light point chisel or punch was a common technique and can be seen on an unfinished sarcophagus lid currently in the Capitoline Museums in Rome.²⁸



Fig. 6. Detail of top of Figure 1.

The third and final stage of production attested by the museum's fragment comes in the form of fine grooves on the figure's neck, right cheek, and tunic on his upper right chest (Fig. 7). These were most likely made by scraping a fine-toothed tool over the surface. In the past, most scholars would have agreed that these marks represented the finish the sculptors put on the sarcophagus. Although other methods such as the use of abrasives were commonly employed, scraping was also quite common.²⁹ Recent studies into the polychromy of Greek and Roman sculpture suggest, however, that this scraped surface was in fact used to facilitate the application of paint or gilding.³⁰ Although no one has published a study of the use of polychromy on columnar sarcophagi, or indeed on any sarcophagus from the Dokimeion workshop, scholars have shown that sarcophagi of the period were indeed embellished with polychromy. For instance, the late second to early third century sarcophagus of Ulpia Domina, carved in Rome of Proconnesian marble, retains traces

Fig. 7. Detail of Figure 1 showing scraping marks on figure's tunic.



of pigments. Reconstructions show that every surface of the exterior of the sarcophagus was painted in red ochre and blue tones.³¹ It might prove useful to analyze the museum's fragment using similar, non-invasive multi-spectral imaging to determine whether any polychromy remains visible. Until such a study can be conducted, however, the most we can say is that it is likely the sarcophagus from which the fragment came was embellished in some way with paint and/or gilding.

Second Biographical Episode

Because this fragment has been so long divorced from its original context and has passed through the hands of innumerable owners, it is impossible to know for certain the circumstances surrounding its ultimate use. Because of this, the second biographical episode of the fragment is not as clear as the first. With this caveat in mind, however, analysis of two case studies with more concrete contexts can shed light on the role this specific fragment might have played in the life of the individual who commissioned it.

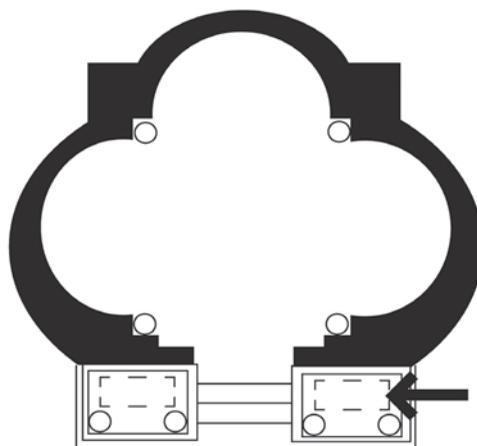
The following two case studies of Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi were chosen for several reasons. First, they provide evidence of the individuals buried within their sarcophagi, since both come from more secure archaeological excavations than most and have been the subject of some study. This allows for a more specific analysis of the owners, something that is lacking in the case of the museum's fragment. Second, both case studies

are examples of the two more common forms of display during the second and third centuries.

The tomb of Claudia Antonia Sabina, located in Sardis, lies west of the Patoklos River and the city wall. Very little of the tomb itself has survived, but the foundations indicate that the tomb was prostyle in the form of a triconch building with a straight facade wall. An elaborate Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus was discovered at the site, with an inscription on the front that identified the owner of the sarcophagus as Claudia Antonia Sabina. H. C. Butler, the original excavator of the tomb in the early twentieth century, reconstructed the sarcophagus on an exterior pedestal, flanking the entrance to the tomb itself (Fig. 8).³² The sarcophagus of Sabina consists of a kline lid with the figures of two reclining women. The larger, bareheaded woman is interpreted as Sabina, the smaller, veiled figure as her daughter. Unusual, but not unheard of for Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi, the chest of this sarcophagus is only carved on three sides, presumably because the back was placed against a wall. All together eleven figures—seated females, standing draped males, and heroic nude males—are carved on the sarcophagus.

In addition to identifying the owner of the sarcophagus as Sabina, the inscription also identifies her as a woman of consular rank (*ὑπατικής*), a rare instance of this adjective being applied to a woman in her own right. It has been suggested that it means that she was the wife of an ex-consul.³³ C. R. Morey postulates that the presence in Lydia of an ex-consul of Rome and his wife means that he filled the consular office of proconsul of Asia. Morey, therefore, suggests that Sabina's husband was Sulpicius Crassus, proconsul in 190–191 CE or 191–192 CE, who was put to death there by Commodus. Perhaps the execution of her husband encouraged Sabina to remain in the province, where she died and was buried, instead of returning to Rome as would be expected of the wife of a magistrate holding temporary office abroad. Regardless of the exact details surrounding the identity of Claudia Antonia Sabina, it is nevertheless known that she was a woman of

Fig. 8. Plan of the tomb of Claudia Antonia Sabina with location of the sarcophagus (after Sarah Cormack, “The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor,” *Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie* 6 [2004] fig. 176a).



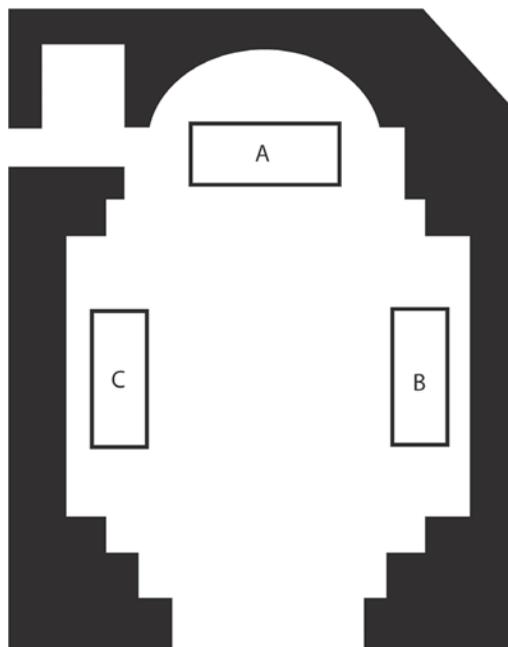
high social standing and was an active philanthropist in the region of her home in Sardis. For instance, in 211–212 CE she contributed to the gilding of the Marble Court at Sardis, along with Flavia Politta from Apollonis.³⁴ That a wealthy and highly influential woman chose a Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus for her burial and that the sarcophagus was placed flanking the entrance to the tomb suggests that the sarcophagus served a deliberate role in the context of her burial.

Inextricably connected to this deliberate role was the expensive nature of a Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus. Referred to as *marmor phrygium*, *marmor synnadicum*, or *marmor docimium*, the white marble quarried at Dokimeion was prized by the Romans for its fine-grained silvery-white quality and was used extensively for sculpture and sarcophagi.³⁵ In addition to the quality of the material, the final product itself would have been extremely expensive, a quality that added yet further to the exclusivity of this sarcophagus type. The only sarcophagus cost known during the Roman Empire was inscribed on a late third-century, undecorated, limestone piece from Salona and is recorded at approximately 15 solidi or 150 denarii.³⁶ The minimum annual subsistence for an individual in Rome has been estimated as approximately 29 denarii. This undecorated limestone chest, at 150 denarii, would, therefore, have cost more than five times the minimum annual subsistence of an individual.³⁷ We can assume, then, that an ornately decorated Dokimeion marble sarcophagus like Sabina's, and the museum's fragment as well, must have cost the commissioners of both works a great deal of money.³⁸

Both the cost of manufacture and the prized nature of the material itself lent Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi an aura of luxury and exclusivity, of which the owners were certainly cognizant. If Sabina did indeed order that her Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus be displayed outside her tomb as Butler suggests, she was likely aware of the message it sent passersby: here lay a woman of means and status. In this way the sarcophagus would have acted as an active conveyor of Sabina's status and wealth to the outside world. The efficacy of this message was intimately bound up in the ability of the viewer to distinguish an expensive Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus from one of the more commonly occurring local variants. In the case of Sabina this could have been achieved by placing the sarcophagus in a place of power, on a pedestal, framed by the columns of the porch and flanking the entrance to the tomb.

This placement of a Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus is not an isolated example. Esen Oğus in her analysis of the sarcophagus types found in necropoleis of Asia Minor noted that, at least in the case of the city of Hierapolis, many of the owners who could afford Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi placed them in the open to be visually compared with and, no doubt, deemed worthier than those sarcophagi of local stone.³⁹ Perhaps just as a safety precaution lest anyone foolishly mistake the identity of his "authentic" Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus, one owner went so far as to explicitly state the provenance on an inscription on the sarcophagus itself. Oğus' research at Hierapolis would therefore lend some credence to Butler's reconstruction of Sabina's tomb, with her sarcophagus outside, flanking the entrance.

Fig. 9. Plan of the tomb of Claudia Antonia Tatiane with her columnar sarcophagus located at A in the apse (after Cormack “Space of Death,” fig. 91).



The second case study comes from the city of Ephesos, located along the coast of Asia Minor. The tomb of Claudia Antonia Tatiane is located near the Magnesian Gate of the city and consists of a centralized plan with a cella, apse, and niches (Fig.9).⁴⁰ Sarcophagus fragments were found in and around the tomb. Located within the apse, the focal point of the cella, lay fragments of a Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus. It has been widely accepted as belonging to Tatiane herself because of the central placement of the sarcophagus and because the only other extravagantly decorated sarcophagus—an Attic Battle sarcophagus—has an inscription identifying the owner as Aemilius Aristeides. The tomb dates to around the first decade of the third century as indicated by the tomb type and the style of the portrait of Aemilius Aristeides. Carved on a marble sarcophagus base found in the tomb is an inscription that grants permission, by Tatiane, for her brother Aristeides and his wife to be buried with her in the tomb:

To Aemilius Aristeides, equestrian, Kl. Antonia Tatiane greetings. I concede to you, my brother, the [... burial place] in my heroon which is located in Ephesos outside the [Magnesian Gate], in which you may bury your wife . . .

It has been suggested that this Claudia Antonia Tatiane is the same woman of that name who lived in Aphrodisias—a woman of equestrian rank, cousin to two senators, and a benefactress to her city. If this is the case, then the geographical specificity in the

inscription (“in my heroon which is located in Ephesos . . .”) might be explained in light of her holding residence in another city entirely.⁴¹ If Claudia Antonia Tatiane is to be identified as the same woman from Aphrodisias, however, one should question why she would choose to be buried in Ephesos rather than in her own native city of Aphrodisias. It is, therefore, entirely possible that she is not this other Claudia Antonia Tatiane, but instead simply a wealthy resident of Ephesos with the same name.

Nevertheless, that Tatiane was a highly influential woman within her community is attested by the presence of Aemilius Aristeides in her tomb, an individual she lovingly identifies as her “brother” and who himself was a wealthy member of the local elite.⁴² Although Tatiane’s social standing cannot be exactly determined, her ownership of a Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus and the construction of a heroon-style tomb indicate that she was a wealthy woman. Like Sabina, therefore, the owner of this specific Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus hailed from the upper echelons of society in Roman Asia Minor.

This second case study is important because it illustrates an alternative manner in which columnar sarcophagi were placed within tombs. The apsidal niche within which the sarcophagus was placed is centrally located and would have provided a visual focal point for any visitor entering the tomb. In addition, any visitor wishing to enter the secondary room or to ascend the stairs to reach the upper floor would have had to navigate around Tatiane’s sarcophagus. In this way, the placement of the Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus would have forced a visitor to visually interact with the sarcophagus from different angles and to admire the sculpted scenes that circumscribed the entire chest. Just as Sabina positioned her sarcophagus in a place of power, so too did Tatiane.

Whereas the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina was located outside as a visual representation of her social status for all passersby to see, the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Tatiane, placed within the tomb itself, spoke visually to a much smaller audience. That is to say, when it is placed inside the tomb, the intended audience for the powerful statement of a Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus shifts to only those individuals who visit the deceased on a ceremonial basis. This change in audience in no way lessens the power of the message concerning the owner’s status. In fact, the placement of the sarcophagus within the rear apse underscores the message since the sarcophagus now plays a privileged role in the hierarchy of space within the tomb itself.

Just as the placement of these sarcophagi in positions of power underscores their importance and lends weight to their message of prestige and status, so too does the iconography. The architectural iconography of the museum’s fragment with a figure set within a niche flanked by columns echoes public buildings of Roman Asia Minor built in the second and third centuries. The placement of some columnar sarcophagi figures on pedestals mirrors the dialogue between statuary figures placed between columns on such public buildings as theaters, baths, gates, and libraries.⁴³ For instance, such statuary placement can be seen on the *scaenae frons* of the theater at Aizanoi and the facade of the Library of Celsus at Ephesos. These buildings mark a period in the architecture of Roman Asia Minor when the theatrical mode of presenting statues in pedimented columnar niches was applied to public buildings.⁴⁴

Although certainly not directly imitating any public building in particular, columnar sarcophagi of Asia Minor nevertheless clearly recalled these grand public buildings in their use of figures placed within columniated niches. While not nearly as expensive as their actual architectural counterparts, these columnar sarcophagi would have nevertheless held some of the same connotations of prestige and power simply by their association with such buildings. These private sepulchral monuments, therefore, take on not only the aesthetic appeal of such facades but also the prestige associated with the erection of such public benefactions. The presence of the owner of a columnar sarcophagus, in portrait form reclining above such power-charged iconography, directly connects the owner to the prestige associated with the iconography itself. In this way, therefore, the iconography of Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi—like that of Claudia Antonia Sabina, Claudia Antonia Tatiane, and the museum’s fragment—enhances the owner’s image and status by its very association with such public benefactions.

It is impossible to know the exact circumstances of the final deposition of the museum’s fragment. Nevertheless, the prized nature of the marble, the quality of the craftsmanship, and these two case studies of standard sarcophagi burials have provided a possible picture of the second biographical episode of this fragment’s life. As a Dokimeion columnar sarcophagus, the sarcophagus whence this fragment came played a vital role in the social context of death during the late second or early third century CE. The social value of the sarcophagus lay in its ability to carry out the role of conveying the owner’s status and wealth. The moment this conveyance was disturbed—as a result of reuse, looting, breakage, or any other such disruptive activity—the second biographical episode of the fragment came to an end.

Third Biographical Episode

Just as the lack of context makes it difficult to understand this fragment’s first two biographical episodes, so too does it render its third episode difficult to interpret. Whether as a result of ancient looting or some other destructive process, the fragment was separated from the rest of the sarcophagus. Whereas the scientific and stylistic analyses discussed above temporally grounded its first and second biographical episodes, the daunting gap of millennia and miles makes an analysis of the third episode impossible. This difficulty is particularly compounded given the multivalent manner in which Roman sarcophagi were used and collected over the centuries.⁴⁵ The museum records indicate that the fragment was once a part of an old German collection of the 1960s and 1970s. No further detail was provided in the sale catalogue on the identity of the collector, the extent of his collection, or the provenance of the fragment. Nevertheless, although it is impossible to know how and when the fragment was taken from its original context and how it was subsequently used, its life begins again as an object in an art collection.

Two significant changes occurred as a result of entering the art market and a collection. Understanding these two changes will serve to elucidate the shifting role the fragment played in the lives of its new owners. First, the fragment acquired a financial value. In

this case, the quality of the craftsmanship and the desirability of the material would not have been the determining factors for the value as it had been when the sarcophagus was made centuries earlier. Instead, a value based on the fragment's relative association with other objects of its kind and the peculiar whims of the market determined the monetary value established at the time of sale. The second significant change occurred the moment the fragment went from being seen as a broken remnant of an old sarcophagus to understanding it as having inherent value in and of itself. In many ways this shift is an arbitrary one in that there is no specific mode of measuring when an old object goes from "old" to "antique" and therefore goes from "trash" to "treasure." As the centuries passed, the fragment acquired value as a work of "art," and it eventually entered the art market and the collection in Germany.

Collecting is not simply the gathering together of things but, rather, the performance of a unique form of object-human relations.⁴⁶ Actively choosing specific objects and joining them together with other, perhaps disparate, ones necessarily results in the assigning of new meaning and value to these objects. Although the exact motives behind the purchasing of the fragment by the German collector remain unknown, the fragment nevertheless acts as an integral player in this interaction. Whether as a means of expressing the breadth of the owner's appreciation of art and of once again conveying status, or as an intimate connection to the past, the fragment could have served any number of purposes in its role within the important cultural phenomenon of collecting.

The fragment's accessioning into the museum in 2004 after it was purchased from Christie's auction house marks its most recent biographical episode. That the meaning and importance of an artifact changes when it becomes a museum object has been noted in past studies of museology and serves as an interesting theoretical problem for museums and curators alike.⁴⁷ This fragment's separation from other artifacts that remain on the art market and its designation as part of the collection has been marked by significant forms and levels of attention including careful storage and display as part of an exhibition. When the museum purchased the fragment at auction in 2004, they established its value in dollars, but due to current museum practices, it cannot be considered a financial asset of the University of Missouri.⁴⁸ In this way, therefore, the value of the fragment has changed as, for the first time in its history, its financial value is restricted by museum ethical guidelines.⁴⁹

Although some might consider the accessioning of an object the final stage in its biography, it instead marks a significant step toward the assigning of new and varied meanings.⁵⁰ Each time the fragment is exhibited, it has the chance of acquiring a new set of meanings and values. Now that it is a part of the museum's collection, exhibit designers, curators, and museum educators all have a hand in assigning these new meanings.

The columnar sarcophagus fragment is currently on long-term display in the museum's permanent gallery, in the space reserved for artifacts from the ancient Mediterranean world. The exhibit designer has suggested the importance of the fragment by mounting it on a rod, which discreetly secures the fragment to a low-lying plinth. This form of mounting alone contains opportunities for the construction of meaning. The choice of mount

gives the fragment the appearance of floating in mid-air, a visual that at once emphasizes its fragmentary state and yet reimages the fragment as a self-contained work of art, to be considered and appreciated on its own. Panning outward from the fragment to the objects displayed alongside it, the opportunity for meaning making expands as well. Like all objects in museums, this fragment bears a complex relationship to the other objects in its vicinity as it derives meaning from these associations through the careful planning of the exhibit itself. If the fragment is read in light of the other marble artifacts nearby, it acts as a representative example of Roman marble sculpture from Asia Minor.

Placement of the fragment and subtle association with other objects are not the only means by which its meaning can change while on display. The curator's placement of an interpretive panel for the fragment prioritizes it over the other objects nearby that are only given small identifying labels. Explicitly, the panel retrieves the fragment's context by identifying it as part of a sarcophagus, made sometime in the late second or early third century CE in the Roman province of Asia Minor. A line drawing of a complete columnar sarcophagus reconstitutes the fragment on display to its original whole. The work of the curator is completed by the museum educator or docent, who is instructed to explain that the fragment is a feature of Roman funerary customs of the time.⁵¹

Finally (although by now it should be obvious that nothing about the interpretation of this fragment is final), the role it plays in the function of the museum itself affords other opportunities for additional meaning. Like most museums, the Museum of Art and Archaeology has both gallery space dedicated to traveling, or temporary exhibits and space where long-term exhibits are displayed. The latter forms the backbone of the museum's interpretive program, providing an established experience that, in theory, remains relevant for years at a time. As a space that returning visitors experience time after time, the permanent gallery has come to serve as the museum's brand, or image, whether intentionally projected as such or not. Objects displayed as part of a permanent exhibit therefore take on an additional layer of meaning, becoming icons of the museum itself. These are the objects used in advertisements, that appear on the museum's Facebook page, and whose likenesses are marketed on postcards and stationary at the gift shop. Although only relatively recently purchased, the columnar sarcophagus fragment has already acquired icon status. For a number of years, its likeness graced a light-pole banner on the street behind the museum. Now the fragment becomes not just an icon of the museum but an emblem of its Roman antiquities collection. In this way, a fragment of stone can be asked to hold within itself the entire sweep of Roman history.

All of this, however, presupposes that visitors are passive receptors of the interpretation intended by staff, from curator to marketing manager. Two decades of research into the informal learning of museum visitors argues against such a neat supposition.⁵² In reality, visitors have a whole host of psychological baggage, just a small fraction of which can color the way they experience objects in museums.⁵³ If beauty is in the eye of the beholder, so too is meaning, and each visitor who stops to contemplate the sarcophagus fragment walks away with his or her own understanding of it. In short, the number of new meanings attached to the fragment is only limited by the creativity of the staff and the

number of visitors to the exhibit. In this way, therefore, the fragment plays a vital role in the overall discursive experience of visiting the museum.

From the quarry in central Asia Minor, to its deposition within (or without) a tomb, through to its eventual position in a collection and then a museum, this fragment of a columnar sarcophagus has had a lengthy history. Not only evident in the physical breaks on the fragment itself, history has indelibly marked it with a variety of meanings. Through the use of the theory of object biography, these various meanings have been elucidated in an attempt to understand the manner in which this fragment was invested with meaning. In so doing, it is now clear how important it remains today as a means of providing insight into the society that created it and used it, and now, millennia later, into the society that views it on display.

NOTES

*First and foremost, I would like to thank Cathy Callaway, whose persistent encouragement finally led me to submit this article for consideration. Thanks also go to the anonymous reviewer, who saw merit in the submission, and to Jane Biers, whose patient editorial oversight polished it to the version you see before you.

1. For various ways in which this theory has been used, see Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1988) pp. 64–91; Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, “The Cultural Biography of Objects,” *World Archaeology* 31 (1999) pp. 169–178; Susan Langdon, “Beyond the Grave: Biographies from Early Greece,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2003) pp. 579–606.

2. Columnar Sarcophagus, white Dokimeion marble, preserved H. 63 cm, preserved W. 29.50 cm, Depth 17 cm, acc. no. 2004.88, Weinberg Fund. Published: Christie’s, New York, Antiquities, sale no. 1446, December 2004, lot no. 607; Benton Kidd et al., “Determining White Marble Provenance of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri,” in Anna Gutierrez Garcia, ed., *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone: Proceedings of the IX Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity (ASMOSIA) Conference (Tarragona 2009) International Certification Accreditation Council (ICAC)* 23 (Tarragona, 2012) pp. 241–242, fig. 8.

3. Kidd, “Determining White Marble Provenance,” pp. 241–242.

4. Guntram Koch and Hellmut Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich, 1982) p. 476.

5. Jas Elsner and Janet Huskinson, eds., *Life, Death, and Representation: Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berlin, 2011) p. 2.

6. Antakya sarcophagus, ca. 250 CE., Antioch Archaeological Museum. See Ogus, “The Antakya Sarcophagus: Aspects of Decoration, Transportation, and Dating,” Bilkent University, *Department of Art History and Archeology Newsletter* 3 (2004) and “Design Elements and the Chronology of the Docimeum Columnar Sarcophagi,” M.A. thesis, Bilkent University, 2003, pp. 167–168.

7. Ogus, “Columnar Sarcophagi from Aphrodisias: Construction of Elite Identity in the Greek East,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2010, p. 171.

8. Marc Waelkens, *Dokimeion: Die Werkstatt der repräsentativen kleinasiatischen Sarkophage: Chronologie und Typologie ihrer Produktion (Archäologische Forschungen* 11 [Berlin, 1982]) pp. 71–101. Based on the most recent, comprehensive list of Dokimeion sarcophagi, I have been

able to determine that ninety-seven of the 226 identified Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi fragments belong to this third subgroup. There is a possibility that some of the more fragmentary fragments may also belong to this group, but not enough detail survives to be certain regarding the architectural decoration and therefore the subgroup to which they belong.

9. Ogus, "Columnar Sarcophagi," pp. 172–173.

10. Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, pp. 503–505. "Torre Nova" type sarcophagi, so named for the city in Italy where one was first uncovered, are also known as figured-frieze sarcophagi from the figures, frequently standing, that are depicted around the perimeter of the sarcophagus.

11. Koch and Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, p. 506. For production during the third century, see also Ogus, "Antakya Sarcophagus," pp. 167–168.

12. H. Weigand, "Baalbek und Rom, Die Römische Reichskunst in Ihrer Entwicklung und Differenzierung," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 29 (1914) p. 73. The two sarcophagi that established this distinction were the Melfi sarcophagus (Lydian) and the Istanbul B sarcophagus (Sidemara) (C. R. Morey, "The Origin of the Asiatic Sarcophagi," *The Art Bulletin* 4, 2 [1921] figs. 5 and 1).

13. Hans Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische Saulensarkophage: Untersuchungen zum Sarkophagyptus und zu den figürlichen Darstellungen* (Berlin, 1965), and Gloria Ferrari, *Il commercio dei sarcofagi Asiatici* (Rome, 1966).

14. Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische*, p. 32.

15. Cf. the Melfi sarcophagus. Morey, "Origin," fig. 5.

16. Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische*, pl. 6f.

17. The term "figure type" was used by Wiegartz in the first classification of this sarcophagus type. In an attempt to organize the iconography of the sarcophagi, he applied the term to figures with similar stance and similar clothing. *Ibid.*, pl. 25b.

18. A. Cameron, "The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, Supplement* 55 (1989) pp. 108–113, suggested quite convincingly that the reappearance of this hairstyle around the late second and early third centuries CE was part of a fashion for archaism, which had enraptured much of the Greek-speaking world of the Roman Empire as part of the Second Sophistic.

19. See Izmir C for an example of the first subgroup with a horizontal architrave (Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische*, p. 160); Akşehir A for the second subgroup with a continuous arcaded façade (Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische*, pl. 25); the Antakya sarcophagus for the third, most common, subgroup (Fig. 2b). The museum's fragment, as previously mentioned, belongs with the third group.

20. For a list of Dokimeion-inspired columnar sarcophagi from regional workshops, particularly at Aphrodisias, see Ogus, "Columnar Sarcophagi."

21. Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische*, pl. 25b and Ogus, "Antakya Sarcophagus," pp. 167–168.

22. The only known instances where this is not the case is on Izmir C where the figure type appears to the left of a figure of a woman (M. Lawrence, "Additional Asiatic Sarcophagi," *Memoirs of the American Academy of Rome* 20 [1951] fig. 44) and Rome D where the figure type appears at the corner of one of the long sides (C. R. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi. Sardis*, vol. 5, part 1 [Princeton, 1924] fig. 25).

23. Ben Russell, "The Roman Sarcophagus 'Industry': A Reconsideration," in Elsner and Huskinson, eds., *Life, Death, and Representation*, pp. 119–147. Other scholars have noted that most sarcophagi were probably not completed at the workshop and were instead shipped incomplete to be finished at the place of deposition. This remains a point of debate, however, particularly for the more elaborate sarcophagi forms like the columnar.

24. Although, as has been noted, wealthy individual customers could have sent a representative to the workshop.

25. J. Clayton Fant, “Four Unfinished Sarcophagus Lids at Docimium and the Roman Imperial Quarry System in Phrygia,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985) pp. 26–28.

26. J. Clayton Fant, “Cavum Antrum Phrygiae: The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia,” *British Archaeological Reports* 482 (Oxford, 1989) pp. 35–39.

27. Possibly the kline lid would have covered this portion of the sarcophagus as well as the top of the lion and so the sculptors felt no need to finish the smoothing process. Unfortunately, there is no published comparanda to pursue how frequent of an occurrence this was. Nevertheless, whether done intentionally or not, the unfinished top of the sarcophagus allows a look at the intermediate stage of the carving process of this particular fragment.

28. Peter Rockwell, “Some Reflections on Tools and Faking,” in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture, Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Departments of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation and Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum April 28–30, 1988* (California, 1990) fig. 9a.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

30. The most extensive research into the application of paint and gilding on ancient sculpture comes from the work done at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Researchers routinely provide updates on their own research and other similar studies on their website <http://www.trackingcolour.com/> (accessed April 18, 2018).

31. Eliana Siotto et al., “The Ulpia Domina’s Sarcophagus: Preliminary Report about the Use of Digital 3D Model for the Study and Reconstruction of the Polychromy,” *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone, ASMOSIA X Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference of ASMOSIA Rome, 21–26 May 2012* (Rome, 2012) pp. 911–920. See also M. L. Sargent, “Recent Investigations of Polychromy of a Metropolitan Roman Garland Sarcophagus,” in J. S. Østergaard, ed., *Tracking Colour: The Polychromy of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Preliminary Report 3* (Copenhagen, 2011) pp. 14–34.

32. It should be cautioned, however, that the exact positioning of the sarcophagus in the tomb remains somewhat conjectural, with Butler’s notes representing the only source on the matter.

33. Morey, *Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, p. 24.

34. Riet Van Bremen, “The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods,” *Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology* vol. 15 (Amsterdam, 1996) p. 268.

35. Ogus, “Columnar Sarcophagi,” p. 169.

36. Russell, “Roman Sarcophagus ‘Industry,’” p. 122, calculated this by using the price of gold in Diocletian’s Price Edict as a base line to convert the solidi to Diocletianic denarii (72 solidi=1 pound of gold =72,000 Diocletianic denarii). He then he accounted for inflation when converting Diocletianic denarii.

37. Willem M. Jongman, “The Early Roman Empire: Consumption,” in Walter Scheidel, Ian Morris, and Richard Saller, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (New York, 2007) pp. 599–600.

38. Russell, “Roman Sarcophagus ‘Industry,’” p. 122.

39. Ogus, “Columnar Sarcophagi,” pp. 170–173. Sarah Cormack, “The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor,” *Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie* 6 (Vienna, 2004) p. 286, refers to the tombs of Aur. Padamuriane Nanelis and Aur. Artemeis at Termessos as examples of sarcophagi placed in the open.

40. Cormack, “Space of Death,” p. 220.

41. *Ibid.* Such specificity most likely does not indicate that Tatiane owned more than one heroon

and that this particular one was a gift for the exclusive burial of Aristeides and his wife, not for Tatiane herself. In his own right Aristeides was a high-ranking member of the local elite and would most likely have constructed his own tomb were it not for the generous offer to be buried in the same tomb as Tatiane herself—someone Aristeides certainly held in high regard.

42. Ibid. Aemilius Aristeides should most likely be identified as the man of the same name who held the office of procurator and who dedicated statues of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia Domna in the theater at Ephesos.

43. Edmund Thomas, “‘House of the Dead?’ Columnar Sarcophagi as ‘Micro-Architecture,’” in Elsner and Huskinson, eds., *Life, Death, and Representation* (Berlin, 2011) pp. 394–395.

44. Ibid.

45. Elsner and Huskinson, *Life, Death, and Representation*, p. 4, note that many Roman sarcophagi were used in Medieval Europe as caskets for saintly relics. Also, in Renaissance Europe, fragments and whole panels were displayed because the classicizing style and motifs spoke to the aesthetics of the period. These two possibilities represent the various roles this fragment might have played and the meanings it could have acquired either as a collectible or as a religiously charged symbol.

46. MacDonald, “Collecting Practices,” p. 71.

47. Ibid., p. 82.

48. The Museum of Art and Archaeology follows the ethical guidelines of the American Alliance of Museum’s Code of Ethics for Museums. “Disposal of collections through sale, trade, or research activities is solely for advancement of the museum’s mission. Proceeds from the sale . . . in no event shall . . . be used for anything other than acquisitions or direct care of collections.” Thus, the sarcophagus fragment has financial value only in relation to these guidelines.

49. The only case in which this would not be true is in the unfortunate event of the fragment’s destruction and the reimbursement derived from the insurance policy.

50. MacDonald, “Collecting Practices,” p. 70, argues that once an object enters a museum its history ends with it.

51. As described in the Docent Manual, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (unpublished and not available to the general public).

52. The most seminal of these studies are those written by John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, including Falk and Dierking, *The Museum Experience* (Washington D.C., 1992), and Falk and Dierking, *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning* (Walnut Creek, 2000).

53. Jerome S. Bruner, *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life* (New York, 2002).

Andrea Vaccaro's *David* and an Outline of Vaccaro's Early Career*



RICCARDO LATTUADA

In 2014, at the suggestion of Ian Kennedy, Jeffrey Wilcox—then registrar of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, Columbia—sent me images of a powerful *David with the Head of Goliath* (Fig. 1 and back cover).¹ I realized immediately that the artist of the painting was Andrea Vaccaro, a seventeenth-century Neapolitan painter, who lived from 1604 to 1670. In January 2015, I presented a lecture, titled *Framing Andrea Vaccaro's David*.² In this article I repeat some of the arguments I offered in my lecture, and I expand my views on Andrea Vaccaro's early career, a difficult issue despite the recent interest of various scholars, including myself.³

The Columbia *David*

Columbia's *David* is marked by a strong chiaroscuro, and the brown preparation is applied on a thick canvas. These devices are an early seventeenth-century (Seicento) Neapolitan technique. The position of the hero's torso recalls Caravaggio's *David* in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (Fig. 2), but in fact the depiction of the hips and legs seems to derive from such classical models as the *Meleager* in the Musei Vaticani in Rome (Fig. 3), or the *Pompey* in the Palazzo Spada, Rome (Fig. 4).⁴ This is not surprising when we consider that both Rome and Naples hosted an untold amount of ancient sculpture and that, even in the early seventeenth century, artists, including the so-called Caravaggesque painters, based their study of the human body on observing ancient sculptures. In the Columbia *David*, at the left of the main figure, in the distance, the beheaded body of Goliath lies on the ground. A dramatic landscape looms in the background, illuminated by the sunset. In the foreground are David's sling and the hilt of the Philistine warrior's huge sword. David raises his right hand while he balances the gigantic head of Goliath on a rock to his left. It is difficult to explain the gesture of his right hand. Perhaps it is just a case of influence from an antecedent of this gesture in the famous *David* painted on a parade shield by Andrea del Castagno (Washington, National Gallery of Art) (Fig. 5).⁵ It is also possible that it is a gesture of triumph, or even that David is performing the *supina manus*, the hand open and raised as the Romans used to do when praying.⁶ If the latter interpretation is right, David is thanking God for his victory over the Philistine giant.

It is possible that the Columbia *David* was executed circa 1625–1630, at the same time as other works ascribed to Vaccaro's hand and dated to the beginning of his long artistic



Fig. 1. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *David with the Head of Goliath*, ca. 1625–1630, oil on canvas. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (69.115). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



Fig. 2. Michelangelo Merisi, il Caravaggio (Milan, 1573–Porto Ercole, 1610). *David with the Head of Goliath*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: Author's archive.



Fig. 3. Meleager. Roman copy of a second century BCE statue, marble. Rome, Musei Vaticani. Photo: Author's archive.



Fig. 4. Pompey. First century BCE, marble. Rome, Palazzo Spada. Photo: Author's archive.



Fig. 5. Andrea del Castagno (Florence, 1419–1457). *David*. Washington, National Gallery. Photo: Author's archive.



Fig. 6. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *David*. Naples, private collection. Photo: Luciano Pedicini, Archivio dell'arte, Naples.



Fig. 7. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *David Contemplating Goliath's Head*. Florence, Fondazione di Studi Roberto Longhi. Photo: Author's archive.



Fig. 8. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Saint Sebastian Taken to His Martyrdom*. Naples, ex Perrone Capano Collection, now Colnaghi, London. Photo: Courtesy Colnaghi, London.

career. If the *David* proves to be an early work, it demonstrates that in his early career Andrea Vaccaro produced an eclectic and individualized blend of the Caravaggesque tendencies that he had experienced in Rome and Naples. In his eighteenth-century biography of Vaccaro, Bernardo de' Dominici writes that the painter, under the influence of Battistello Caracciolo, “easily let himself be dazzled . . . by the amazing new manner of Caravaggio. Consequently, Andrea began to copy various works of that fantastic Painter, and after a short time he imitated him so well that to the eyes of experts [his paintings] seemed to be not copies, but original works.”⁷ When integrated with an analysis of Vaccaro’s early works, de’ Dominici’s account makes it plausible that the painter not only became acquainted with the works of Caravaggio in Naples but also that he studied in Rome as an apprentice ca. 1620–1625, where Caravaggism had just been born. During the Modern Age, it was so common for Neapolitan artists to make many study trips to Rome that records of their residence there are rare.⁸ It is likely that Vaccaro made more than one trip to Rome, as indirectly implied by his classicist turn.⁹

Vaccaro’s early production, inspired by the “amazing new manner of Caravaggio,” is little known and studied. His earliest signed work is the *Penitent Mary Magdalene* of 1636 (Naples, Certosa di San Martino) (Fig. 24),¹⁰ produced when he was 32 years old, a mature man by seventeenth-century standards; by that age he likely already had a twelve- to fifteen-year career. On stylistic grounds, however, less than ten paintings have been currently assigned to his early phase, that is, before 1636. The attribution of the Columbia *David* is sustained by a number of comparisons with these early works, none of which bears a signature. Vaccaro signed his paintings with the monogram “AV” only in his first mature stage, from 1636 to 1640. Even if we withdraw from Vaccaro’s catalogue the copy after Caravaggio’s *Flagellation* in the Church of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples, traditionally considered to be by him but recently assigned to an anonymous hand,¹¹ we can rely on comparisons with the *David* in a private collection in Naples (Fig. 6), *David Contemplating Goliath’s Head* (Florence, Fondazione di Studi Roberto Longhi) (Fig. 7), and *Saint Sebastian Taken to His Martyrdom* (Naples, formerly in the Perrone Capano Collection, now with Colnaghi, London) (Fig. 8). Ferdinando Bologna dates all these works to around 1625–1630 and notices in them an “impronta battistelliana” (an imprint of Battistello Caracciolo).¹² Not only the iconography but also the technique and the palette demonstrate the close connection between these three works and the Columbia *David*; in short, in all four paintings we see the same artistic personality at work, one that combined Roman, French, and Neapolitan Caravaggism in a sophisticated way.

Saint Onuphrius and Saint Paul Apostle

In the last two years, with the aim of positioning the Columbia *David* firmly in Vaccaro’s early career, I have accumulated new evidence and attributed to the artist other early works that I will discuss below. A major addition to Vaccaro’s early catalogue is the ambitious *Saint Onuphrius* that Nicola Spinosa ascribed to Jusepe de Ribera (Fig. 9).¹³ Spinosa compared the *Saint Onuphrius* to Ribera’s *Saint Paul the Hermit* in the Louvre



Fig. 9. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Saint Onuphrius*. Private collection.
Photo: Courtesy Sotheby's, London.

Museum, but the relationship between the two works is merely compositional: the palette and the thick, plastic brushwork typical of Ribera are completely different from Vaccaro's style. It is quite evident, however, that the physical type of Saint Onuphrius is connected to Ribera (and even more to Caracciolo), but the way this important work is painted is so different, and so clearly typical of Vaccaro that it is quite surprising that no scholars have paid attention to this questionable attribution. The painting had an imposing impact when it was exhibited while on the London market in 2000. The ties with the *Columbia David* are immediately perceivable: the same way of representing the light at sunset; the same faulty preparation of pigments, the cause of deterioration in this area; the same way of depicting the anatomy of the saint with a yellowish light emphasizing every detail; the same striking chiaroscuro playing on brown tones; and the same brushwork, flatter than Ribera's. The saint's facial type is comparable to that of a *Saint Paul Apostle*, which I now attribute to Vaccaro (Fig. 10).¹⁴

Saint Lawrence

A powerful single image such as Vaccaro's *Saint Lawrence* (Paris, Galerie Giovanni Sarti) (Fig. 11)¹⁵ provides the same sense of drama as the *Columbia David*; the canvas of the *Saint Lawrence* has a large square weave and is densely prepared, its dark background



Fig. 10. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Saint Paul Apostle*. Private collection. Photo: Courtesy Minerva Auctions, Rome.



Fig. 11. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Saint Lawrence*. Photo: Courtesy Galerie Giovanni Sarti, Paris.

crossed by a broad, diagonal ray of light¹⁶ and displaying powerful chiaroscuro that recalls the drama of Caravaggio. The vigorous passages of color set within a carefully crafted design—the red dalmatic stands out splendidly, as do the visible parts of the white tunic—indicate Neapolitan authorship and a dating between the 1620s and early 1630s. At the same time, one can note a sense of pathos in the saint's expression, his eyes turned heavenward to seek divine inspiration in the face of martyrdom. This is the approach of a painter who was attentive, though in an entirely independent way, to the work of Guido Reni in his brief Caravaggesque moment. The face of the young saint deserves a few words: it is turned upward to listen to the voice of God, with an expression appropriate to both concentration and inspiration. If, as we have already said, something of Guido Reni's invention is present in the position of the head and gaze, it is also true that Vaccaro was to revisit these poses, subtly varied, in later works such as the *Triumph of David* in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, where the protagonist's face seems to derive from the same source as was used in the *Saint Lawrence*.¹⁷

***Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom and The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (Cooper-Maisani Collection)**

The vigorous treatment exhibited in the *Saint Lawrence* also occurs in a powerful pair of paintings, *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom* (Fig. 12) and *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (Fig. 13), both in the New York collection of Anderson Cooper and Benjamin Maisani. In *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom*, the execution of St. Stephen's



Fig. 12. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom*. New York, New York, Collection of Anderson Cooper and Benjamin Maisani. Photo: Courtesy Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York.



Fig. 13. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*. New York, New York, Collection of Anderson Cooper and Benjamin Maisani. Photo: Courtesy Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York.



Fig. 14. Detail of Figure 12.



Fig. 15. Nicolas Tournier (French, 1590–ca. 1638). *The Dice Players* (detail). Louisville, Speed Art Museum. Photo: Author's archive.

dalmatic compared with that of the *St. Lawrence* (Fig. 11) clarifies the close connection between those two works. The two Cooper-Maisani masterpieces appeared on the market in 2009 with an attribution to Filippo Vitale proposed by Nicola Spinosa.¹⁸ Upon the request of Paul Smeets and Otto Naumann, I studied the paintings firsthand before and during their restoration, and I came to the conclusion that they are among the most important achievements of Vaccaro's Caravaggesque phase.¹⁹ Indeed, the Caravaggesque structure of both compositions is evident in the cropping of the figures and in the virtual absence of a background. St. Stephen dressed in his deacon's clothing walks to his destiny, his head bowed and his hands held in prayer; he concentrates as if abstracted in his thoughts. A soldier on the far right appears to be looking at the moustached man in the foreground, who carries a basket full of stones to be used to execute Stephen.²⁰ Behind St. Stephen a man wearing a red beret stares at the saint's shoulders (Fig. 14). The Martyrdom of St. Stephen is recorded in *The Acts of the Apostles* (7:54–8:3):

And [they] cast him out of the city and stoned him, and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul. And they stoned Stephen. . . . And Saul consented to his death. . . . Devout men carried Stephen to his burial and made great lamentation over him. As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering in to every house and dragging both men and women off to prison.

Thus, the man in the red beret is evidently meant to be Saul, who assisted in the saint's martyrdom and "consented to his death."²¹

In *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (Fig. 13) the torturer, seen from the back, has begun to flay the saint with a knife; another knife, leaning against a rock at the lower left corner of the picture, projects its shadow on the ground. The saint tries to face his martyrdom by looking upward, as if to find resistance through his faith. Two soldiers on the far right seem to exchange instructions with the torturer, who turns his head toward them.

The Caravaggism displayed in *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom* and *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* is closely related to details found in works of Bartolomeo Manfredi, including the *Card Players* in the Florentine Galleries (see in this picture the man with a hat on the upper right edge), and paintings by Nicholas Tournier, such as various versions of the *Dice Players* (the soldiers with helmets in similar positions and the men with berets [Fig. 15]) and *Saint Peter's Denial*.²² In fact, especially in *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom*, we see a style related at the same time to both Roman and Neapolitan Caravaggism. Also, there is a hint of classicism in the soldier's head in profile, a reference to ancient Roman emperors' portraits on coins, such as those of Vitellius.

The *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* is related to Ribera's world, even more than *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom*. The relationship is particularly evident in the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (London, Atlantic Trust, circa 1615) (Fig. 16), and, again, in the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* executed by Ribera for the Collegiate Church of Osuna



Fig. 16. Jusepe de Ribera (Spanish, 1591–1652). *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*. London, Atlantic Trust. Photo: Luciano Pedicini.



Fig. 17. Jusepe de Ribera (Spanish, 1591–1652). *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*. Church of Osuna. Photo: Luciano Pedicini.

in 1627 (Fig. 17).²³ The ties between the two Cooper-Maisani paintings and the works of Ribera datable to between the second and the third decade of the Seicento make it possible to suggest that Vaccaro's Caravaggesque phase started around 1622–1625 and ended about 1630. Moreover, the torturer's head seen from behind in the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, with the highlighting of contours of the ears (Fig. 18), shows an attention to similar figures in works of Giovanni Battista Caracciolo such as the *Flagellation* (Naples, Museum of Capodimonte), ca. 1620 (Fig. 19), or the *Salomè* (Florence, Uffizi).²⁴

Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence and Allegory of Painting Crowned with the Laurel of Fame

Details in the two Cooper-Maisani paintings and related works provide a close connection to what is probably Vaccaro's most ambitious work of this early period, the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* in Rome, ex IRI Collection (Figs. 20, 21).²⁵ A firsthand examination shows exactly the same technical features found in the Columbia *David* and in all of Vaccaro's works compared here. The kneeling executioner on the right and the strong chiaroscuro strengthened by the dark red reflections of the flames on all the figures



Fig. 18. Detail of Figure 13.



Fig. 19. Giovanni Battista Caracciolo (Naples, 1578–1635). *Flagellation* (detail). Naples, Museum of Capodimonte. Photo: Polo Museale della Puglia.



Fig. 20. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*. Rome, ex IRI Collection. Photo: Author's archive.



Fig. 21. Detail of Figure 20.



Fig. 22. Paolo Finoglio (Naples, ca. 1590–Conversano, 1645). *The Miracle of Saint Anthony of Padua* (detail). Conversano, Church of Santi Cosma e Damiano. Photo: Courtesy Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York.

are a kind of tribute to Caravaggio's *Flagellation*. The soldiers in the upper left corner of the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* are variants of the ones in the two Cooper-Maisani paintings, as well as of the soldier in *Saint Sebastian Taken to His Martyrdom* in the Perrone Capano Collection (Fig. 8).

Nothing is known about the provenance of the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, whose large format could be explained as being intended perhaps for the lateral wall of a chapel. A plausible dating for this piece is around 1630 or slightly later. The figure of the torturer seen from behind occurs almost exactly in *The Miracle of Saint Anthony of Padua* by Paolo Finoglio of 1631 (Conversano, Church of Santi Cosma e Damiano) (Fig. 22).²⁶ In this case the source is Caracciolo's *Miracle of Saint Anthony of Padua*.²⁷ Even more interesting, the same figure reappears in a recently rediscovered *Raising of Lazarus* by Pietro Novelli (Madrid, Prado) (Fig. 23).²⁸ At this time (again, 1630–1635?) Vaccaro faces a further evolution of his artistic journey: the three putti flying at the top of the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* indicate a turning toward a baroque style, and they are almost the same as those in the *Penitent Mary Magdalene* in the Certosa di San Martino (Fig. 24). Such details occur also in the *Allegory of Painting Crowned with the Laurel of Fame*, which I attributed to Vac-



Fig. 23. Pietro Novelli, il Monrealese (Sicily, 1603–1647). *The Raising of Lazarus*. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Photo: Author's archive.



Fig. 24. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Penitent Mary Magdalene*. Naples, Chartreuse of San Martino. Photo: Courtesy FINTECNA, Rome.



Fig. 25 Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Allegory of Painting Crowned with The Laurel of Fame*, private collection. Photo: Courtesy FINTECNA, Rome.

caro in 2001, when it was offered at auction, dirty and yellowed by old varnish (Fig. 25).²⁹ This work seems to be datable slightly later than the group of paintings hitherto discussed, and it has much closer ties to Stanzione's early works, which were influenced by Simon Vouet. The putti motif has become a signature for Vaccaro's path toward the baroque style. It seems to me that once we reattribute this painting to Vaccaro we can consider it as his artistic manifesto: he must have had a strong quest for glory, which he synthesized in a living and dynamic allegory.

The Resurrection of Lazarus

In his early works, Andrea Vaccaro had already begun the habit of reusing drawings and/or compositional motifs from his other paintings: the torturer holding the basket of stones in *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom* (Fig. 12) returns in another epic work, *The Resurrection of Lazarus* (Naples, Leonetti Collection) (Figs. 26, 27), known since its publication in 1938 with an attribution to Pietro Novelli and reattributed to Andrea Vaccaro by the late Giuseppe De Vito. This work belongs to Vaccaro's early period and to a high point of his career.³⁰ Datable ca. 1630, this large-format altarpiece, whose original destination is unknown, is still impressive despite the visible oxidation from old retouching. The model for the figure holding Lazarus (Fig. 27) is the same as the one used for the man holding the

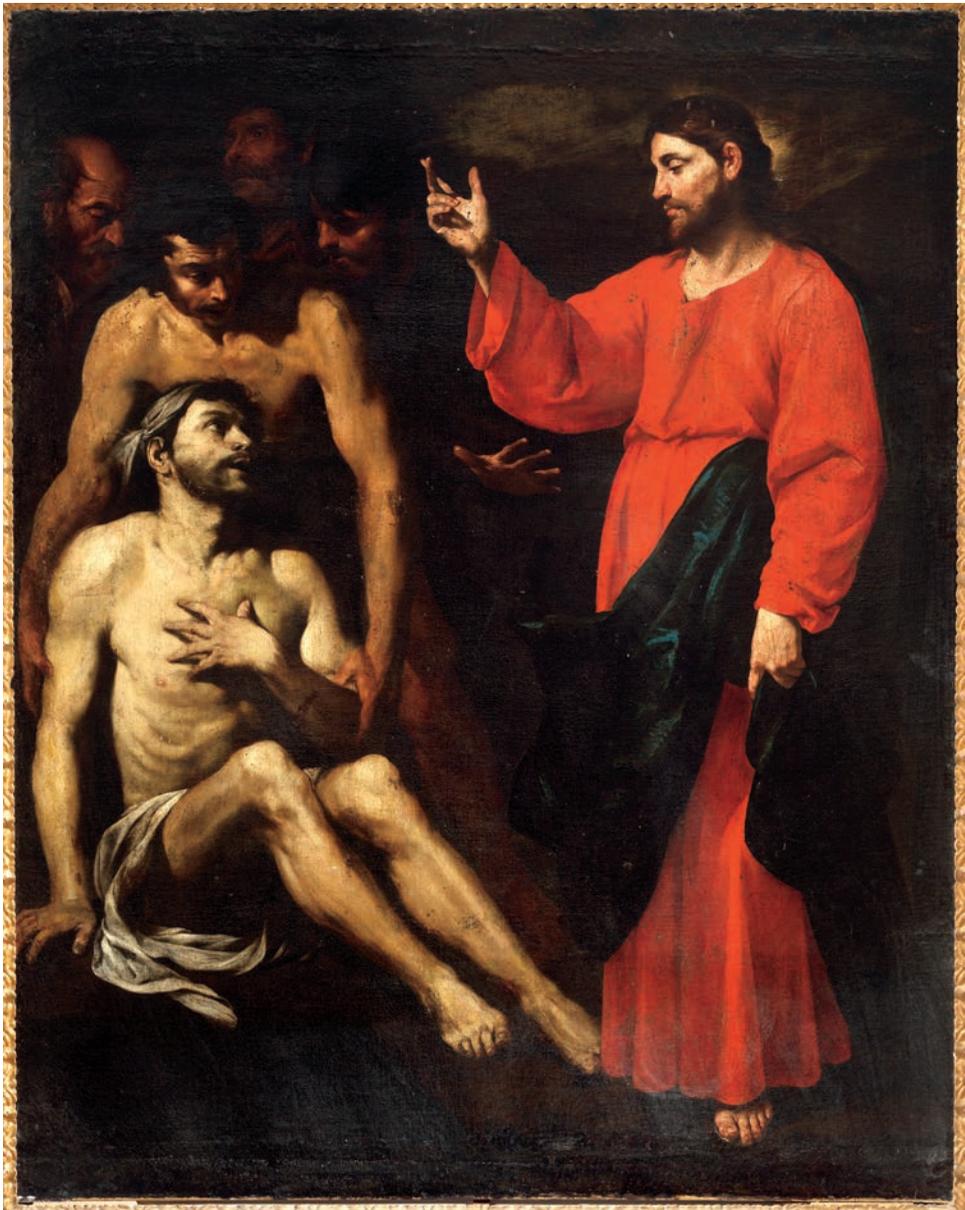


Fig. 26. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *The Resurrection of Lazarus*. Naples, Leonetti Collection. Photo: Archivio Fotografico Soprintendenza per i Beni storici artistici ed etnoantropologici della Puglia



Fig. 27. Detail of Figure 26.

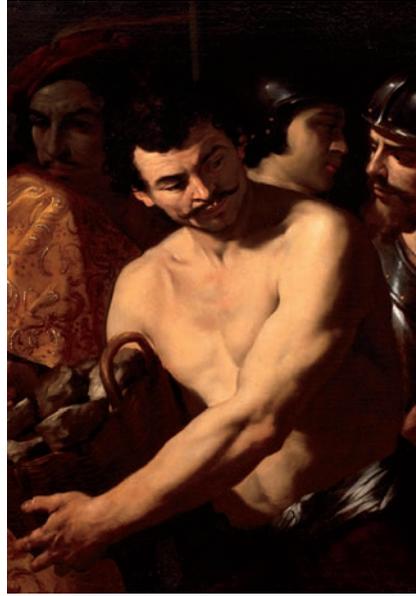


Fig. 28. Detail of Figure 13.



Fig. 29. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Blessing Christ*. Taranto, Museo Diocesano. Photo: Courtesy of the Soprintendenza archeologia, belli arte e paesaggio per la province di Brindisi, Lecce e Taranto.

basket of stones in *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom* (Fig. 28). A new element is the palette of Christ's clothes: the silky effects of his dark blue cloak show an awareness of the same details in Ribera's tour de force of the 1620s, the *Calvario* in the Collegiate Church of Osuna (Spain).³¹ The shining red tone of Christ's tunic is related to such details in Battistello Caracciolo's works as *Christ Washing His Disciples' Feet* (Naples, Church of the Chartreuse of San Martino, 1621–1622) or *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).³² The same model and the same strong chiaroscuro appear in another powerful work by Vaccaro dating to the early 1630s, the *Blessing Christ* (Taranto, Museo Diocesano) (Fig. 29).³³

The Death of Seneca

Around 1635 Vaccaro seems to have been much closer to Massimo Stanzione, and the influence of Guido Reni and the Bolognese school of painting became stronger in his works. Evidence of this change occurs in one of his early works, the *Death of Seneca*, which reflects influence from the famous *Seneca* traditionally ascribed to Guido Reni (also called "lo Schiavo di Ripa Grande"). Viviana Farina noticed Reni's influence on the painting in the Musée Vivant Denon (Chalon-sur-Saône) that she attributed to Vaccaro (Fig. 30).³⁴



Fig. 30. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Death of Seneca*. Chalon-sur Saône, Musée Vivant Denon. Photo: Courtesy Philip Bernard, Musée Vivant Denon.

She titled this work *Denial of Saint Peter*, but the established iconography for St. Peter shows him with a beard, and for this reason one must conclude that Vaccaro simply depicted a *Death of Seneca*. The similarity to the famous terracotta sculpture, known through a number of replicas, is so precise that there is little room for doubt: one needs only to compare the bald man in the Vaccaro painting with the powerful terracotta version at Caiati and Gallo Gallery (Milan) (Fig. 31) to understand the visual source and the subject of the work.³⁵ The cropping of the scene is radically Caravaggesque, maybe more than usual; it is not impossible the painting has been cut down, at least on the lower edge, as suggested by the missing parts of the left hand of the soldier in the foreground.



Fig. 31. Seneca, terracotta, after *Seneca* by Guido Reni (Bologna, 1575–1642). Milan. Photo: Courtesy Caiati e Gallo Gallery, Milan.

Christ and the Adulteress

Another high point of Vaccaro's early years is *Christ and the Adulteress* at Lullo-Pampoulides Gallery, London (Fig. 32).³⁶ Again, in the torturer's figure on the far left, we see a variant of the torturer's figure in the Cooper-Maisani *Saint Stephen Taken to His Martyrdom* (Fig. 12) and of the man holding Lazarus in the Leonetti *Resurrection of Lazarus* (Figs. 26, 27). In the Lullo-Pampoulides work, the soldiers' helmets reflect the light in the same way as in details in all the early works by Vaccaro discussed here. In the right side of *Christ and the Adulteress* is a powerful depiction of Saint Peter; other characters are still inspired by works of Battistello Caracciolo and by those of Carlo Sellitto. Compare the two depictions of Christ and the Apostles in the Church of Monteoliveto (Naples)³⁷ and *Christ Washing His Disciples' Feet* on the Italian market in 2003.³⁸ The soldiers in the background are a remarkable example of Manfrediana Methodus, in other words, in the style of the baroque painter Bartolomeo Manfredi, as is the elegant and alluring figure of the adulteress, whose décolleté is clearly inspired by the same detail in Valentin de Boulogne's eponymous painting in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu) (Fig. 33).³⁹ Moreover, it is not impossible that Vaccaro was able to see *Christ and the Adulteress* by Guercino (London, Dulwich College, circa 1620–1621) or one of the studio versions or copies of this composition.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, the overall impression is that *Christ and the Adulteress* demonstrates that the stricter Caravaggesque phase of Vaccaro was waning. The extraordinary refinement



Fig. 32. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670). *Christ and the Adulteress*. Photo: Courtesy Lullo-Pampoulides Gallery, London.



Fig. 33. Valentin de Boulogne (French, 1591–1632). *Christ and the Adulteress*. Malibu (Los Angeles), J. Paul Getty Museum (1618-22). Photo: Author's archive.

of every detail, the smooth and shining face of Christ with the flattened bridge of his nose and forehead, the elongated fingers of his hands, the elegance of every fold of all the characters' clothes speak now of new inclinations. Was the young Bernardo Cavallino (Naples, 1616–1656) already intermingling with his elder associate Vaccaro, or was the newly rising Roman classicism inspiring this elegant style? It is hard to tell. For certain, the lapis lazuli pigment of Christ's mantle has a white base in order to achieve the most shining effect, and the dark purple cloak of the adulteress is a new element in the sequence of works that I have tried to put together. Again, Ribera's *Calvario* at Osuna, with the shimmering clothes of the three Marys, is a possible source for these details and is also a sign of a Neo-Venetian vogue that, together with Bolognese classicism, began to infiltrate the Caravaggesque trend of Neapolitan painting.

Allegory of Sleeping Cupid

A peculiar blend of Caravaggio and Guido Reni is seen in Vaccaro's *Allegory of Sleeping Cupid* (Fig. 34).⁴¹ A very sophisticated work, its iconography is explained by the inscription on the cartouche: “EGO DORMIO, ET COR MEUM VIGILAT” (I slept, and my heart was awake), which is a quote from *Song of Songs* (5:2). This subject focuses on either sensual love or the force of divine love. The composition is an evident tribute to works of Reni such as the *Sleeping Infant Jesus*, known through replicas, copies, prints, and adaptations.⁴² The light from the setting sun is slightly different from the strictly Caravaggesque



Fig. 34. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670), *Allegory of Sleeping Cupid*. Private collection. Photo: Author's archive.

“camera oscura.” The usual landscape is touched by a vespertine light that is also coherent with the subject of the painting. Between the third and the fourth decade of the century Vaccaro was still attached to dark tenebristic settings, but the new classicist stream was irreversibly diverting him from his roots. The *Allegory of Sleeping Cupid* symbolically marks a line between the artist's youth and a baroque evolution, followed by the noble and successful classicism of his long maturity. Vaccaro still had ahead of him almost four decades of a prosperous and successful career, but the period exemplified by the *Columbia David* had come to an end, and his passion for the “amazing new manner of Caravaggio” was over.

NOTES

*I wish to thank for their help and assistance Nuccia Barbone, Jane Biers, Umberto Giacometti, Ian Kennedy, Andrea Lullo, Benoit Maisonneuve, Judith W. Mann, Otto Naumann, Mimma Pasculli Ferrara, Edoardo Roberti, Roberto Rossi Caiati, Giovanni Sarti, Paul Smeet, and Jeffrey Wilcox.

1. Oil on canvas, 135 x 105 cm, accession number 69.115. Published: “Acquisitions 1969,” *Muse* 4 (1970) p. 10; Richard Baumann, in Osmund Overby, ed., *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to the Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia* (Columbia, Missouri) 1982, p. 80, no. 129; Thomas C. Willette, in Sebastian Schütze and Thomas C. Willette, *Massimo Stanzione: L'opera completa* (Naples, 1992) p. 200; Margaret Skoglund, “*David with the Head of Goliath* and the Beginnings of the Baroque in Naples,” *Muse* 27–28 (1993–1994) pp. 30–40.

Provenance. Before 1969, according to a label on the stretcher, it was exhibited in the Société Auxiliaire des Expositions du Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles, from the Collection of Madame Marin.

2. The painting has a long history of different attributions: In 1969, an attribution to the Circle of Massimo Stanzione was proposed by the dealer H. Shickman (New York) from whom it was purchased; in 1969, Curtis Baer suggested Salvator Rosa, as recorded in the museum file; in 1969, Margaret Skoglund proposed Battistello Caracciolo (student paper); in 1971, Benedict Nicolson connected the painting to a group of works tentatively attributed to Manfredi/Riminaldi/Spada (museum file); in 1982, Richard Baumann attributed the painting to Caracciolo (Overby, *Illustrated Museum Handbook*, p. 80, no. 129); in 1988, Michael Stoughton rejected the attribution to Caracciolo (museum file); in 1992, Willette, *Massimo Stanzione*, p. 200 “vicino a Lionello Spada” and “Roman”; in 1993–1994, Skoglund, “*David with the Head of Goliath*,” Caracciolo; in 2009, the attribution to Caracciolo is backed off to “Anonymous” (museum catalogue entry).

3. Riccardo Lattuada, *I percorsi di Andrea Vaccaro*, in Mariaclaudia Izzo, *Nicola Vaccaro (1640–1709): Un artista a Napoli tra Barocco e Arcadia* (Todi, 2009) pp. 49–108, with previous bibliography. See also Stefano Causa, *La strategia dell'attenzione: Pittori a Napoli nel primo Seicento* (Naples, 2007) passim; Anna Tuck-Scala, *Andrea Vaccaro, Naples, 1604–1670: His Documented Life and Art* (Naples, 2012).

4. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven and London, 1981) respectively pp. 263–365, no. 60, fig. 137, and pp. 296–300, no. 73, fig. 156. The *Meleager* was found in 1546, the *Pompey* in 1553.

5. It has been thought that the pose of Andrea del Castagno's *David* derives from the pedagogue's figure in the Roman *Niobids* group in the Uffizi, Florence. See Fern Rusk Shapley, *Catalogue of Italian Painting*, National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1979) vol. 1, pp. 129–130, no. 604; vol. 2, pl. 89.

Marita Horster, *Andrea del Castagno* (London, 1980) p. 28, was instead convinced that the source for Castagno's David is the *Apollo del Belvedere* (Rome, Vatican). Anne Dunlop, *Andrea del Castagno and the Limits of Painting* (Turnhout, 2015) pp. 47–68 (in particular pp. 49–50), thinks that Vaccaro was inspired by one of the two Dioscuri in front of the Quirinale Palace in Rome. She does not discuss David's gesture.

6. The way of praying with the raised hand (or with both hands raised) was the custom in the Greek, Roman, and Early Christian world. See, for example, the sources quoted in the critical edition of Tertulliano, *La preghiera*, Pietro Gramaglia, ed. (Rome, 1984) pp. 226–227, n. 97.

7. Bernardo de' Dominici, *Vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani* (Naples, 1742–1744) vol. 3, p. 136. “si lasciò facilmente abbagliare . . . dalla strepitosa nuova maniera del Caravaggio. Si pose adunque Andrea a copiar varj quadri di quel fantastico Pittore, ed in breve tempo l'imitò così bene, che non copie, ma originali sembravano anch'esse agl'occhi dell'intendenti.”

8. A record for Massimo Stanzione's residence in Rome in 1617–1618 does, however, exist. He worked on an altarpiece for San Lorenzo in Lucina. See Schütze-Willette, *Massimo Stanzione*, p. 41 with earlier bibliography.

9. See Lattuada, *Percorsi di Andrea Vaccaro*, pp. 79–93 for Vaccaro's classicist phase.

10. Tuck-Scala, *Vaccaro*, pp. 58–61, with previous bibliography.

11. Giuseppe Porzio, *La Flagellazione di Cristo da Caravaggio*, in Giulia Silvia Ghia and Claudio Strinati, eds., *Caravaggio nel patrimonio del Fondo Edifici di Culto: Il Doppio e la Copia*, Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica di Roma, Palazzo Barberini (Rome, 2017) p. 60. According to Porzio, the copy after Caravaggio's *Flagellation* is too mechanical to show specific stylistic characters. Alternative attributions have been advanced from time to time: to Angelo Caroselli, to Giovanni Tommaso Passaro (to whom no works have yet been assigned and who was Vaccaro's first master), and to Alonzo Rodriguez. For the critical history of the attributions, see Porzio, *Flagellazione*, p. 60.

12. Ferdinando Bologna, *Battistello Caracciolo e il primo naturalismo a Napoli*, Castel Sant'Elmo, Naples (Naples, 1991) p. 154; p. 83, pl. 23; p. 129, figs. 130–131. A later version of *David* in quite poor condition was in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art until its deaccession in 2014. This work was published in Bologna, *Battistello*, p. 154; p. 129, fig. 130, as being in an unknown location. It was offered in 2014 in New York (Sotheby's, *Old Master Paintings*, January 1, 2014, lot 252). The attribution to Andrea Vaccaro was endorsed in the sale catalogue entry by Nicola Spinosa, who dated the picture “to the early 1630s.”

13. Nicola Spinosa, *Ribera* (Naples, 2003) p. 340, A296; idem, *Ribera*, rev. ed. (Naples, 2006) p. 377, A327; oil on canvas, 182 x 125.5. Spinosa reports the provenance of the painting as in the Palazzo del Cappello Nero, Venice, until 1929, and then its appearance in a Boerman sale (Brussels) on March 3, 1929, lot 20. I saw it firsthand in London, in the Sotheby's sale of December 14, 2000, lot 77.

14. The painting is now in a private collection and was previously attributed to the Master of Fontanarosa. For the attribution to Vaccaro, see Lattuada, *Percorsi di Andrea Vaccaro*, p. 71; p. 73, n. 49; p. 74, fig. 60; oil on canvas, 106 x 77 cm.

15. Riccardo Lattuada, *Andrea Vaccaro, Saint Laurent*, in *Peintres caravaggesques italiens: Peintres de la réalité*, Galerie G. Sarti, 137, Rue Faubourg Saint-Honoré (Paris, 2013) pp. 110–115, no. 12; oil on canvas, 160 x 99 cm. I studied this painting in 2010.

16. This is hard to see in the reproduced image, but firsthand inspection reveals it.

17. On Geneva's *Triumph of David*, see Lattuada, *Percorsi di Andrea Vaccaro*, p. 90, n. 97; see also Victor Lopes, Andrea Mantelli, Stefano Volpin, Maddalena Rudloff-Azzi, in Frédéric Elsig-Mauro Natale, eds., *Peintures italiennes et espagnoles, XIVe–XVIIIe siècles*, Genève, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinisello Balsamo, 2015) pp. 169–171, no. 168.

18. Sotheby's Florence, *Salvatore e Francesco Romano: Antiquari a Firenze. A Century as Antique*

Dealers at Palazzo Magnani Feroni, December 15, 2009 (Florence, 2009) lots 595–596; oil on canvas, both 97 x 120 cm.

19. My attribution to Vaccaro was listed in 2010 at The European Fine Art Fair (T.E.F.A.F.) in Maastricht, when the pair were exhibited at Rob Smeets Gallery's stand. Viviana Farina, *Al sole e all'ombra di Ribera: Questioni di pittura e disegno a Napoli nella prima metà del Seicento* (Castellammare di Stabia, 2014) p. 191, fig. 240, reproduced a detail of the two soldiers at the far right of *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* and dated the work in the caption as "sul 1640" without any further comments.

20. The soldier's head in profile in the *Saint Stephen Taken to the Martyrdom* was reused by Vaccaro with variants in his later *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (Paris, Galerie Maurizio Canesso). See Lattuada, *Percorsi di Andrea Vaccaro*, pp. 58–60, nn. 16–17, fig. 38.

21. If it is true that the man with a beret in the *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen* is to be identified with Saul, it is tempting to see in this figure a self-portrait of Andrea Vaccaro, although his features appear completely different in the only self-portrait known of the artist (Naples, Church of San Giovanni Battista delle Monache), dated circa 1664–1666, when the artist was about sixty years old. See Vincenzo Pacelli in *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte (Naples, 1984) vol. 1, pp. 492–493, no. 2.269, illustrated.

22. See, for example, Benedict Nicolson, *Caravaggism in Europe* (Turin, 1990) fig. 317 for Manfredi's work, and figs. 603–609 for Tournier's.

23. See, for example, respectively, Nicola Spinosa and Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez in *Jusepe de Ribera, 1591–1652*, Naples, Castel Sant'Elmo (Naples, 1992) pp. 112–115, n. 1.1; and p.127, n. 1.9, illustrated; Gabriele Finaldi in Nicola Spinosa, ed., *Il giovane Ribera tra Roma, Parma e Napoli, 1608–1624*, Museo di Capodimonte (Naples, 2011) pp. 180–189.

24. Stefano Causa, *Battistello Caracciolo (1575–1635): L'opera completa* (Naples, 2000) p. 198, A91; p. 293, fig. 284; for the *Salomè*, p. 187, no. A52; p. 262, fig. 232.

25. Oil on canvas, 180 x 232 cm. See Andrea Bacchi in *Iriarte: Antico e moderno nelle collezioni del Gruppo IRI*, Rome, Palazzo Venezia (Milan, 1989) pp. 38–42, no. II.7, illustrated.

26. Rosanna Gnisci in Angela Carotenuto, Antonio Cassiano, and Fabrizio Vona, eds., *Echi caravageschi in Puglia*, Lecce, Chiesa di San Francesco della Scarpa and Bitonto, Galleria Nazionale della Puglia "Girolamo e Rosa Devanna" (Irsina, 2011) pp. 24–27, no. 9, with previous literature and a credible dating around 1631.

27. Causa, *Battistello Caracciolo*, p. 190, no. A63; p. 209, fig. 243.

28. Gabriele Finaldi and Pietro Novelli, *The Raising of Lazarus*, in *Italian Masterpieces from Spain's Royal Court*, Museo del Prado, National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne, 2014) p. 134, with previous bibliography. Finaldi dates this work ca. 1635–1640. A later reflection of this figure appears also in the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* at Nicosia, Church of San Nicola di Bari, sacristy, recently attributed to Vaccaro and dated circa 1640–1645 by Farina, *Al sole e all'ombra di Ribera*, p. 190, fig. 239; p. 238, n. 492.

29. Lattuada, *Percorsi di Andrea Vaccaro*, p. 51; p. 53, fig. 31. Sotheby's New York, January 24, 2002, lot 211, attributed to Massimo Stanzione; 102.9 x 121.6 cm. The image was kindly provided by George Gordon. My attribution to Andrea Vaccaro was communicated in a saleroom note. After the sale, as far as I can tell, this work has never reappeared.

30. Oil on canvas, 198 x 156 cm. Sergio Ortolani, *La pittura napoletana del secolo XVII*, in Sergio Ortolani, Costanza Lorenzetti, and Michele Biancale, *La mostra della pittura napoletana dei secoli XVII–XVIII–XIX*, Museo Civico di Castelnuovo (Naples, 1938) p. 323, attributed the painting to Pietro Novelli. Giuseppe De Vito, "Appunti per Andrea Vaccaro con una nota su alcune copie del Caravaggio che esistevano a Napoli," *Ricerche sul 600 napoletano: Scritti in memoria di Raffaello Causa* (1996) p. 100, was the first to attribute it to Andrea Vaccaro and to compare it with the artist's

works of the fifth decade of the Seicento. Nicola Spinosa, *Pittura del Seicento a Napoli da Caravaggio a Massimo Stanzione* (Naples, 2010) p. 421, no. 456, agreed on Vaccaro and dated the painting circa 1640, as did Achille della Ragione, *Andrea Vaccaro: Opera completa* (Naples, 2014) pp. 25–26. De Vito (followed by Spinosa and della Ragione) compares the Leonetti painting with works by Vaccaro of the 1640s–1650s: too late for such a Caravaggesque work. Della Ragione compares it with other versions of the *Raising of Lazarus* (Indianapolis Museum of Art, formerly Algranti, Milan), but these works are much later and very different in style and composition from the one in the Leonetti Collection.

31. Finaldi, “El conjunto de Osuna en la exposición ‘El jove Ribera,’ in *Cuadernos de los amigos de los Museos de Osuna*,” 13 (2011) pp. 66–73.

32. Causa, *Battistello Caracciolo*, p. 193, A74; p. 277, fig. 256; p. 183, A34; p. 245, fig. 208.

33. Angela Carotenuto in *Echi caravaggeschi in Puglia*, pp. 48–49, no. 19, oil on canvas, 75 x 60 cm.

34. Farina, *Al sole e all’ombra di Ribera*, pp. 72–97 for the interesting paragraph 1.5, *Ribera e Guido Reni*. The *Denial of Saint Peter* is reproduced on p. 14, fig. 78, and dated “sul 1650” at p. 82 and p. 227, n. 185. It had been previously given to the Neapolitan School in 1988 by Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée and Nathalie Volle, *Musées de France: Répertoire des peintures italiennes du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1988) p. 401. Farina’s attribution to Andrea Vaccaro is brilliant but, as one can see when comparing the painting in Chalon-sur Saône with the ones here discussed, her dating circa 1650 is too late, and it has to be backdated to circa 1630–1635.

35. For the version after Reni’s *Seneca* at Palazzo Venezia, Rome, see Cristiano Giometti, *Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Venezia: Sculture in terracotta* (Rome, 2011) pp. 38–39, no. 11; p. 165, color plates 11, with previous bibliography. On the one at Caiati and Gallo Gallery, see Andrea Bacchi in Serenella Castri, ed., *The Sparkling Soul of Terracotta*, Caiati and Gallo Gallery, London (Florence, 2014) pp. 18–24.

36. Oil on canvas, 124 x 179 cm. Another version (probably reduced on the two sides and thus with less figures), autographed but with a less accurate execution of a number of details, was on the international market in 2017. Sophie Himbaut–Commissaire-Priseur, *Belle vente d’objets d’art, tableaux et meubles*, Aix-en-Provence, June 20, 2015, lot 204 (École napolitaine de la 1^{ère} moitié du XVIII^e siècle, *Le Christ et la femme adultère*, oil on canvas, 97 x 122 cm).

37. Domenico de Conciliis, Denise Pagano, Riccardo Riccini, and Mariella Utili, under the supervision of Vincenzo Pacelli, in *Mostra didattica di Carlo Sellitto, primo caravaggesco napoletano*, Museo di Capodimonte (Naples, 1977) pp. 63–67, no. 1–1a.

38. Christie’s, Rome, December 17, 2003, lot 502, oil on canvas, 233 x 182 cm. See Wolfgang Prohaska, “Sellitto at Capodimonte (exhibition),” *The Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978) pp. 263–264.

39. Keith Christiansen in *Valentin de Boulogne: Beyond Caravaggio*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven and London, 2016) pp. 122–125, no. 16.

40. Nicholas Turner, *The Paintings of Guercino: A Revised and Expanded Catalogue Raisonné* (Rome, 2017) p. 218, n. 222, p. 366, nos. 105.1–105.11 and p. 366 under no. 106; another version is in a private collection in Bologna.

41. Christie’s London, South Kensington, July 13, 2001, lot 242, oil on canvas, 76.5 cm x 102.8 cm, attributed to a “Follower of Guido Reni” and considered a *Sleeping Putto*; then Sotheby’s London, Olympia, July 4, 2006, lot 426, significantly attributed to Simone Cantarini and considered an *Infant St. John the Baptist*. I proposed the attribution to Vaccaro in *Percorsi di Andrea Vaccaro*, pp. 50–52, figs. 28–30. A later autographed version and a nineteenth-century copy are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chambéry.

42. See, for example, the *Jesus Child Sleeping on the Cross*, attributed to Reni in the M. Collection, Rome (<http://www.collezione-m.it/>, accessed September 2018).

Addendum to “Andrea Vaccaro’s *David* and an Outline of Vaccaro’s Early Career”



RICCARDO LATTUADA

Beheading of Saint John the Baptist

In my article, “Andrea Vaccaro’s *David* and an Outline of Vaccaro’s Early Career,” I did not pretend to discuss every painting pertaining to Vaccaro’s early oeuvre.¹ Several works have been recently attributed to him and, as natural in a complicated attributional issue, I cannot agree with every proposal. In 2011 Rosanna Gnisci published a powerful *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (Bari, Church of Santa Fara) (Fig. 1).² In her discussion, Gnisci reports on the problematic condition of this work: the two torturers’ figures on the right have almost disappeared and the whole surface is very abraded. She attributes the painting to the young Andrea Vaccaro, offers comparisons with the early works by the painter discussed above, and mentions the existence of a monogram. Unfortunately, the monogram does not coincide with the ones well known from many examples. Above all, I see only very faint stylistic ties with the group of paintings that I compiled in my article. Instead, what remains of the pigments of this work show similarities with the vigorous anonymous master called Maestro del Gesù tra i Dottori, recently grouped under the name of Giuseppe di Guido, the so-called Maestro di Fontanarosa.³ Di Guido painted the Apostles’ figures in the lower part of the *Virgin Crowned by the Holy Trinity* by Dirk



Fig. 1. Neapolitan Caravaggesque Painter (the Master of Jesus among the Doctors?). *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*. Bari, Church of Santa Ninfa. Photo: Courtesy of the Archivio Fotografico Soprintendenza per i Beni storici artistici ed etnoantropologici della Puglia.

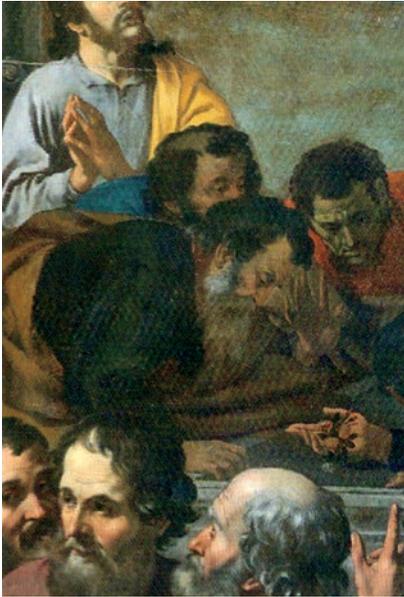


Fig. 2. Giuseppe di Guido, il Maestro di Fontanarosa (Naples, active ca. 1600–1650). *Apostles*, bottom detail of the *Virgin Crowned by the Holy Trinity*, upper part by Dirk Hendricksz (Flemish, 1544–1618). Naples, Church of San Gregorio Armeno. Photo: Author's archive.



Fig. 3. Andrea Vaccaro (Naples, 1604–1670) and Giuseppe di Guido (Naples, active ca. 1600–1650). *Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter*, ca. 1630–1640. Photo: Author's archive.

Hendricksz (Naples, Church of San Gregorio Armeno) (Fig. 2), and in my view comparison with these figures, as well as with the *Last Supper* in the Parish Church of Fontanarosa, demonstrates that the painting in Bari is by Giuseppe di Guido.

Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter

A similar problem is posed by the powerful *Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter*, which I attributed in 2009 to Andrea Vaccaro, ca. 1630–1640, in a Blindarte sale catalogue (Fig. 3).⁴ Upon the request of the owners, the painting was withdrawn before the sale, and I believe I was the only one to have seen the work firsthand. Even if I am inclined to maintain the attribution to Vaccaro, many elements—palette, facial types, light contrasts, etc.—seem to show a close resemblance to the style of Giuseppe di Guido who, by the way, had strong parental (and maybe professional) ties with Vaccaro, having been the godfather of Angela Geronima Vaccaro, Vaccaro’s daughter.⁵

Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter is a work of a higher quality than the works usually attributed to Giuseppe di Guido. If it is entirely by him it is his best work,⁶ but its excellence depends greatly on similarities with the early works of Vaccaro. Thus, it is not impossible that the Blindarte painting is a collaborative work by Andrea Vaccaro and Giuseppe di Guido.

Christ Tempted by the Devil

The painting *Christ Tempted by the Devil* (Naples, Palazzo Reale), which was originally in the Church of Santa Maria della Sapienza (Naples), has been linked by various authors to a payment of 1641 to Andrea Vaccaro for a painting of this subject.⁷ Porzio rightly rejected the attribution to Vaccaro and thought on the basis of old photos that it might be a copy after a lost original by Vaccaro.⁸ My knowledge of this work is based only on the old photos published by Tuck-Scala and Porzio; I don’t see Vaccaro in it at all.

Tobit and the Angel

Another attribution to Vaccaro on which I cannot agree is the one to *Tobit and the Angel* at Alessano, Chiesa Matrice,⁹ a painting with a tormented history of ever-changing attributions (Carlo Sellitto, Battistello Caracciolo, Paolo Finoglio, Anonymous Neapolitan painter). The facial types and the style of this work speak of an artist combining a Late-Mannerist culture with the Caravaggesque sense of light. I am quite confident that the little-known Francesco Glielmo is the author of this interesting painting. Glielmo’s style exhibits a blend of the characteristics of Giovan Bernardino Azzolino, Carlo Sellitto, and an archaic Caravaggism, and these characters coincide with those of the *Tobit* in Alessano.¹⁰

NOTES

1. *Muse* 51 (2017) pp. 45–69.
2. Rosanna Gnisci in Angela Carotenuto, Antonio Cassiano, and Fabrizio Vona, eds., *Ecchi caravaggeschi in Puglia*, Lecce, Chiesa di San Francesco della Scarpa and Bitonto, Galleria Nazionale della Puglia “Ghirolamo e Rosa Devanna” (Irsina, 2011) pp. 42–45, no. 17.
3. Giuseppe Porzio, *La scuola di Ribera* (Naples, 2014) pp. 22–24; pp. 48–57, figs. 11–24; color pls. at pp. 212–217. The name of the Maestro di Fontanarosa was coined for the *Last Supper* in the Parish Church of San Nicola di Bari at Fontanarosa (Avellino). I was not able to see the essay by Viviana Farina, *Per Giuseppe Di Guido alias il Maestro di Fontanarosa*, in Francesca De Luca and Gianni Papi, eds., *Davanti al naturale. Contributi al movimento caravaggesco a Napoli* (Milan, 2017) pp. 85–104, which was published after submission of the present contribution. I will discuss Farina’s text on a future occasion.
4. Blindarte, Naples, December 13, 3009, lot 76, oil on canvas, 140 x 150 cm.
5. Porzio, *Scuola di Ribera*, pp. 3–41 passim and pp. 48–47.
6. A classic example of Guido’s style is also the *Communion of the Apostles*, which I attributed to the artist when it was on the market in 2017 (Blindarte sale, Naples, November 25, 2017, lot 275, oil on canvas, 220 x 179 cm). It is a work in poor condition, but still powerful, and its palette appears more somber than the one displayed in *Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter*.
7. See in particular Tuck-Scala, *Vaccaro*, pp. 62–65, no. 2.
8. Porzio, *Scuola di Ribera*, pp. 95, 202, fig. 172.
9. See Massimiliano Cesari in *Ecchi caravaggeschi in Puglia*, pp. 52–53.
10. For a first group of Glielmo’s works, see Porzio, *Scuola di Ribera*, pp. 25–26, 35–37, 58–69, figs. 27–42, pp. 218–219.

About the Authors

Benton Kidd is curator of ancient art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology and affiliate faculty in the Department of Ancient Mediterranean Studies, University of Missouri. He has an M.A. in art history from Louisiana State University and a Ph.D. from the University of Missouri. His publications include a chapter on decorative wall plaster from the Phoenician villa at Tel Anafa, Israel (*Tel Anafa*, vol. 2:3, Ann Arbor, 2018), the final volume of joint University of Missouri and University of Michigan excavations at that site. Kidd is currently planning an exhibition with the Corning Museum of Glass on the excavations at Jalame, the site of a late Roman glass factory in Israel that was a joint excavation by the museum and the Corning Museum of Glass.

Riccardo Lattuada is professor of social history of art and art history of the modern age at the Università degli Studi della Campania “Luigi Vanvitelli.” Since 1984 he has contributed to many exhibition catalogues and planned and organized several exhibitions. He has also served on scientific committees for various exhibitions in Italy and abroad. In 2015 he was named Socio Corrispondente of the Accademia di Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli. From May 1991 to June 2000 he was head of Christie’s Old Masters Pictures Department in Italy, and from January 2000 until December 2007 he served on the board of Christie’s International Old Master Pictures Department. Since 2010 he has been on the Vetting Committee for the Old Master Pictures for The European Fine Art Fair (T.E.F.A.F.) (Maastricht) and in 2017 joined the vetting Committee of Frieze Masters (London).

Antone Pierucci is the curator for history at Riverside County Regional Parks and Open-Space District in southern California. He holds an M.A. in art history and archaeology with a minor in museum studies from the University of Missouri–Columbia, and he is working on acquiring a graduate certificate in historic preservation from the University of Kentucky. He is a nationally certified interpretive guide and has worked for the past five years as a public historian in both the private and government sector.

Acquisitions 2017

European and American Art

Graphics

Anonymous (German, early seventeenth century), *Eigentliche Abbildung wie ettlich englische Edelleut einen Raht schliessen den König sampt dem gantzen Parlament mit Pulver zuvertilgen* (Actual depiction of how several members of the English nobility [plotted] kill off the king and the entire Parliament with gunpowder during a closed meeting), 1606 (2017.8) engraving on laid paper, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. *Eigentliche Abbildung wie ettlich englische Edelleut einen Raht schliessen den König sampt dem gantzen Parlament mit Pulver zuvertilgen*, 25.5 x 30.8 cm (2017.8). Photo: Erin Pruhs.

Otto Dix (German, 1891–1969), *Blinder* (Blind man), 1923, lithograph on paper (2017.5), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 2).

Christian Engelbrecht (German, 1672–1735) and Johann Andreas Pfeffel I (German, 1674–1748), *Fortsetzung von verschiedenen neuen und curieusen Inventionen von Geschmückt, Zierathen, und Gelanterien* (Series of various new and curious inventions of decorations, ornaments, and fashionable items), after Friedrich Jacob Morisson (German, active 1693–1697), published by Jeremias Wolff (German, 1663–1724), 1699–1724, engraving on paper (2017.9a–f), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Wilhelm Loeillot (German, 1827–1876), *Entrée de l'armée française à Moutiers, 30 septembre 1792* (Arrival of the French army at Moutiers, September 30, 1792), after a painting by Clément Boulanger, French, 1839–1848, published by Gabriel Aubert, Paris, diagraph/pantograph on paper (2017.1), gift of Jeffrey Wilcox.

Sebastian Münster (German, 1489–1552), hand-colored folio from *Cosmographie* (Cosmography), Basel, 1550, ink and pigments on paper (2017.3), anonymous gift.

Camille Pissarro (French, 1831–1903), *3 Rue Damiette, à Rouen* (No. 3 Damiette Street, at Rouen), 1884, etching and aquatint on paper (2017.7), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Frank Stack (American, 1937–), *Shadows on a Garage*, 1970s–1980s, etching on paper (2017.2), gift of Jeffrey Wilcox.

Maurice de Vlaminck (French, 1876–1958), *Au bordel* (At the brothel), French, 1906, woodcut on paper (2017.6), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

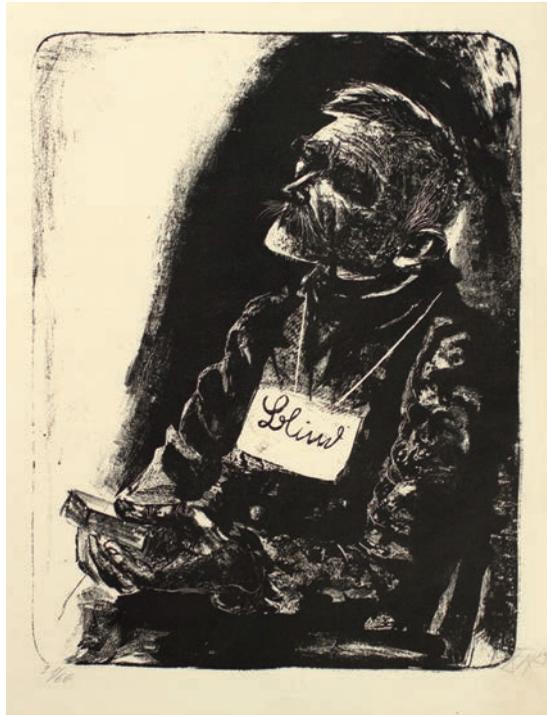


Fig. 2. Otto Dix, *Blinder* (Blind man), 62 x 47.3 cm (2017.5). Photo: Linda Endersby.

Sculpture

Kara Elizabeth Walker (American, 1969–), *The Bush, Skinny, De-boning*, 2002, black pigment on stainless steel (2017.15), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 3).

Painting

Mary Bourke (American, 1945–), *Virtual Vanitas*, 2007, oil on canvas (2017.16), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 4).

Ben Cameron (American, 1940–), *The Cello*, 2017, oil on canvas (2017.17), gift of the artist.



Fig. 3. Kara Elizabeth Walker, *The Bush, Skinny, De-boning*, 16.3 x 39.2 cm (2017.15). Photo: Erin Pruhs.



Fig. 4. Mary Bourke, *Virtual Vanitas*, 45.72 x 66.04 cm (2017.16). Photo: Erin Pruhs.

East Asian Art

Japanese

Andō Hiroshige (Japanese, 1797–1858), *The Crossroad at Kusatsu*, 1835–1838, color woodcut on paper (2017.10), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Utagawa Kunisada (Japanese, 1786–1864), *A Kabuki Actor from the Nakamura Theater Plucking His Facial Hair*, 1861, color woodcut on paper (2017.12), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 5).

Utagawa Kuniteru (Japanese, 1829–1874), *Inside Fukagawa Hachiman Shrine*, 1853, color woodcut on paper (2017.11), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

South Asian Art

Statue of Ganesha, India, date unknown, wood (2017.4), gift of Al and Marjo Price (Fig. 6).



Fig. 5. Utagawa Kunisada, *A Kabuki Actor from the Nakamura Theater Plucking His Facial Hair*, 49.6 x 34.3 cm (2017.12).
Photo: Erin Pruhs.



Fig. 6. Statue of Ganesha, H. 73 cm (2017.4). Photo: Erin Pruhs.

Exhibitions 2017

Picturing Black American Families

October 18, 2016–February 26, 2017

This focus exhibition presented photographs of African American families drawn from three remarkable collections from Columbia, Missouri. Spanning the latter half of the twentieth and early twenty-first century, the selection of images captured both continuity and change in local communities, portrayed within the more intimate setting of daily family life.



Picturing Black American Families
October 18, 2016–February 26, 2017
Photo: Kenyon Reed.



Rooted, Revived, Reinvented: Basketry in America

January 28–May 14, 2017

Photo: Alex Barker.

Rooted, Revived, Reinvented: Basketry in America

January 28–May 14, 2017

This exhibition visually chronicled the history of American basketry from its origins in Native American, European, and African traditions to its contemporary presence in the fine art and craft worlds. The baskets conveyed meaning and interpreted American life through the artists' choices of materials; the techniques and forms they selected; and the colors, designs, patterns, and textures they employed.

The Romance of Ruins

March 14–August 13, 2017

The Graeco-Roman world left behind a vast artistic legacy that would inspire artists and architects for centuries. Classical nostalgia fueled numerous succeeding movements, and many artists were increasingly inspired to create works based on ruins. The taste for romantic decay would become a mark of the aesthete, and images of ruins abounded in a myriad of media. This focus exhibition explored various themes encompassed by images of ruins from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century.



The Romance of Ruins
March 14–August 13, 2017
Photo: Erin Pruhs.



The Process of Healing
June 1–June 30, 2017
Photo: Erin Pruhs.

The Process of Healing

June 1–June 30, 2017

A photo essay by Bill Chlanda, winner of the University of Missouri Undergraduate Visual Art and Design Showcase, sought to capture the tumultuous process of overcoming childhood emotional and physical abuse. The photos illustrated his steps toward healing, including discovery, forgiveness, love, and making the conscious choice to go another way.



Mid-Century Modern: American Abstract Painting
June 8–July 9, 2017
Photo: Erin Pruhs.



Courtiers, Courtesans, and Crones: Women in Japanese Prints
June 23–October 29, 2017
Photo: Erin Pruhs.

Mid-Century Modern: American Abstract Painting**June 8–July 9, 2017**

This small summer exhibition featured five paintings, four of them by the American artists Arthur Schwieder (1884–1965), Maurice Freedman (1904–1985), William Quinn (b. 1929–), and Seymour Fogel (1911–1984). The fifth, by Hungarian artist Frederic Karoly, was included because his painting, *Concerto Grosso Fugue by Block–Interpretation*, directly references the 1925 musical composition by the celebrated American composer Ernest Bloch (1880–1950).

Courtiers, Courtesans, and Crones: Women in Japanese Prints**June 23–October 29, 2017**

This focus exhibition investigated depictions of women in Japanese woodblock prints and considered the limited identities and confining roles associated with women during the Tokugawa period (1603–1868). While women may have had diverse roles in Japanese society, only a few conventionalized identities were chosen for representation by the all-male artists, carvers, printers, and agents producing and distributing woodblock prints. Several prints in the exhibition had not been displayed in the museum before.

The Lasting World: Simon Dinnerstein and the Fulbright Triptych**July 25–December 22, 2017**

This exhibition of Dinnerstein’s work explored the noted New York artist’s creative arc from early hyper-realist works through more introspective and fantastical later works. The *Fulbright Triptych* was its centerpiece, a monumental work (fourteen feet across) that *New York Times* art critic Roberta Smith described as a “crackling, obsessive showboat of a painting, dreamed up during a decade when the medium supposedly teetered on the brink of death.”

Impressions of Modernity: Prints from 1870 to 1945**August 27–December 10, 2017**

Prints are often overlooked in histories of Modernism, although many artists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were also printmakers. This focus exhibition presented an international roster of avant-garde artists and investigated how they used prints to challenge conventions, representation, and style to assert their unique visions of an ever-changing world. Featured artists included Mary Cassatt, George Grosz, Vassily Kandinsky, Käthe Kollwitz, Pablo Picasso, and Diego Rivera, among others.



The Lasting World: Simon Dinnerstein and the Fulbright Triptych
July 25–December 22, 2017
Photo: Palmer Museum of Art, The Pennsylvania State University.



Impressions of Modernity: Prints from 1870 to 1945
August 27–December 10, 2017
Photo: Alex Barker.



Japonisme in Print: Japanese Style in Western Culture

November 7, 2017–April 1, 2018

Alphonse Mucha (Czech, 1860–1939)

La Peinture, 1898

Lithograph on silk, 59.8 x 38.5 cm

Gift of Edzard Baumann in memory
of L. and G.E.B. (77.401)



Page-Turners: Medieval and Early Modern Illustration

December 19, 2017–May 13, 2018

Photo: Erin Pruhs.

Japonisme in Print: Japanese Style in Western Culture

November 7, 2017–April 1, 2018

This fourth installment of the exhibition series on Japanese prints considered the impact of Japanese color woodblock prints on the prints of European and American artists, including Mary Cassatt, Arthur Bowen Davies, Henri Rivière, and John Taylor Arms. Their works were juxtaposed with prints by Japanese predecessors and contemporaries, including Utagawa Kunisada, Andō Hiroshige, and Kawase Hasui.

Page-Turners: Medieval and Early Modern Illustration

December 19, 2017–May 13, 2018

Presenting illustrated narratives and decorated pages, this exhibition investigated different functions of images as well as the interplay between text and image in Medieval and Renaissance books and prints. The selection of objects included leaves from illuminated manuscripts, early printed books and folios, and broadsheets.

Loans to Other Institutions 2017

To the Mariana Kistler Beach Museum of Art, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, September 14, 2015–January 31, 2016 (with subsequent venues at the Grey Art Gallery, New York University, New York, April 19–July 9, 2016 ; and the Syracuse University Art Galleries, Syracuse, New York, January 26–March 26, 2017), the painting *Farm Auction, Jackson County*, 1947, tempera on composition board (2014.85), by Jackson Lee Nesbitt (American, 1913–2008) for the exhibition *Art for Every Home: Associated American Artists*.

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri, April 14–May 16, 2017, three pieces of African art, all first half twentieth century: *Figure of a Hermaphrodite*, ivory (61.62.3); *Fertility Figure* (“akua’ba”), wood (71.147); and *Statuette of a Standing Male Figure* (“ibeji”), wood (72.251), for the exhibition *Visualizing Abolition: A Digital History of the Suppression of the African Slave Trade*.

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri, October – March 27, 2018, eight pieces of ancient art, including lagynos, late third century–mid-first century BCE, pottery (59.54); cup, 100 BCE–100 CE, pottery (61.49); flask, fourth century CE, glass (62.6); lamp, late first century BCE–mid-first century CE, terracotta (65.76); Gnathia ware skyphos, late fourth century–early third century BCE, pottery (67.1); guttus, mid-fourth century BCE, pottery (68.132); flask, late first century–second century CE, glass (68.156); two-handled jar, second half fourth century–fifth century CE, glass (70.108); ribbed bowl, early first century CE, glass (73.220); green-glazed trefoil oinochoe, late first century BCE–early first century CE, pottery (76.35); spouted bottle, second–third century CE, glass (81.113); goblet, fourth century CE, glass (91.269).

Museum Activities 2017

Lectures

February 10

Elaine Lawless, Folklorist, and Jon Kay, Folklorist, “Life Stories in Words and Art.” Sponsored by Missouri Folk Arts Program.

February 11

Jon Kay, Folklorist, Traditional Arts Indiana, “Work Baskets and Tourism.” Sponsored by Missouri Folk Arts Program.

February 21

Willie Cole, contemporary artist, “Transformer.”

April 29

Brent Björkman, Kentucky Folklife Program, “White Oak Baskets of Leona Waddell.”

May 24

Benton Kidd, curator of ancient art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, “The Ruins of Pompeii: A 400-Year Old Tourist Attraction.”

August 29

Alisa Carlson, curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, “Thomas Hart Benton’s Candor, Politics, and Fall from Grace.”

October 5

Brooke Cameron, professor emerita, University of Missouri Department of Art, and museum docent, “A Printmaker.”

October 15

Howard Marshall, professor emeritus, University of Missouri Department of Art History and Archaeology, “Fiddler’s Dream: Further Explorations of Missouri’s Traditional Music.”

Art of the Book Club Events

February 3

Art of the Book Club Brown Bag lunch and discussion, *The Spirit of Sweet Grass*.

February 28

Art of the Book Club film, *Daughters of the Dust* (2000).

May 2

Art of the Book Club Brown Bag lunch and discussion, *In Ruins*.

May 18

Art of the Book Club gallery tour, *In Ruins*, by museum docents Chuck Swaney and David Bedan.

May 31

Art of the Book Club film, *Roman Holiday* (1953).

August 1

Art of the Book Club Brown Bag lunch and discussion, *An Artist in America*.

August 24

Art of the Book Club film, *Thomas Hart Benton* (1988).

November 8

Art of the Book Club Brown Bag lunch and discussion, *Stoner*.

November 16

Gallery discussion with Simon Dinnerstein on the book *Stoner*.

Special Events

January 27

Rooted, Revived, Reinvented: Basketry in America, exhibition opening with Museum Associates reception.

February 11

Missouri Folk Arts Show-Me Folk School: Baskets.

February 15

Missouri Folk Arts Program, Gladys Coggswell, storyteller, "Uncle Pete and Other Family Stories."

February 19

Museum gallery concert, mezzo-soprano Julia Bentley, School of Music, University of Missouri.

February 24

Annual music and art concert performed by Ars Nova Singers, School of Music, University of Missouri.

March 5

Museum gallery concert, Honors Guitar Quartet, School of Music, University of Missouri.

March 14

The Romance of Ruins, focus exhibition opens.

March 17–19

Art in Bloom, mid-Missouri florists celebrated the museum's artwork with their inspired floral designs.

April 6

Art after Dark, sponsored by the Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS).

April 22

Paintbrush Ball, wine and cheese reception, dinner, silent and live auctions, fund an acquisition, and dancing with the Kapital Kicks Orchestra.

April 29

Missouri Folk Arts Program, Basket Show and Tell.

April 30

Museum gallery concert, Honors Saxophone Quartet, School of Music, University of Missouri.

May 23

Reception for the Lee Expressive Arts Elementary School mural installation in the museum lobby.

June 8

Mid-Century Modern: American Abstract Painting exhibition opens.

June 23

Courtiers, Courtesans, and Crones: Women in Japanese Prints focus exhibition opens.

July 25

The Lasting World: Simon Dinnerstein and The Fulbright Triptych exhibition opens.

August 22

Impressions of Modernity: Prints from 1870 to 1945 focus exhibition opens.

September 21

Exhibition and artist reception for Simon Dinnerstein, *The Lasting World: Simon Dinnerstein and the Fulbright Triptych*.

September 22 and 23

Perspectives on the Lasting World Symposium.

October 13

Museum Associates annual Crawfish Boil.

November 3

Museum Associates annual meeting.

November 5

Museum gallery concert, Graduate String Quartet, School of Music, University of Missouri.

November 7

Japonisme in Print: Japanese Style in Western Culture focus exhibition opens.

December 1

National Day Without Art, day of observance recognizing the disproportionate number of arts community members who have died or are living with AIDS.

December 6

Museum Associates annual Holiday Fête.

December 19

Page-Turners: Medieval and Early Modern Illustration focus exhibition opens.

Family and Educational Events

January 8

Docent-led theme tour, What Art Is Made Of.

January 28

Family event, Basket Bombing.

February 12

Exhibition tour with co-curator Jo Stealey, *Rooted, Revived, Reinvented: Basketry in America*.

February 25

Family event, Basket Cases.

March 12

Docent-led theme tour, Human Form in Art.

March 18

Art in Bloom for Kids, for children of all ages.

April 9

Docent-led theme tour, Prints and Product.

April 22

Family event, Material Matters.

May 13

Family event, Weaving Community.

May 14

Docent-led theme tour, Coins of Antiquity.

June 11

Docent-led theme tour, Death, Burial, and Funerary Art.

June 15

Kids' Series: World of Art, Women Artists.

June 20

Museum Associates sponsored Drop-In Sketching Group in the galleries.

June 22

Kids' Series: World of Art, Hold Everything!

June 29

Kids' Series: World of Art, Who Wants to Be an Archaeologist?

July 9

Docent-led theme tour, It's All Greek!

July 10–14

Art Summer Camp, Artful Fun.

July 20

Museum Associates sponsored Drop-In Sketching Group in the galleries.

July 20

Kids' Series: World of Art, Money, Money, Money.

July 27

Kids' Series: World of Art: The Way Things Go.

August 3

Kids' Series: World of Art, Heroes and Gods.

August 15

Museum Associates sponsored Drop-In Sketching Group in the galleries.

August 20

Docent-led theme tour, Regionalism.

September 6

Focus exhibition tour with curator Alisa Carlson, *Impressions of Modernity: Prints from 1870 to 1945*.

September 13

Film co-sponsored by the Daniel Boone Regional Library's One-Read program, *Detropia* (2012). Introduced by Arthur Mehrhoff at the library.

September 17

Gallery discussion with Alyssa Liles-Amponsah, MU Division of Inclusion, Diversity, and Equity; Nikki McGruder, Diversity Awareness Partnership; and Alex Barker, museum director, "Representing History: The Battle of the Overpass." Cosponsored by the Daniel Boone Regional Library One Read program.

September 19

Museum Associates sponsored Drop-In Sketching Group in the galleries.

September 23

Museum Day, in conjunction with the Smithsonian.

September 25

Kids event, Blues in the Museum. Cosponsored by the Blues in the Schools program.

October 8

Docent-led theme tour, The Human Face.

October 21

International Archaeology Day, in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America.

October 17

Museum Associates sponsored Drop-In Sketching Group in the galleries.

November 12

Docent-led theme tour, Simon Dinnerstein's *Fulbright Triptych*.

November 21

Museum Associates sponsored Drop-In Sketching Group in the galleries.

December 10

Docent-led theme tour, Ceremonies and Celebrations.

December 13

Focus exhibition tour with curator Alisa Carlson, *Japonisme in Print: Japanese Style in Western Culture*.

December 19

Museum Associates sponsored Drop-In Sketching Group in the galleries.

Ad Hoc Film Series

January 20

Laura, 1944.

February 10

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? 1967.

March 10

A New Leaf, 1971.

April 14

Tea with Mussolini, 1999.

May 12

Certified Copy, 2010.

June 9

Senso, 1954.

July 14

Shop Around the Corner, 1940.

August 11

El Norte, 1983.

September 22

The Quince Tree Sun, 1992.

October 20

Woman in the Dunes, 1964.

November 10

Paterson, 2016.

December 8

Wings of Desire, 1987.

Museum Staff 2017

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Bruce Cox

Assistant director, museum operations

Carol Geisler

Administrative assistant

Cathy Callaway

Museum educator

Alisa Carlson

Curator of European and American art

Benton Kidd

Curator of ancient art

Arthur Mehrhoff (through 10/17)

Academic coordinator

Rachel Straughn-Navarro (through 10/17)

Assistant museum educator

Linda Endersby

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Kenyon Reed (through 01/17),

Erin Pruhs (beginning 3/17)

Collections specialists

Barbara Smith

Chief preparator

Matt Smith

Preparator

Ron Bates (through 10/17), Pete Christus, Will Fish, Leland Jones, Nicholas Scolaro (through 03/17), Gus Kolilis (beginning 3/17, through 4/17), Nick Seelinger (beginning 5/17, through 8/17), Ivy Hettinger-Roberts (beginning 9/17), and Samuel Markey (beginning 10/17)
Security guards

Muhamedali Khenissi (beginning 05/17)
Graduate research assistant

Andrea Miller (through 06/17)
Graduate research assistant, European and American art

Lisa Higgins
Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program

Deborah Bailey
Folk Arts specialist

Ryan Habermeyer (beginning 01/17, through 06/17), Kate Stockton-Kelley (beginning 07/17, through 12/17)
Graduate research assistants, Missouri Folk Arts Program

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Active Docents

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Yolanda Ciolli
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Barbara Fabacher
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Valerie Hammons
Amorette Haws
Ingrid Headley
Anne Hessler
Sue Hoevelman
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Robin LaBrunerie

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Chuck Swaney
Remy Wagner
William Wise

Emeritus status

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Nancy Cassidy
Averil Cooper†
Caroline Davis

Dorinda Derow
Ann Gowans
Dot Harrison
Mary Beth Kletti

Nancy Mebed
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Tamara Stam

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Kimberly Ring
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Levi Sherman
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Dr. Patricia Okker
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Benton Kidd
Curator of ancient art

Susan Langdon (through 11/17)
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Rebecca Rupp
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