MVSE

VOLUME
FORTY-SIX
2012

Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

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Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology
University of Missouri
1 Pickard Hall
Columbia, MO 65211
Telephone: (573) 882-3591
Web site: http://maa.missouri.edu

Jane Biers
EDITOR

Jeffrey Wilcox
ASSISTANT EDITOR

Kristie Lee
GRAPHIC DESIGN

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ISSN 0077-2194

ISBN 0-910501-44-0

The Museum of Art and Archaeology is open from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Tuesday through Friday, Thursday evenings until 8:00 p.m., 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, Thursday evenings until 8:00 p.m., and from noon to 4:00 p.m. Saturday and Sunday.

Back numbers of *Muse* are available from the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

All submitted manuscripts are reviewed.

Front cover:
Studio of Jacques Stella (French, 1596–1657)
Miracle of Milk of the Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria, ca 1630
Oil on obsidian, 18.5 x 20 cm (panel), 41 x 42 cm (frame)
Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.126)

Back cover:
Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517)
Madonna and Child and the Man of Sorrows, ca. 1500
Tempera on linen, 33.8 x 22.1 cm
The Samuel H. Kress Study Collection (61.75)

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Director's Report 2012

ALEX W. BARKER

Some said that the world would end on December 21, 2012, when the Maya Long Count calendar reached its final generally recognized placeholder. It was to be a year of cataclysm, ending the world as we know it, but in the end, it proved a year like most others. Over the course of 2012 the museum presented eleven exhibitions of varying size and duration, nine lectures and gallery talks, nineteen special events, sixteen family educational events, and twenty-three films in our ongoing film series. We welcomed 18,468 individual visitors to the second-floor galleries, a 6 percent increase over the previous year (not including visitors served by offsite programs or by the Missouri Folk Arts Program), and continued to expand our educational outreach to university students, faculty, and staff.

One major change in 2012 involved museum personnel. Dr. Mary Pixley, associate curator of European and American art, left the museum following her marriage to Mr. Thaddeus R. (Ted) Maciag, joining him for a new life on the East Coast. Many museum staff attended the wedding in Princeton, New Jersey. While the departure of valued staff members is never an easy thing for a museum with a small staff such as ours, it certainly helps when the departure reflects matters of the heart rather than professional opportunities elsewhere. Mary will be deeply missed, and all members of the museum staff wish her well. The search for her replacement will begin in the spring, and it is anticipated that the new curator will begin his or her duties by midsummer, 2013.

The regular rotation of temporary exhibitions began with *Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions* (January 28–May 13). Growth in the museum's permanent collections across all collecting areas, coupled with a continuing shortage of exhibition and interpretive space, meant that many outstanding works have been added in past years but had not necessarily been made accessible to visitors. *Collecting for a New Century* was organized by curator Mary Pixley to highlight the strength and diversity of the more than 1,600 objects added to the permanent collections since the millennium.

Immediately after the opening of *Collecting for a New Century*, the museum opened a second temporary exhibition in conjunction with Black History Month. Organized by museum fiscal officer Carol Geisler and Missouri Folk Arts Program (MFAP) director Dr. Lisa Higgins, Black History Month programs at the museum included a series of presentations and the exhibition *Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell*. The exhibition (February 1–April 29) focused on narratives informing works by black women artists or depicting black women and included works on paper, paintings, and sculpture. Carol has worked for many years helping administer the museum's grants, including MFAP's very active and successful externally funded programs, but this was her first foray into planning museum programs. I am pleased to report it was a resounding success.

In late summer 2011, the organizers of the nationally recognized True/False Film Festival approached the museum with the idea of a collaborative art installation as part of the 2012 festival. After discussion between museum and True/False staffs the Irish installation artist Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile was selected. He proposed a wood and cloth installation in the trees of the Francis Quadrangle, along the route festivalgoers would take between downtown and Jesse Auditorium, the largest single venue for films. Over the course of the autumn and winter, we worked with university staff seeking approval of the plans. As the date of installation approached with no final approval, we became increasingly concerned and finally pressed for an answer. Feeling they lacked time to consider the matter adequately, university administrators declined to approve the proposal. As the event was now only weeks away, we scrambled for alternatives, and ultimately Caoimhghin created two large works, *Suibhne Gealt*, which hung in the

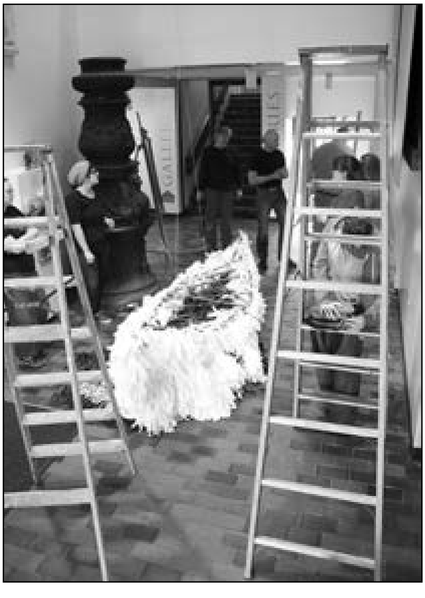


Fig. 1. Museum staff and artist Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile prepare to install the sculpture *Suibhne Gealt*.

museum's foyer (Fig. 1), and a second work placed outside Ragtag Cinema in downtown Columbia. The works were created by students from the City of Columbia CARE Gallery program for high school students and students from the University of Missouri Department of Art, under the direction of the artist. Our exhibition, *Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile: Ritualizing Place* (February 29–May 13), included both the large *Suibhne Gealt* and a series of two-dimensional works on handmade paper.

Collections specialist Kenyon Reed curated a numismatic exhibition, *Coins of the God Mên* (May 1–October 28), which focused in equal parts on the cult of the Anatolian lunar god Mên and the long-standing research on the god and his cult by the late University of Missouri classicist Eugene Lane. The exhibition was a small, focused show examining a relatively little known and academically oriented topic, which also complemented the museum's other, contemporary offerings during the same period.

During this same period, the museum presented an art film, "The Third One," by Afghan artist Rahraw Omarzad. Shown in the museum's Barton Gallery, the movie highlighted and problematized the role and status of women in Islam. As one set of hands cuts away at a fabric screen concealing a woman, the woman's hands artfully sew and embroider it anew. The artist, head of the Centre for Contemporary Art Afghanistan, established the Female Artistic Centre in 2006—the only center for women's art in contemporary Kabul—and founded the Afghan art magazine *Gahnama-e-Hunar*. The movie had a powerful effect on visitors able to watch it from beginning to end.

Also during this period, the museum presented *Cityscapes: Silkscreens by Photorealist Artists* (May 29–September 2), its second major temporary exhibition of its annual rotation. *Cityscapes* included serigraphs with the detail of photographic prints created by photorealist urban artists. Curated by Mary Pixley, the show presented all ten works included in the original portfolio. The juxtaposition of the three exhibitions (an ancient numismatics exhibit examining a little-known ancient Anatolian deity, an Afghan art film, and contemporary prints by urban first- and second-generation hyperrealist artists) allowed visitors an exceptionally wide range of aesthetic experiences within the close confines of the museum.

A second numismatic exhibition, *Portraiture, Power, and Propaganda on Ancient Coins*, again curated by Kenyon Reed, opened in June and ran through late October. The exhibition focused on depictions of rulers from the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods. While well designed and well curated, it highlighted the continuing challenges of numismatic exhibitions. The objects are small, the features of greatest interest are smaller still, and ideally, the viewer should see both sides of the same coin simultaneously. Clearly, such problems cry out for virtual rather than physical solutions, and fortunately, Kenyon is one of the most technologically capable members of the museum staff.

In September, the third major exhibition in the museum's annual rotation opened. Organized and developed by curator of collections/registrar Jeffrey B. Wilcox, who for many years has also curated our non-Western collections, *Seeing the Divine in Hindu Art* (September 21–December 16) examined depiction of the numinous, using a combination of works from the museum's exceptional collection of South Asian art, supplemented by more recent examples of contemporary art from local lenders and from the University of Missouri Museum of Anthropology. It was a particularly rich and visually striking exhibition that allowed the museum to focus on religious iconography through examples less familiar to most museumgoers. Jeff has been with the museum for thirty-seven years and combines an extraordinary knowledge of the collections with a close and focused attention to detail. Shortly before the opening reception, I found him on a ladder adjusting lights on one of the cases.

In October, the museum joined with the Ellis Fischel Cancer Center to support Breast Cancer Awareness Month. Through the efforts of docent Ingrid Headley, the museum presented a selection of artistic works created for *The Artful Bra* art auction. Proceeds from the auction supported funding for offering mammograms to women lacking insurance coverage. From *Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell* and *The Third One* to *The Artful Bra*, the museum developed and offered exhibitions specifically focusing on women and the visual arts throughout the course of the year.

In concert with the international Cultural Bricolage conference in November, the museum mounted a display of works by Rolando Estévez, entitled *Rolando Estévez and the Genius of Vigía* (November 3, 2012–March 3, 2013). The exhibition included a selection of works by Estévez from the Ediciones Vigía art press in Cuba drawn from the museum's permanent collection, as well as works lent by University of Missouri professor Juanamaria Cordones-Cook together with new works unveiled by the artist during the opening event. The exhibition continued the museum's long-standing interest in the relationship between literature, books as physical objects, and art.

Finally, I curated *End of Days: Real and Imagined Maya Worlds* (November 17, 2012–March 17, 2013), an exhibition that discussed Maya timekeeping and the role of the Maya Long Count calendar as a method of establishing unique dates for dynastic and secular events, in contrast with the cyclic calendrics otherwise used. Focusing primarily on Maya pottery, the exhibition included materials from the museum's permanent collections as well as two Maya polychrome vases lent by the Milwaukee Public Museum from its Fifield Collection.

All of the exhibitions benefited from the skill and attention to detail of the museum's preparation staff. Barb Smith, Larry Stebbing, and George Szabo make each exhibition beautiful without any two looking alike, and—to me the greatest testament to their skill—they make their difficult tasks look easy. So too does graphic designer Kristie Lee, who not only prepares all museum publications but is also preparing a children's alphabet book using objects from the museum's permanent collections.

The ten lectures and gallery talks offered by the museum in 2012 were an integral part of the exhibition program. Ms. Gladys Cogswell, a storyteller who has served as both apprentice and master in the Missouri Folk Arts Program's Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program, presented "The Stories I Tell," in conjunction with the exhibition *Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell* and Black History Month. She was accompanied by her current apprentice, Angela Williams, of Hannibal (Fig. 2). It was a rich and well-attended event, enlivened by stories and song. Later in February, Misty Mullin, graduate research assistant in the museum, presented a special exhibition tour of *Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell*.

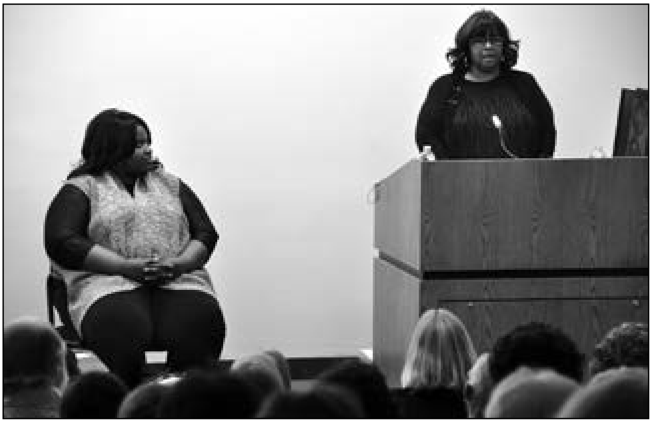


Fig. 2. Gladys Cogswell (on the right) and apprentice Angela Williams present "The Stories I Tell."

During the exhibition *Seeing the Divine in Hindu Art* Dr. Signe Cohen, associate professor of Religious Studies, presented "Darshan: Hindu Art and the Religious Gaze," discussing theophany in Hindu worship and the importance of devotees gazing on an image of the divine, while that image returns their gaze. Dr. Ritcha Chaudhary, senior research specialist at the university's Structural Biology Core Research Facility, later presented "Yoga and Spirituality" in conjunction with the same exhibition.

Special gallery tours were offered by Mary Pixley for *Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions* (Fig. 3), Kenyon Reed for *Portraiture, Power, and Propaganda on Ancient Coins*, and Jeffrey Wilcox for *Seeing the Divine in Hindu Art*. Gallery talks with exhibition curators provide visitors with the best of both a lecture and an exhibition tour and allow curators to expand on both the works themselves and their visions in selecting specific pieces.

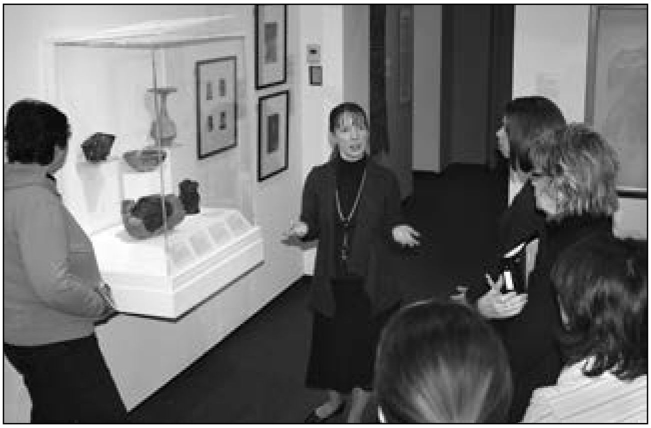


Fig. 3. Mary Pixley gives a gallery tour of the exhibition *Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions.*

Finally, in December, I presented a lecture "End of Days: Real and Imagined Maya Worlds." The program supported both the museum's exhibit of the same name and the putative end of the world based on ending of the Maya long-count calendar on December 21, 2012. Angela Speck, professor of Astronomy and Physics, offered a corresponding talk, "Cosmic Conversations: Countdown to the End of the World?" While my talk focused more particularly on the iconography and archaeology of the Maya long-count controversy, Dr. Speck examined millennial and catastrophist beliefs more generally.

Drs. Cathy Callaway and Arthur Mehrhoff collaborated in presenting the 2012 Free Film Series. In all, twenty-three films were screened, ranging from *The Art of the Steal* (2009) and *Guest of Cindy Sherman* (2007) to the 1936 classic *Rembrandt*. Some selections played off current exhibitions, such as *Salaam Bombay* and *Sita Sings the Blues* during the *Seeing the Divine in Hindu*

Art exhibition, or *Buena Vista Social Club* during the *Rolando Estévez and the Genius of Vigía* show of Cuban works from Ediciones Vigía. In a bit of gallows humor, we also screened *Madame Curie*, reflecting the museum's continuing struggles with residual radiation left behind by University of Missouri professor Herman Schlundt's radium experiments in the early twentieth century.

The museum's collections continued to grow. The museum acquired three assemblages by Rolando Estévez Jordán, including the remarkable work *Amo a mi amo/I love my master*, a constructed work based on a poem by award-winning Cuban poet Nancy Morejón. This work, along with *Converso con mi madre en la cocina* and *La Habana expuesta: Antología bilingüe*, enriches our already strong collection of works from Ediciones Vigía, a vibrant art collective in Matanzas, Cuba. *Amo a mi amo* was unveiled by the artist at the plenary session of the international Cultural Bricolage symposium held at the University of Missouri in November 2012 (Fig. 4).

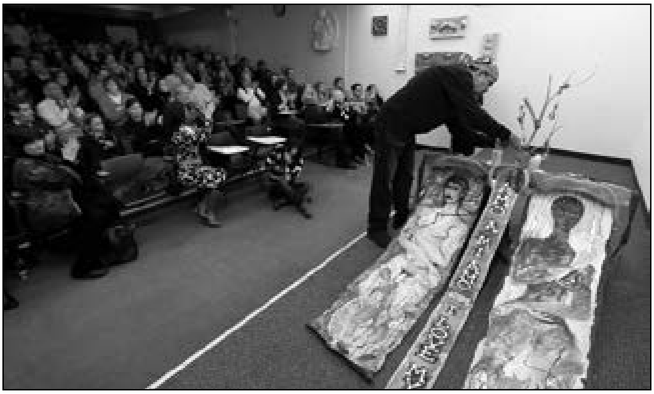


Fig. 4. Rolando Estévez Jordán unveils *Amo a mi amo/I love my master* at the Cultural Bricolage symposium.

The Museum Associates purchased and donated a large regionalist oil-on-panel painting, *Foundations for a Building (Research Hospital, Kansas City)*, by Robert MacDonald Graham. While not a part of the university's Scruggs Vandervoort Barney collection, the work is similar in topic, style, and theme. A longer-term project examining the works in the Scruggs collection is already under way; it is hoped that this new acquisition can become part of that larger initiative. Through the generosity of former University of Missouri System president Gary Forsee and his wife, Sherry, the museum received two nineteenth-century landscapes, one by Jean François Xavier Roffiaen and the other attributed to noted late eighteenth/early nineteenth-century English landscape artist Joseph Barker. University of Missouri faculty member Josephine Stealey presented the museum with an ink-on-bark-paper work by Irish artist

Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile, and current university student Kevin Moreland presented the museum with a seascape by Irish artist Maurice Canning Wilks in memory of Kevin's father, William Moreland.

While the museum's collection of nautical works is limited, we acquired a lovely mezzotint by Elisha Kirkall, *A Ship Firing on Another Further Offshore*, based on an earlier work by Dutch painter Willem van de Velde II. Other prints acquired included a portrait of Dutch nationalist heroine Magdalena Moons, renowned for her role in lifting the siege of Leyden, and a hand-colored engraving by Jean Messager of *The Annunciation*, dating to the late seventeenth century.

One sculpture, an untitled ceramic work by Columbia artist and University of Missouri professor Robert Bussabarger, was accepted as a gift from newlyweds Mary Pixley and Thaddeus R. Maciag. We note with sadness the death of the artist in January of 2013.

Growth of the museum's non-Western collections also continued. A Sepik River mask, from the estate of Jack and Dorothy Fields, was acquired by transfer from the University of Missouri's School of Journalism. One Bamum wooden figure from Cameroon and twelve metal items from the Congo, including spears, anklets, and two currency ingots, were donated by Robert B. Navin and Eva J. Catlin.

Efforts to complete any needed conservation of the museum's holdings continued apace. In 2011, the museum had sent a marvelous Henry Thomas Ryall chine-collé print (*The Pursuit of Pleasure*) for conservation; it returned in 2012 and will be featured in the *Museum Magazine* in 2013. Two works were sent to paintings conservator Barry Bauman in 2012—one, a lovely fifteenth-century wood-on-panel painting of the *Flight Into Egypt*, will be particularly missed until its return in 2013. The other is a smaller WPA oil-on-canvas that suffered water damage before its acquisition and required conservation before display.

Staff continued to be productive scholars. Dr. Benton Kidd, associate curator of ancient art, served as an Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) lecturer in 2012–2013; his first lecture of the season was actually in early 2013—"The Bold and the Beautiful: Polychroming and Gilding in Antiquity," given at Augustana College to the Western Illinois Society of the AIA. He continues working on his monograph on decorated stucco from Tel Anafa. Mary Pixley received funding from the Missouri Arts Council to support the museum's exhibition program for 2012. Lisa Higgins served as a presenter at the 2012 Smithsonian Folklife Festival and continued to be successful in seeking outside grants, including two Missouri Arts Council grants and one from the National Endowment for the Arts to support MFAP's renowned Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program. This nationally recognized program pairs masters of traditional arts with apprentices, assuring the continuity and intergenerational transmission of these skills and traditions. While my field research projects have concluded for now, I continue to juggle scholarship and administrative duties. A volume I edited with Paula Lazrus of St. John's College, Oxford, appeared; *All the King's Horses: Essays on the Impact of Looting and the Illicit Antiquities Trade on Our Knowledge of the Past* was published by the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) Press. My article "Provenience, Provenance, and Context(s)" appeared in Michael Adler and Susan Bruning's *The Future of Our Pasts: Ethical Implications of Collecting Antiquities in the Twenty-First Century*, published by the School for Advanced Research. Professional papers presented included "The Curious Case of the Gorget That Wasn't There," an invited paper at the annual SAA meeting; "Bob Hall's Genius for Perceiving What Indians Thought It Was Worthwhile to Live For," an invited paper at a memorial session for the late prehistorian Robert L. Hall at the American Society for Ethnohistory meeting; and an AIA lecture, "Dust Bowl Days in the Middle Bronze Age? Possible Implications of Recent Research at Pecica Şanţul Mare, Romania."

Museum staff also remained professionally active, both across the campus and through national and international scholarly and professional organizations. Dr. Arthur Mehrhoff was selected to serve on the Project for Public Space's Placemaking Leadership Council. Dr. Lisa Higgins served as a grant panelist for the National Endowment for the Arts, as a co-convenor of the American Folklore Society's Folklore and Education section, as an exhibits review editor for the *Journal of American Folklore*, and as a member of the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies' Folk Arts Peer Group. She also served on the University planning committee for the 2012 Smithsonian Folklife Festival's Campus & Community Area and as faculty advisor to the University of Missouri Student Folklore Society. Mary Pixley served on the campus Standing Committee on Public Art. Benton Kidd stepped down from a four-year term as president of the local AIA chapter, which maintained an active and well-attended lecture series throughout his tenure, and continues to serve as a Freshman Interest Groups advisor. I continue to serve on the Executive Board of the American

Anthropological Association (AAA), as convenor of the forty scholarly societies comprising the AAA, and as a member of the Committee on the Future of Print and Electronic Publishing. In 2012, I completed my service on the AAA Comprehensive Ethics Review Task Force, and the new Principles of Professional Practice we developed were adopted by the Association and ratified by its membership. I also serve on the Board of Directors and as Treasurer of the SAA, chaired the Society's 2012 annual meeting, and continue to serve on the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Review Committee, a congressionally mandated committee overseeing implementation of the Act. In 2012, I completed one accreditation site visit on behalf of the American Association of Museums as chair of the visiting team and stepped down as president of the Council for Museum Anthropology.

We are very proud that the Missouri Folk Arts Program (MFAP) is an integral part of the museum, and MFAP director Lisa Higgins and program specialist Debbie Bailey were exceptionally active in 2012. Eight teams were elected for its signature Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program, including Ozark Riverways sassafras paddle making, Native American (Omaha) grass dance regalia, and North Missouri old-time fiddling. MFAP took part in the Big Muddy Folk Festival, Ozark Heritage Days, Tuesdays at the Capitol, and the 2012 Smithsonian Folklife Festival (Figs. 5 and 6).

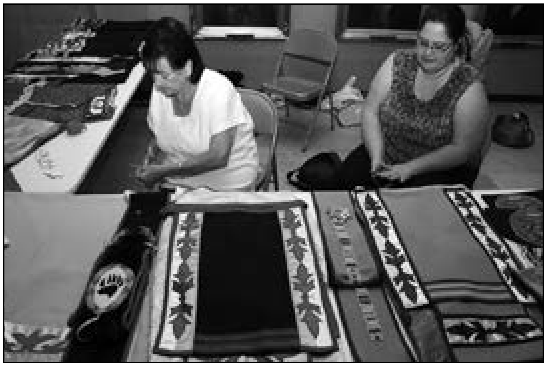


Fig. 5. During "Tuesdays at the Capitol" in Jefferson City, master artist Dona McKinney and her apprentice Sherry Monroe demonstrate how they sew and embellish regalia for the traditional Grass Dance performed at regional pow-wows.

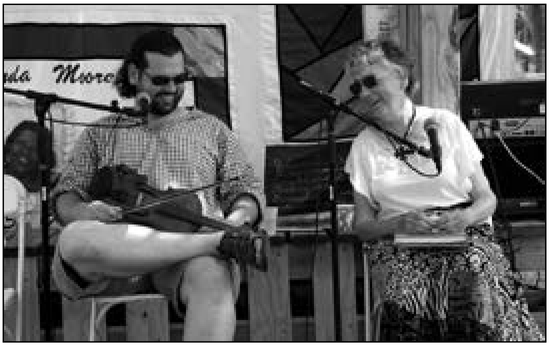


Fig. 6. "Missouri French" fiddler Dennis Stroughmatt and storyteller Natalie Villmer enthrall audiences at the 2012 Smithsonian Folklife Festival.

While the museum staff work hard (and in my view very successfully) to offer the finest and most engaging exhibitions to the public, for most visitors the exhibits are brought to life by the museum's docents (Fig. 7). We are blessed that we have an exceptionally active and capable docent corps, including some docents who have guided visitors and interpreted art for more than thirty years. While there is no way for the museum to repay docents for their years of commitment, museum staff thank the docents for their efforts at the annual docent luncheon (Fig. 8) and this year specifically recognized Ms. Remy Wagner and Ms. Nancy Mebed for their tenth anniversary of service, and Ms. Pat Cowden for reaching her fifteenth anniversary of service to the museum, the campus, and the community.

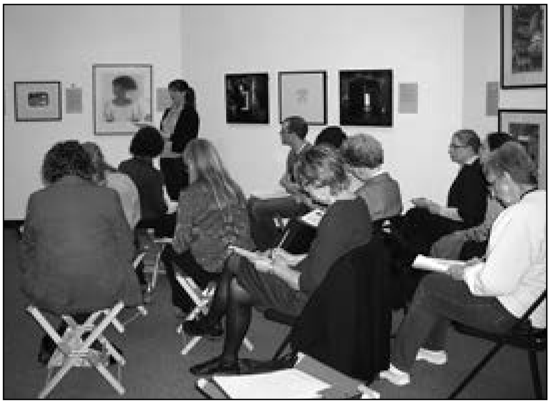


Fig. 7. A docent enrichment session for the exhibition *Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell* with graduate research assistant Misty Mullin.

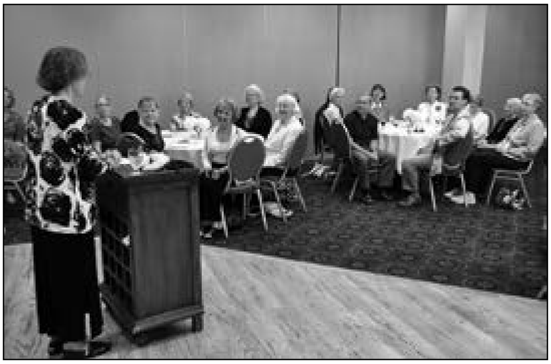


Fig. 8. Museum educator Cathy Callaway presides at the annual docent luncheon.

As befits a university museum, we are also supported by an active student organization, the Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS), advised by Cathy Callaway and Benton Kidd. In addition to helping organize and staff signature museum events such as the annual Haunted Museum, MACS organizes its own special Art After Dark event at the museum, featuring student-juried art competitions and displays of student art projects, ranging from pastels and paintings to performance art and electronic media (Fig. 9). The installations and approach (and the dance music provided by an on-site DJ) give the event a

Fig. 9. "Art After Dark" at the museum.

very different feel from our everyday programs and are a welcome addition.

One of the core philosophies of the museum has been that the tension between town and gown is illusory. The community gains richer and deeper scholarship, as well as incomparably more significant collections, than would be possible absent the museum's research and teaching role within the university. The campus gains the research opportunities a truly public museum offers, ranging from observation of visitor traffic patterns in the Museums Studies graduate minor to study of best practices in the College of Education's Art Education doctoral track. Those two aspects of the museum are less a balancing act between competing or contradictory demands than a symbiosis that informs and energizes everything we do.

That symbiosis would not be possible without the continuing work of the Museum Associates, a separately chartered, community-based 501(c)3 organization established to advance the museum, its collections, and its mission. For most of 2012, Robin LaBrunerie led the Associates, but in November Jennifer Perlow succeeded her as president. Over the course of the year the Associates arranged and funded five special museum opening events (*Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions, Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell, Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile: Ritualizing Place, Seeing the Divine in Hindu Art,* and *Cultural Bricolage: Artist Books of Cuba's Ediciones Vigía)*. The Museum Associates also organized fundraisers for the museum including The Paintbrush Ball, our annual black-tie gala in the spring (Fig. 10), and the Crawfish Boil, an emphatically casual event (eating crawfish in a tuxedo would, I suspect, be one of the few justifications for renting a tux) in the fall. In addition, the Associates sponsor the annual Art in Bloom event—one of the most popular events on the museum's calendar—where local florists create works inspired by the museum's collections, and visitors vote on their favorites in a series of categories (Fig. 11).

Fig. 10. Bill and Fran Washington at the Paintbrush Ball with Carla Johnson on the right.

Fig. 11. Docent Ingrid Headley (on left) with her husband, Mark, and docents Dot Harrison and Barbara Kopta admire two creations at Art in Bloom.

The Associates also sponsor our celebration of Slow Art Day. Along the way they offer seasonal events such as an Evening of Holiday Celebration in December and a Valentine's Day film and party, all coordinated by assistant director for museum operations Bruce Cox, who serves as liaison with the Museum Associates. This year the Museum Associates also donated Robert MacDonald Graham's 1959 oil-on-panel *Foundation for a Building* and Cornelis Visscher's *Portrait of Magdalena Moons*. They were instrumental in the acquisition of Elisha Kirkall's *A Ship Firing on Another Further Offshore* (with funds donated by the Museum Associates and University of Missouri dean of the College of Agriculture, Food, and Natural Resources Tom Payne and his wife, Alice) and Jean Messager's *The Annunciation* (with funds donated by Dr. John Cowden and Museums Associates board member Pat Cowden).

Finally, as this issue of *Muse* was in preparation we were informed that the museum will be moved from Pickard Hall to a temporary location in the old Ellis Fischel Cancer Center (now dubbed Mizzou North), approximately two miles north of campus.[1] This move will permit remediation of lingering radiation in Pickard Hall and allow completion of decommissioning of the structure under regulations of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Because it is unclear how long remediation and decommissioning will take, and if this proves impractical, whether a new building will be required, no timeline for the museum's return to campus has been established.

NOTES

1. Under the circumstances, a decision was made to postpone the search for a curator of European and American art until after completion of the move.

Medallions, Protocontorniates, and Contorniates in the Museum of Art and Archaeology

NATHAN T. ELKINS

The Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri possesses in its collection a total of thirty-nine Roman medallions, protocontorniates, and contorniates. One is an imperial coin inserted into a medallic frame; two are medallions proper, struck at official imperial mints; fifteen are "protocontorniates," regular coins later hammered around the edges to create a rim; and twenty-one are contorniates, late Roman "medallions," either cast or struck, that often portray past Roman emperors and have a small groove around the edge. The exact purpose and function of protocontorniates and contorniates are unknown, but suggestions have included their use as game counters, or as admission tickets to the circus or theater, or as distributions to the people during New Year celebrations. This article surveys the functions of Roman medallions, protocontorniates, and contorniates in reference to those in the Museum of Art and Archaeology. A catalogue of medallions, protocontorniates, and contorniates in the collection follows the end of the article.

From the first through the fourth century C.E., the Roman imperial mint occasionally struck medallions for special distributions. In the first to third centuries, these medallions most often appeared in bronze, technically as double sestertii (e.g. Fig. 1, cat. no. 2), although gold and silver medallions were occasionally produced. In the fourth century, imperial medallions were most commonly gold or silver multiples of standard denominations. Many of these later precious-metal medallions were set into bezels or frames or had attachment loops at the top of the obverse as has the gold medallion of Constantius II in the museum's collection (Fig. 2, cat. no. 3). Medallions are easily differentiated from normal coinage by their larger diameter, and greater thickness and heft.[1] Die engravers typically cut deeper into medallic dies than

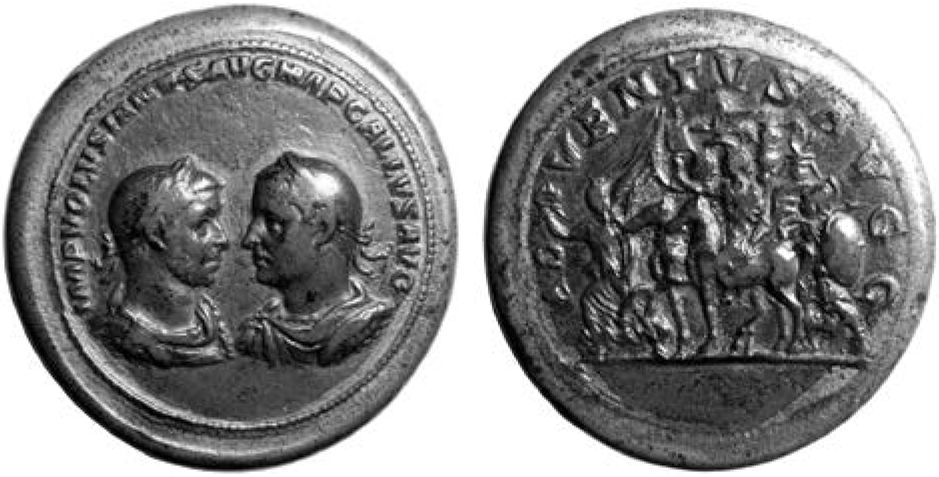


Fig. 1. Medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian (251–253 C.E.), obverse and reverse. Roman, 251–252 C.E., bronze bimetallic. Gift of Cornelius Ruxton Love, Jr. (59.97). Photo: Kenyon Reed.

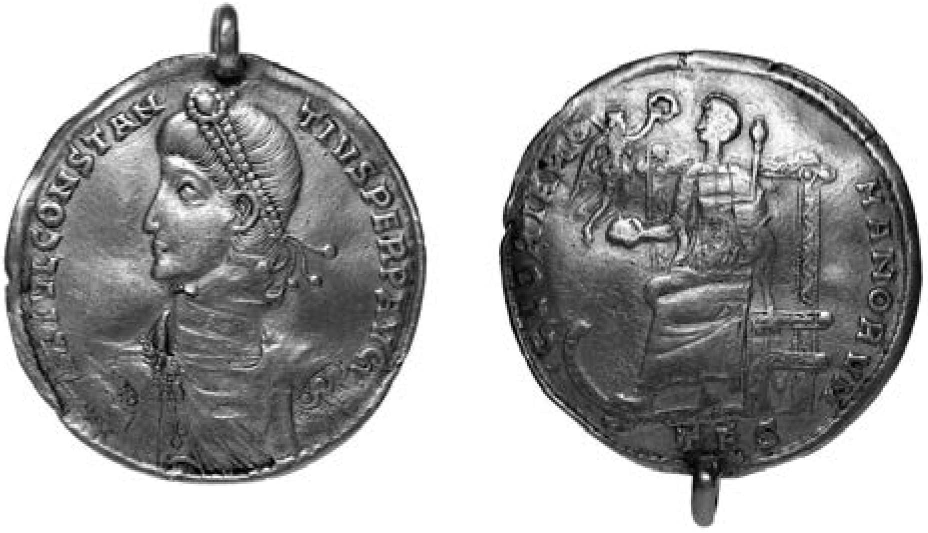


Fig. 2. Medallion of Constantius II (337–361 C.E.), obverse and reverse. Roman, 350–355 C.E., gold. Gift of Maureen C. Mabbott in memory of her husband, Thomas O. Mabbott (71.37). Photo: Kenyon Reed.

they did into the dies for normal coins, creating a pronounced sculptural quality and a medallion in high relief; their level of detail and artistic execution is superior to that of simple coins. Reverse designs on imperial medallions often referred directly to an event of immediate historical or political significance or to the emperor's policy. Imperial medallions are rare and were probably imperial gifts given, directly or indirectly, by the emperor to aristocrats or military leaders as a reward for imperial service.[2] Many medallions were well suited as gifts for New Year celebrations (Latin: *strenae*), while others were struck for specific dynastic events such as imperial adoptions or marriages.[3]

A protocontorniate is a normal, large-module bronze coin, typically a sestertius, which at some point was later altered by hammering the edges of the coin so that it could serve some other use. A common assumption is that protocontorniates functioned as game counters since the rim created through hammering could protect the designs.[4] Andreas Alföldi believed protocontorniates to be forerunners of the contorniates of the fourth and fifth centuries. He argued that protocontorniates were New Year's gifts and that the older coins were actually hammered in the fourth century before the contorniates proper came into being.[5]

The term "contorniate" derives from the Italian verb *contornare*, which means to surround; it refers to the groove that surrounds the edge of the objects. Contorniates were struck from the mid-fourth century C.E. through the fifth century C.E., as is evident through marks applied to contorniates that coincide with symbols struck on dated coins and medallions from the same period.[6] The obverses of contorniates usually feature a deceased and well-remembered emperor from Rome's past. Such emperors include Divus Augustus (cat. no. 23), Divus Traianus (cat. nos. 31–38), and Divus Hadrianus, but also some emperors such as Caligula and Nero, who were viewed less favorably, at least by historical sources (cat. nos. 25–30). Very rarely is a contemporary emperor shown. (An exception is cat. no. 39, which depicts Valentinian III.) Other figures that appear on the obverses are Roma (cat. nos. 20–21), Alexander the Great (cat. no. 22), Olympias, Homer, Euripides, Demosthenes, Socrates, Horace, Terence, Sallust, Apuleius, Apollonius, and Serapis.[7] The reverse designs of contorniates tend to refer explicitly to the circus or circus events and often name charioteers. Others show mythological subjects connected with Roman pantomime or theater productions. The reverse iconography may explain why Caligula and Nero appear on some obverses; both emperors were known for their patronage and love of popular entertainments. One contorniate in the museum's collection, which bears Nero's portrait on the obverse, depicts the myth of the Rape of the Sabine Women taking place before a *meta* (turning post) in the Circus Maximus (cat. no. 30). The contorniates were manufactured in Rome and are found primarily in the Roman West. No eastern emperor is portrayed on a contorniate after the division of the Roman Empire in 395 C.E.

Andreas Alföldi believed that contorniates were distributed to the lower classes by pagan aristocrats in Rome during New Year celebrations and that they served in part as reactions against the Christian emperors.[8] The theory that they served as political statements against Christian authority is, however, by no means widely accepted as there is little in the designs or legends on the contorniates themselves to support such an assertion. Other suggestions associate contorniates with circus and theater performances as admission tickets or souvenirs, or as gaming pieces.[9] A likely, but unpublished, theory was substantiated by Curtis Clay at the Tenth International Numismatic Congress in 1986. He argued that the contorniates were distributed at New Year celebrations associated with the circus and the theater; in this way the contorniates may simply be understood as successors of the imperial bronze medallions of the first to third centuries C.E. that were struck for the New Year.[10] In a more expansive thesis, Peter Franz Mittag has also viewed them as successors to Roman imperial medallions in the sense that they were primarily gifts struck for the New Year. Unlike Roman imperial medallions, however, the majority of contorniates were produced at workshops as New Year gifts for private consumption; only the *Kaiserserie* depicting reigning emperors (e.g. cat. no. 39, with an obverse of Valentinian III) may have been struck by imperial prerogative, as were the earlier imperial medallions.[11]

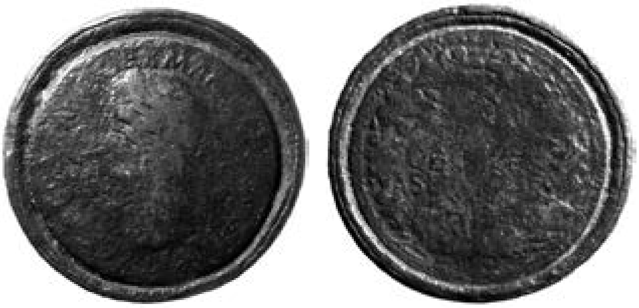
Many scholars believe that the protocontorniates were forerunners of the contorniates,[12] although the protocontorniates were coins altered by individuals, and the contorniates were manufactured in workshops. The presumed function of the protocontorniates as game counters is doubtful. As both Peter Kos and Mittag have demonstrated, protocontorniates are rarely found in excavations, and they have not appeared in excavations that have produced games and game counters.[13] Andreas Alföldi's assumption that older coins were hammered in the fourth century and distributed at New Year celebrations before the commencement of the production of the contorniates is also dubious, as the types of coins formed into protocontorniates are known from many periods and throughout the Roman Empire's wide expanse. Greek (cat. no. 4), Roman imperial (cat. nos. 5–12, 14–17), and Roman provincial coins (cat. nos. 13, 18) were hammered and are classified under the umbrella of protocontorniates; such a diverse array of individual types would not have been in circulation in the fourth century. As Roman provincial bronze coins circulated locally, such coins would have been hammered in the area where they were struck, not in Italy where contorniates were later made and used.[14]

Admittedly, there are many similarities between the protocontorniates and the contorniates such as the application of incised designs and symbols and, for the contorniates, copying of old coin designs. This suggests continuity in use and function, although the very limited provenance evidence and the existence of Greek and Roman provincial protocontorniates provide a potential concern. It should also be pointed out that the term "protocontorniate" creates the idea of a homogeneous class of objects to which all coins with hammered edges may not necessarily belong. Coins across time and space in the ancient world were frequently altered by private individuals. Coins were often drilled so that they could be mounted to objects or worn as jewelry. The hammering of the edges of ancient coins, in some instances, could be a simple modification to allow it to be set into a frame or a bezel. The edges of the framed sestertius of Caligula in the Museum of Art and Archaeology collection (cat. no. 1) appear to have been raised in order to fit it into the frame.[15] In addition, a rare sestertius of Domitian wearing an aegis on the obverse and depicting a decastyle temple within two enclosure walls on the reverse exists in the Walters Collection and has a raised rim; another coin of this type and from the same dies was excavated in Germany and found in a frame.[16] Coins with this reverse type are exceedingly rare, known from only three examples. The edges of these regular, large-module bronze coins were evidently raised and flattened in order to drive them into medallic frames. They functioned much like an imperial medallion, although the frames would imply that they were handled by individuals of high status rather than by commoners who later dealt with protocontorniates and contorniates. It is unlikely that common people used and altered these medallion-like coins; they are closer to "pseudo-medallions," coins that were specially struck or altered to serve as commemorative objects, not currency, before Roman imperial medallions began to be produced with greater regularity under Hadrian and the Antonines.[17] Without the context of the frame, might both the sestertii of Caligula and Domitian have been dubbed protocontorniates and assumed to have been common Late Antique New Year gifts? While it is conceivable that some coins with hammered edges were predecessors of the contorniates proper, allowance must be made for other uses and purposes, especially when the original context of the object is unknown.

Catalogue

The information provided in this catalogue is based primarily on the records from the museum, but where possible references have been added or augmented and new attributions provided. During research, one protocontorniate from the museum's collection was condemned as a forgery (cat. no. 19). All the objects, except the medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian (cat. no. 2), were gifts of Maureen C. Mabbott in memory of her husband, Thomas O. Mabbott, professor of literature and scholar of Edgar Allen Poe. The medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian was a gift of Cornelius Ruxton Love, Jr. All images in the catalogue are shown at actual size. Photographs by Kenyon Reed.

Framed Coin



1. AE framed coin (sestertius) of Caligula, 37–38 C.E., 41 mm, 40.82 g, mint of Rome (72.208).

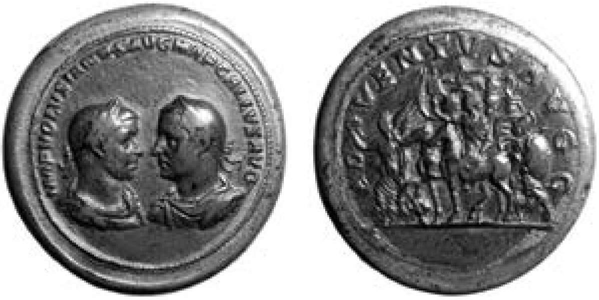
Obv: Laureate head of Caligula l. [C CAESAR] AV[G] GERMA[NICVS PON M TR POT], legend not completely visible; groove around edge.

Rev: [SPQR/ P P/] OB C[IV]E[S/] SER[VATOS] in wreath; groove around edge.

Ref: *Roman Imperial Coinage* (henceforth *RIC*) I, 2 (Caligula) 37.

Comment: Cut marks on Caligula's portrait possibly reflect contemporary vandalism of the emperor's image after his death.

Roman Imperial Medallions



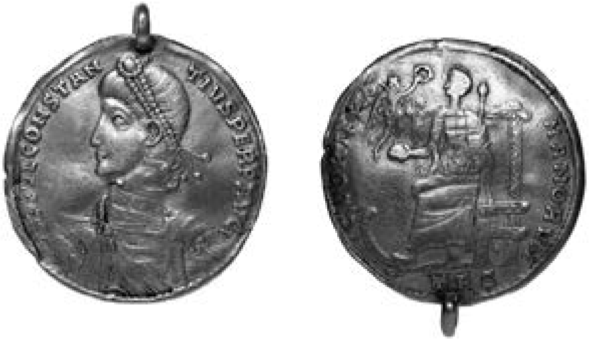
2. AE bimetallic medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, 251–252 C.E., 39 mm, 57.97 g, mint of Rome (59.18) (Fig. 1).

Obv: Bust of Trebonianus Gallus to r., facing bust of Volusian to l., both laureate, draped, and cuirassed. IMP VOLVSIANVS AVG IMP GALLVS AVG.

Rev: Winged Victory striding l. and holding a wreath in her r. hand, leading the two Augusti, each Augustus mounted and with raised r. hands. The Augustus in the foreground holds a spear in his l. hand, a praetorian advances to the l. behind the two Augusti, helmeted and carrying a round shield in his l. hand, a spear over his r. shoulder in his r. hand. Behind the emperors, a vexillum, an aquila, and two insignia. ADVENTVS AVGG.

Refs: Francesco Gnecchi, *I medaglioni romani*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1912) p. 50, 8 (similar reverse only); Anna S. Benjamin, "A Medallion of Two Roman Emperors," *Muse* 2 (1968) pp. 21–24; *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to the Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia*, Osmund Overby, ed. (Columbia and London, 1982) p. 65.

Comments: This medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian is one of only seven known bimetallic medallions issued by the two emperors; the museum's example is the only one with an *adventus* scene, thus making it unique, although its obverse die has been linked with another known medallion.[18] This particular medallion seems to be associated with the return of the Augusti to Rome after their settlement of the Goths after June 251 C.E.[19]



3. AU four solidi medallion of Constantius II, 350–355 C.E., 40 mm, 19.2 g, mint of Thessalonica (71.37) (Fig. 2).

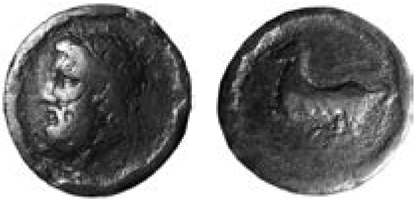
Obv: Pearl-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust of Constantius II to l. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS PERP AVG.

Rev: Constantinopolis draped and seated l. on a high-backed throne, her l. foot resting on a prow, holding a globe in her r. hand, surmounted by a Victory with a wreath and palm, and scepter in her l. hand. GLORIA ROMANORVM, TES in exergue.

Refs: *RIC* VIII, p. 416, 141; Toynbee*, Roman Medallions*, pp. 174, 188, and pl. 38, 3–4 (different mints but the same types); Gnecchi, *Medaglioni*, p. 31, nos. 22–27 (different mints but same types); Overby, *Illustrated Museum Handbook*, p. 68; Toynbee, "Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art," *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947) pp. 139–141; *Muse* 6 (1972) p. 6.

Comments: The medallion has an added gold loop above the obverse portrait, evidently for wearing as a pendant. The seated depiction of Constantinopolis is most likely to be associated with celebrations for the 1100th anniversary of Rome, the occasion for which the medallion would have been struck.[20] Alternatively, the medallion may have referred to the transference of Constantinople to Constantius' rule in 339 C.E. or Constantius' vicennalia in 343–344 CE.[21]

Protocontorniates



4. AE protocontorniate (dilitron) of the Timoleontic symmachy coinage, ca. 344–336 B.C.E., 26 mm, 19.21 g, mint of Syracuse, Sicily (72.232).

Obv: Diademed and bearded head of Zeus to l. [ΙΕΥΣ ΕΛ]ΕΥΘ[ΕΡΙΟΣ].

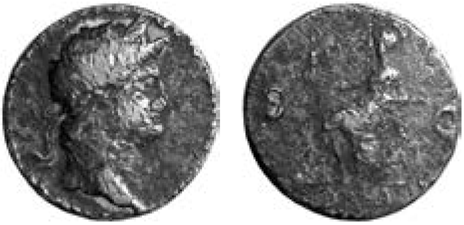
Rev: Horse prancing l. [ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ].

Ref: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum,* (henceforth *SNG*) *American Numismatic Society*, Part 5, Sicily III, 533.

5. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of an unknown emperor, first to third century C.E., 26 mm, 15.21 g, mint of Rome (72.229).

Obv: Head of emperor to r.

Rev: Animal (?) walking l. or r.; heavily corroded and legend illegible.

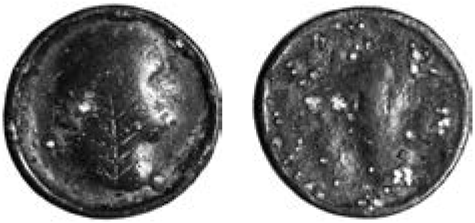


6. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of Nero, ca. 65 C.E., 29 mm, 17.5 g, mint of Rome (72.225).

Obv: Laureate head of Nero to r.; legend illegible.

Rev: Roma seated l., holding Victory in r. hand, S C to l. and r., ROMA in exergue.

Ref: *RIC* I, 2 (Nero) reverse type 23 or 24, see nos. 272–282.

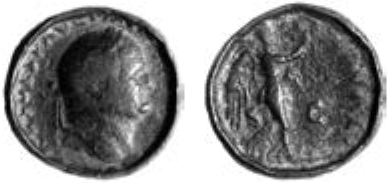


7. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of Vespasian, 69–79 C.E., 29 mm, 18.1 g, mint of Rome (72.245).

Obv: Laureate head of Vespasian to r., palm branch inscribed over portrait; legend illegible.

Rev: Heavily worn; legend illegible.

Comments: The palm branch inscribed over Vespasian's portrait is unusual. Symbols added post-striking are typically inscribed in the field, not on the portrait itself.

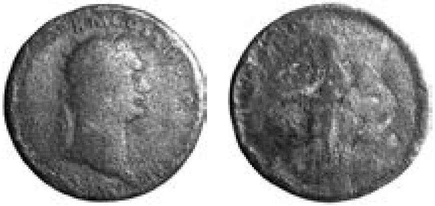


8. AE protocontorniate (as) of Vespasian, 69–79 C.E., 24 mm, 9.48 g, mint of Rome (72.222).

Obv: Laureate head of Vespasian to r. […]CAES VESP AVG[…].

Rev: Victory advancing r. on prow, holding out wreath. [VICTORIA NAVA]LIS, S C to l. and r.

Ref: *RIC* II, 2 (Vespasian) 605.

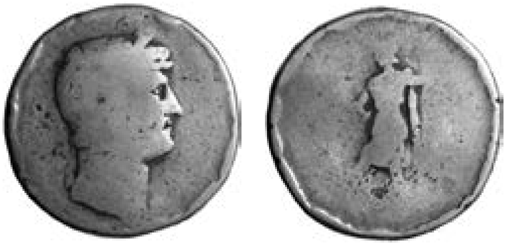


9. AE protocontorniate (dupondius) of Domitian, 88–89 C.E., 27 mm, 10.34 g, mint of Rome (72.234).

Obv: Radiate head of Domitian to r. [IMP CAES DOMIT AVG] GERM COS XIII [CENS PER P P].

Rev: Fortuna standing l. holding rudder and cornucopia. [FORTVNAE AVGVSTI], S C to l. and r.

Ref: *RIC* II, 2 (Domitian) 1447.

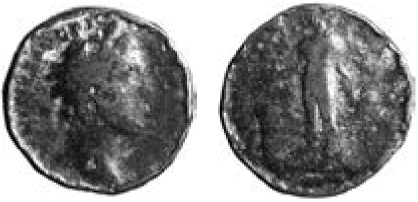


10. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of Hadrian, ca. 124–128 C.E., 31.5 mm, 22.18 g, mint of Rome (72.244).

Obv: Laureate head of Hadrian to r. [HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS].

Rev: Virtus standing l. [COS III], [S C] to l. and r.

Ref: *RIC* II (Hadrian) 638.

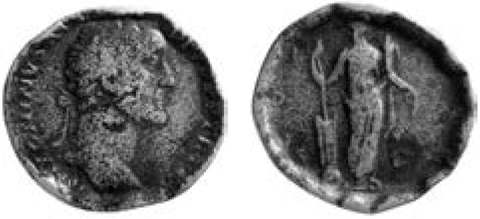


11. AE protocontorniate (as) of Antoninus Pius, 140–144 C.E., 26 mm, 8.6 g, mint of Rome (72.233).

Obv: Laureate head of Antoninus Pius to r. [ANTONINVS] AVG PI[VS P P TR P COS III].

Rev: Bonus Eventus stg. l. sacrificing over altar. [BONO EVENTVI], [S C] to l. and r.

Ref: *RIC* III (Antoninus Pius) 676.

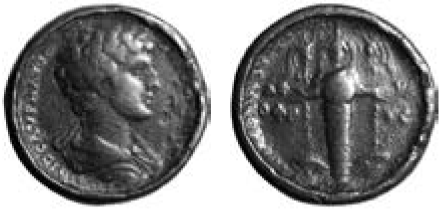


12. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of Antoninus Pius, 150–151 C.E., 30 mm, 20.08 g, mint of Rome (72.223).

Obv: Laureate head of Antoninus to r. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XV.

Rev: Fortuna draped standing to r. holding rudder and cornucopia. COS IIII, S C to l. and r.

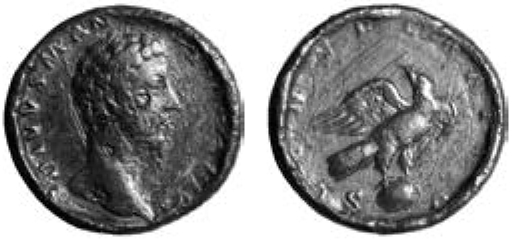
Ref: *RIC* III (Antoninus Pius) 885.



13. AE protocontorniate of Marcus Aurelius, struck under Antoninus Pius, 138–161 C.E., 27.5 mm, 16.79 g, mint of Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Ionia (72.235).

Obv: Bare headed, draped bust of young Marcus Aurelius to r. M AIΛIOC AVPHΛIOC BHPOC [KAICAP].

Rev: Cult statue of Artemis Leukophryne, standing facing, with fillets hanging from wrists, two Nikai on shoulders, eagles with open wings at her feet, polos on head. [ЄΠI ΔIOCKOVPIΔON ΓPATOV MHTPO MAΓNHT], ΛЄ VK/ OΦP VC in field to l. and r.

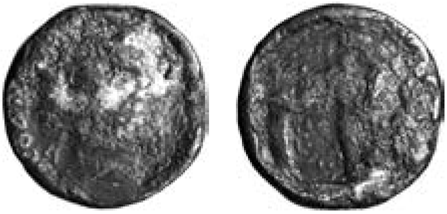


14. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of Divus Marcus Aurelius, struck under Commodus, after 180 C.E., 32 mm, 25.58 g, mint of Rome (72.237).

Obv: Bare head of Marcus Aurelius to r. DIVVS M ANTONINVS PIVS.

Rev: Eagle standing r. on globe, head turned back to l. CONSECRATIO, S C to l. and r.

Ref: *RIC* III (Commodus) 654.

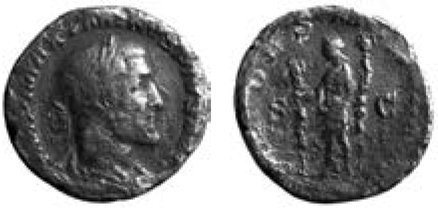


15. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of Commodus, 186–187 C.E., 27.5 mm, 22.8 g, mint of Rome (72.240).

Obv: Laureate head of Commodus to r. M COMM[ODVS ANT P FELIX AVG BRIT].

Rev: The three Monetae standing facing, heads l., each holding scales and cornucopia. [P M TR P XII IMP VIII COS V PP], [MON AVG/S C] in exergue.

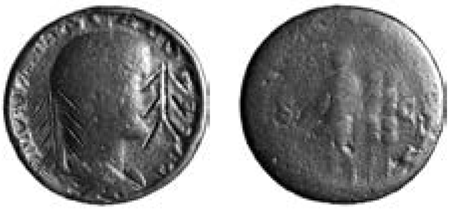
Ref: *RIC* III (Commodus) 500.



16. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of Maximinus I, 236 C.E., 27.5 mm, 21.11 g, mint of Rome (72.239).

Obv: Laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust of Maximinus I to r. IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG.

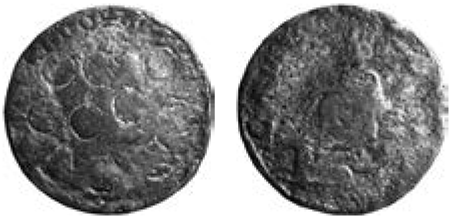
Rev: Fides standing to l. holding standards in each hand. FIDES M[ILITVM], S C to l. and r.



17. AE protocontorniate (sestertius) of Maximus, 236–237 C.E., 27.5 mm, 15.8 g, mint of Rome (72.238).

Obv: Bare headed, draped, and cuirassed bust of Maximus to r. MAX[IMV]S CAES GERM, two palm branches inscribed to l. and r.

Rev: Prince, in military dress, standing to l., with two standards to r. [PRINCIPI IVVENT]VTIS, S C to l. and r.

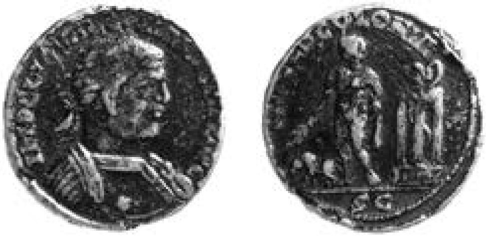


18. AE protocontorniate of Philip II, 244–247 C.E., 28 mm, 13.22 g, mint of Samosata, Commagene (72.228).

Obv: Laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust of Philipp II to r., multiple circles punched on the design. [ΑΥΤΟΚ] Κ Μ ΙΟVΛΙ ΦΙ[ΛΙΠΠΟC CЄΒ].

Rev: Tyche seated l. on a rock, holding a branch, Pegasus springing r. below. CAM[OCATЄΩΝ].

Comments: The obliteration of the portrait with the circular punches appears to be deliberate defacement.



19. AE protocontorniate of Valerian I, 253–260 C.E., 31 mm, 23.62 g, mint of Mallus, Cilicia (72.224)– MODERN FORGERY.

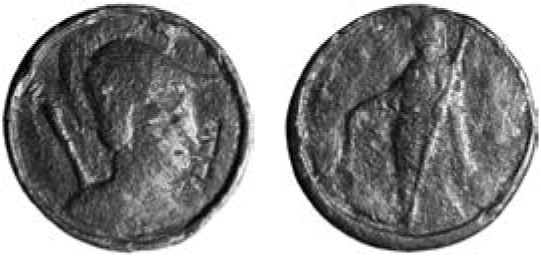
Obv: Laureate and cuirassed bust of Valerian I to r. IMP C LIC VALERIANVS PI FE AVG.

Rev: Amphilochos, naked, standing l., holding palm branch in r. hand, boar below, serpent around tripod to r. MALLO COLONIA, S C in exergue.

Ref: *SNG* Levante, 1298.

Comments: Forgery. A continuous seam along the edge is evidence of modern casting.

Contorniates

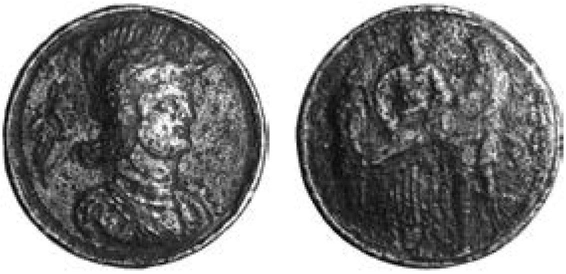


20. AE contorniate featuring Roma, ca. 395–410 C.E., 33.5 mm, 21.2 g (72.203).

Obv: Helmeted bust of Roma to r., spear behind, T Γ (?) inscribed to r.

Rev: Minerva standing to l. with shield, leaning on spear.

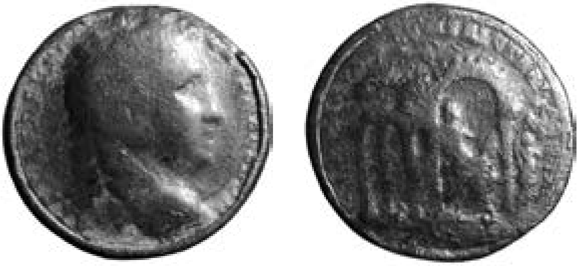
Refs: Alföldi, *Kontorniaten*, p. 187, no. 573, and plate 52, 15; Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 169, no. 542, pl. 25,9.



21. AE contorniate featuring Roma, ca. fourth to fifth century C.E., 35.5 mm, 19.31 g (72.204).

Obv: Helmeted bust of Roma to r., figure inscribed in l. field.

Rev: Three standing figures.

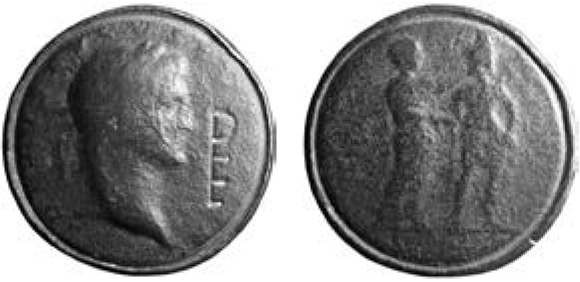


22. AE contorniate featuring Alexander the Great, ca. 356–395 C.E., 36 mm, 22.11 g (72.205).

Obv: Head of Alexander to r. wearing lion’s skin. ALEXANDER MAGNVS MACEDON.

Rev: Cybele seated r. in peristyle temple, Attis at r. MATRI DEVM SALVTARI.

Refs: Alföldi, *Kontorniaten*, p. 130, no. 7 and plate 4, 9; Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 130, no. 7, pl. 3,11.

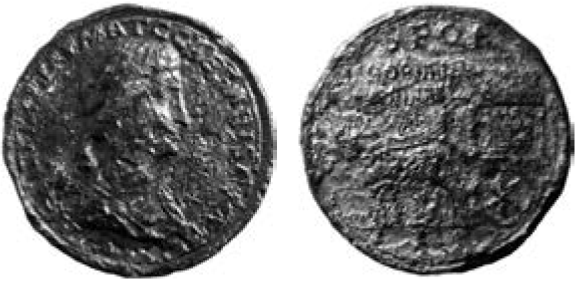


23. AE contorniate featuring Augustus, ca. 356–395 C.E., 36 mm, 21.11 g (72.206).

Obv: Laureate head of Augustus to r. DIVVS AVGVST[VS PATER], PE in r. field.

Rev: Hector in Phrygian dress standing to front, his head r., his r. arm around Andromache, draped, standing l., resting her l. hand on his shoulder.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 34, no. 119, 3, and plate 40, 5 (this example).



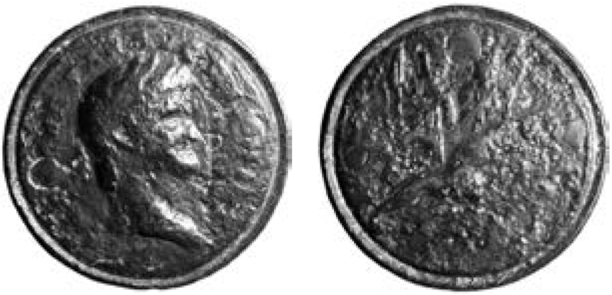
24. AE contorniate featuring Agrippina the Elder, ca. 356–395 C.E., 36.5 mm, 23.10 g (72.207).

Obv: Draped bust of Agrippina to r. AGRIPPINA M F MAT C CAESARIS AVGVSTI, PE to r.

Rev: Carpentum drawn to l. by two mules, its front and sides ornamented. SPQR/MEMORIAE/AGRIPPINAE above.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 144, no. 425, 3, and plate 180, 3 (this example).

Comments: This type is modeled on a sestertius struck under Caligula: *RIC* I, 2 (Caligula) 55.



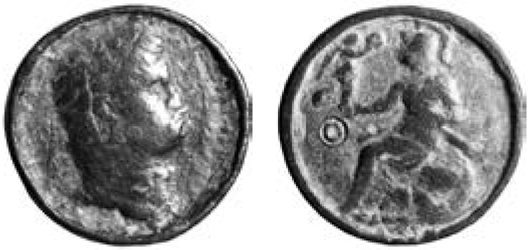
25. AE contorniate featuring Nero, ca. 356–395 C.E., 38.5 mm, 23.36 g (72.209).

Obv: Laureate head of Nero r. [NERO CL] CAESAR AVG [GERM IMP], PE to r.

Rev: Cybele and Attis in a quadriga drawn by lions galloping to r.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 50, no. 168, and pl. 59, 6 (this example).

Comments: Holed and plugged at 3 and 9 o'clock; an attempted hole plugged at 12 o'clock on rev.

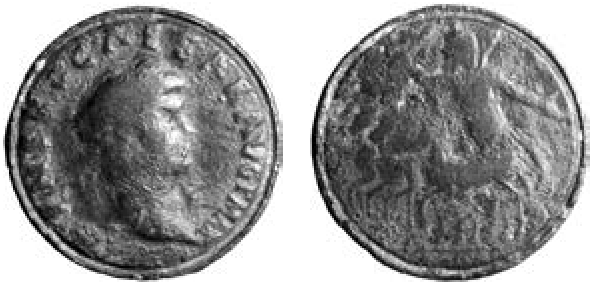


26. AE contorniate featuring Nero, ca. fifth century C.E., 33 mm, 29.02 g (72.210).

Obv: Laureate head of Nero to r.; legend (?) illegible.

Rev: Roma seated l. holding Victory in r. hand; two concentric circles inscribed in the field below Victory.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 172, no. 550, 3, and plate 97, 4 (this example).

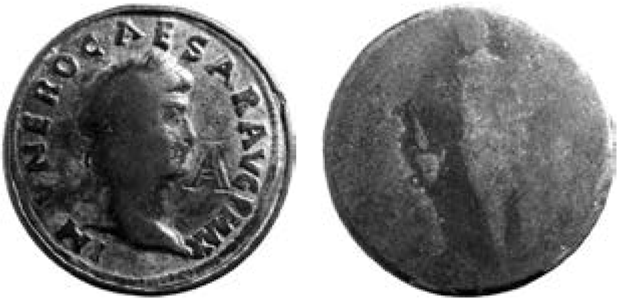


27. AE contorniate featuring Nero, ca. fourth–fifth century C.E., 37 mm, 22 g (72.211).

Obv: Laureate head of Nero to r. [IM]P NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX.

Rev: Charioteer driving quadriga to l., holding reins and palm branch.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 48, no. 164, pl. 57.

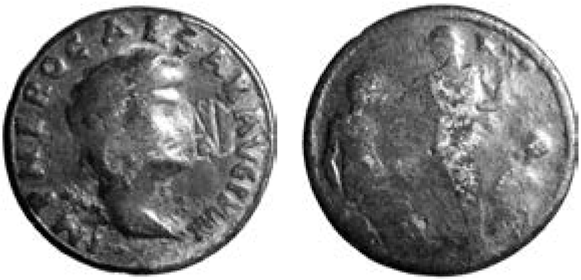


28. AE contorniate featuring Nero, ca. 356–395 C.E., 39 mm, 26.82 g (72.212).

Obv: Laureate head of Nero to r. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX, inscribed in r. field.

Rev: Female figure, draped, seated r., resting her head on her l. hand and facing a naked male figure, his hands bound, standing by a tree; at far r., a seated prisoner.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 63, no. 199, 27, and pl. 76, 5 (this example), identified as Amphion, Zethus, and Dirce; Cf. Mittag, *Alte Köpfe*, pls. 6 and 25.

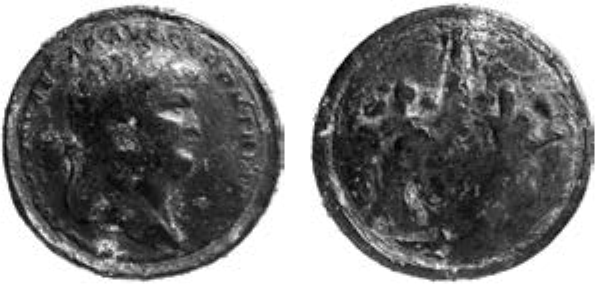


29. AE contorniate featuring Nero, ca. 356–395 C.E., 36.5 mm, 19.7 g (72.213).

Obv: Laureate head of Nero to r. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX, in field.

Rev: Female figure, draped, seated r., resting her head on her l. hand and facing a naked male figure, his hands bound, standing by a tree; at far r., a seated prisoner.

Ref: Mittag, *Alte Köpfe*, pls. 6 and 25.

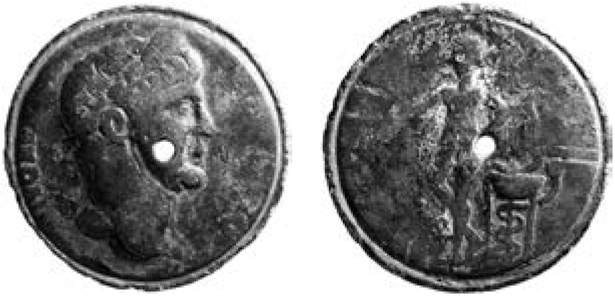


30. AE contorniate featuring Nero, ca. 356–395 C.E., 37.5 mm, 22.6 g (72.242).

Obv: Laureate head of Nero to r. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM P M TRP IMP PP.

Rev: Romans raping Sabine women in front of a *meta* of the Circus Maximus, [SABINAE] in exergue.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 2, p. 378, no. 182, 3a, and plate 216, 6 (this example).



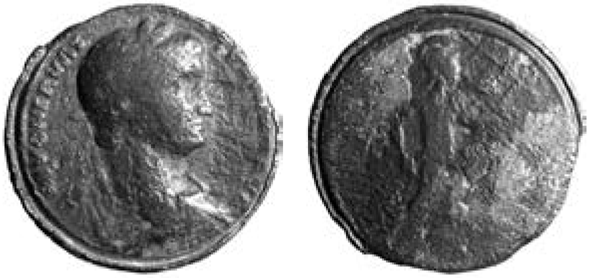
31. AE contorniate featuring Trajan, ca. after 410 C.E., 38.5 mm, 19.2 g (72.214).

Obv: Laureate head of Trajan to r. DIVO NERVAE TRAIANO.

Rev: Apollo Cytharedes, resting lyre on tripod with serpent entwined around it to r.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 125, no. 370, 2, and plate 155, 8 (this example).

Comments: holed in center.

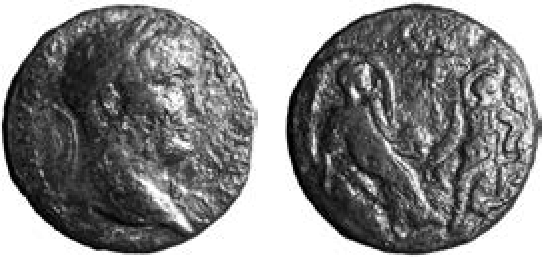


32. AE contorniate featuring Trajan, ca. fourth–fifth century C.E., 37 mm, 17.9 g (72.215).

Obv: Laureate, draped bust of Trajan to r. DIVO NERVAE TRAIANO AVG.

Rev: Mars advancing to r. in helmet with ladder and spear, resting foot on prow.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 95, no. 294, 1, and plate 122, 2 (this example).

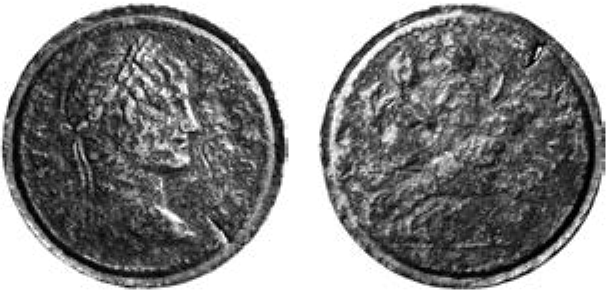


33. AE contorniate featuring Trajan, ca. fourth–fifth century C.E., 34 mm, 15.4 g (72.216).

Obv: Laureate head of Trajan to r. TRAIANVS AVG COS III P P.

Rev: Luna seated l. on rock facing Endymion lying r. with hound at his side; Eros above holding torches.

Refs: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, p. 380, no. 339, 11, and plate 220, 6 (this example); Mittag, *Alte Köpfe*, pls. 8, 19.

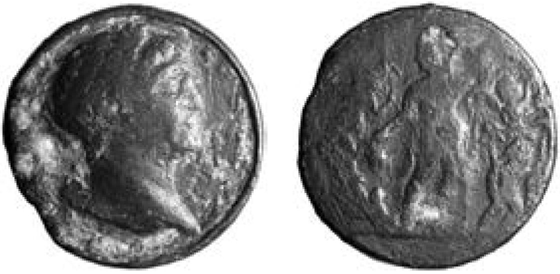


34. AE contorniate featuring Trajan, ca. 356–395 C.E., 38 mm, 25.18 g (72.217).

Obv: Laureate bust of Trajan to r. TRAIANVS P P AVG.

Rev: Cybele and Atttis in quadriga of lions galloping to r.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 92, no. 281, 9, and plate 119, 1 (this example).

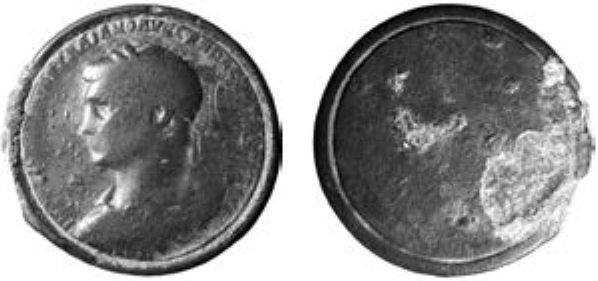


35. AE contorniate featuring Trajan, ca. 356–395 C.E., 35 mm, 19.70 g (72.218).

Obv: Laureate head of Trajan to r. TRAIANVS AVG COS IIII P P.

Rev: Bacchus, naked, standing to front, holding a thyrsus in l. hand, a kantharos in r. hand; at his feet, a panther; to l., two bacchantes, draped, each holding a thyrsus and a grape cluster (or aulos ?); to r., a satyr holding a *pedum* (shepherd's crook) and a grape cluster below, a maenad with *krotaloi* (?) (castanets) above.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 97, no. 300, 7, and pl. 124, 1 (this example).

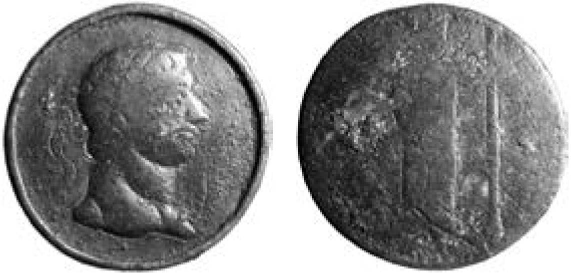


36. AE contorniate featuring Trajan, ca. fourth–fifth century C.E., 37.5 mm, 24.55 g (72.219).

Obv: Laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust of Trajan to l.; palm branch incised in field to r. [IMP CAES NERVAE] TRAIANO AVG GER DAC [P M TR P COS III].

Rev: Blank; groove around edge.

Ref: Mittag, *Alte Köpfe*, pl. 7.



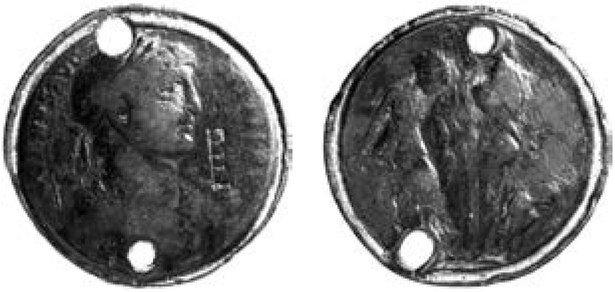
37. AE contorniate featuring Trajan, ca. 395–410 C.E., 36 mm, 18.4 g (72.220).

Obv: Laureate head of Trajan to r.

Rev: Athlete standing to the front.

Comment: Ties for the wreath are incised behind the head.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 180, no. 600, and plate 166, 8 (this example).



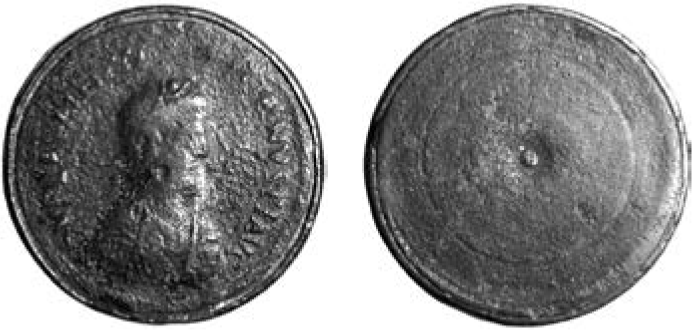
38. AE contorniate featuring Trajan, ca. 356–395 C.E., 38.5 mm, 23.3 g (72.227).

Obv: Laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust of Trajan to r. [TRA]IANVS AVG [C] OS IIII PP, in r. field.

Rev: Female figure, draped, seated r., resting her head on her l. hand and facing a naked male figure, his hands bound, standing by a tree; at far r., a seated prisoner.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 102, no. 317, 4 and plate 129, 7 (this example), identified as Amphion, Zethus, and Dirce; Cf. Mittag, *Alte Köpfe*, pl. 25.

Comments: Two holes, one at 12 and one at 6 o'clock.



39. AE contorniate featuring Valentinian III, ca. 425–455 C.E., 43.5 mm, 36.78 g (72.221).

Obv: Diademed and cuirassed bust to r. D N PLA VALENTINIANVS P F AVG

Rev: Central recessed pellet within concentric circle; groove around edge.

Ref: Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 6, 1, p. 152, no. 467, 3, and plate 189, 9 (this example).

NOTES

* A debt of gratitude is owed to Kenyon Reed who checked and corrected several attributions while updating the museum's catalogue and photographic records.

1. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (New York, 1944; reprinted 1986) p. 17.
2. Cf. ibid., pp. 112–121; Curtis Clay, "Roman Imperial Medallions: The Date and Purpose of Their Issue," in H. Cahn and G. Le Rider, eds., *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Numismatics, New York–Washington, September 1973* (Paris, 1976) pp. 253–254, and passim.
3. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, pp. 73–111.
4. For proponents of the game counter theory, see Friedrich von Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde* (Berlin, 1930) p. 393, and Maria R.-Alföldi, *Antike Numismatik* (Mainz, 1978) p. 214.
5. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, *Ein verkanntes Propagandamittel der stadtrömischen heidnischen Aristokratie in ihrem Kampfe gegen das christliche Kaisertum* (Budapest, 1943) p. 9.
6. Peter Franz Mittag, *Alte Köpfe in neuen Händen: Urheber und Funktion der Kontorniaten* (Bonn, 1999) p. 31.
7. Andreas Alföldi and Elizabeth Alföldi, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 1 (Berlin, New York, 1976) pp. 1–32.
8. See Alföldi, *Kontorniaten*; Alföldi and Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1990) pp. 12–62, and passim; cf. also Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, p. 234.
9. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, pp. 234–235; Mittag, *Alte Köpfe*, pp. 180–213, and passim.
10. See an abbreviated discussion in David L. Vagi, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire, c. 82 BC – AD 480* (Sidney, 1999) pp. 113–114.
11. Mittag, *Alte Köpfe*, pp. 182–187 on the *Kaiserserie* and pp. 211–215 on the production of the majority of contorniates for private demand and distribution as New Year gifts.
12. E.g. Mittag, *Alte Köpfe*, p. 206, who sees a progression from protocontorniates to contorniates in their similar edges, some similar symbols applied post-striking, and their use by common people.
13. Ibid., pp. 19–25 and Peter Kos, "Proto-contorniates?" *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 95 (1993) pp. 431–438.
14. Cf. Kos, "Proto-contorniates?," pp. 435–437, figs. 4 and 5, who illustrates two coins with hammered edges from the mint of Viminacium in Moesia Superior.
15. I am grateful to Kenyon Reed who reexamined this sestertius for me as I was unable to return to Columbia before this article's publication.
16. For the Walters coin, see Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, Volume II: Vespasian to Domitian* (London, 1966) p. 406* (plate 81.3); Ian Carradice, "Coins, Monuments and Literature: Some Important Sestertii of Domitian," in T. Hackens and R. Weiller, eds., *Proceedings of the 9th International Numismatic Congress, Berne, September 1979* (Louvain-La-Neuve, 1982) pp. 377–378; Peter Franz Mittag, *Römische Medaillons. Caesar bis Hadrian* (Stuttgart, 2010) pp. 38–40 and 135, no. 13.

17. On “pseudo-medallions,” see Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, pp. 24–27.
18. Anna S. Benjamin, “A Medallion of Two Roman Emperors,” *Muse* 2 (1968) p. 22.
19. Ibid., pp. 22–24.
20. Toynbee, “Roma and Constantinopolis,” pp. 140–141.
21. *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to the Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia*, Osmund Overby, ed. (Columbia and London, 1982) p. 68.

Domenico Morone's *Man of Sorrows and Madonna of Humility*

Columbia's "Cloth of Humility"*

WILLIAM L. BARCHAM

In 1961, the Samuel H. Kress Collection gave the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri a rather unassuming but altogether rare painting on cloth previously known as the *Noseda Madonna* after its former Italian owner, Aldo Noseda of Milan (Fig. 1 and back cover).[1] In the top one-third of the work, the dead Christ appears miraculously erect in his tomb, his eyes partially, and inexplicably, open. Behind him stands his cross, a dark green curtain unfurls across the rear, and the blue sky surrounds the ensemble. The bottom two-thirds of the painting shows the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child in her arms before a splendidly brocaded red hanging; she sits on a thick and richly embroidered cushion festooned with tassels and placed on the ground. A mountainous but verdant landscape with trees enfolds Mother and Child, and little sprigs of grass sprout in the countryside to suggest springtime rebirth. The contrast between this brightly colored scene of earthly regeneration and the image of death above is all too obvious. A grey border separating the two compartments is inscribed *REGINA CELI*, identifying Mary as Queen of Heaven; three little decorative leaves ornament the writing at the center and on either side. When removed from its frame, the cloth reveals another inscription, this one written above Christ on a top horizontal border different in color from the one below: *IHSUS XPS*, or Jesus in Latin and Christus in Greek.

Measuring only slightly more than a foot in height (13.3 in. or 33.8 cm) and just over half that dimension in width (8.7 in. or 22.1 cm), the cloth is small, fragile, and one might add, unpretentious. Yet its delicate beauty is undeniable, and because the authorship, meaning, and purpose of the painting are not immediately apparent, the work deserves our attention. Its attribution once

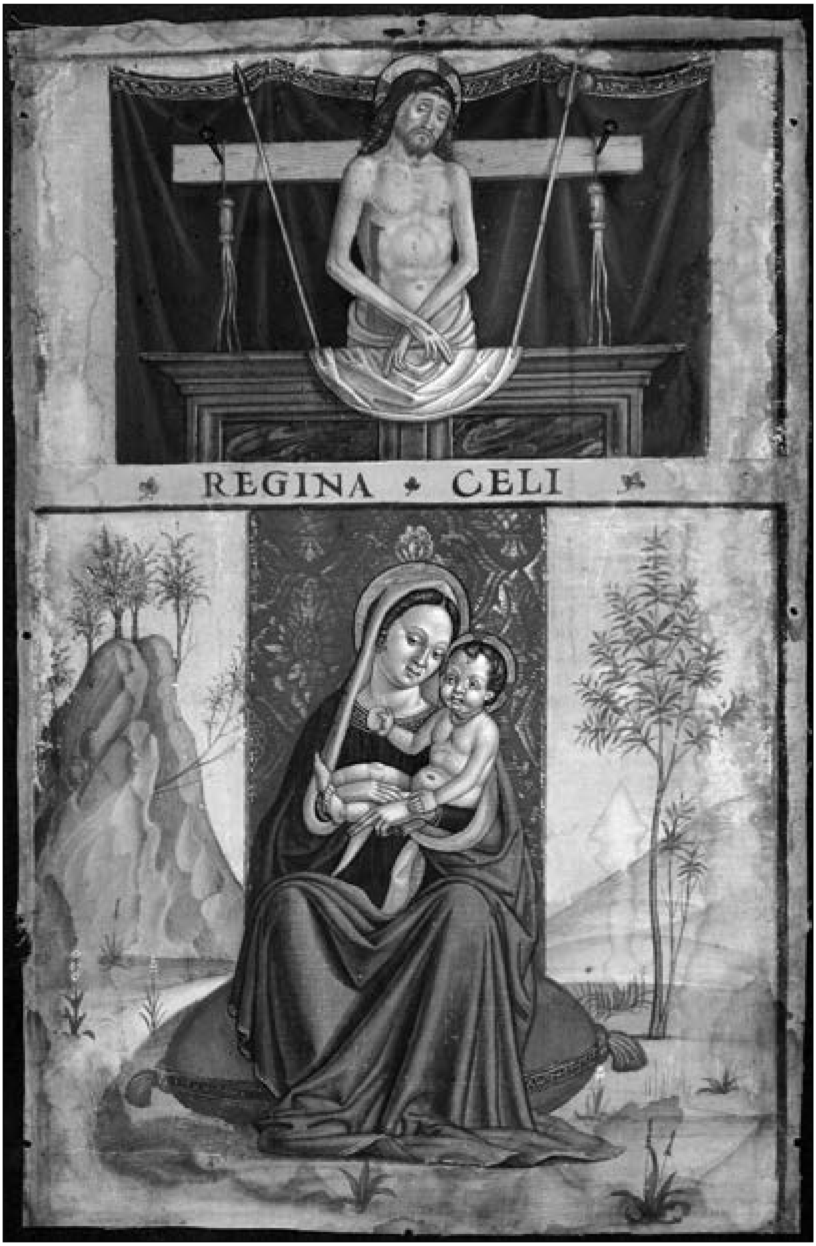


Fig. 1. Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517). *Madonna and Child and the Man of Sorrows*, ca.1500, tempera on linen. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (61.75), Samuel H. Kress Collection, K461. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

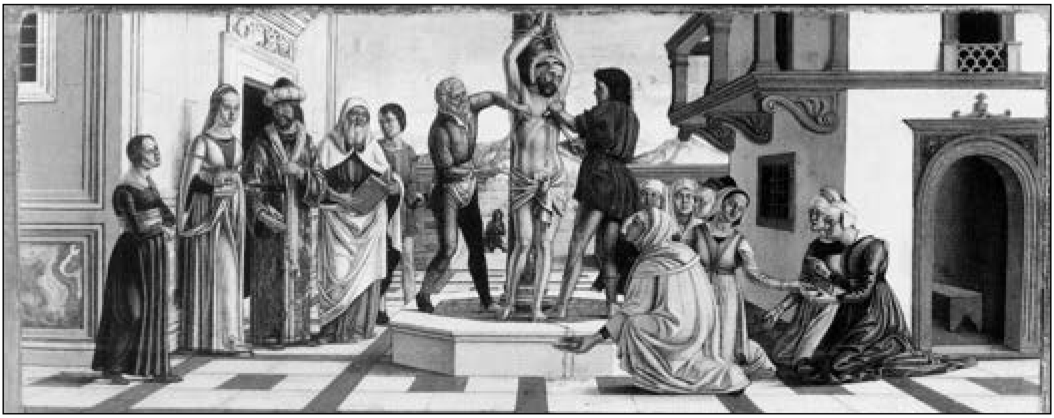


Fig. 2. Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517). *Torture of San Biagio*, tempera on panel. Vicenza, Musei Civici, Pinacoteca, inv. A162.

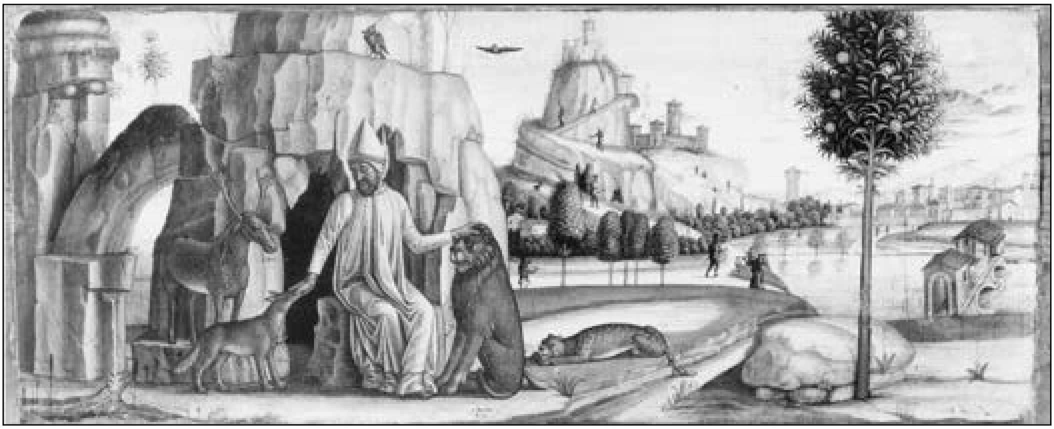


Fig. 3. Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517). *San Biagio Curing Sick Animals*, tempera on panel. Vicenza, Musei Civici, Pinacoteca, inv. A 162.

shifted between two artists active in Verona at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a hundred years after the city had been absorbed into the Venetian state.[2] The two are Domenico Morone (ca. 1442–after 1517) and Girolamo dai Libri (1474–1555). We know that whoever painted the ex-*Noseda Madonna* produced in addition a trio of panels in the Museo Civico of Vicenza narrating episodes from the life of San Biagio, or Saint Blaise, because many similar stylistic elements link the works.[3] For instance, the faces and clothing of the female onlookers in the *Torture of San Biagio* are comparable to Mary's face and drapery, and the landscape of the panel with Biagio curing sick animals is analogous to hers (Figs. 2, 3). Still closer parallels exist between the Columbia painting and *Two Beatified Franciscans*, also in the Vicentine museum; physiognomy, drapery, and landscape again unify the paintings (Fig. 4). This time, moreover, the tree to the right of the Virgin correlates with a similar tree standing between the Franciscan brothers.[4]

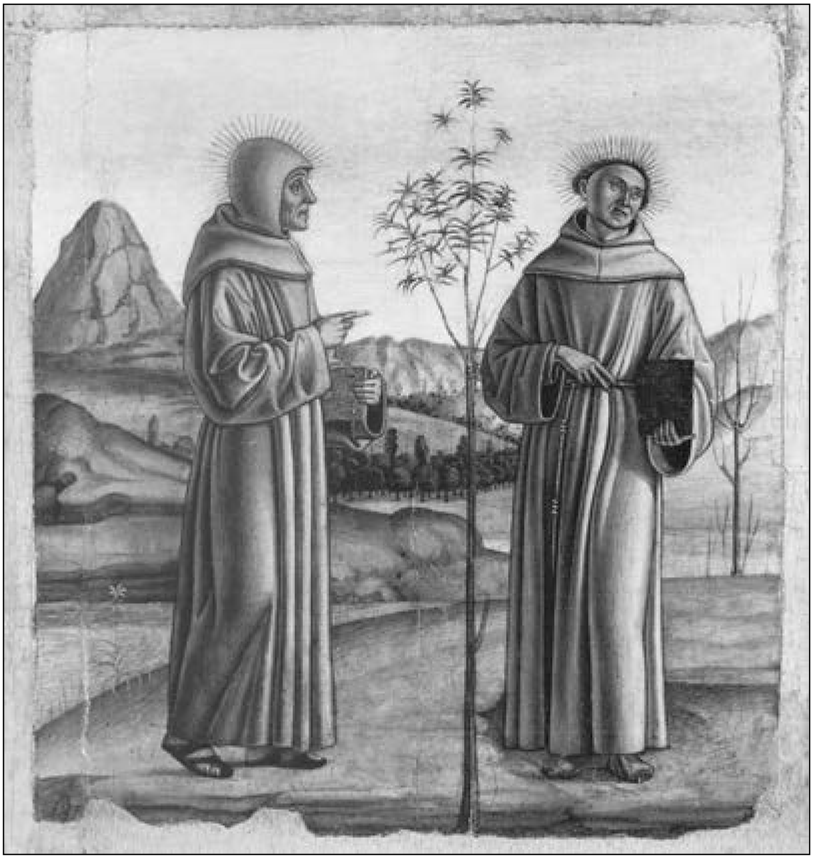


Fig. 4. Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517). *Two Beatified Franciscans*, tempera on panel. Vicenza, Musei Civici, Pinacoteca, inv. A 41.

Because scholarly disagreement arose over whether Morone was or was not responsible for the important cycle of frescoes in the Libreria Sagramoso, or Sagromoso Library, attached to the local Franciscan monastery of San Bernardino, his artistic profile was clouded for a time.[5] Yet specialized modern studies argue convincingly that he should be credited with the Vicenza panels and with the Sagromoso frescoes, too. In 1974, Hans-Joachim Eberhardt formed a coherent series of paintings comprising the wall paintings in the Libreria Sagromoso and the Columbia cloth; nearly twenty years later, Debora Tosato also ascribed the Sagromoso figures to Morone, giving him the Vicentine panels as well.[6] In his doctoral dissertation of 2001 on Morone and the Sagromoso Library, Gene Peter Veronesi argued convincingly that our artist was in charge of the library frescoes, and he lists the Columbia cloth among Morone's accomplishments.[7] Still more recently, while writing in the recent catalogue of late medieval and Renaissance paintings in the Museo del Castelvecchio (Verona), Sergio Marinelli made a strong case for Morone's responsibility for the entire group; furthermore, his entry on the painter's signed and dated frescoes from Paladon in the Valpolicella (outside Verona) (1502; now detached and in the city museum) shows a photograph of San Rocco from the cycle whose facial features are similar to those of the dead Christ on the Columbia work, although the expression is far different (Fig. 5). Finally, Alessandra Zamperini has explained with both logic and clarity how Morone's art changed over time, so that what appears with hindsight as two disconnected styles was instead two phases of an ongoing artistic maturity.[8] There can be no doubt that Domenico Morone painted the Columbia cloth sometime around 1500 or in the first years of the new century.

By then, Morone was Verona's leading painter and had fulfilled numerous church requests, among them very important commissions in the Observant Franciscan church of San Bernardino, a subject we will return to towards the end of this article.[9] He had trained in a late Gothic style but subsequently absorbed the innovations of Andrea Mantegna (ca. 1431–1506) who worked in Padua until moving to Mantua in 1460 to become court artist to the Gonzaga rulers.[10] By the seventh decade of the century, Mantegna had transformed north Italian art, introducing ground-breaking ideas not only in the frescoes of the Ovetari Chapel in the church of the Eremitani, Padua (ca. 1454–1457; destroyed during W.W. II), but also on the San Zeno Altarpiece (1456–1459) for the high altar of the church of that name in Verona, Morone's own city.

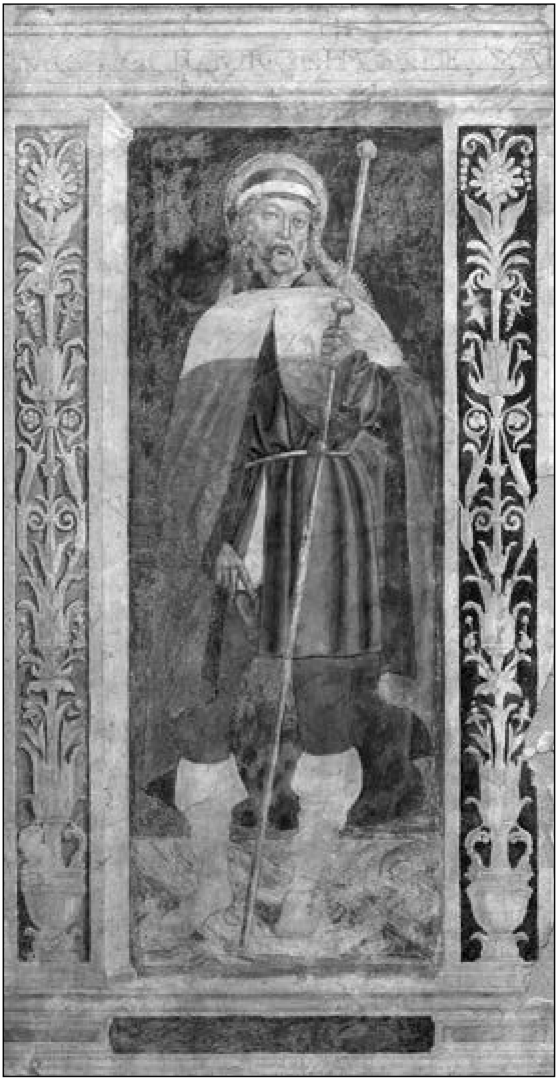


Fig. 5. Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517). *Saint Roch* (detail), 1502, detached fresco. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, inv. 675-1B2070. By permission of the Direzione Musei d'Arte e Monumenti, Verona. Photo: Mattero Vajenti.

Convincing Renaissance perspective, extensive natural landscapes, and dramatically believable figures fill his self-contained and coherently believable world. He enriched these authentic spaces with tiny but exquisitely painted details of observed reality, incorporating the minutiae familiar from manuscript illuminations into the panoramic views of large-scale painting while injecting the exaltation and fervor necessary to religious and history painting.

Morone never attained Mantegna's heights, but his credible pictorial world is inconceivable without the latter's leadership. The two painters also likely knew each other; Veronesi proposed that they met at least twice.[11] Surely once, for in 1494 Morone painted, signed, and dated the *Expulsion of the Bonacolsi in 1328*, an impressive commission awarded him by the local Mantuan ruler, Francesco Gonzaga, for a site no longer known today.[12] The topographical accuracy of the Mantuan painting argues for Morone's presence in the city, and Mantegna's position at court can leave little doubt that the two spent time together. One may assume that Mantegna played a role in Gonzaga's invitation to Morone, whose interpretation follows Gentile Bellini's narrative mode in his large-scale canvases for Venetian *scuole*, or charitable lay institutions, rather than approximating Mantegna's own art. Nonetheless, the Columbia painting demonstrates the great Paduan master's guidance in several ways—in the grassy and mountainous landscape, Mary's credible position, the incisive modeling of the dead Christ, and the classicizing Roman sarcophagus from which he appears to rise.

Morone's modest painting in Columbia portrays Jesus simultaneously as the dead savior and as the baby tendering what appears to be the holy eucharist, that is, the consecrated wafer, to Mary who turns to it.[13] Together, wafer and wine—consecrated during Mass—transform into Christ's body and blood and comprise what is termed the holy species partaken during the rite of communion, which Christ himself instituted during the Last Supper. Thus in a small and tightly knit composition Morone presents the essential beliefs of Christianity: above, the suffering and crucified Jesus reigning eternally in heaven, and below, the sacrament of eucharist attesting to his resurrection and promising the faithful their own. Yet despite this double Christian victory over death and time—a triumph Morone emphasized with ornately embroidered royal hangings—his protagonists are humble figures, the dead Jesus pitifully reduced by torment and Mary demoted to a lowly position on the ground. In other words, he portrayed

Christ and his mother as two archetypal images developed during the late Middle Ages—the Man of Sorrows and the Madonna of Humility.

The Man of Sorrows originated in Byzantine art before ca. 1200 and diffused within a century into Western Europe where it was especially privileged in the religious imagery of northeast Italy.[14] Oftentimes called the *Imago pietatis* (or the Image of Pity), the subject typically represents the half- or three-quarter-length figure of the dead Christ as vertical and frontal.[15] The Man of Sorrows is not part of the Crucifixion narrative nor does he recount the Resurrection, although the image implies both stories and thereby transcends incident and time. In addition, because of its close-up format, the figure perfectly suited small-scale paintings and sculptures, manuscript illuminations, liturgical objects, and portable devotional images, and its metaphorical allusions endowed such works of art with singular connotations of the metaphysical and divine far surpassing the specific language of biblical accounts.

Italian art often represented the Man of Sorrows as peacefully asleep, even if dead and upright in position, and the paradigmatic example of the type was one of the earliest: Paolo Veneziano's figure on the *Pala feriale*, or daily altarpiece, of 1345–1348, that formerly adorned the high altar of San Marco, Venice.[16] Morone, however, emphasized the pain and misery of the Man of Sorrows on the Columbia cloth through facial expression and by representing several Instruments of the Passion, that is, objects related to wounds and injuries that Christ endured during flagellation and crucifixion. Here they include two scourges, or whips, the pair of nails that pierced his hands on the cross, together with the spear that pierced his chest, and the sponge that quenched his thirst with vinegar.[17] Degrading the Christian savior, these implements of torture fill the devotee with horror, but they also elicit sorrow, pity, and empathy. Importantly, they recall the Passion story without actually telling it. That is, they are clues to the Gospels yet respect the traditional non-historical character of the Man of Sorrows. During the Renaissance, the churches of Verona filled with images of the Man of Sorrows accompanied by Instruments of the Passion. Two remarkable up-to-date examples are, first, a relief sculpture in the church of San Lorenzo and, second, an early sixteenth-century painting that includes Mary and St. John and that once belonged to the monastery of San Giovanni della Beverara (Figs. 6, 7).[18] In comparison with these nearly contemporary works, the top part of Morone's cloth is simplicity itself, severe in its few Passion objects, subdued in coloring, and poignant in Christ's solitude.[19] Further

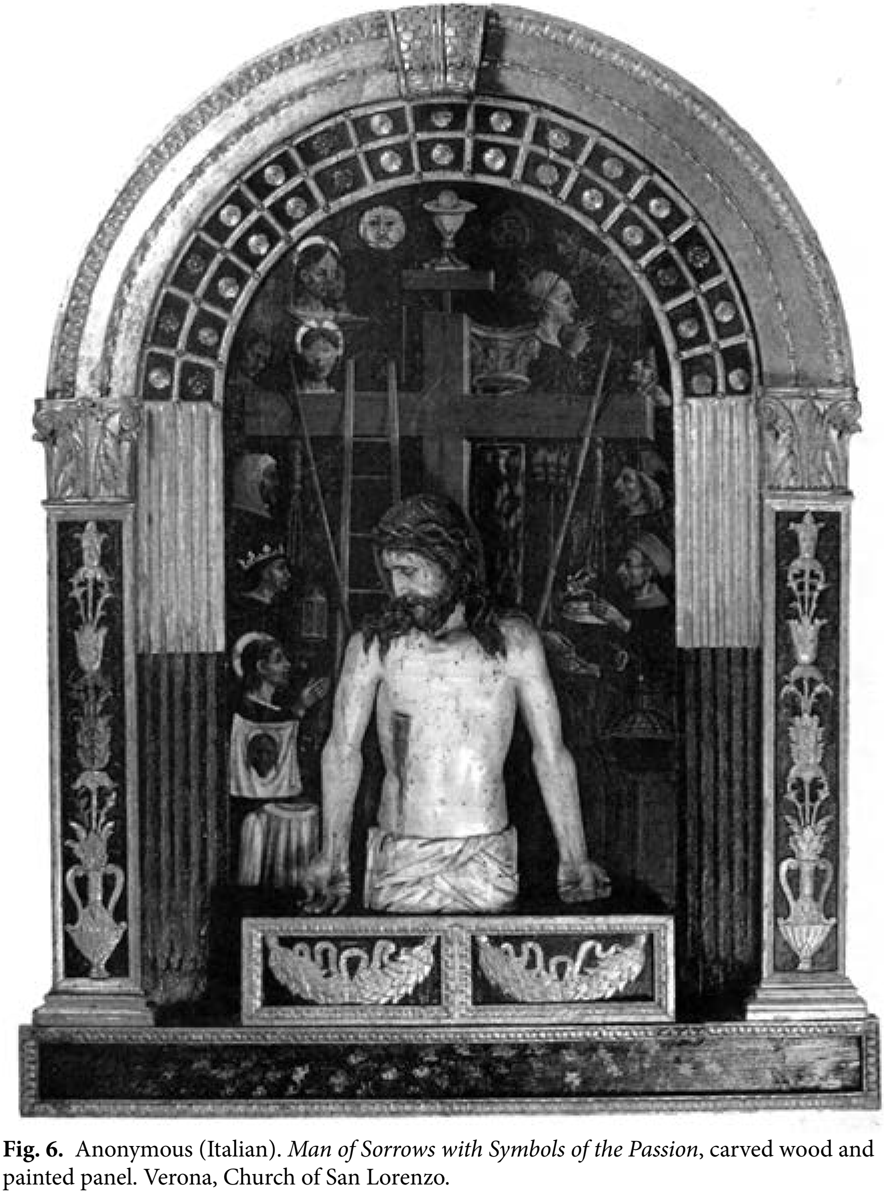


Fig. 6. Anonymous (Italian). *Man of Sorrows with Symbols of the Passion*, carved wood and painted panel. Verona, Church of San Lorenzo.

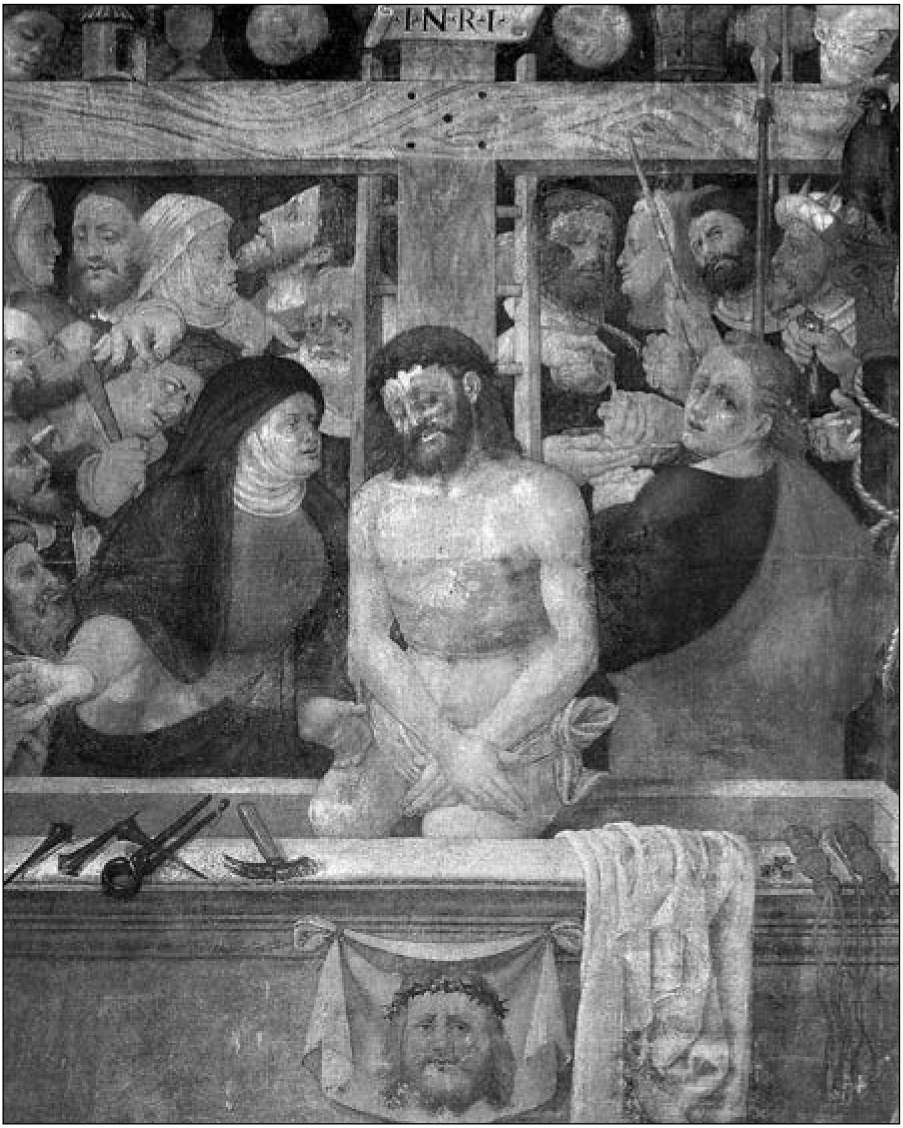


Fig. 7. Anonymous (Italian). *Man of Sorrows with Mary and St. John and Symbols of the Passion*, tempera on canvas. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, inv. 125-1B0301. By permission of the Direzione Musei d'Arte e Monumenti, Verona. Photo: Umberto Tomba.

differentiating it from the sculpture and painting just mentioned, Morone paradoxically elevated to regal status both Christ's suffering and Mary's humility by setting them against majestic draperies recalling cloths of honor, luxury fabrics traditionally set behind monarchs and sovereign rulers.[20]

The intimacy, simplicity, and stillness intrinsic to the Columbia painting produced an image likely meant for quiet reflection and meditation. Not just contemplation on Christian salvation, however, for although the work is apparently uncomplicated to the eye, the meanings of its two main figures have been intensified or deepened. By positioning the Man of Sorrows before an embroidered curtain, Morone generated a dual significance for the dead Christ: he is tortured yet stately. Though the inscription identifies Mary as Queen of Heaven, corroborated by the brocaded drapery behind her, he placed her tasseled cushion on the ground to designate the Madonna of Humility, whose iconography originated ca. 1350.[21] Increasingly popular in Verona over the next one hundred years, this figure saw its most spectacular, local early example in the *Madonna of the Rose Garden* by Stefano di Giovanni (ca.1375–after 1438), perhaps born in France but active in Verona and commonly known today as Stefano da Verona (Fig. 8).[22] Depicting a garden rich with flowers, birds, and angels, and containing a symbolic fountain of life, all enclosed within an intricately shaped trellis/arbor overflowing with climbing roses, Stefano's panel shows Mary with the Christ Child on her lap and sitting, like Morone's later figure, on a tasseled cushion on the ground.[23] A long succession of such "grounded Marys" followed this painting in Verona, though none is as lavish as Stefano's and many date ca. 1440–1460.[24] Morone likely familiarized himself too with a thoroughly modern Madonna of Humility in Mantua when he surely saw Mantegna's engraving of the subject of ca. 1485–1490 (Fig. 9), whose impact on his own interpretation is apparent in the strong modeling of Mary's knees and her heavily rendered draperies.[25] Overall, the Madonna of Humility and the Man of Sorrows with the Instruments of the Passion were popular subjects that Morone knew in multiple versions by the time he painted the Columbia cloth. That he combined the two in one work of art is unusual but not entirely unknown,[26] and in choosing to debase the sacred figures while at the same time exalting each with a royal hanging, he stressed meekness and humility as the very virtues his work of art acclaims and which the devout must esteem and love. In doing so, he integrated the image thematically although he split it horizontally.

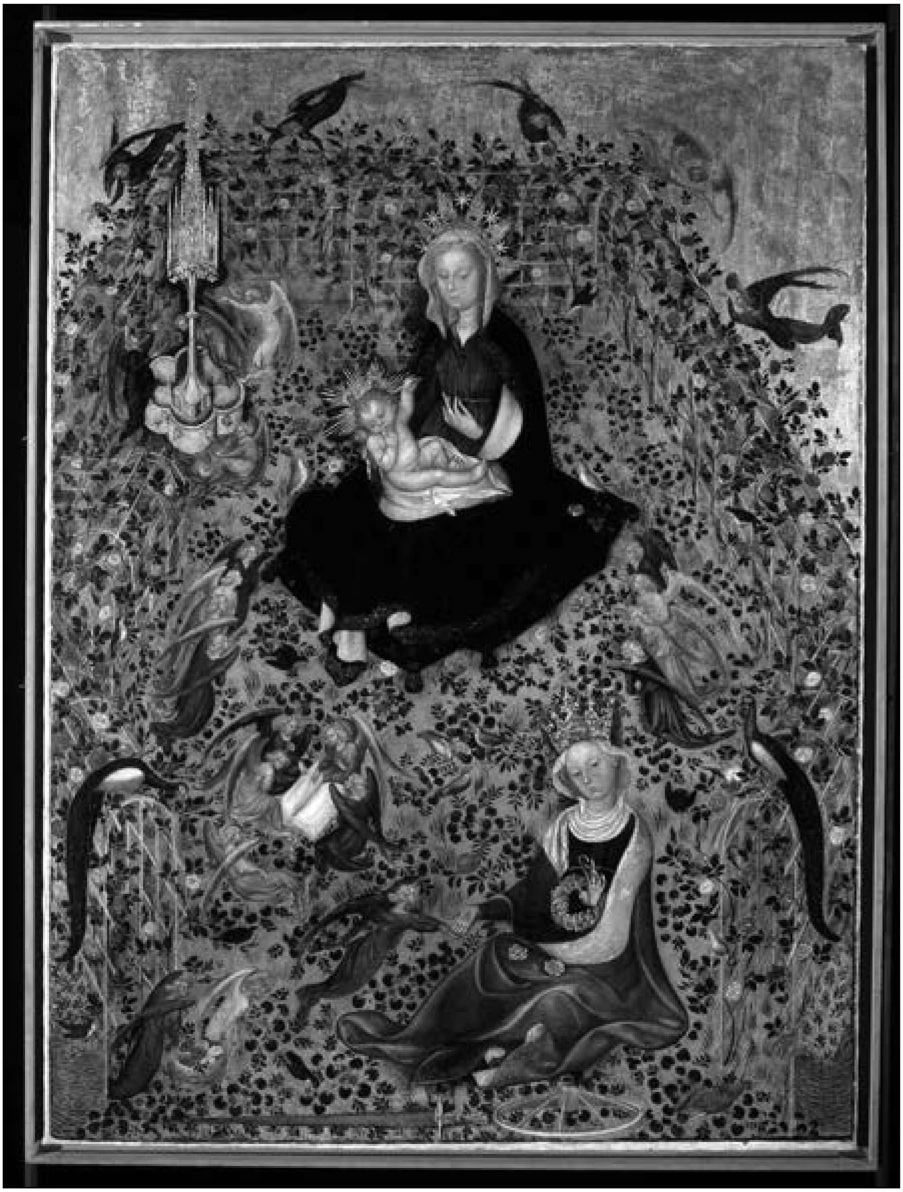


Fig. 8. Stefano di Giovanni (Stefano da Verona, French or Lombard, ca. 1375–after 1438). Madonna and Child with St. Catherine of Alexandria (*Madonna of the Rose Garden*), tempera on panel transferred to canvas. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, inv. 173-1B0359. By permission of the Direzione Musei d'Arte e Monumenti, Verona. Photo: Umberto Tomba.

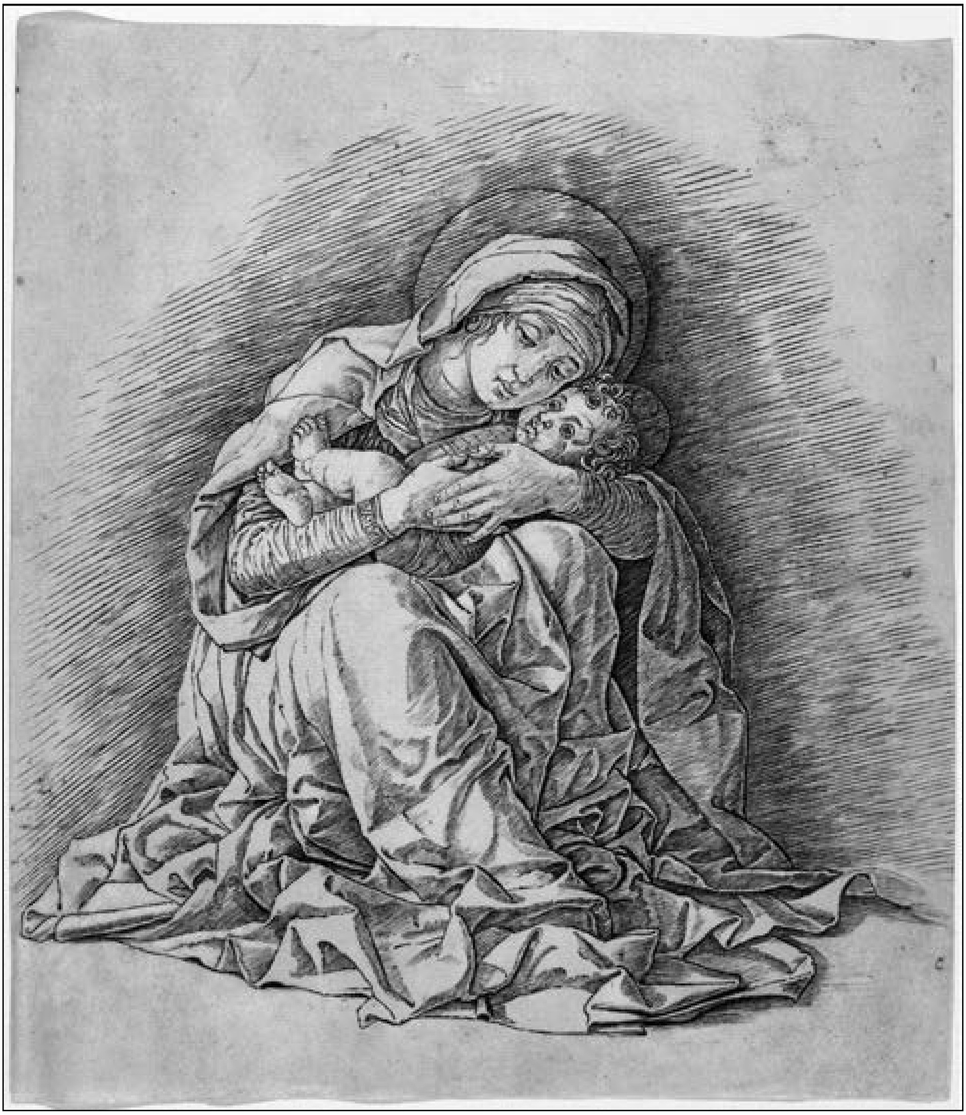


Fig. 9. Andrea Mantegna (Italian, 1430/31–1506). *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1480–1485, engraving. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1952, Acc. 52.535. Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

If the theme of the painting is communicated effectively despite compositional division, the two cloths of honor are in great part the very reason. The validity of this statement can be tested by comparing the painting against a bilateral panel in Assisi, another work by Morone with the same three figures—the Man of Sorrows and the Madonna and Child—this time depicted, however, on either side of one panel and each without the royal drapery, thereby altering the premise of the Columbia cloth (Figs. 10, 11).[27] The two scenes show open landscapes stretching into the far distance. Indeed, the setting of the Assisi dead Christ is comparable, though not identical, to the countryside of the Columbia Madonna and Child. In addition, the pair of half-length figures of the Man of Sorrows apparently corresponds with one another. Yet the Assisi version reduces the number of Instruments of the Passion and elongates the two rods; the tomb is differently designed and its perspective altered so that it is seen from above; the chest wound bleeds very little and Christ's hands are transposed; and finally, his head tilts traditionally to his proper right, or our left.[28] In other words, the figure is akin to many other Renaissance interpretations of the subject, the most representative of which is Giovanni Bellini's panel in the Museo Correr, Venice,[29] but Morone's painting in Columbia essentially differs from its Assisi counterpart in that it acclaims Christ as king while mortifying him and accentuating his sufferings.

The variations between Morone's two interpretations of the Madonna and Child are decidedly more marked. His Assisi version is absolutely traditional and follows many such devotional images of the era. Yet the Columbia painting so enriches the iconography as to change the work's meaning completely. The wafer, the baby's nudity and coral necklace, the cushion on the ground, and the gleaming cloth of honor, juxtaposed with the inscription, all transform the time-honored image of Mother and Child into one that is complex and paradoxical. Moreover, because it is viewed with the Man of Sorrows rather than separate from it, the entire painting asserts Christian and Marian implications absent from the bilateral Assisi panel. That is to say, whereas the individual images on the latter work are predictable—even conventional—the Columbia cloth is most definitely not. Its linen support, finally, suggests that Morone and his patron's conception for the work veered from tradition.

This is an unexpected conclusion to draw given its compartmentalization and long-established subject matter. As we have already seen, Morone painted the work in a modern manner. Stylistic elements associated with Mantegna's

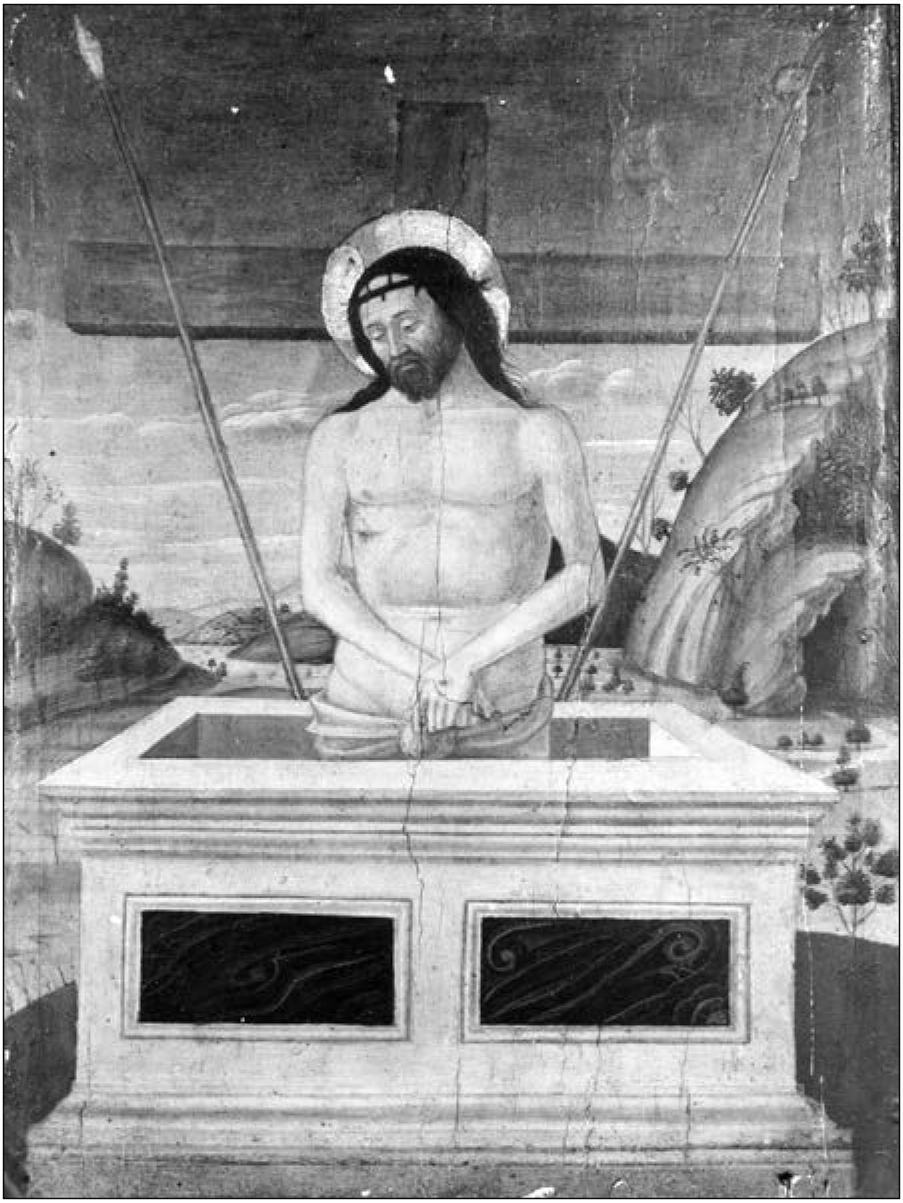


Fig. 10. Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517). *Man of Sorrows*, tempera on panel. Assisi, Treasury of San Francesco, Francis Mason Perkins Collection.

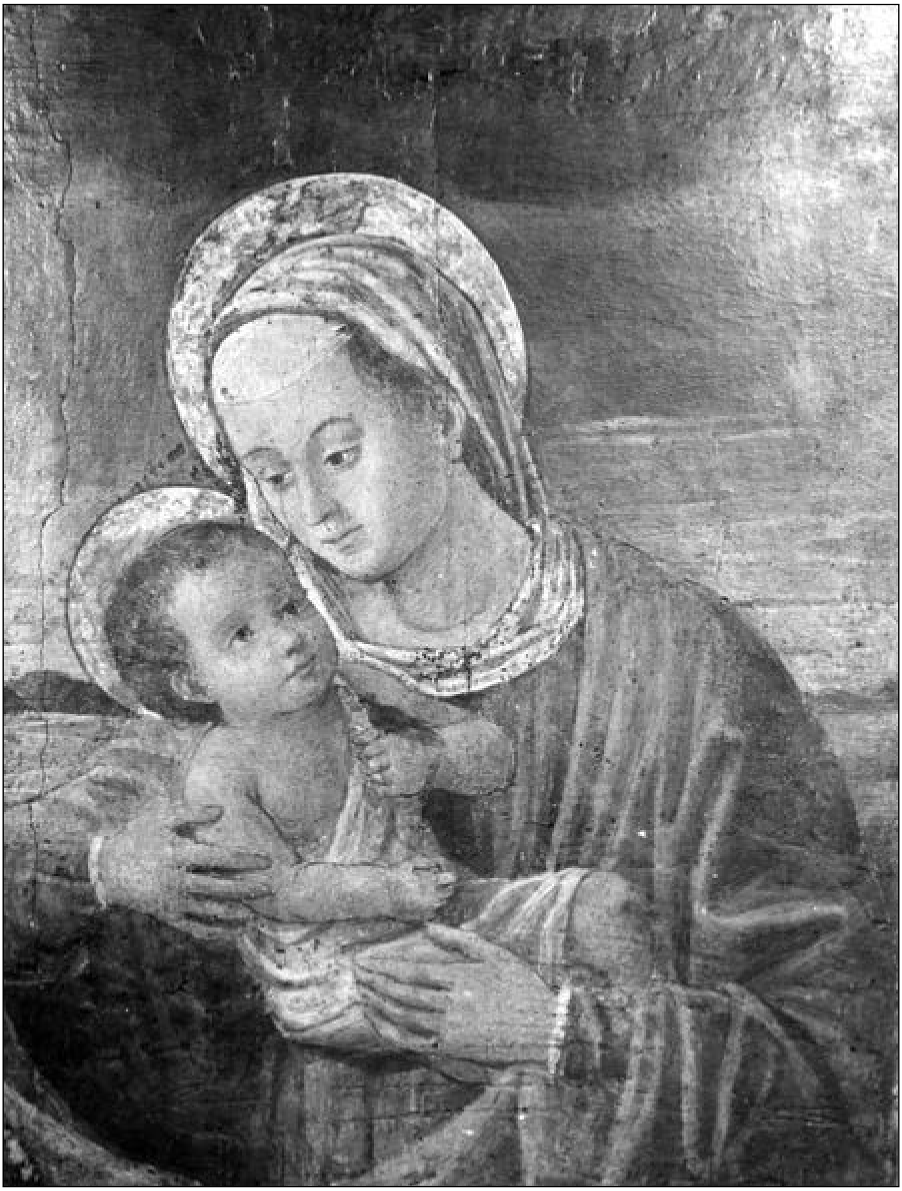


Fig. 11. Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517). *Madonna and Child*, tempera on panel. Assisi, Treasury of San Francesco, Francis Mason Perkins Collection.

art have been noted, and the volume and structure of Christ and Mary conceal their iconographic roots, one Byzantine and the other late Gothic, though to tell the truth, the two figures emphasize frontality and stillness as if to enlist the hieratic qualities of an icon. Indeed, the most innovative aspect of the Columbia cloth is its support, for woven fabric was not a generally used surface by ca. 1500 when wood, or panel, was still preferred for moveable works of art in Italy. However, both Mantegna and Morone were already working on canvas before the turn of the century, Mantegna for his *Adoration of the Magi* and *Dead Christ*, to name only two, and Morone for the Gonzaga battle scene noted above, all three executed in Mantua.[30] The two artists also painted on linen, a textile more rarely employed.[31] Thus to some extent, the ex-*Noseda Madonna* was pioneering in both style and medium. Nonetheless, the choice of support takes us beyond the issue of innovation, for the real-life fragility of linen evocatively contrasts with the luxury textiles Morone painted behind the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin of Humility. One may logically inquire whether its use was an attempt on the painter's part, or on that of his patron, to create a meaningful contradiction between what the eyes behold and what the hands tangibly hold: That is, the substantial draperies bestowing majesty upon Christ and Mary versus the objective fragility of the work of art. Contradiction and incongruity unquestionably characterize the Columbia cloth: not only are the Man of Sorrows and the Madonna of Humility ennobled by the royal hangings, but Christ and Mary are also rendered majestic both pictorially and verbally. Christ materializes as if enthroned within his tomb and before his cross, and Mary—though relegated to the earth—is named Queen of Heaven. The cloth in Columbia highlights the deeply believed Christian paradox between the mortal body and the eternal soul.

Beyond the distinction between what the linen shows and what it is, Morone's choice of support may be interpreted in other ways. As the fabric was cherished for its delicacy and lightness and was thus susceptible to destruction, its unpretentiousness corresponded with the meekness characterizing Christ as the Man of Sorrows and Mary as the Madonna of Humility. Moreover, because linen is thin and likely to disintegrate, it proved an apt metaphor for death. Indeed, works of art on linen might adorn altars, passageways, and halls in churches during the forty days of Lent (Ash Wednesday to Easter Sunday) when the faithful are to humble themselves and seek penance for their sins in preparation for Good Friday commemorating Christ's crucifixion.[32] Yet despite the certainty that these old connotations associate linen with Lenten devotions, we cannot be sure they actually sparked the commissioning of the Columbia cloth. Investigating the function and use of Morone's painting demands some speculation on our part.

One sure key to understanding the work lies in its exquisite brushwork and sophisticated coloring. The delicately painted landscape, elegantly rendered embroideries, the shimmering design on the opulent tapestry behind Mary, and lastly, the fine gold highlights on the hair of the three figures require the cloth to be held in order to appreciate it; similarly, the two minutely written inscriptions must be read close up. In addition, the halos on both Christs contain cruciform designs whose red tones match those of the Man of Sorrows's blood, the drapery ennobling Mary, the coral necklace protecting the infant from evil, and the strings pinning the whips to the crossbar. Such refinements of brushwork and color give most pleasure if enjoyed in proximity like a manuscript illumination, a medium in which Morone himself excelled. It cannot surprise us that the artist responsible for the exquisitely painted figure of David in a landscape within the initial O on a cutting now in the Robert Lehman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 12) was the same that produced the Columbia cloth.[33] One may question if the linen work—like many manuscripts—had a liturgical use or served at the altar; but would such an exquisitely painted object have covered a chalice, or dried its interior after communion, or wiped the fingers of a priest's hands? In any one of these circumstances, the cloth would have easily stained and dirtied, and given its fragility, a patron would not have likely commissioned Morone, the leading Veronese artist at the time, to execute a work whose ruin was certain and whose survival might be placed in jeopardy.[34]

It is far easier to ascertain the purposes the painting could not have fulfilled than to pinpoint its original intent, though as noted, the refinement, size, and weight of the cloth identify it as an intimate image to be held. I believe we can understand the painting's probable origins if we recall its theological focus on the Eucharist and Resurrection and its moral accent on humility together with two more factors: patronage and personal devotions. First, Morone's successful career in his native city rested on his commissions from the Observant Franciscans at San Bernardino during the span of a quarter century. Begun in 1452, the church was dedicated to the Tuscan friar who had preached three times in the city from the 1420s into the 1440s and who was elevated to sainthood in 1450.[35] Few events that year were as animated and celebrated in

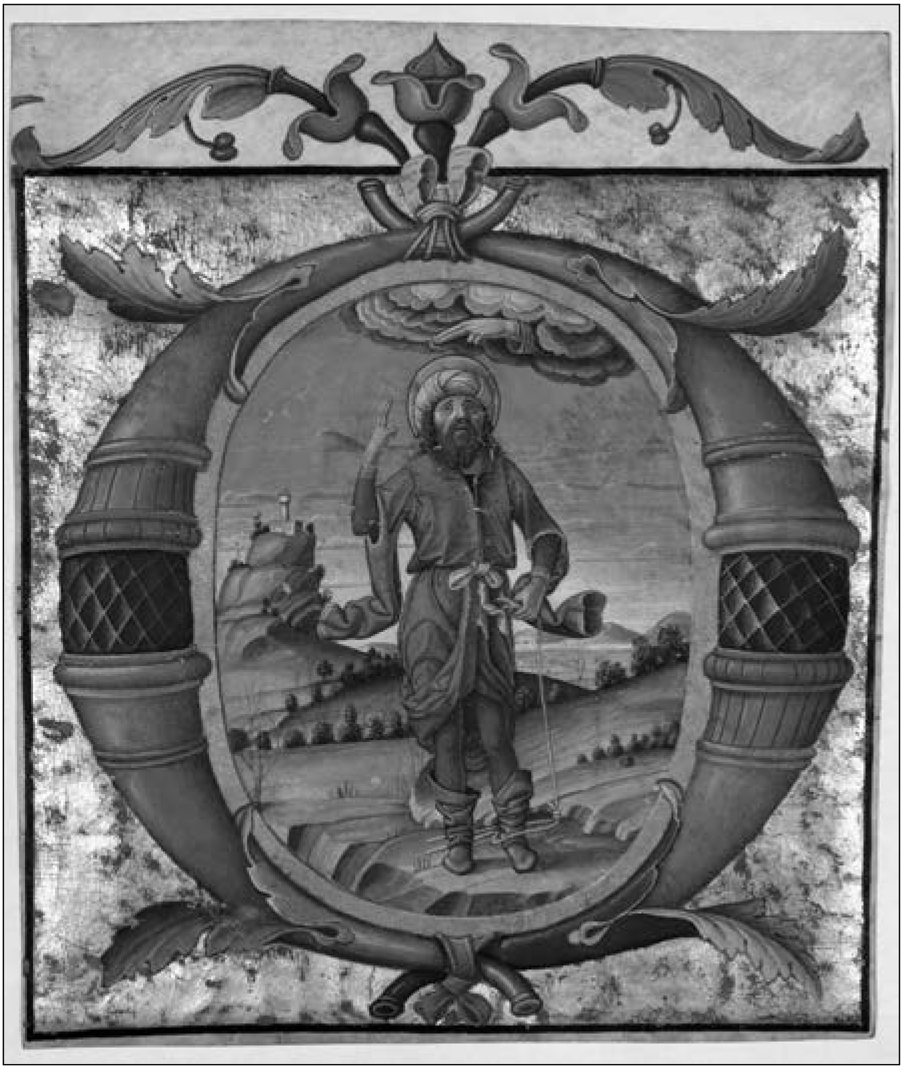


Fig. 12. Domenico Morone (Italian, ca.1442–after 1517). *David with His Foot in a Noose in an Initial O*, ca. 1500, tempera and gold on parchment. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, Acc. 1975.1.2483. Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

the Veneto as Bernardino's canonization festivities, and Observants in Verona understood the possibility of strengthening their visibility and influence through a burst of artistic patronage with the founding of a church in his honor.[36] In 1481, they summoned Morone to paint their two organ shutters, which show, respectively, the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* and *San Bernardino Holding Christ's Monogram*. Toward the end of the century, they engaged him again, this time to paint frescoes on the life of St. Anthony of Padua, perhaps in collaboration with his son Francesco (1471–1529); Domenico was responsible for other paintings in the church too, but they do not survive.[37] Finally, like many other artists, Morone depicted Franciscan saints on altarpieces, and these together with his panel of *Two Beatified Franciscans* cited at the beginning of this article testify to his links with the Order.[38]

In the early years of the new century, the almost sixty-year-old Morone took on what became the crowning achievement of his life, the fresco cycle in the Sagromoso Library, a commission underwritten by one of the leading families of Verona. Its inscription dated to 1503, the series comprises forty-two full-length portraits of notable Franciscans, numerous roundels showing yet others, and a grand painting depicting the donors, Leonello Sagromoso and his wife, Anna Maria Ultramarino, kneeling before the Madonna and Child with angels, saints, and martyrs ranked behind.[39] Much ink has been spilled on the Library and its place in Franciscan cultural life, on the iconography and attribution of the paintings, and their modern restoration. Suffice it to note here the importance of the institution, the historical and theological scope of its frescoes, and by extension, the reputation of the artist chosen to work there, with his fame certainly increasing after the unveiling of his work. Eberhardt, Tosato, Marinelli, Veronesi, and Zamperini have established Morone's unquestionable responsibility for the library frescoes, thereby placing him in the front rank of Veneto painting ca. 1500 and, by implication, extolling all his pictorial accomplishments in those years. The Columbia cloth counts as one of them

Morone's connections with San Bernardino went beyond his professional commissions there. He baptized four of his several children with the names of Franciscan saints—Chiara, Francesco (and an older daughter named Francesca?), Antonio, and Ludovico (referring to Louis of Toulouse)—and chose San Bernardino as his burial site.[40] It would seem that the artist personally lived Franciscan devotions as they were practiced in the new Observant monastery, whose resident friars advanced his career and marked him as their preferred painter. In summarizing this material it becomes evident that after decades of working in the church, Morone knew its hierarchy well; he shared the attachments and values of the Order, was thoroughly familiar with its history and saints, and must have drunk deeply over time from the wellspring of Franciscan piety.

In painting a delicate cloth, whose imagery honors meekness and humility—the Man of Sorrows above and the Madonna of Humility below—Morone privileged the very virtues that distinguish St. Francis, and surely the painter knew that. Is any saint in Christian hagiography better known for these qualities than Giovanni Francesco di Bernardone, the son of a rich merchant of Assisi, who in the early years of the thirteenth century renounced family wealth and wedded Lady Poverty, as it were, then dedicating himself to God and the poor and subsequently founding a religious order committed to the meek and oppressed?[41] It would be amiss, I submit, to equivocate on the probability that Morone painted the Columbia cloth for the private devotions of either a Franciscan friar or tertiary, someone of rank possibly facing a voyage and wanting a small and easily transportable devotional image, a conclusion that would readily come to mind if the work were on panel. The patron—male or female—was likely conservative in outlook but also artistically open-minded in opting for a "modern" pictorial style and accepting an innovative material, linen, whose use was decidedly on the rise. Small and unpretentious, Morone's "Cloth of Humility" is a distinguished work of art voicing the dynamic Renaissance manner current in Verona ca. 1500 and articulating too the deep beliefs of a pious Christian patron. That this person might have been a culturally astute member of the Franciscan Order or a wealthy male or female lay tertiary can only increase the modern audience's fascination for the painting.[42] Finally, our realization that Morone perhaps produced this delicate linen object while engaged in painting grand frescoes in the Libreria Sagromoso inevitably forces us to reevaluate the artist and his place in Veneto culture.

NOTES

* I am grateful to four colleagues who astutely corrected mistakes, generously offered suggestions, and furnished bibliography where needed: Catherine Puglisi and Tiziana Franco and, above all, Gene Peter Veronesi and Alessandra Zamperini, who shared with me their own work on Morone and the Libreria Sagromoso.

1. Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools xv–xvi Century*, vol. 2 (London, 1968) p. 11; *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to the Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia*, Osmund Overby, ed. (Columbia and London, 1982) p. 74, no. 119 (acc. no. 61.75).
2. Marjorie Och and Norman E. Land, in Norman E. Land, ed., *The Samuel H. Kress Study Collection at the University of Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., and London, 1999) no. 3, pp. 34–36, were divided between Morone and dai Libri, ascribing it finally to the school of Verona. The painting appeared in the exhibition: Catherine Puglisi and William Barcham, eds., *Passion in Venice, Crivelli to Tintoretto and Veronese*, Museum of Biblical Art, New York (New York and London, 2011) no. 24, pp. 78–79.
3. The works are in the Civic Art Gallery of the Musei Civici di Vicenza but were likely produced for an altarpiece in the Franciscan church of San Biagio in that city; each panel measures 14 by 106 in, or 35.8 x 269 cm. See Mauro Lucco, in Maria Elisa Avagnina, Margaret Binotto, and Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa, eds., *Pinacoteca Civica di Vicenza, 1. Dipinti dal XIV al XVI secolo, catalogo scientifico delle collezioni* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2003) no. 25a–c, pp. 148–149, and Debora Tosato, in Sergio Marinelli and Paola Marini, eds., *Mantegna e le arti a Verona 1450–1500*, Palazzo della Gran Guardia, Verona (Venice, 2006) no. 71a–c, pp. 306–307. Lucco ascribed the three to the Master of the Sagromoso Library; Tosato gave them to Morone.
4. See Lucco, in *Pinacoteca Civica*, no. 26, pp. 151–152, and Tosato, in *Mantegna e le arti*, no. 72, pp. 306, 308. As with the San Biagio panels, Lucco ascribed this one to the Master of the Sagromoso Library; Tosato gave it to Morone.
5. Luciano Bellosi, "Un'indagine su Domenico Morone (e su Francesco Benaglio)," in Pierre Rosenberg, Cécile Scailliérez, and Dominique Thiébaut, eds., *Hommage à Michel Laclotte* (Milan, 1994) pp. 281–303, most fully articulates the thesis for the Master of the Libreria Sagromoso. For a summary of the opinions, see Lucco, in *Pinacoteca Civica,* no. 25a–c, pp. 148–149.
6. Hans-Joachim Eberhardt, "Domenico Morone," in Pierpaolo Brugnoli, ed., *Maestri della pittura veronese* (Verona, 1974) pp. 91–100; and Tosato, in *Mantegna e le arti a Verona*, nos. 71–72, pp. 306–308. Preceding Eberhardt and Tosato regarding Morone's responsibility for the Sagramoso frescoes was Raffaello Brenzoni, *Domenico Morone 1438/9–1517 c., Vita ed opere* (Florence, 1956) pp. 55–56.
7. Gene Peter Veronesi, "Domenico Morone and the Decoration of the Sagromoso Library in the Church of San Bernardino, Verona," Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 2001, p. 60.
8. See Marinelli, in *Museo del Castelvecchio*, no. 203, pp. 262–264; and Alessandra Zamperini, "La Libreria Sagramosa di San Bernardino di Verona e qualche ipotesi per Domenico Morone," in Monica Molteni, ed., *Storia, conservazione e tecniche nella*

Libreria Sagramosa in San Bernardino a Verona (Verona, 2010) pp. 11–33. Zamperini consigned her *tesi di laurea* on the Library to the University of Verona in 1999–2000.

9. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori,* Gaetano Milanesi, ed. vol. v (1880) pp. 307–309: "allora più famoso d'altro pittore in quella città."
10. For an excellent overview of Mantegna and the recent bibliography, see Keith Christiansen, *The Genius of Andrea Mantegna* (New York, 2009).
11. Veronesi, "Domenico Morone," p. 72.
12. I am using the English title of the painting as found in Jane Martineau, in David Chambers and Jane Martineau, eds., *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (London, 1981) no. 2, pp. 103–104; and Veronesi, "Domenico Morone," pp. 68–72.
13. The Christ child often holds a small object referring to resurrection or eternal life. Here, the item is neither a bird nor a flower nor does it appear to be a fruit. As the adult Christ may hold the wafer, there is no reason to assume that the infant cannot do so also.
14. The bibliography on the Man of Sorrows is now immense, but see Erwin Panofsky, "'Imago Pietatis,' ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Meditrix,'" *Festschrift für Max Friedländer zur 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1927) pp. 261–308, and Hans Belting, "An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34–35 (1980–1981) pp. 1–16. See also Catherine Puglisi and William Barcham, "Gli esordi del *Cristo passo* nell'arte veneziana e la *Pala feriale* di Paolo Veneziano," in Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli, Maria Leonardi, and Stefania Rossi Minutelli, eds., *Cose nuove e cose antiche, Scritti per Monsignor Antonio Niero e Don Bruno Bertoli* (Venice, 2006) pp. 403–429. The issue of nomenclature is complicated; suffice it to say that the modern term for the subject, Man of Sorrows, derives from the Book of Isaiah 53:3 where the Jewish prophet foresees that Israel will be led by a "man of suffering [or sorrows], accustomed to infirmity."
15. In a most idiosyncratic fashion, Morone turned Christ's head to our right whereas most figures lean the head to the viewer's left.
16. Puglisi and Barcham, "Gli esordi del *Cristo passo*." Northern European art quite differently showed the same figure often full-length and with his eyes wide open.
17. Instruments of the Passion, or the *Arma Christi*, vary in number but are culled from four categories: (1) those associated with objects the Empress Helen sought in the Holy Land in the fourth century and depicted by Morone (the nails, crown of thorns, lance, sponge, and whips); (2) a group drawn from the Gospels during the thirteenth century, which include the cock associated with Jesus' warning to St. Peter (Matthew 26:75); (3) the objects needed to fill out the Crucifixion story like the pliers (not in Morone's painting); and (4) a final set comprising the hands that slapped Christ and Peter's knife cutting the ear of the centurion's servant. For a complete list, see Alessio Geretti, ed., *Mysterium*, Casa delle Esposizioni, Illegio (Italy) (Milan, 2005) pp. 31–32, and Robert Suckale, "Arma Christi, Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder," *Städel-Jahrbuch* N.F.6 (1977) pp. 177–208.
18. For the first, whose authorship is still debated, see Edoardo Villalta, in *Mantegna e le arti*, pp. 409–410, no. 143; and for the second, see Caterina Gemma Brenzoni, in *Museo del Castelvecchio*, no. 372, pp. 468–469.

19. Morone himself painted such a complex Man of Sorrows with Instruments of the Passion. For his panel of the subject with its two wings showing the Angel Gabriel and the Annunciate Virgin, see Marinelli, in *Museo del Castelvecchio*, no. 205, pp. 265–266.
20. For the cloth of honor, see Ronald Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli* (New Haven and London, 2004) p. 82.
21. On the subject, see Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion, and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1978) pp. 132–156; and Beth Williamson, *The Madonna of Humility* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Syracuse, N.Y., 2009) with other bibliography. The Madonna of Humility often, but not always, suckles her son.
22. See Paola Marini, in *Museo del Castelvecchio*, no. 54, pp. 92–94. Meiss, *Painting in Florence*, p. 142, notes the importance of the subject in both French and north Italian art.
23. Saint Catherine of Alexandria sits in the lower right of the garden close to her attributes of the wheel and sword while an angel offers her a martyr's palm frond.
24. For just eight of the type, see *Museo del Castelvecchio*, nos. 57, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, and 75, respectively on pp. 96–97, 101–103, 105–107, 110–113, and 120–121.
25. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1952, inv. 52.535, for which see Suzanne Borsch, in Giovanni Agosti and Dominique Thiébaut, eds., *Mantegna 1431–1506*, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Milan and Paris, 2008) nos. 113–114, pp. 287–290. For Morone's panel of the *Madonna and Child* in the Museo del Castelvecchio (a work possibly cut down in size and perhaps dating to the first years of the new century and thus likely contemporary with the Columbia cloth), see Marinelli, in *Museo del Castelvecchio*, no. 202, p. 262; and Marinelli, in *Mantegna e le arti*, pp. 303–305, no. 70.
26. I have found one example from the region, a late-fourteenth-century triptych in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, for which see Sandra Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia*, vol. I, *Opere d'arte dei secoli XIV e XV* (Rome, 1955) inv. 239, no. 16, pp. 18–19, and Cristina Guarnieri, "Per un corpus della pittura veneziana del Trecento al tempo di Lorenzo," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 30 (2006) p. 112, fig. 117; the Instruments of the Passion are depicted on the outside panels of this triptych. Morone of course saw numerous polyptychs with the Man of Sorrows in the top field and the Virgin and Child directly below, usually flanked by saints.
27. Giuseppe Palumbo, *Collezione Federico Mason Perkins* (Rome, 1973) no. 13, p. 30; and Federico Zeri, *La Collezione Federico Mason Perkins* (Turin, 1988) pp. 132–133, who dated the work "verso 1505." Bilateral images like this one, the Virgin and Child on one side and the Man of Sorrows on the other, were not uncommon, and their roots can be traced back to the famous late twelfth-century icon in the Byzantine Museum, Kastoria (Greece). For this see, Annemarie Weyl Carr, in Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium, Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 1997) no. 72, pp. 125–126.
28. Though easily overlooked, the post of the cross does appear in the Columbia painting, barely visible over Christ's halo. Morone's predilection for marble insets is most apparent in the repeated pedestals on which his Franciscans stand in the Sagromoso frescoes dated 1503.

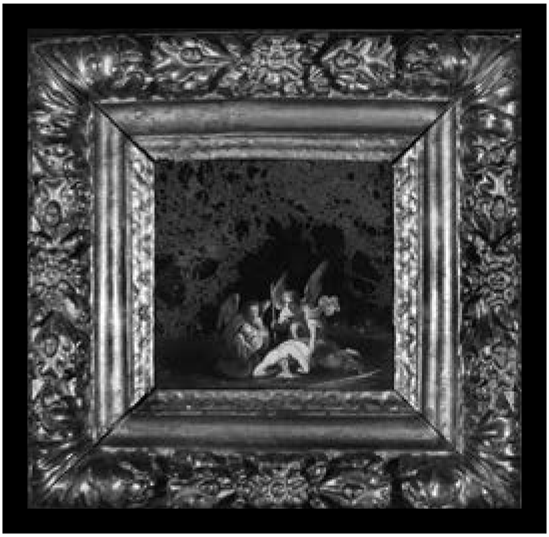
29. See most recently Giorgio Fossaluzzsa, in Andrea De Marchi, Andrea Di Lorenzo, and Lavinia Galli Michero, eds., *Giovanni Bellini, dall'icona alla storia* (Turin, 2012) no. 6, pp. 64–67.
30. See *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, nos. 2 and 32–33, pp. 103–104 and 122–123, respectively.
31. For Mantegna's *Adoration of the Magi* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Calif.), see *Mantegna 1431–1506*, no. 181, pp. 415–416. For more on painting on cloth, see Hélène Dubois and Lizet Klaassen, "Fragile Devotion: Two Late Fifteenth-Century Italian Tüchlein Examined," in Caroline Villers, ed., *The Fabric of Images, European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 2000) pp. 67–75.
32. See for example Laura Weigert, "*Velum Templi*: Painted Cloths of the Passion and the Making of Lenten Ritual in Reims," *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003) pp. 199–227.
33. Painted in tempera and gold on parchment, the initial measures 7 3/8 x 6 1/8 in. (18.7 x 15.5 cm), and its inventory number in the museum is 1975.1.2483; David's physiognomy also approximates that of the Man of Sorrows in Columbia. For Morone as illuminator, see Hans-Joachim Eberhardt, "Nuovi studi su Domenico Morone, Girolamo dai Libri e Liberale," in Gino Castiglioni and Sergio Marinelli, eds., *Miniatura veronese del Rinascimento*, Verona, Museo del Castelvecchio (Verona, 1986) pp. 103–151 (esp. pp. 103–116), and Eberhardt, "Morone, Domenico," in Milva Bollati, ed., *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani, secoli IX–XVI* (Milan, 2004) pp. 807–811.
34. Vasari, *Vite*, p. 308, states that Morone was more famous at the time than Liberale, Verona's other great artist.
35. On Bernardino and Verona, see Veronesi, "Domenico Morone," pp. 116–138.
36. For the importance of the new church in Verona, see Zamperini, in *Storia, conservazione*, pp. 11–13.
37. For this material and relevant bibliography, see Veronesi, "Domenico Morone," pp. 139–146.
38. For Francis and Bernardino on a polyptych from San Clemente, Verona, see Marinelli in *Museo del Castelvecchio*, no. 201, pp. 260–261, and Zamperini, in *Storia, conservazione*, p. 15.
39. For Morone and the Sagramoso family, see Zamperini, "Committenza aristocratica e iconografia francescana nella Basilica di San Bernardino a Verona (prima parte)," *Annuario Storio Zenoniano* 19 (2002) pp. 51–66.
40. Brenzoni, *Domenico Morone*, p. 3; but Veronesi, "Domenico Morone," p. 55, points out that "Francisca" who is named in communal records of 1468 becomes "Francesco" in documents of 1481. For Domenico's burial, see Vasari, *Vite*, p. 309; Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo, *Le vite de' pittori, degli scultori et architetti veronesi, raccolte da vari autori stampati, e manoscritti, e da altre particolari memorie. Con la narrativa delle Pitture, e Sculture, che s'attrovano nelle Chiese, case e altri luoghi pubblici e privati di Verona e suo territorio* (Verona, 1718; reprint Bologna, 1976) pp. 29–30; and Veronesi, "Domenico Morone," p. 42. For the four saints after whom Domenico named his children and their significant positions in the principal fresco of the Sagramoso Library, see Zamperini, "Committenza aristocratica, e iconografia Francescana nella Basilica di San Bernardino a Verona (seconda parte)," *Annuario Storio Zenoniano* 20 (2003) pp. 79–103.

41. For more on the Franciscans and the Man of Sorrows, see Catherine Puglisi and William Barcham, "Bernardino da Feltre, the Monte di Pietà, and the *Man of Sorrows*: Activist, Microcredit, and Logo," *artibus et historiae* 58 (2008) pp. 35–63.
42. Zamperini, in *Storia, conservazione*, p. 19, n. 47, records that son Francesco asked to be buried in a Franciscan tertiary monument in San Bernardino, suggesting that his father might possibly have done the same.

Preserved for Eternity on Obsidian

A Baroque Painting Showing the Miracle of Milk at St. Catherine of Alexandria's Martyrdom*

MARY L. PIXLEY



After the beheading of St. Catherine of Alexandria, milk flowed from her body instead of blood.[1] Artists almost never depicted this scene in art, preferring to paint the more dramatic moment of Catherine with the infamous spiked wheels of torture or of her kneeling before her executioner, as he prepares to slice off her head with a sword. In a painting in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri (Figs. 1, 2, and front cover), the artist paired this uncommon subject matter with an equally rare support, a piece of obsidian, the mottled pattern of which forms part of the composition.[2] Encased in a richly carved and gilded seventeenth-century French frame, this painting reveals the contemporary fashion for sophisticated paintings on semi-precious stone.[3]

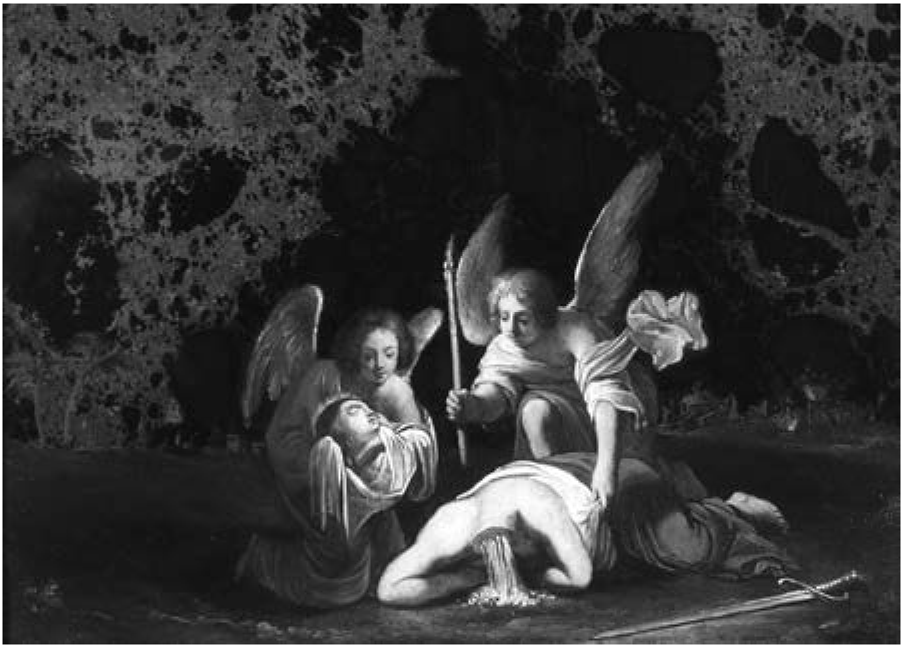


Fig. 1. Studio of Jacques Stella (French, 1596–1657). *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria and the Miracle of Milk* (detail), ca 1630, oil on obsidian. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.126). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

St. Catherine

Often considered an apocryphal saint whose feast day the Vatican abolished in 1969, St. Catherine of Alexandria was one of the most popular saints in Europe during the Middle Ages and later. Following his papal visit in 2002 to Mount Sinai, Catherine's supposed burial place, Pope John Paul II reinstated her feast day (November 25) as an optional memorial, a testimony to her enduring importance. While tradition and the earliest surviving Greek texts date Catherine's death to 305, the origins of her biography probably date to between the late sixth and the late eighth centuries, with the eighth century being the most likely time of composition.[4] Historical documentation regarding her relics may have begun around the year 800 when monks at the monastery of Mount Sinai are said to have discovered the uncorrupted remains of Catherine on a

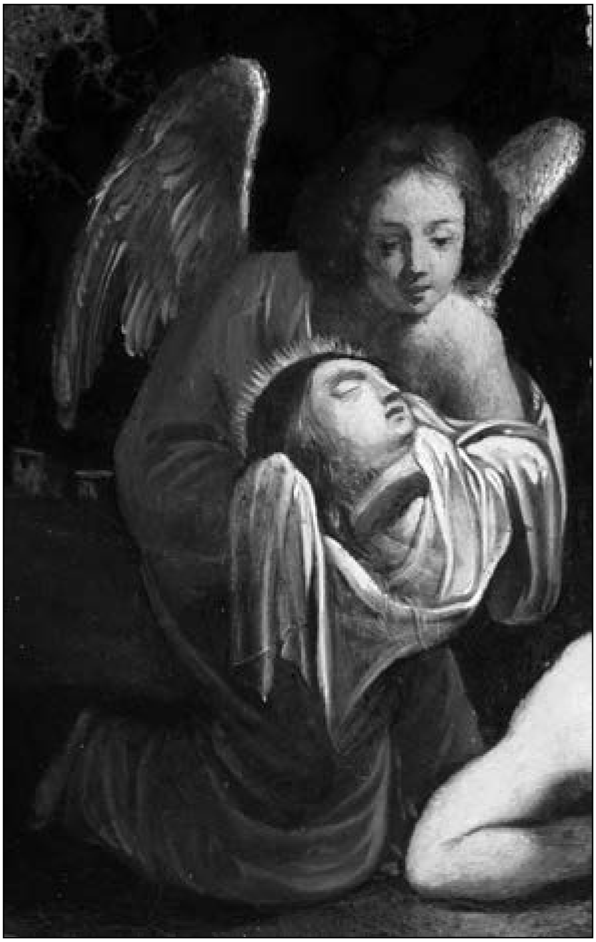


Fig. 2. Detail of Fig. 1, showing an angel holding the head of St. Catherine. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

nearby mountain. Documentary evidence, however, only emerges in the late tenth century when there is reference to the presence of relics associated with St. Catherine at the monastery.[5]

Despite the lack of documented evidence for a historical Catherine from Alexandria, her cult spread, together with legends of her life. Unlike the histories of saints deriving from living persons, her entire life was constructed over the centuries without recourse to verifiable facts.[6] While the widely disseminated *Golden Legend* of Jacobus da Voragine cites Athanasius as a contemporary source for her biography, no trace of Catherine's life exists in his writings.[7] Catherine's popularity, which after the Virgin Mary was second only to Mary Magdalene's, resulted in an elaborately embellished biography, aspects of which sometimes developed in relation to contemporary religious interests.[8] Her life contains many of the traits emblematic of sainthood as well as themes relating to virgin martyrs, as seen in the following synopsis of her life based on the *Golden Legend*.[9]

Of noble birth, Catherine was beautiful and well educated. She became queen at the age of fourteen upon her father's death, at which time her advisors suggested she marry so that her husband could help her rule and defend her kingdom and so that progeny for noble succession could be ensured. Preferring to remain chaste and having no desire to be married, she told her advisors that she would rule alone with their assistance. Catherine soon thereafter converted to Christianity, followed by her mystical marriage to Christ, in token of which Christ placed a ring on her finger.

At eighteen years of age, she went to Alexandria to protest the Emperor Maxentius' order that the people come to the city and sacrifice to the idols. Amazed by her knowledge, wisdom, and beauty, Maxentius was unable to compete with Catherine's learning. He, therefore, enlisted fifty philosophers to debate her. This encounter resulted in the philosophers converting to Christianity, which they confessed to the emperor. Filled with rage, Maxentius had them all burned to death. He then imprisoned Catherine in a dark cell for twelve days without food. In the emperor's absence, the Empress Faustina visited Catherine and witnessed angels ministering to the girl's wounds. After listening to Catherine, she and Porphyrius, captain of the guard, acknowledged faith in Christ.

On the emperor's return, he found Catherine not worn out from fasting but more radiant than ever. Since Catherine was still unwilling to deny her faith, he threatened her with torture on four spiked wheels, but as this was about to take place, a thunderbolt miraculously destroyed the deadly machine with "such a blow that it was shattered and four thousand pagans were killed."[10] Lastly, the emperor offered Catherine the choice of sacrificing to the gods or losing her head. She answered: "Do anything you have a mind to! You will find me prepared to bear whatever it is!"[11] Her beheading followed, and the miraculous milk issued forth from her neck instead of blood. After this, angels took her body to Mount Sinai, where it received a hidden burial. Oil capable of healing all ills and sicknesses was said to exude from her bones for years.

The Missouri painting shows a moment not long after Catherine's execution (Figs. 1, 2, and front cover). Her headless body lies on the ground as milk streams from her severed neck. Multiple rivulets emerge from the bloody neck and cascade down to the ground, where they form delicate ripples between her folded arms. Two angels kneel next to the body. One, holding a large flaming candle, arranges a white cloth around the upper body. The other carefully cradles the severed head, which emits a nascent aureole. A saint has been created.

A touching and quiet moment filled with import, the scene contains numerous narrative details. The bloody sword used for the execution lies in the foreground, abandoned alongside the crumpled body. The brilliant blue drapery covering the lower body distinguishes it from the attending angels, who wear glowing red robes. The angel holding Catherine's head also wears a golden yellow shirt that contrasts with the white drapery holding the precious relic. The other angel, who reverently rearranges the cloth covering Catherine, appears to have just arrived on the scene; the drapery still flutters in the air. In the distance burns a fire amidst which are most likely the remnants of the elaborate wheeled device designed to tear Catherine into pieces. Two palm trees stand on the left.

The Miracle and Meaning of Milk

The emission of milk from a wound rather than blood is not an isolated incident in the Christian tradition. It belongs to a larger tradition of milk flowing from the wounds of Christian martyrs, both male and female.[12] St. Paul, who was beheaded in the mid-60s, seems to be the first. Milk spurted out from his neck and splattered the clothes of the executioner. Immediately following the issuance of milk, blood flowed from his neck. The morning following Paul's death and the miraculous effusion, the prefect Longinus and centurion Cestus were baptized.[13]

Milk was a special and precious substance. Provided by a mother to her offspring, milk by its very nature embodies the idea of sustenance and can serve as a metaphor for nutrition and fertility. The Bible is filled with allusions to a Promised Land filled with milk and honey, and one of the rivers of Paradise was believed to have flowed with milk.[14] Before the emergence of Christianity, the nursing mother served as a metaphor for salvation in the Mediterranean world.[15] In Greek mythology, the Milky Way was born from the breast milk of Hera that sprayed across the heavens as she was breastfeeding Hercules.[16] The origin of the miracle of martyr's milk appears related to the connections between milk and blood surmised by ancient Greek and Roman physicians and philosophers, who in turn derived some of their knowledge from ancient Egyptian medical theories.[17]

In Christianity, the Virgin Mary nursing the infant Jesus is the most famous example of a breastfeeding mother. The cult of the Virgin's milk was exceptionally popular in late medieval Europe, and images of the lactating Virgin were common. On a more fundamental level, the Madonna is a personification of the Christian Church. In her role as the *Virgo lactans*, she provides sustenance and symbolizes the nourishing Mother Church.[18]

The torture and death of a martyr like Catherine was interpreted as a physical imitation of Christ's suffering and death. While the spilling of milk during these tragic circumstances was not generally linked in the literature to the *Virgo lactans*, the milk itself was inseparable from the nourishment provided by a mother's milk.[19] Martyrs nurtured the Christian community through their actions and words. The milk coming from a martyr's body, whether male or female, served to further sustain the Church and was a sign of God's intervention and a prelude to the saint's eternal life.

The Miracle of Milk and St. Catherine

The numerous manuscripts and printed texts of Jacobus da Voragine's widely popular *Golden Legend* ensured that the story of Catherine and other saints graced with the effusion of milk continued to be part of the collective European imagination.[20] St. Catherine's continuing fame, however, was not solely dependent on the reissuing of Voragine's work. She was included in other collections of the lives of saints and martyrs.[21] The sheer mass of texts touching on the life of Catherine is immense—from the most intricate and scholarly to simple publications for the less educated.[22] Moreover, scores of churches were dedicated to her, and innumerable images of her were created.

Voragine considered her superior to other virgin martyrs.[23] Like Voragine, Jacopo Foresti da Bergamo (1434–1520) in his 1497 book placed her before all other holy virgins, except the Virgin Mary.[24] Among the female martyrs, Catherine was the most highly educated, most eloquent (besting fifty philosophers) and graced with numerous privileges that further emphasized her particular importance and sanctity. Among these, she was joined with Christ in a mystical marriage, angels carried her body to Mount Sinai, and oil flowed from her bones.

Writings concentrating on the life of St. Catherine frequently mention the miracle of milk. References to it may consist of only a simple remark; milk can appear by itself or be mixed with blood; and sometimes a more detailed description is given, occasionally including a comment on the significance of the event. Moreover, descriptions of St. Catherine and the miraculous appearance of milk were not limited to biographies dedicated to her. During the early modern period, Catherine and the effusion of milk inspired painters and sculptors, as well as innumerable orators and poets. She was the focus of liturgical dramas, oratories, operas, poems, hymns, and popular pamphlets. She and the miracles punctuating her life were not merely textual but also visible and to be heard, as the events of her life were reenacted in numerous performances of differing formats.[25]

Women commissioned portrait images of themselves in her guise. The fifteenth-century author Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis (1434–1520) put it well: "No kingdom, no city, no town, no hamlet, no private home exists in the world where the temples, chapels, altars, and image of Katherine do not shine forth. . . [S]he everywhere enraptures the many painters and sculptors, both greater and lesser, who represent her with brush, and who, in many places, especially the most famous, show off all their skill and the strengths of art."[26]

The milk shed by Catherine was interpreted in consistent terms that could be interlinked as found in Giovanni Pietro Besozzi (1503–1584), who compared the milk spilled by Catherine to her indescribable innocence and purity, which mirrored that of the milk itself.[27] In analogizing the flow of milk to a torrent of purity and a river of modesty, he further described it is a sign of her sweetness, great value, kindness, pleasantness, and angelic nature. The angels took her body away because the ground was not worthy of her. Catherine's purity remained exceedingly important in the texts, which frequently related the effusion of milk with Catherine's pure virginity, and thus she came to serve as an ideal model for young women and nuns to preserve their virginity.[28] The spilling of milk could certainly be interpreted as a sign of Catherine's virginal innocence,[29] yet the miracle also testified to her sanctity.

In the sixteenth century, Marco Filippi (called il Funesto, fl. 1550) composed a sonnet dedicated to the life of the saint.[30] Several references to milk occur throughout the text. The twelfth canto contains an eight-line stanza that merits translation:

> And so the divine eternal squadrons [of angels],
> In a pure white, soft sheet
> Place the lifeless but still lovely members,
> And that body so white and so delicate:
> Then from the rough, humid and dark ground
> They gather that subtle, white liquid
> Without leaving on top of the dirty earth
> A drop of milk or a single hair.[31]

Even if it is impossible to know whether Filippi's poetry served as the source for the Missouri painting, it still provides a useful commentary on the significance and possible interpretation of the subject, helping the viewer to relate more closely to the miracle. The miraculous flow of milk was a special privilege that distinguished St. Catherine in several ways. An easily understood reference to her purity and a clear indication that the Lord was pleased with her actions, it was also a sign that she, like St. Paul, with whom she was compared in the literature,[32] converted unbelievers and nourished the faithful with words and actions, rather than being a reference to the nourishment provided by the *Virgo lactans*. As Pietro Aretino clearly explained in his life of St. Catherine, published in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the milk that flowed was a miracle "that showed her life was, and was going to be, nourishment for many souls."[33]

Paintings with Severed Head and Fluid

While images of the martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria abounded throughout the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance and Baroque period, depictions of the moment following the execution were much less popular than those showing the saint before her death. Unlike the heroic and inspiring images of Catherine kneeling as a soldier prepares to execute her, or positioned next to the wheels of torture, the reality of the trauma and suffering accompanying her death becomes unavoidable with the separation of her head from her body. Works of art showing the moment after the execution mostly span the late thirteenth century through the early eighteenth century. In these works, images of the miracle of milk flowing from the saint's severed neck are quite rare.

Of the thirty-four works so far known that depict Catherine with her severed head, about one-third show the flow of milk.[34] Seven of them definitely show milk; three more appear to have milk; and three show a mixture of milk and blood. Of the ten believed to show only milk, five were created in Germany (ca. 1270, 1514–1515, 1696, 1702, 1753), three in Italy (ca. 1490, 1608, ca. 1630), one in Spain (1456), and one in South America (seventeenth century). Of those showing a mixture of milk and blood, a fresco in Italy dates to ca. 1368 while a German artist did a drawing and print after it in 1609.

Of the works showing Catherine and her head, only eleven depict blood. Some of the remaining works of art do not show the flow of liquid, and the fluid depicted in frescoes is often no longer visible. Although the portrayal of the emission of blood seems more popular to us today because blood is typically associated with beheadings and although, owing to the fate of history, more images showing blood are found in museum collections, yet the flow of milk may have been represented more frequently. Milk in relation to Catherine's martyrdom contained deeper spiritual significance than blood. Even if images showing the miracle of milk are known from only four countries at present, interest in the subject lasted almost five hundred years, from the earliest known illumination ca. 1270 to a fresco of 1753. Further depictions showing the miracle of milk in all likelihood remain to be found.

Stylistic Attribution

While fundamentally Italianate in style with its Baroque and Mannerist tendencies, Missouri's painting reveals a touch of French classicism. The heightened emotion and theatrical scene as well as the agitated drapery of one figure are clearly Italian Baroque in nature as is the dramatic positioning of the martyr's body with bloody neck and outpouring of milk placed directly before the viewer.[35] The use of a brilliant and selective lighting to accentuate flesh, the unveiling of Catherine's shoulders and arms, and the diagonal placement of her body recall Caravaggio's (1571–1610) bold and realistic depictions of religious stories. Moreover, the covering of only the right shoulders of the angels along with the Baroque flourish of the fluttering drapery on the right further recall the art of Caravaggio and, more specifically, the angel in his painting *St. Francis in Ecstasy* of 1594 (Fig. 3).

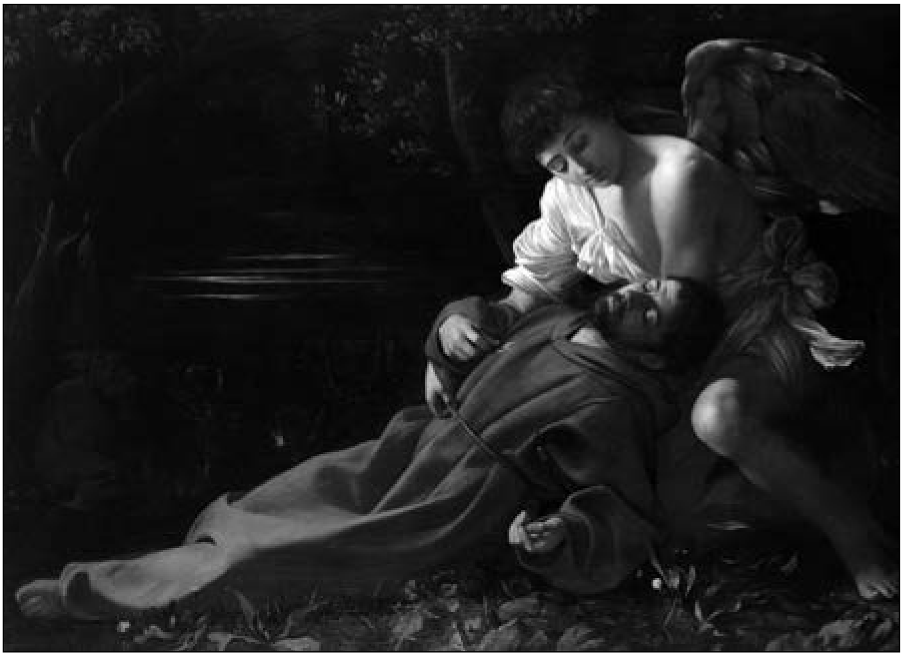


Fig. 3. Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi) (Italian, 1571–1610). *Saint Francis in Ecstasy*, ca. 1594–1595, oil on canvas. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, Connecticut, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund (1943.222).

Both the Missouri and the Connecticut paintings show a relatively uncommon narrative moment, a poignant encounter between an angel and a saint. Missouri's painting, while showing a dramatic moment, is restrained when compared to Caravaggio's empathic encounter. Caravaggio shows the angel tenderly cradling St. Francis' body, which has dropped to the ground following his stigmatization. The relationship between the angels and St. Catherine, on the other hand, seems subdued and more distant as they treat the saint's head and body with the utmost respect. Although the angels are protective, their faces remain vertical and unconnected emotionally. The tempered emotions and slightly staged poses reflect the complexities, formal language, and forced naturalism of Mannerism, with a touch of French classicism in the naturalistic drapery folds, clarity of narrative, and relief-like presentation.

The Missouri painting's mixture of Mannerist and Baroque with Italian and French stylistic tendencies is also present in the art of Jacques Stella when he was painting in Rome, although his works lack a strong Caravaggesque element. A French painter, draughtsman, and engraver (1596–1657), Stella began working in Florence in 1617, when Cosimo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, provided lodging and a pension.[36] Stella left Florence soon after the death of Cosimo II (1590–1621) and was in Rome by Easter of 1623, where he stayed for about ten years.[37] He became interested in painting on stone in Italy and most likely learned the technique while in Florence, where a number of artists were painting on stone for the Medici family, which collected numerous such paintings. Among the foreign artists painting on stone who were working for Cosimo II, Stella would have known Cornelis van Poelenburgh (1594–1667), who worked in a very sophisticated fashion, seamlessly weaving the patterns of the stone with the painted portions.[38]

Painting on stone is thought to have evolved out of Sebastiano del Piombo's (ca. 1485–1547) Roman painting experiments on stone in the 1530s as a way to preserve his paintings.[39] Already in 1550, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) wrote that a number of artists had learned the true method (*modo vero*) and painted on a great variety of stone types.[40] Artists appreciated the preservation of pictures painted on stone and were also sensitive to the stone's inherent qualities. The dark stones that artists initially adopted enhanced night scenes. Other stones soon were prized for their intrinisic pictorial effects that challenged the artist to respond with a suitable composition. This initial interest in stone as a stable support became part of the greater fascination with hard-stone decorations and furnishings that grew during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries throughout Europe. Stone paintings were produced in the greatest numbers in Italy, especially in Florence, Rome, and Verona. Painters working in Lombardy, Emilia, the Veneto, and Naples were also embracing stone supports, as were Dutch painters working in Florence and Rome. Beyond Italy, artists in France, Flanders, Spain, and at the Hapsburg court of Rudolph II produced numerous paintings on a variety of stones.

Stella would have had easy access to beautiful stones in Rome where the ancient art of polychrome marble inlay had increased throughout the medieval period and flowered during the Renaissance, resulting in a wide availability of ancient colored stones. Moreover, Stella's connections with Florence ensured access to an even wider array of stones from throughout Italy and beyond as Medicean *pietra dura* inlay and carving gained artistic supremacy. Stella's skilful and suave exploitation of the veins of stones and his accomplished painting technique were already appreciated at the highest level by 1626 when Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini, reigned 1623–1644) gave Stella's 1624 painting on stone *Assumption of the Virgin Surrounded by Angels* to the Duke of Pastrana, Philip IV of Spain's ambassador in Rome.[41]

While Stella in all likelihood would have appreciated the remarkable stone used for the miracle of St. Catherine, since he himself painted on uncommon stones and enjoyed portraying nocturnal scenes, yet he does not appear to have painted the Missouri work. He typically used a more complicated painting technique involving a larger number of colors and additional layers of paint. The Missouri painting relies almost exclusively on red and blue for coloristic effect, while Stella typically adopted a more sophisticated use of color involving numerous decorative hues assembled in a thoughtful arrangement. Furthermore, the golden yellow color of the garment covering the angel holding Catherine's head is not typical of Stella. The subtle and fine delicacy of modeling, complex disposition of drapery, intricate and precise painting style, and inclusion of an exceptional amount of detail (all distinctive of Stella's work) are missing in the Missouri painting. Struggles in the creation of depth—most notably in the forearms of the angels—are also evident in the Missouri painting. Moreover, the Missouri painting is too Caravaggesque in style to be attributed to Stella. While an echo of Caravaggio occasionally occurs in Stella's work from around 1625 until his departure from Rome, it is typically toned down.

With only three figures, Missouri's painting outwardly appears to possess a relatively simple composition recalling printed images of saints that were in wide dissemination, such as those by Jacques Callot (ca. 1592–1635).[42] While probably conceived around the same time as the Missouri painting, no image from this collection served as a direct source. The subject of St. Catherine and the miracle of milk does not appear to have been as popular in the printed medium since the only known printed versions of it are the works shown in Figures 4–6. Moreover, the subject of this miracle did not lend itself well to the printed medium, since blood and milk are not easily differentiated in uncolored prints. None of the known works of art portraying Catherine without her head appears to have functioned as a possible source for the Missouri painting. Indeed, this painted image is unlike any other known rendition of the subject. The majority of scenes with the decapitated Catherine tend to be narrative in their approach, showing a distinct moment of the story and providing details about the execution and the characters involved (Figs. 7–9).[43]

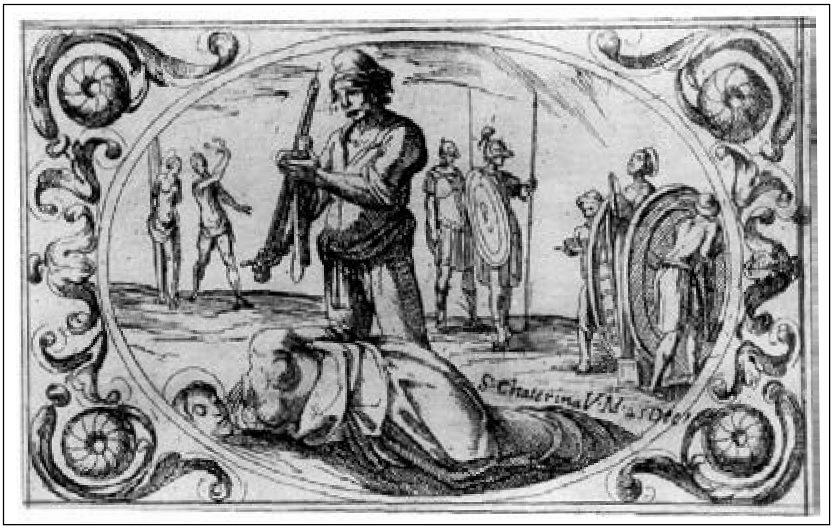


Fig. 4. Antonio Tempesta (Italian, 1555–1630). *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, etching, from the book *Imagini di molte SS Vergini Rom.e nel martirio,* Rome: Giovanni Antonio de Paoli, n.d. (before 1591).

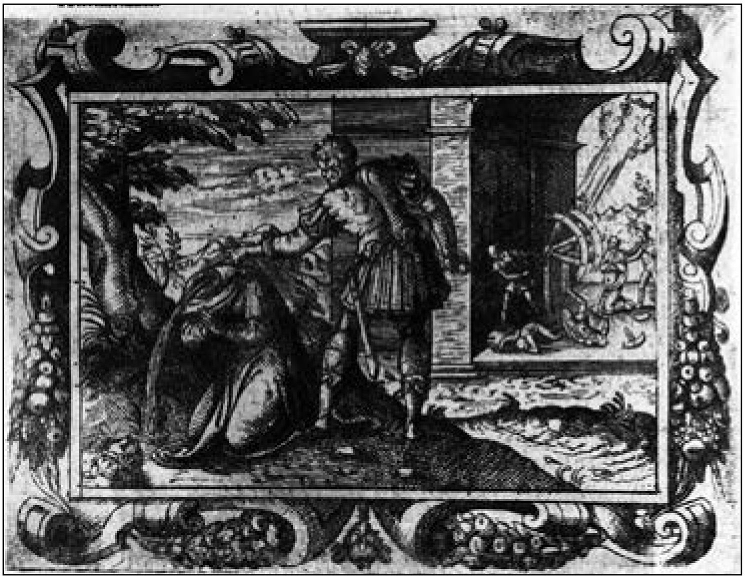


Fig. 5. Bernardino Passeri (Italian, active ca. 1577–1585). *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, engraving, from the book *Rerum sacrarum liber*, Antwerp: Ex Off. C. Plantini, 1577.

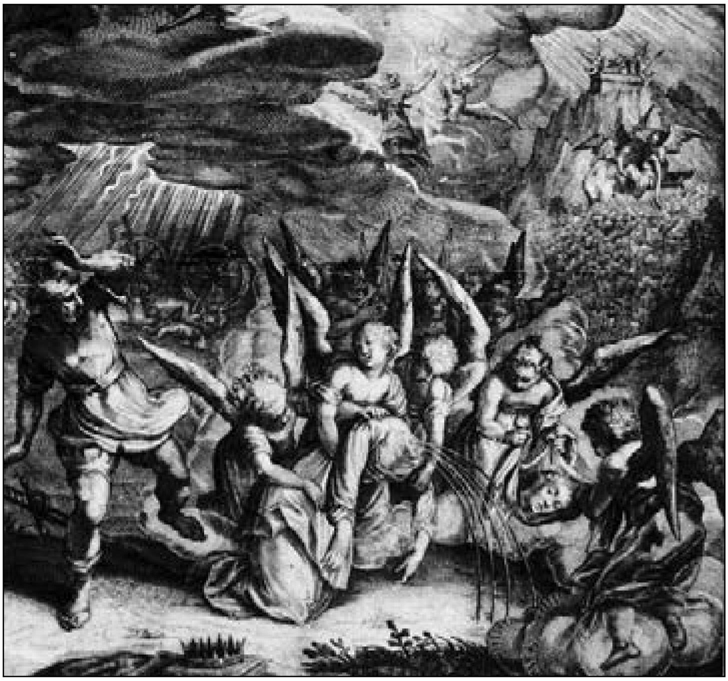


Fig. 6. Augustin Braun (German, ca. 1570–1639). Detail of *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, ca. 1609, etching.

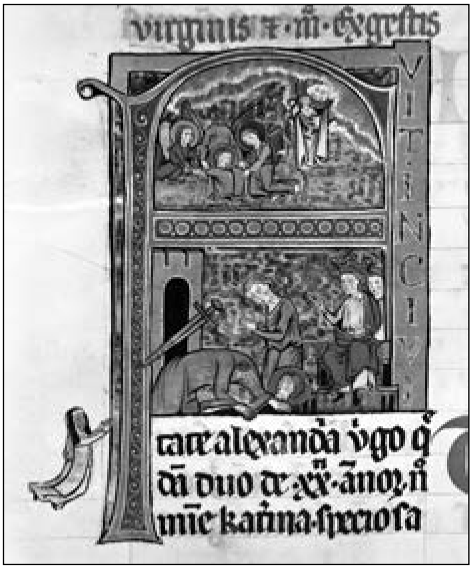


Fig. 7. Anonymous. Folio 273v, *Regensburg Lectionary of Heilig Kreuz*, 1270–1276. Keble College Library, Oxford (MS 49). By kind permission of the Warden and Fellows of Keble College, Oxford.

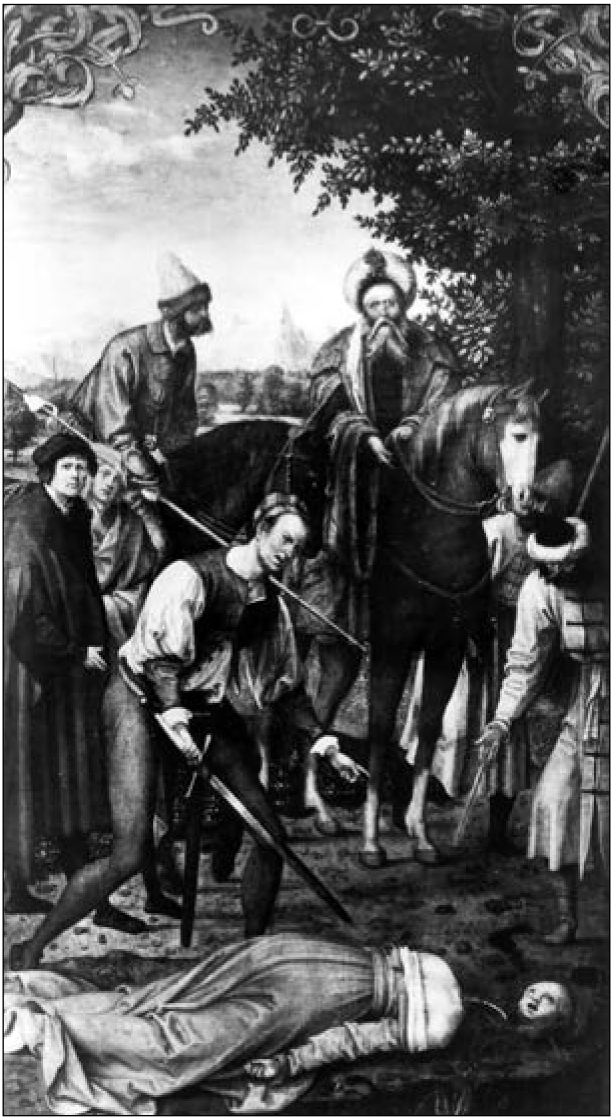


Fig. 8. Hans von Kulmbach (German, ca. 1485–1522). *Execution of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, oil on panel, 1514–1515. (Location unknown. The altarpiece to which this panel belonged was removed from Poland by the German Occupation authorities between 1939–1945.)

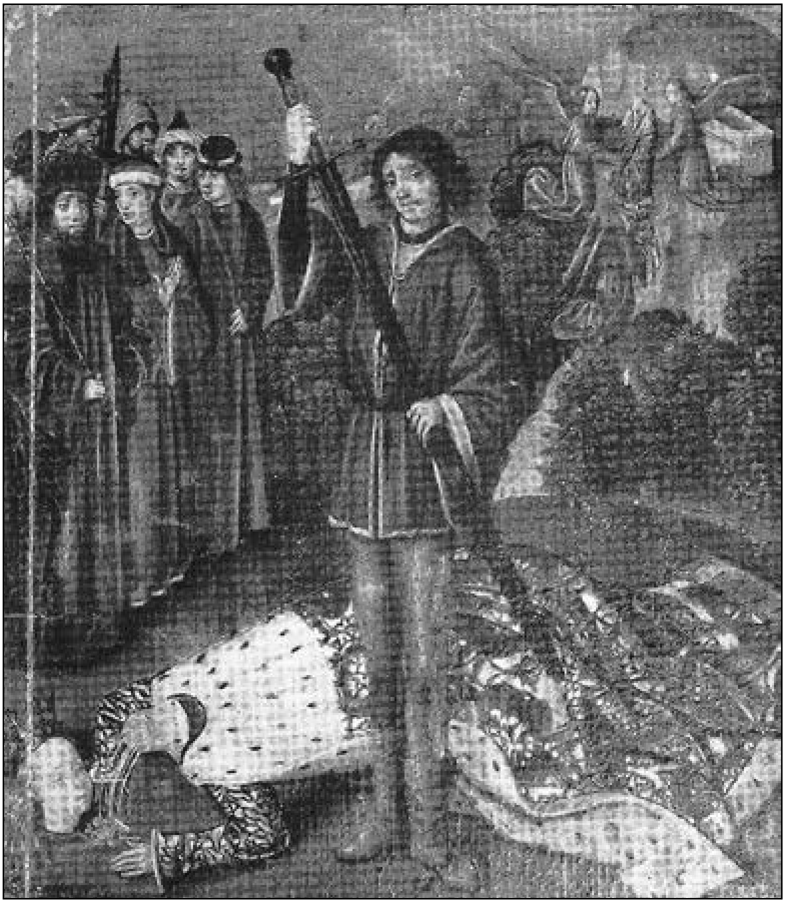


Fig. 9. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy (Flemish, active ca. 1475–1505). Predella panel from *St. Catherine Altarpiece*, 1490s, oil on panel. National Museum of Saint Matthew, Pisa.

In contrast to this, the Missouri painting is devotional in character. There is no sign of the participants or observers present at the execution; only the executioner's bloody sword remains. While charged with the eventual transportation of the saint's body to Mount Sinai, the angels concentrate their attentions on the dead saint's remains. This rendition of the miracle of St. Catherine, shown in the still of night and freed from extraneous narrative detail, presents a touching moment that encourages reflection on the miracle of milk, a truly momentous event. Only one other painting shows angels alone with the body of the saint: a panel of an altarpiece painted by the Master of the Prenzlauer Hochaltars that was formerly in St. Mary's Church of Prenzlau in Germany.[44] This scene, however, shows the actual interment on Mount Sinai, unlike the other images.

Although there might still be an as yet unidentified source for the work showing St. Catherine or another decapitated saint, the Missouri painting possesses a notable subtlety and sense of compassion that point to an original composition, perhaps coming from Stella's workshop. In the Missouri painting, the musculature of the figures, color selection, abrupt transition between the foreground and distant background, balanced asymmetry, subtle communication of emotion through gesture, and adoption of an uncommon stone all point in the direction of Stella. Unusual stones and complex veining are notable in his oeuvre during 1630–1631, and the grotto-like setting in the Missouri painting brings to mind several of these works.[45] Stella's integration of composition with the patterns inherent in the various stones is inspired and unique to each work of art, with the stone patterning sometimes assuming an intellectually significant role or at other times functioning as exotic scenery.[46] Yet, while the sensitive and innovative composition of the Missouri painting is characteristic of Stella, the simplification found throughout the painted areas suggests a collaborator. The painting lacks the refinement associated with Stella's work, and the two hands and one foot visible in the Missouri painting lack the complexity and detail, as well as ease of pose, typical of Stella's own work. It still, however, demonstrates a level of sophistication that points in the direction of the master artist. It exhibits the influence of Stella, merged with an interest in the art of Caravaggio, as manifested by an artist working in the circle, if not workshop, of Stella and accords well with the output of Jacques Stella's studio around 1630.[47]

The number of paintings that Stella produced in the first half of the 1630s indicates a very busy studio,[48] and it is likely that he had help. Little is known about Stella's workshop. His younger brother François (ca. 1603–1647) was an artist and lived with his older brother in Rome at various times beginning in 1624.[49] Moreover, in 1633, François was again living with his brother in Rome. In all likelihood, François or some other still unidentified studio assistant would have helped Stella with the commissions that were pouring into his studio as his popularity grew and demand for paintings on stone increased. Baptized in

1603 and about seven years younger than Jacques, François would have learned the craft of painting on stone from his brother. While there is little information about François' activity in Rome, on his return to France, he was known as *maître peintre à Paris*.[50]

The Stone

The stone on which the artist painted the *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria and the Miracle of Milk* is highly unusual in the genre of stone paintings. At the time of purchase, the stone was said to be a polished piece of Sicilian jasper, which is no longer quarried,[51] but a recent x-ray fluorescence analysis has revealed that the stone is actually obsidian, which because of the reddish inclusions, is often identified today as mahogany obsidian.[52] In comparing the calculated concentration data and the spectra to sources in the eastern Mediterranean and in Mexico that had similar concentrations, a close match resulted with a sample from central Mexico. It, therefore, seems quite likely that the stone for the museum's painting originates from Ucareo in the region of Michoacán de Ocampo, Mexico.[53] The Ucareo source has been in use since the Early Formative period (1600–850 B.C.E.); mahogany varieties occur there, too. The table below details the elemental comparison between the obsidian of the Missouri painting and the Ucareo source material:

Element (ppm)	**Results for Obsidian Painting**	**Ucareo (n=34)**		
		mean		**std. dev.**
K	36987	36961	±	671
Mn	327	283	±	58
Fe	8286	8402	±	337
Rb	140	152	±	6
Sr	13	11	±	2
Y	22	21	±	2
Zr	111	113	±	6
Nb	10	12	±	2

Obsidian is a natural glass generated in relation to volcanic activity.[54] Like man-made glass, it breaks with a characteristic conchoidal fracture, which the back of the museum's piece exhibits. The smoothness of the fractures comes from obsidian's lack of mineral crystals. These fractures can be worked to form razor-sharp surfaces. Thus, obsidian was used extensively for arrowheads, knife blades, and other working tools, as well as for ornaments, decorative objects, and polished mirrors. It was a widely valued trade commodity in Mexico before and after the arrival of the Spanish.

That the stone used for the Missouri painting traveled across the ocean is feasible since objects began to flow from the New World following Columbus' (1451–1506) voyages in the 1490s and the conquest of Mexico by Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) between 1519 and 1530. Artifacts from the New World were collected immediately. Margaret of Austria (1480–1530) had one of the earliest collections of objects from the new lands. She displayed "treasures, rarities, and wonders" in a room of the Palace of Savoy.[55] By 1524, she had about 170 New World artifacts.[56]

During the seventeenth century, the Spanish artist Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–1682) was painting on obsidian. Known examples include three works—two in the Louvre Museum, Paris, and one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.[57] For a painter working in Seville, the most likely source for obsidian would have been Central America. In 2007, the two paintings in the Louvre underwent Proton Induced X-ray Emission (PIXE) analysis.[58] Results showed that they are comparable to sources in Ucareo and Zinapécuaro (an XRF analysis would likely isolate the source further).

The obsidian was also compared to that of six Mesoamerican "smoking mirrors" in Paris, five rectangular ones in the Musée de l'Homme and one circular example in the Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle. Four of the mirrors are very close in composition to the two Louvre Murillo paintings. Mesoamerican obsidian "smoking mirrors" were instruments of divination used by healers and seers.[59] These mirrors can be round, rectangular, and roughly square, with the round being the most common. The pieces of obsidian used by Murillo for paintings have been thought to be reused Aztec "smoking mirrors."[60] Known seventeenth-century inventories, however, make no reference to previous use of these stones. In any case, the mahogany obsidian of Missouri's painting on stone with its rich patterning would not have been of use for divination and thus would not have had such an earlier sacred function.

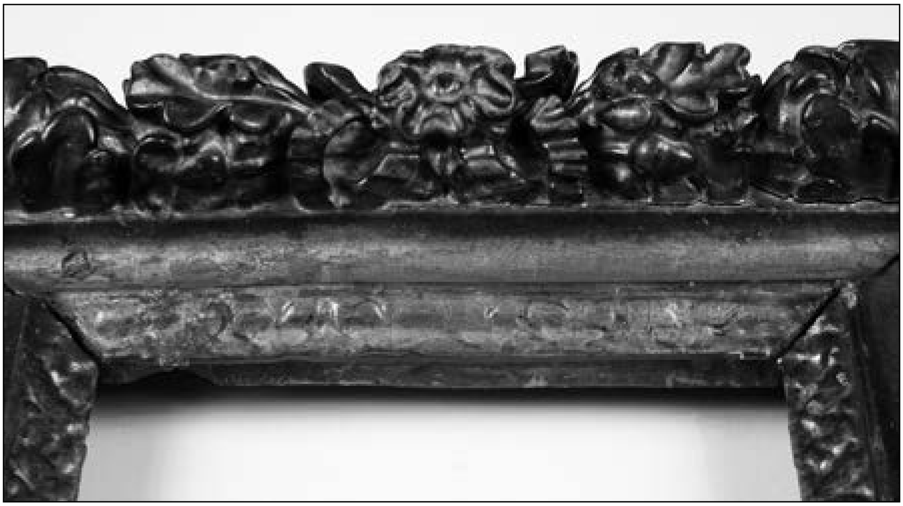
Mesoamerican craftsmen presumably manufactured it for European use. Missouri's piece of obsidian is smaller than the stones used by Murillo and all but one of the examined rectangular obsidian mirrors in Paris.[61]

The Missouri painting indicates that worked obsidian was traveling beyond Spain before the third quarter of the seventeenth century. It also suggests that paintings on New World obsidian may have been more common than current evidence reveals. Exotic stone examples were at the heart of numerous collections, and beautiful and relatively large stones were also incorporated into elaborately decorated book covers. Hard-stone objects and examples of semiprecious stones moved throughout Europe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and occupied a significant role in the cabinets of curiosities, spurred on by the growing interest in exotica and in furnishings adorned with inlays of hard stones (*pietre dure*) or semiprecious stones (*commessi*).

Other examples of the Missouri stone's deep black with orange web-like pattern have not been located even in relation to the Medici workshops in Florence, where stones from around the world were assembled for the production of luxurious furnishings. Attempting to find an analogous stone inserted in a mosaic via the use of color reproductions is fraught with error because of degradation of color in older photographs and color manipulation in newer ones, not to mention color alterations that take place in the printing process. Nonetheless, a similar stone may have been inserted in a panel produced for a Medici altar frontal (*paoliotto*) designed by Bernardino Poccetti (1548–1612) and produced in the Cristofano Gaffurri (d. 1626) workshop between 1603–1610 and thus under the patronage of Cosimo II (r. 1609–1621).[62]

The Frame

The deeply carved wood-and-gilt frame surrounding Missouri's painting was probably made specifically for it soon after its creation. Measuring 41 x 42 cm and with a depth of 6.5 cm, the frame consists of four decorative courses (Figs. 10a and b). The innermost section bears a shallow and schematic foliate design. Surrounding this, a sizable concavity, or cove, separates the innermost section from the most prominent one, a torus, or half-round molding, deeply carved with foliate and floral ornaments. A flower head occupies the center of



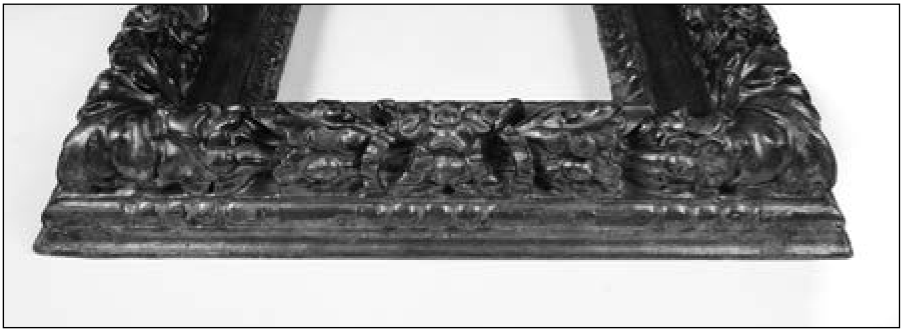


Fig. 10a and b. Anonymous (French). Details of Louis XIII frame, second or third quarter of the seventeenth century.

each side, and an oak leaf and acorn pattern surrounds each flower and runs outward toward other oak leaves placed at right angles to the central motif. The decoration then smoothly transitions to abbreviated acanthus leaves at the corners. Openwork ribbons surround the central flowers.[63] Finally, a very narrow ogee outer edge finishes off the frame with a row of bead and reel ornament (Fig. 10b).

While showing some relationship to earlier Italian frames, from which French frames in part derived, this frame also acknowledges the vibrant Baroque details and more organized foliate ornamentation found in French design in the seventeenth century. More specifically, this frame belongs to the French Louis XIII type, which was popular through most of the seventeenth century.[64] Louis XIII frames are broadly characterized by a rich sculptural ornamentation with continuous carvings of foliate material applied to a range of profiles.[65] The stylistic form of the Missouri frame flourished in the middle third of the seventeenth century.[66] Frames are difficult to date because of the continued use and reuse of various styles. Moreover, versions of the French Louis XIII style were made all over Europe, but the oak leaf and acorn motif, the refinement of the design, and the complex symmetrical composition of the deeply carved, half-round molding also seem to indicate a manufacture in the second or third quarter of the seventeenth century.[67] The reddish bole showing through the gold is also typical of French Louis XIII frames, which are often made of oak.

At least some of the frame is certainly made of oak.[68] A visual analysis of the back of the frame's four sections reveals that the proper right section is ring porous and possesses the ray structure appropriate to oak. Continuing counterclockwise, the upper section, which has a knot, does not have the medullary rays typical of oak. (Medullary rays connect the center of the tree with the outside and are perpendicular to the growth rings. These rays are quite prominent in oak.) The wood in this top section belongs to a diffuse porous species. The proper left side lacks a prominent ray structure, and because of the way the wood is cut it is difficult to determine if the wood is ring porous. Lastly, the bottom section is mostly covered by paint, preventing an adequate investigation. The above analysis, the heavy weight of the frame, and the wood's ability to retain its complex openwork carving indicates that oak and probably at least one other hardwood were used in its manufacture. Part of the difficulty in analyzing the wood derives from the application of a red color on a wooden backing piece that covers the inserted stone. This backing piece appears to be a datable fragment of spruce with more than one hundred rings and much variance in the transitions.

Each side of the frame is carved from a single piece of wood. These are secured by means of four tenons connecting horizontally through the mitered joints.[69] The precise fit of the frame with the stone panel, no sign of cutting down of the frame, the carefully designed and centered foliate ornament, the use of only four pieces of wood, and a possible seventeenth-century dating all suggest that the frame was specifically created for the painting it now encloses.

Provenance

The back of the Missouri painting provides one additional clue as to the possible French origin of the frame as well as suggesting the provenance of the work of art. Adhered to the wooden backing board is an old piece of paper bearing a French inscription probably written in the second half of the nineteenth century or very early 1900s (Fig. 11). The inscription reads "Martyre e décollation de Ste. Catherine dont le sang coulor blanc pour attester sa pureté e son innocence dit l'écriture Ste./Ce tableau très ancien provient du Couvent des Capucins de Martigues qui fut pillé en 1793–il est attribué à l'école Italienne." Translated the inscription reads "The martyrdom and beheading of St. Catherine whose white-colored blood attests to her purity and innocence according to the accounts [about the] saint. This very old painting comes from the Capuchin Monastery in Martigues, which was looted in 1793—the painting is attributed to the Italian school."

The dealer from whom the work was purchased evidently misinterpreted the label and gave as the painting's earliest known provenance a "Convent [sic]

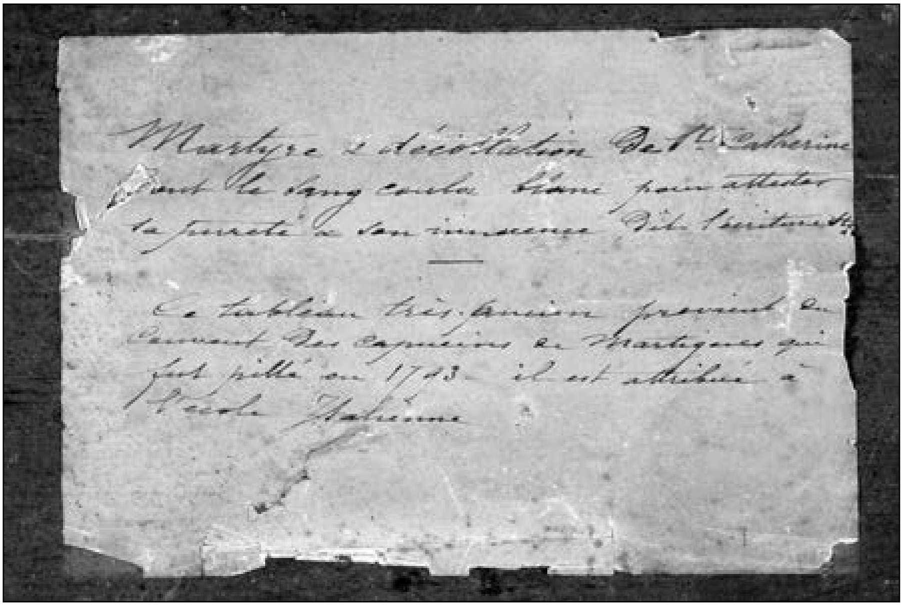


Fig. 11. Label on backing board of the painting *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria and the Miracle of Milk.*

des Capucines [sic] de Martigues, Rome," further stating that the painting was pillaged by Napoleon in 1793 and returned to Rome in 1821.[70] No monastery called the Couvent des Capucins de Martigues ever existed in Rome, however, and the Capuchin brothers did not settle there following their displacement from France after the 1790 French dissolution of religious orders.[71]

The Italianate style of the painting probably contributed to the assumption that it came from an Italian church. Nonetheless, the decidedly French seventeenth-century style of the frame and the French note on the back may indicate where the painting might have hung in the late eighteenth century, if not earlier. While there was never a Capuchin monastery of Martigues in Rome, there was one in southern France in the commune of Martigues about 40 km northwest of Marseille. The Capuchin order was disbanded there in 1791, and with the nationalization of church property, the lands, buildings, and associated contents were sold at auction in that year.[72] The balances for both properties were paid in 1793, the date on the label attached to the back of the Missouri painting. The approximate date of the government's seizure of church property might have remained with the painting, and the painting could have been one of the objects that were alienated at that time. It would, however, have been sold separately, following sale of the real estate. Inventories of the objects belonging to the Capuchins were compiled in 1790. The state was particularly interested in precious stones, embroidered and fine fabrics, and gold and silver objects. Other metals were also collected and destined for military use. Perhaps it is not surprising that no trace of a small painting exists in the documents associated with the Capuchins in the French archives.[73]

Following the "supposed" restitution of the Missouri painting to Italy in 1821, it disappeared until the late twentieth century when it reappeared with Walter Padovani in Milan.[74] A private Swiss collector is said then to have purchased the work in 2003. On December 8, 2006, the painting was offered for auction at Christie's in London by a "European collector."[75] Remaining unsold, the painting was probably acquired soon after by Finch and Company of London, from where the Museum of Art and Archaeology purchased it in 2009.

Final Interpretation and Conclusion

Early female martyrologies frequently focused on the heroine's determination to maintain her virginity, her reluctance to marry, her refusal to renounce

Christianity and worship pagan gods, her inevitable torture followed by death, and the conversion of unbelievers. Among the female martyrs, Catherine was the most highly educated and most eloquent. While she exerted an independent spirit and possessed a remarkable intellect, her purity remained exceedingly important, as seen in the Missouri painting and others that show the flow of milk and in texts that interpret the miracle. She functioned as a model for young women and nuns to preserve their virginity.[76] Moreover, with her preaching, an honor rarely granted to women, she instructed those around her. Converting common people, queens, and princes, as well as rhetoricians and philosophers, she ranked higher than other virgin martyrs.

The Missouri painting reveals a continuing and profound interest in this saint during the seventeenth century. Details of her life continued to be published, and some of these accounts received complex poetic embellishment. In 1631, and thus probably about the time when the painting was created, the Italian friar and jurisconsult Girolamo Zonca composed a spiritual panegyric *Il pomogranato* (the pomegranate), dedicated to the virgin and martyr St. Catherine of Alexandria.[77] The text, which interweaves moments from the saint's life with a poetic paean inspired by the Song of Songs from the Old Testament, uses metaphors recalling those of the Song of Songs.[78] St. Catherine of Alexandria regarded herself as a "bride of Christ." Thus the imagery from the Song of Songs with its references to bride and bridegroom was particularly pertinent and fertile for animating the endlessly repeated details of the saint's life.

The imagery, smells, sounds, tastes, and qualities described by Zonca's pen give new life to the principal qualities associated with St. Catherine, including her beauty, virginity, scholarship, and nobility. Using the features of a pomegranate, Zonca elucidates these qualities and the events of her life. The blood of martyrdom that would have "embroidered the incorrupt body with vermillion little rubies of her blood" was "miraculously transformed into pure white milk" to "indicate the pearls that were supposed to form her crown in Paradise."[79] Although the milk itself symbolizes purity, the pearl was also the Christian symbol of chastity and purity of spirit. This precious gem was a traditional gift for Italian brides signifying virginity and was a part of the bridal wardrobe.[80] The milk so carefully depicted and emphasized in the painting was an extremely potent miracle that emphasized Catherine's continuing role as proclaimer of the faith, proselytizer, and preacher.[81] Just as "the pomegranate genially gathers all of its grains and lovingly nourishes them, as if a dear mother, likewise, this glorious bride of Christ will welcome all who turn to her, and nourish them with the milk of her intercession."[82]

Zonca's exegesis of the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria successfully elucidates the multidimensionality and depth of the seventeenth-century understanding of this beloved saint. In relation to this, the significance and momentous nature of the quiet scene represented in the Missouri painting opens up in all of its richness. For her uncorrupted virginity, faith, and numerous virtues, St. Catherine held a special place in the pantheon of saints, and as stated by Zonca, "thousands of students and scholars lived under the protection of this saint, who ought to be chosen as the protector of every creature endowed with reason."[83]

NOTES

*Multidisciplinary articles like this one, often involve the help of numerous individuals. Aside from those mentioned in the text, I would like to thank the scholar Roberto Degano for his great help and unending intellectual rigor. Jeffrey Wilcox at the Museum of Art and Archaeology also provided sound advice, splendid photographs, and a meticulous reading of the text. Nicholas Penny of the National Gallery in London afforded his great connoisseurial, curatorial, and scholarly expertise. Jane Biers also deserves thanks for her thorough and thoughtful substantive editing of the text.

1. The etymology of the name Catherine is unknown. The name seems to appear for the first time in relation to St. Catherine. The earliest sources are Greek, and they spell her name Ἀικατερίνη or ᾽Εκατερίνα. The name appears to be associated at an early moment with the Greek adjective καθαρὸς, *katharos*, which means pure. Patrick Hanks, Kate Hardcastle, and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford, 2006) p. 154. See also Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Hampshire, 2007) p. 1. The Latin transliteration of the Greek form of her name is Aekaterina or Ekaterina, from which the western European Katherine or Catherine derives. According to Hermann Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca* (Halle a. S., 1890) p. 175, both K and C were used as the initial letter for her name in medieval manuscripts. As there is no uniformity of usage and Catherine is the preferred form in the United States, this article uses Catherine.

   According to Jacobus de Voragine, "Catherine comes from *catha*, which means total, and *ruina*, ruin, hence total ruin. The devil's building was totally demolished in Saint Catherine." William G. Ryan, trans. and ed., *The Golden Legend*, by Jacobus de Voragine, vol. 2 (Princeton, 1993) p. 334.
2. Museum of Art and Archaeology, Columbia, Missouri, acc. no. 2009.126, oil on obsidian, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund. Stone support: H. 18.5, W. 20 cm.

3. For an expanded version of this article, see http://maa.missouri.edu.
4. Walsh, *Cult,* p. 19. The most likely ultimate source for her life was probably an oral tradition that arose from the Roman persecutions of Christians during the third and fourth centuries. The miraculous emission of milk from the neck appears to have been part of the legend early on and is included in the early texts. I thank Dr. Christine Walsh for this information. Anne Wilson Tordi, *La festa et storia di Sancta [sic] Caterina: A Medieval Italian Religious Drama,* Studies in the Humanities, vol. 25 (New York, 1997), also provides a useful discussion of the history of the legend of St. Catherine.
5. Founded in the period 548–565 by the emperor Justinian (r. 527–565), the monastery of Mount Sinai was first dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The first known Western reference linking the monastery to St. Catherine dates to 1328. Walsh, *Cult,* pp. 39–42.
6. Pierre Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church" in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History*, Stephen Wilson, ed. (Cambridge, 1983) p. 196.
7. The earliest surviving manuscripts state that Athanasius wrote the original life of Catherine (Walsh, *Cult*, p. 12). The reference to St. Athanasius of Alexandria, a notable theologian and Patriarch of Alexandria ca. 296–373, who would have been alive at the time of Catherine's execution, gives the tale a known historical reference and credibility.
8. Walsh, *Cult*, p. 3. The life of Christ was the paradigm for modeling a saint's life.
9. After its creation around 1260, the *Golden Legend* was disseminated in innumerable manuscripts. More than 800 extant manuscripts containing part or all of the Latin text have been identified, and with the advent of the printing press, more than 150 editions in various languages appeared between 1470 and 1500. Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, 1985) p. 4. More than a hundred sources went into the composition of the work, for details of which see Roze's translation, Jacobus de Voragine, *La légende dorée*, Baptiste Marie Roze, trans., vol. 1 (Paris, 1902) pp. xiv–xvii. Early female martyr stories including that of Catherine frequently focused on the following plot elements: the heroine's determination to maintain her virginity, her reluctance to marry, her refusal to renounce Christianity for the worship of pagan gods, the conversion of unbelievers, and the inevitable torture followed by death.
10. Ryan, *Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 338.
11. Ibid., p. 339.
12. The saints who emitted milk include Saints Acacius, Aemilianus, Antiochus, Anub, Barula, Cantianius, Cantianilla, Cantius, Christina, Corona, Cyprilla, Epime, Eupsychius, Faith, Godeleva, Isaac, Martina, Menignus, Pantaleon, Paul, Pompeius, Quintinus, Romanus, Sarapamon, Secundina, Sofia (patron saint of Sortino), Victor, and the seven holy women who followed St. Blaise. For more information on saints linked with milk, see Phillips Barry, "Martyrs' Milk (*Miraculum: Lac Pro Sanguine*)" in *The Open Court,* 28, 9 (1914) pp. 560–573; Ebenezer Cobham Brewer, *A Dictionary of Miracles Imitative, Realistic, and Dogmatic* (Philadelphia, 1894); Société des Bollandistes, *Acta Sanctorum*, 68 volumes (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1940); Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, *The Book of Saints: A Dictionary of Servants of God Canonized by the Catholic Church: Extracted from the Roman & Other Martyrologies* (New York, 1947); and Ryan, *Golden Legend,* vols. 1 & 2. In addition to the miraculous effusion of milk, miracles of healing and conversion are frequently associated with the milk shed by martyrs.

13. The miracle of milk appears at an early moment in the development of the legend of St. Paul forming part of the *Martyrium Pauli* of the *Acta Pauli,* which was composed in the third quarter of the second century. While not canonical and considered apocryphal, the *Acta Pauli* is the earliest and most extensive version of the Pauline narrative and thus quite influential. It serves as a documentable beginning for the miraculous spewing of milk in relation to Christian martyrs. See Harry W. Tajra, *The Martyrdom of St. Paul: Historical and Judicial Context, Traditions, and Legends*: 2, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 1994) no. 67. Tajra's book includes summaries of surviving copies of the *Acta Pauli* and provides a useful introduction to the early versions of the Acts of Paul and an extensive bibliography of the related scholarship.
14. Ryan, *Golden Legend*, p. 373. The Life of St. Pelagius contains a reference to a river of milk in Paradise, and the Qu'ran 47:15 also mentions rivers of milk.
15. Denise Kimber Buell, *Making Christians: Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy* (Princeton, 1999) p. 125.
16. The word "galaxy" derives from the Greek word γάλα (gala), meaning milk.
17. Barry, "Martyrs' Milk," p. 560–573. Moreover, "the belief that milk from the divine breast gives life, longevity, salvation, and divinity" existed in ancient Egypt and could be seen in the imagery used by the Pharaohs. Buell, *Making Christians*, p. 125.
18. The notion of Church as mother appears for the first time in Latin Christian literature in Tertullian, *Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works*, Rudolph Arbesmann, Emily Joseph Daly, and Edwin A. Quain, trans. (Washington, D.C., 1959) p. 17.
19. Since breast milk was interpreted as processed blood in medieval medical theory, the mother was viewed as feeding her child with her own blood. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle* Ages (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982) p. 132.
20. The popularity of the *Golden Legend* cannot be emphasized enough. See n. 9.
21. For example, *Der Heiligen Leben* was a collection of 258 lives of saints appearing in some twenty-four editions between 1471 and 1500. See Bruce A. Beatie, "Saint Katharine of Alexandria: Traditional Themes and the Development of a Medieval German Hagiographic Narrative," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 52, 4 (1977) p. 785; Alison Frazier, "Katherine's Place in a Renaissance Collection: Evidence from Antonio degli Agli (ca. 1400–1477), *De vitis et gestis sanctorum*," in *St. Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*, Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis, eds. (Turnhout, 2003) pp. 221–240. See also Alison Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 2005) for information on other compilations of the saints in Renaissance Italy.
22. Beatie, "Saint Katharine," pp. 785–800. Walsh, *Cult*, 193–213, contains a useful bibliography of manuscripts and printed primary sources of texts relating to St. Catherine.
23. Reames, *Legenda Aurea*, p. 107.
24. Jacopo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo, *De plurimis claris selectisque mulieribus* (Ferrara, 1497).
25. See Leone Allacci, *Drammaturgia di Lione Allacci accresciuta e continuata fino all'anno MDCCLV* (Venice, 1755) pp. 179–180; Giovanni Salvioli, *I teatri musicali di Venezia nel secolo XVII* (Bologna, 1969) p. 165; Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, vol. 4 (Cuneo, 1994) p. 86; Antonio Spezzani, *Rapprefentatione di santa*

Catherina di Antonio Spezzani, recitata in Bologna, l'anno 1537 e poi in Verona nella Chiefa di Santa Maria della Scala (Venice, 1605); and Pamela M. Jones, "Female Saints in Early Modern Italian Chapbooks, ca. 1570–1670: Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint Catherine of Siena," in *From Rome to Eternity: Catholicism and the Arts in Italy, ca. 1550–1650*, Pamela M. Jones and Thomas Worcester, eds. (Leiden, 2002) pp. 89–120.

26. Foresti, *De plurimis*, fol. 91r. Translation from Frazier, "Katherine's Place," p. 221.
27. Giovanni Pietro Besozzi, *Lettere spirituali: Sopra alcune feste, et sacri tempi dell'anno* (Milan, 1758) pp. 390v–391r.
28. Catherine, Margaret of Antioch, and Juliana of Nicomedia were the women included in a thirteenth-century manuscript designed to encourage the nuns at Wigmore Abbey in Herefordshire, England, to preserve their virginity. Ms. Bodley 34 (also known as the Katherine Group), Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
29. Described in the mid-fifteenth-century illuminated life of St. Catherine by the French author, illuminator, and scribe Jean Mielot (ca. 1400–1472) (Jean Mielot, *Vie de Sainte Catherine*, Marius Sepet, ed. [Nantes, 2007] p. 95), and indicated in Marco Marulo's (1450–1524) book on how to live well according to the examples of the saints, published and reprinted numerous times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Marco Marulo, *Opera di Marco Marvlo da Spalato circa l'institvtione del bvono, e beato vivere, secondo l'effempio de'santi, del Vecchio e Nvovo Teftamento* [Venice, 1580] fol. 170r).
30. Marco Filippi, *Vita di Santa Caterina vergine e martire: Composta in ottava rima da Marco Filippi* (Venice, 1592). This book was published in a number of editions beginning in 1580.
31. Ibid., fol. 151v.
32. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legendario delle vite de' Santi* (Venice, 1588) p. 812.
33. Pietro Aretino, *Le vite dei santi: Santa Caterina vergine, San Tommaso d'Aquino, 1540–1543* (Rome, 1977) p. 171.
34. Known images showing milk include mss, Anon., *Regensburg Lectionary of Heilig Greuz,* 1270–1276, Keble College Library, Oxford; fresco, Bartolo, ca. 1368, Basilica of St. Francis of Assisi, Assisi (w/blood); fresco, Lucchese, 1696, Premonstratensian Monastery Church, Speinshart; fresco, Wannenmacher, 1753, St. Catherine Chapel, Schwäbisch Gmünd; altarpiece panel, Nadal and García, 1456, Cathedral of Barcelona; predella panel, Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, 1490s, National Museum of St. Matthew, Pisa; lost altarpiece panel, Suess von Kulmbach, 1514–1515; painting, Cesare, 1608, formerly in Oratory of St. Catherine, Assisi; painting, Studio of Stella, ca. 1630, Columbia, Missouri; painting, Vásquez, seventeenth century, Bogotà; painting, Wolff, 1702, Cathedral of St. Mary and St. Corbinian, Freising; etching, Braun, ca. 1609 (w/blood); drawing for etching, Braun, 1609, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (w/blood). There are other frescoes and paintings depicting the Martyrdom of St. Catherine where the fluid depicted is no longer visible, and in prints by Passeri and Tempesta, it remains impossible to determine the nature of the fluid. See http://maa.missouri.edu for a more complete listing of works.
35. By strategically tucking Catherine's forearms underneath her body, rather than placing them above her severed neck as was done more frequently, the artist concentrated attention on the miraculous flow of milk.

36. André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et moderns*, vol. 4 (Trevoux, 1725, first published 1666–1668) pp. 652–653.
37. Stella was most likely in Rome in 1622. See Sylvain Laveissière and Léna Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella, 1596–1657*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, and Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (Paris, 2006) p. 43; Jacques Thuillier, *Jacques Stella, 1596–1657* (Metz, 2006) p. 18. See also Anne-Laure Collomb, "La peinture sur pierre en Italie, 1530–1630," Ph.D. diss., Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2006.
38. Poelenburgh was present in Italy from 1617 until around 1626–1627, and it is fairly certain that he worked for Cosimo II, who appreciated northern painters. Stella would also have been aware of stone paintings by Antonio Tempesta, who was known to have worked in Rome. Tempesta carefully selected his stone supports and skillfully intregrated the natural patterns of the stone to enhance his compositions. See Marco Chiarini and Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Bizzarrie di pietre dipinte: Dalle collezioni dei Medici* (Milan, 2000) p. 86.
39. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 5 (*Vita di Sebastiano del Piombo*) (Florence, 1550) pp. 97–99.
40. Ibid., vol. 1 (*Del dipingere in pietra e olio, e che pietre siano buone*) (Florence, 1550) chap 24, pp. 137–139.
41. This masterful and elegant painting may have gained Stella an invitation to work at the Spanish court (Félibien, *Entretiens*, vol. 4, p. 408). Félibien is not precise on the date of this invitation from the royal court.
42. Callot's image of St. Catherine of Alexandria shows the miraculous transport of the martyr's body by two angels to Mount Sinai. He worked on the series from 1632 to 1635 and died with the plates still in his possession. They were first published in Paris in 1636, one year after the artist's death, in *Les images de tous les saincts et saintes de l'ann*ée *suivant le martyrologe romain* (Paris, 1636).
43. The only images that come close in conveying a similar quiet scene encouraging reflection are those by Sebastián de Llanos y Valdés, *Head of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, 1652, Goya Museum, Castres, France (no visible liquid), and a painting in the style of Caravaggio, *Head of St. Catherine,* seventeenth century, Recanati, Italy (fluid not determined). Both show only St. Catherine's head. See http://spanishbaroqueart.tumblr.com/post/33447322072/sebastian-de-llanos-valdes-head-of-saint (Valdés) and http://caravaggio.com/preview/database/index.php?id=001243 (style of Caravaggio).
44. St. Mary's Church was destroyed by fire in 1945. The painting is known from a 1940 photograph in the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.
45. In Stella's 1630 image of *St. Magdalene Meditating* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), he formed a grotto out of the veins of a piece of marble or agate (Thuillier, *Jacques Stella*, pp. 70–71). In 1631 he adopted a piece of lapis lazuli for a depiction of *The Annunciation* (Civic Museum, Visconti Castle, Pavia) (Laveissière and Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella*, p. 62, cat. no. 39) and two jasper stones for the pendant pieces *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar* and *Susanna and the Elders* (private collection) (Laveissière and Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella*, p. 98, figs. IV, 3 and 4).
46. Paintings on variegated stone are the ultimate exegesis of the exploitation of the element of chance in the artistic process. See Leon Battista Alberti, *Della pittura e della statua di Leonbatista Alberti*, Cosimo Bartoli, trans. (1503–1572) (Milan, 1804) pp. 107–108; Leonardo da Vinci, Codice urbinate lat. 1270, fol. 35v, Vatican Apostolic

Library, *Trattato della pittura di Lionardo* [sic] *da Vinci tratto da un codice della biblioteca Vatican*, Guglielmo Manzi and Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi, eds. (Rome, 1817) pp. 59–60; and *Leonardo on Painting*, Martin Kemp, ed. (New Haven, 1989) p. 290. With stones "painted" by nature, the artist was challenged to move between the imitation of nature (*mimesis*) and invention (*fantasia*) to complete the design embedded in the stone. For more on *mimesis* and *fantasia*, see Kemp, "From *Mimesis* to *Fantasia*: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977) pp. 347–398.

47. Laveissière and Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella*, p. 44. It is highly doubtful that such a Roman/Caravaggesque painting can be associated with Jacques Stella's studio in France. As Jacques Stella's oeuvre becomes more secure, and as images of paintings on stone are more available for study electronically, the analysis of paintings on stone influenced by Stella should be more feasible. The Barberini inventories reveal that images showing St. Catherine were commonly painted on stone. An inventory of May 22, 1627, includes a painting of her on yellow jasper (Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* [New York, 1975] p. 11). While it is tempting to associate this painting on yellow jasper with the Missouri painting, originally thought to have been on jasper, the inventory entry describes the subject as the beheading of St. Catherine, and there is no mention of milk.
48. For works created by Stella, see Laveissière and Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella*; Collomb, "Peinture sur pierre;" and Thuillier, *Jacques Stella*.
49. Laveissière and Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella*, pp. 43–48, include a chronology based on archival sources, which contain some information about François. He joined his elder brother after Jacques' departure from Florence in 1621 (Thuillier, *Jacques Stella*, p. 18).
50. Laveissière and Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella*, p. 46. Moreover, Jacques' niece, Claudine Bouzonnet, and nephew, Antoine Bouzonnet, both painted on stone. For the 1693/1697 inventory of the property of Claudine Bouzonnet, see Jules Joseph Guiffrey, "Testament et inventaire des biens, dessins, planches de cuivre, bijoux, etc. de Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, rédigés et écrits par elle-meme. 1693–1697," *Nouvelles archives de l'art français* (1877) pp. 1–117. See also Mickaël Szanto, "Inventaire de Claudine Bouzonnet Stella (1693): Tableaux, dessins, estampes et livres," in Laveissière and Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella*, pp. 246–257.
51. The name for jasper comes from the Latin *iaspis*, which derives from the Greek word ἴασπις meaning spotted stone. The Greek word derives from the Hebrew word for jasper, *yashpeh*. A member of the quartz family, jasper comes in many different colors and patterns, thanks to the mixture of microcrystalline quartz with various mineral impurities. The stone of the Missouri painting appears silica rich, is very fine grain in nature, and present on its back are conchoidal or curving fractures, all of which are consistent with jasper.
52. I thank Jeffrey R. Ferguson and Michael D. Glascock of the Archaeometry Laboratory of the University of Missouri for the scientific examination of the stone, the subsequent comparison of the sample with an extensive database of obsidian samples, and the table detailing the concentration comparison between the obsidian painting and the Ucareo source. I would also like to thank Ralf T. Schmitt of the Museum für Naturkunde in Berlin for guiding me toward mahogany obsidian and away from jasper.

53 Ucareo is about 106 miles west and north of Mexico City. When archaeologists began using XRF to study obsidian artifacts from Mexico in the 1960s, they attributed obsidian that came from the Zinapécuaro–Ucareo area as Zinapécuaro. More recent research by Michael D. Glascock using XRF analysis and the XRF database now distinguishes between the three sources of Ucareo, Zinapécuaro, and Cruz Negra. According to Glascock, of the thousands of artifacts from Mesoamerica he has analyzed, several hundred came from Ucareo and only two have originated from either Zinapécuaro or Cruz Negra.

54. It mostly consists of about 70 or 75 percent non-crystallized silica (silicon dioxide) mixed with various impurities. The notable reddish veining of mahogany obsidian typically derives from inclusions of iron oxide. An extrusive igneous rock, obsidian forms on the surface of the earth from lava. Because of this, it cools more quickly than magma (which cools beneath the earth's surface) and thus has little or no crystallization. The term obsidian comes from Latin *obsidianus lapis*, which according to Pliny, was named after Obsidius who discovered the stone in Ethiopia (Pliny, *Natural History*, 37.67).

55. Deanna MacDonald, "Collecting a New World: The Ethnographic Collections of Margaret of Austria," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, 3 (2002) p. 653. Margaret's collection grew quickly as seen in inventories of 1516 and 1523.

56. Ibid., p. 659.

57. Louvre Museum inv. no. 931 and 932. It is interesting to note that Murillo's paintings on obsidian in the Louvre were described as being on black jasper (*jaspe negro*) in the 1690 inventory of the picture collection of the Flemish merchant Don Nicolas Omazur (ca. 1630–1698). In the 1685 inventory of the previous owner, Justino de Neve, the material was listed simply as stone (*piedra*). See Duncan Kinkead, "The Picture Collection of Don Nicolas Omazur," *The Burlington Magazine* 128, 995 (1986) pp. 132–144.

58. Thomas Calligaro et al., "PIXE Analysis of the Obsidian Support to Two Paintings from the Louvre by Murillo," *Revista mexicana de física* s53 [sic], 3 (2007) pp. 43–48. A very similar version of this article first appeared in 2005: Thomas Calligaro et al., "PIXE Reveals that Two Murillo's Masterpieces Were Painted on Mexican Obsidian Slabs," *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research*, *Section B* 240 (2005) pp. 576–582.

59. An Aztec mirror was considered a representation of the important god Tezcatlipoca. One of his attributes was a magical mirror with which he divined the future. The name Tezcatlipoca means "Smoking Mirror," and by the Aztec period, this deity was associated with conflict and change, as well as death, warfare, and the realm of darkness. Tezcatlipoca played an important role in Aztec creation mythology.

60. Olivier Meslay, "Murillo and 'Smoking Mirrors,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 143, 1175 (2001) pp. 73–79. According to Meslay (pp. 75 and 78), varying dimensions and differing degrees of finish on the obverses indicate that the artist made use of pre-existing supports. One additional painting on obsidian passed through Sotheby's in 1994; its current whereabouts is unknown. The auction house dated the work to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Meslay, "Murillo," pp. 76 and 79 (illus.). It shows an *Agony in the Garden* of modest quality and is thought to have been painted by a Hispanic artist. Painted on a circular stone support, this work was probably painted on a "smoking mirror."

61. *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria and the Miracle of Milk* (Missouri), 18.5 x 20 x 1.7 cm; *Agony in the Garden* (Paris), 35.7 x 26.3 x 2.5 cm; *The Penitent St. Peter Kneeling before Christ at the Column* (Paris), 33.7 x 30.7 x 2.3 cm; and *The Nativity* (Houston), 38.2 x 33.5 cm. Mirrors: 21 x 16.4 x 5.5 cm; 24.2 x 22.6 x 2.8 cm; 26.2 x 26 x 2.8 cm; 3.24 x 20.6 x 3.8cm; and 39 x 22 x 3.4 cm (Musée de l'Homme); diameter 25.2 x 2 cm (Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle).
62. Cristina Acidini Luchinat et al., *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici: Arte a Firenze alla fine del Cinquecento*, Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti (Milan, 1997) p. 180. The altar was dismantled in 1779, and the various panels were embedded into two tabletops in 1789. One of the tabletops, now in the Louvre (OA5237), perhaps contains some examples of mahogany obsidian. Note that the photograph on the website of the Agence Photographique de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux (RMN) is old and discolored. For a more recent photograph, see Annamaria Giusti, *Pietre Dure: The Art of Semiprecious Stonework* (Los Angeles, 2005) pp. 48–49. It still remains to be determined whether mahogany obsidian was used in the Medici workshops.
63. The only deviation in the strict symmetry of the frame occurs on the two sides, where one of the ribbons beneath the flower on the left is treated differently from that on the right. This may have occurred at the time the frame was carved, or may be the result of later damage to the openwork ribbon.
64. I would like to thank Richard Ford of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., for his assistance in the identification of the frame.
65. The duration of French frame styles does not precisely parallel the reigns of the monarchs after which they are named. Louis XIII reigned from 1610 to 1643, and Louis XIV from 1643 to 1715. The Louis XIII style thus overlapped the rule of Louis XIV.
66. Paul Mitchell and Lynn Roberts, *A History of European Picture Frames* (London, 1996) p. 37, and D. Gene Karraker, *Looking at European Frames: A Guide to Terms, Styles, and Techniques* (Los Angeles, 2009) p. 50.
67. For an earlier, less finely carved version of the type made in 1620, see Siegfried E. Fuchs, *Der Bilderrahmen* (Recklinghausen, 1985) p. 61, fig. 55. For a much more densely decorated version of this type of frame made around 1640–1650, see Timothy Newbery, *Frames in the Robert Lehman Collection* (New York, 2007) p. 332, fig. 275. See also Claus Grimm, *The Book of Picture Frames* (New York, 1981) pp. 203–205 for several examples of Louis XIII frames.
68. I thank Richard P. Guyette, research professor of forestry at the University of Missouri, for his help in analyzing the wood.
69. The tenons are approximately 6 cm. in height. I thank Barbara Smith and Jeffrey Wilcox of the Museum of Art and Archaeology for their assistance in examining the frame and in understanding its construction.
70. Correspondence dated 19 October 2009 with Finch and Company, London.
71. I thank the Reverend Father Luigi Martignani, archivist of the General Archive of the Capuchins in Rome, for his help with the history of the order.
72. Paul Moulin, *Documents relatifs à la vente des biens nationaux. Département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, vol. 3 (Marseille, 1908–1911) pp. 407 and 409.
73. I thank Cecile Grignard, archivist of the Bouches-du-Rhône departmental archives, for reviewing the relevant materials. It should be noted that in 1306 the White Penitents founded a church dedicated to St. Catherine in the village of l'Isle, Commune of

Martigues. Alfred Saurel, *Histoire de Martigues* (Marseille, 1972) p. 83. This was sold in 1798 (Moulin, *Documents*, p. 416). Further research in the archives of the Bouches-du-Rhône (L1475; 1Q 235, 1Q738, 1Q755–757; and additional records) might help in determining whether the painting was present in France in the eighteenth century.

74. The Walter Padovani Gallery, Via Santo Spirito 26/A, 20121 Milan, found no information about the painting in the gallery archives (email 18 October 2011).
75. Christie's Auction Catalogue, *Important Old Master Pictures*, sale no. 7290, December 8, 2006, London, p. 148.
76. See n. 28.
77. Girolamo Zonca, *Il pomogranato panegirico, overo discorso in lode della vergine, e martire Santa Caterina d'Alessandria Gloriofiſſima Spofa di Chrifto Noftro Signore* (Florence, 1631).
78. Also known as the Song of Solomon or as the Canticle of Canticles, this collection of poems is often attributed to Solomon but was more likely assembled later. For more on the Song of Songs, see Anselm C. Hagedorn, ed., *Perspectives on the Song of Songs/Perspektiven der Hoheliedauslegung* (Berlin, 2005).
79. Zonca, *Pomogranato*, p. 16.
80. Paola Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation and Identity* (Manchester, 1997) p. 98, and Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (Los Angeles, 2001) p. 56.
81. Jacobus de Voragine credited St. Catherine with the special merit of preaching, which was generally prohibited to women (Reames, *Legenda aurea*, p. 107).
82. Zonca, *Pomogranato*, p. 15.
83. Ibid., p. 14.

About the Authors

William Barcham, (retired) professor of art history at the Fashion Institute of Technology, S.U.N.Y., studies Venetian art and history, concentrating on the early modern period. He has published books on Giambattista Tiepolo, Antonio Canaletto, and Federico Cornaro, the patron of Gianlorenzo Bernini, and has contributed essays to catalogues for exhibitions held in New York, Washington, London, Rome, and Venice. His articles have appeared in scholarly journals, and he has given public talks in the United States, Italy, Great Britain, Germany, Israel, Russia, and Colombia. He is a recipient of awards from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Studies, the American Philosophical Society, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Bogliasco Foundation, and he is a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome. He won the Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Scholarly Activity from the State University of New York in 2004.

Nathan T. Elkins is assistant professor of Greek and Roman art history in the Department of Art at Baylor University. He holds a B.A., *magna cum laude*, in archaeology and classical studies from the University of Evansville, an M.A., with distinction, in the City of Rome from the University of Reading (UK), and a Ph.D. in Greek and Roman art and archaeology from the University of Missouri. His primary research interests and publications revolve around numismatics, especially Roman imperial coin iconography. He was the numismatist for the excavations of the late Roman auxiliary fort at Yotvata, Israel, and is currently the numismatist for the excavations of the synagogue at Huqoq, Israel, and the late Roman fort at Ayn Gharandal, Jordan. He is also an expert on the trafficking and indiscriminate trade in ancient coins.

Mary L. Pixley, Ph.D. and M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania, held the position of associate curator of European and American art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology from 2007 to 2012, following research and curatorial posts at the Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. A Fulbright scholar and recipient of a Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation Grant, she spent several years doing research in Italy. Her studies concentrate on European art in relation to cross-cultural and cross-temporal influences and encompass a variety of media, including paintings, sculpture, prints, ceramics, metalwork, glass, rock crystal, ivory, textiles, and carpets. She has both published and taught on the theme of intercultural artistic influences between Europe, the Islamic world, and China. More recently, her interest in the connections between the past and the present resulted in the creation of the traveling exhibition and accompanying catalogue *The Voyage of a Contemporary Italian Goldsmith in the Classical World: Golden Treasures by Akelo.* Her research has appeared in scholarly art publications such as the *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies, The Burlington Magazine,* and *Apollo,* and she has contributed essays and catalogue entries on European and American art to a variety of publications.

Acquisitions

◆

2012

European and American Art

Assemblages

Three assemblages by Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953), published by Ediciones Vigía, Matanzas, Cuba: *Converso con mi madre en la cocina* (I converse with my mother in the kitchen) 2008, mixed media (cardboard, paper, ceramic, watercolors, ink, yarn, leather, and raffia) (2012.6a–e), gift of the artist; *Amo a mi amo/I love my master*, by Nancy Morejón, 2012, mixed media (wood, iron spikes, brass bells, wax candles, jute rope, twine, dried flowers and leaves, raffia, paper, watercolors, and ink) (2012.8a–c), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 1); and *La Habana expuesta: Antología bilingüe/Havana on display: Bilingual anthology*, by Nancy Morejón with a prologue by Juanamaria Cordones-Cook, 2012, mixed media (photocopies on paper with collaged paper elements and watercolor accents, cardboard, and cloth) (2012.9), gift of Professor Juanamaria Cordones-Cook.

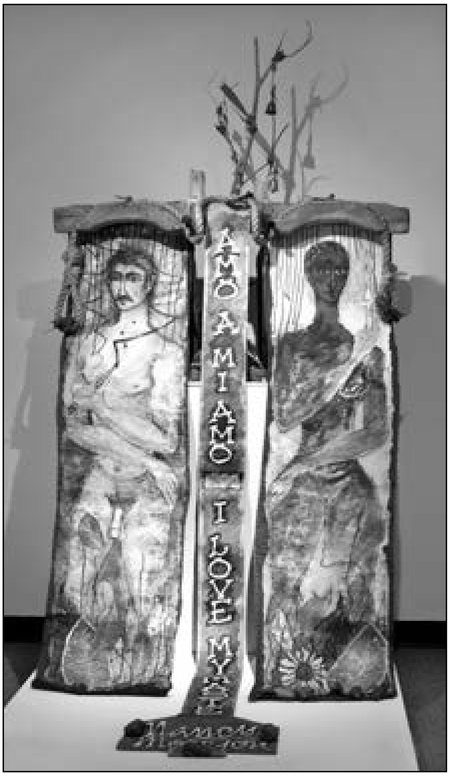

AMO A MI AMO I LOVE MY

Fig. 1. Rolando Estévez Jordán, *Amo a mi amo/I love my master*, H. 136 cm (2012.8a–c).

Graphics

Jean Messager (French, d. 1645) after Jaspar de Isaac (Dutch, 1580/90–1654), *The Annunciation*, first half of seventeenth century, hand-colored engraving (2012.1), acquired with funds donated by Dr. John and Patricia Cowden (Fig. 2).

Cornelis Visscher (Dutch, ca. 1629–1658), *Portrait of Magdalena Moons*, plate 2 from the series *Quator personae...directore P. Soutmanno Harlemensi*, 1649, engraving (2012.3), gift of Museum Associates (Fig. 3).

Elisha Kirkall (British, ca. 1682–1742) after Willem van de Velde II (Dutch, 1633–1707), *A Ship Firing on Another Further Offshore*, plate 7, ca. 1725–1730, mezzotint (2012.4), acquired with funds donated by Museum Associates and Tom and Alice Payne (Fig. 4).

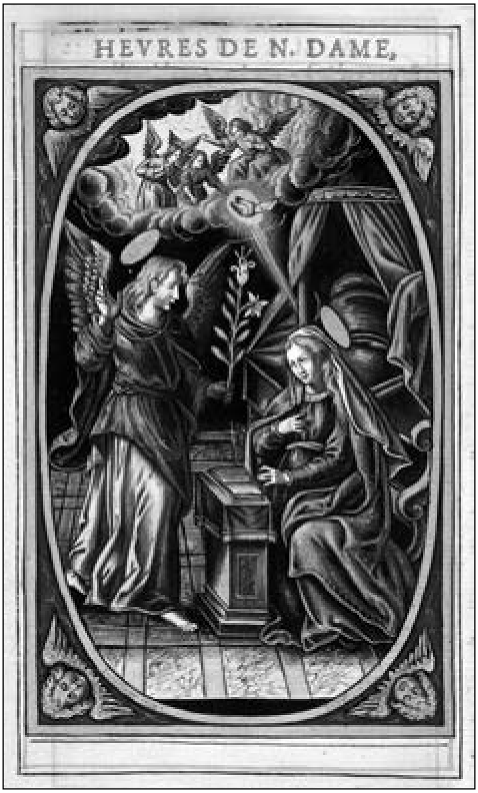


Fig. 2. Jean Messager, *The Annunciation*, 15.5 x 9.2 cm (image) (2012.1).

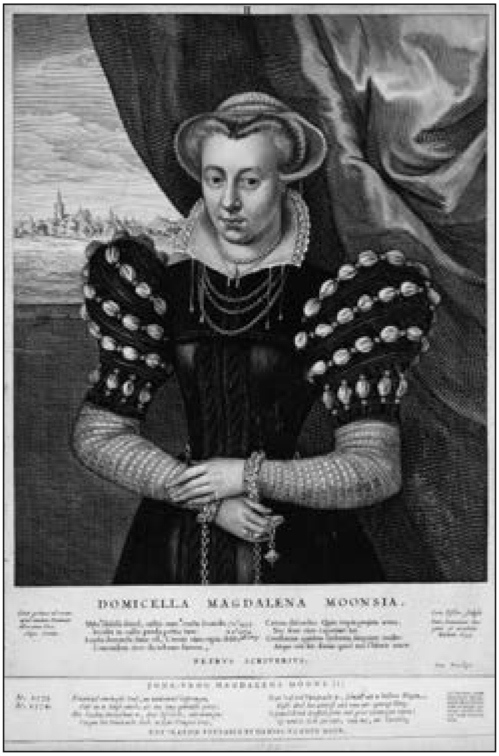


Fig. 3. Cornelis Visscher, *Portrait of Magdalena Moons*, 42 x 30.8 cm (plate) (2012.3).

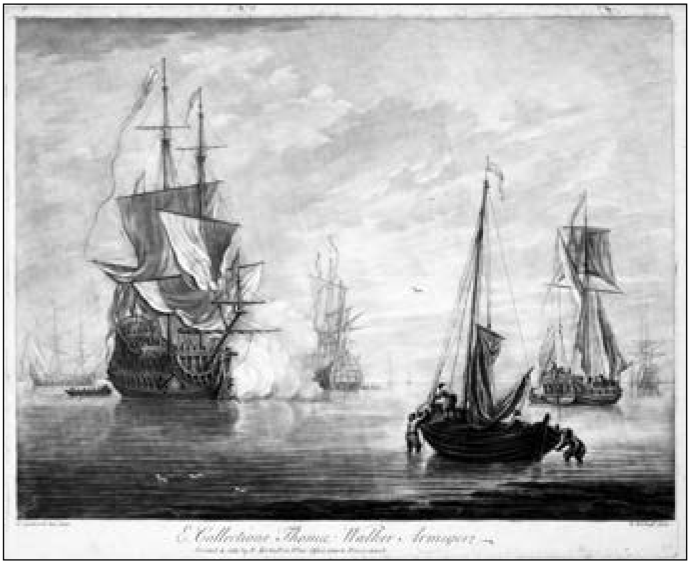


Fig. 4. Elisha Kirkall, *A Ship Firing on Another Further Offshore*, 32.9 x 40.8 cm (plate) (2012.4).

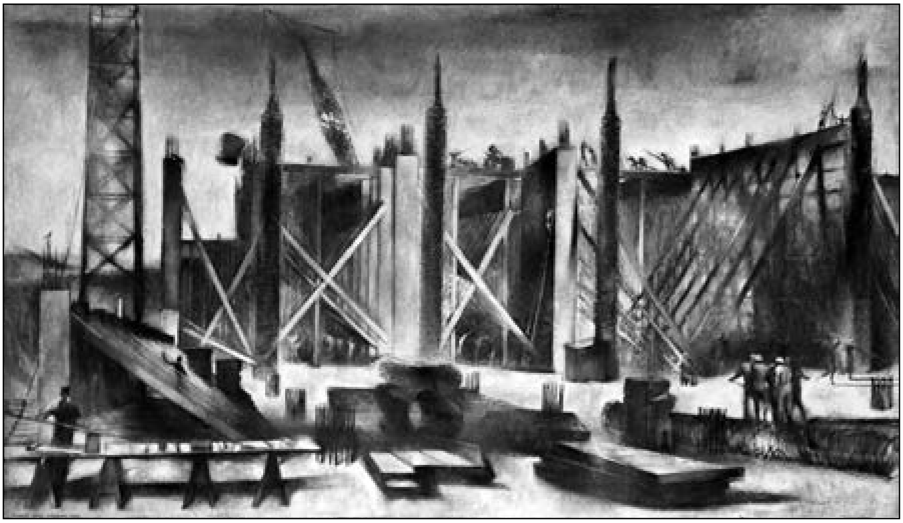


Fig. 5. Robert MacDonald Graham, *Foundation for a Building (Research Hospital, Kansas City)*, 71 x 122 cm (2012.2).

Paintings

Robert MacDonald Graham (American, 1919–2003), *Foundation for a Building (Research Hospital, Kansas City)*, 1959, oil on Masonite panel (2012.2), gift of Museum Associates (Fig. 5).

Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile (Irish, b. 1969), *West to Hy Brazil*, 2009, colored inks on handmade bark paper (2012.5), gift of Josephine Stealey.

Maurice Canning Wilks (Irish, 1910–1984), *Rough Seas, Malin Head, County Donegal*, ca. 1950, oil on canvas (2012.7), gift of Kevin Moreland in memory of his father, William Moreland.

Jean François Xavier Roffiaen (Belgian, 1820–1898), *A Herder with His Cattle in an Extensive Mountain Landscape*, ca. 1856, oil on wood panel (2012.12), gift of Sherry and Gary Forsee (Fig. 6).

Attributed to Joseph Barker (British, 1782–1809), *Country Lane with a Cowherd, Cattle, and Figures Walking Beside*, early nineteenth century, oil on canvas (2012.13), gift of Sherry and Gary Forsee.

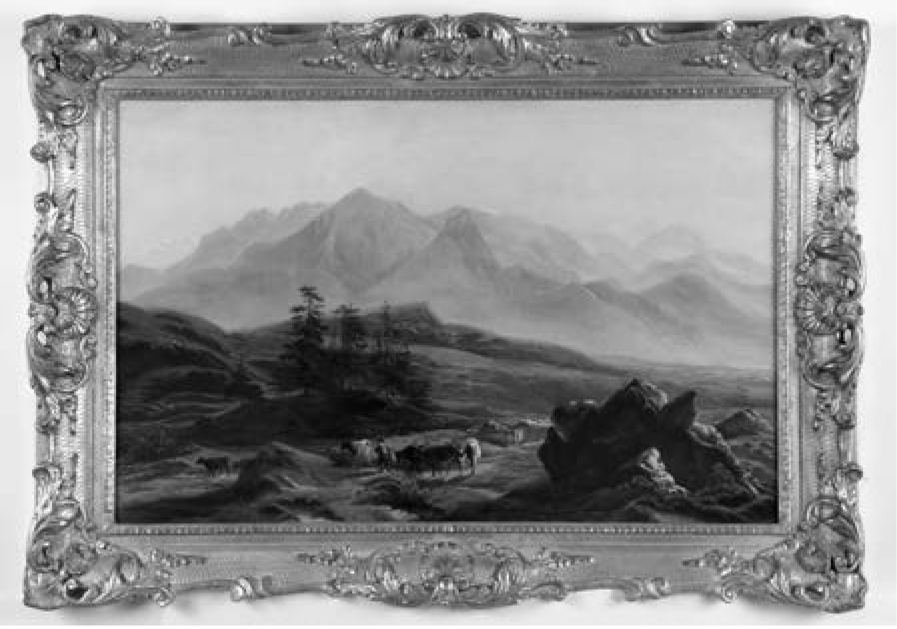


Fig. 6. Jean François Xavier Roffiaen, *A Herder with His Cattle in an Extensive Mountain Landscape*, 54.5 x 84.5 cm (2012.12).

Sculpture

Robert F. Bussabarger (American, 1922–2013), untitled, ca. 1970, ceramic (2012.10), gift of Mary L. Pixley and Thaddeus R. Maciag.

African Art

Twelve metal items, Democratic Republic of the Congo, all twentieth century, gift of Robert E. Navin and Eva J. Catlin: spearhead, Topoke people, iron (2012.14); spear, Nkutshu or Tetela people, iron, wood, and copper (2012.15a and b); spear, Mbole people, iron and wood (2012.16a and b); three spears, Ekonda people, iron and wood (2012.17, 18a and b, 19); two spears, Mbole people, iron (2012.20, 21); two currency ingots (“manilla”), Ngombe people, copper (2012.22, 23); two anklets, Mbole or Jonga people, copper (2012.24, 25) (Fig. 7).

Seated figure holding a vessel, Cameroon, Bamum people, twentieth century, wood (2012.26), gift of Robert E. Navin and Eva J. Catlin (Fig. 8).

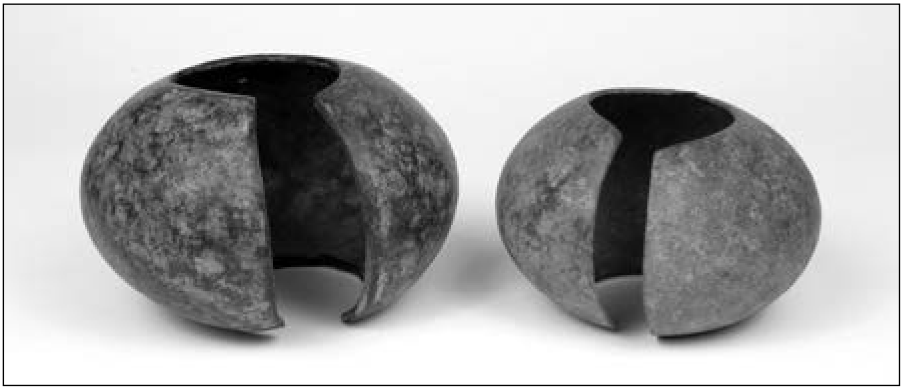


Fig. 7. Two anklets, Democratic Republic of Congo, H. 12.7 and 14 cm (2012.24, 25).

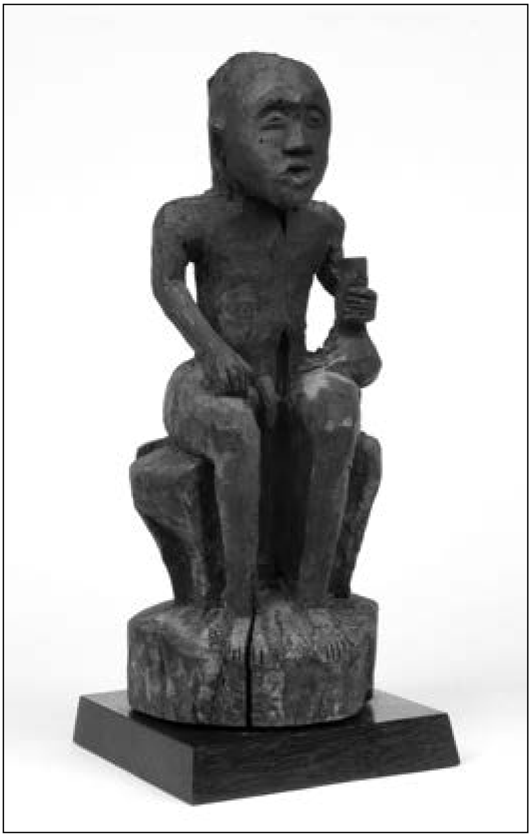


Fig. 8. Seated figure, Cameroon, H. 41 cm (2012.26).

Oceanic Art

Mask, New Guinea, Sepik River area, twentieth century, wood, cassowary feathers, and rattan (2012.11), gift of the estate of Jack and Dorothy Fields, transferred from the School of Journalism, University of Missouri (Fig. 9).

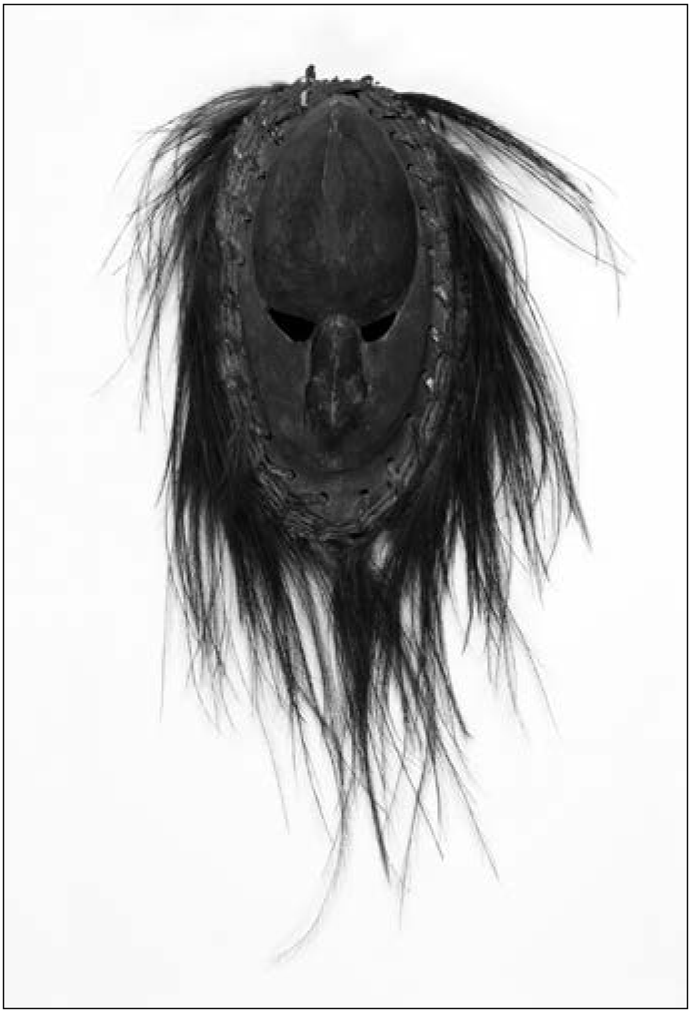


Fig. 9. Mask, New Guinea, H. 52 cm (2012.11).

Exhibitions

2012

Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions (Fig. 1)

January 28–May 13, 2012

Celebrating the addition of important works of art to the collections of the Museum of Art and Archaeology during the twenty-first century, this exhibition highlighted the wide diversity and quality of the museum's acquisitions since the year 2000. Drawn from the over 1,600 items that entered the permanent collection between 2000 and 2011—and spanning all of the museum's collecting areas—nearly all of the 100 objects in the show had not been previously exhibited.

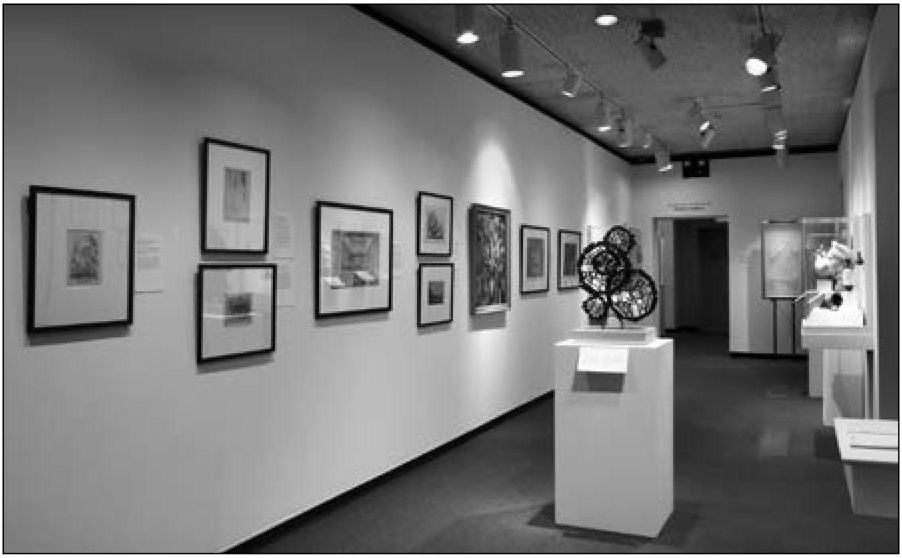


Fig. 1. *Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions.*

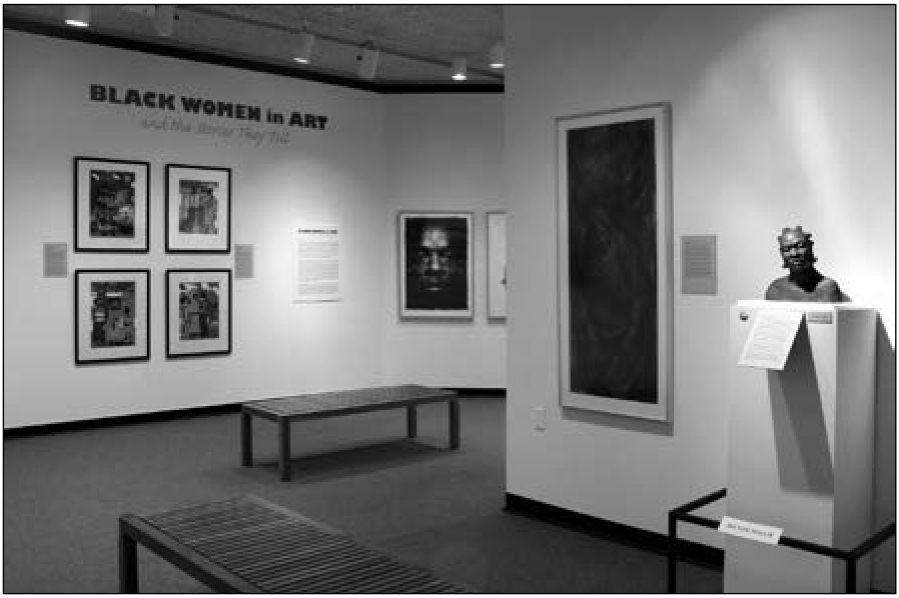


Fig. 2. *Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell.*

Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell (Fig. 2)

February 1–April 29, 2012

This exhibition explored the stories embodied in art created by black women, as well as the narratives expressed and symbolized in artworks portraying black women but created by artists of differing races and genders. Some of the narratives behind the imagery were quite complex with deep levels of meaning. The variety of the artworks revealed the diversity of artistic approaches used to tell the stories of black women in their roles as subjects and creators.

Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile: Ritualizing Place (Fig. 3)

February 29–May 13, 2012

In conjunction with the 2012 True/False Film Festival, presented by Columbia's Ragtag Cinema, the museum hosted an exhibition of artworks by University of Missouri alumnus Irish artist Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile, who was invited by the organizers of the festival to create a number of art installations around the city.

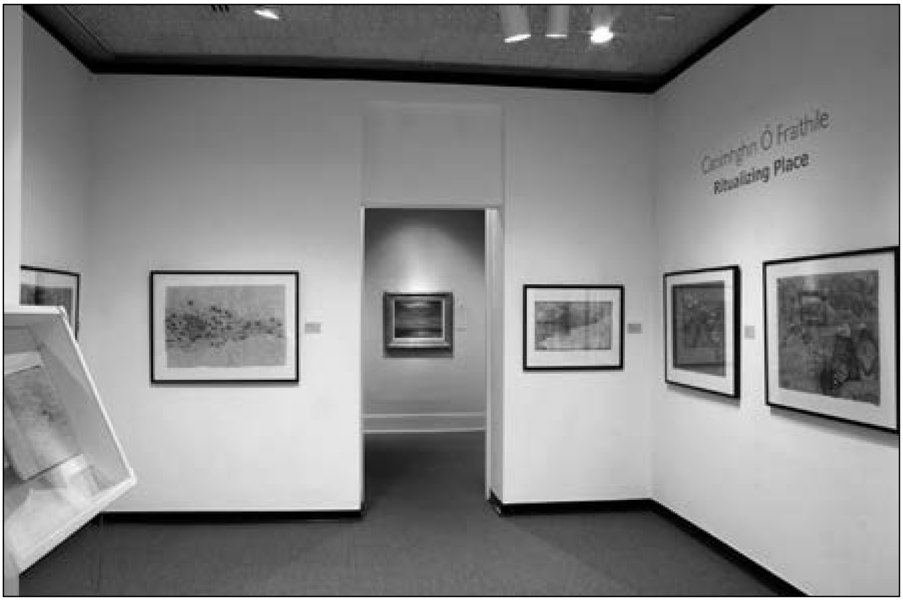


Fig. 3. *Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile: Ritualizing Place.*

In the museum's lobby an imposing mixed-media assemblage entitled *Suibhne Gealt* (*Sweeney Astray*), based on a character from Irish folklore, was suspended from the ceiling. Under the direction of the artist, numerous community volunteers worked on the project. They included students from the university's Department of Art and youth from the City of Columbia's C.A.R.E. Gallery program. A selection of Ó Fraithile's two-dimensional drawings and paintings on handmade paper was displayed in the museum's Barton Gallery. These works, rich in colors, patterns, and textures, related to places both real and mystical, past and present. They invited viewers to take a journey to a place of contemplation and to consider their place in this ever-changing world.

Coins of the God Mên (Fig. 4)

May 1–October 28, 2012

This tightly focused exhibition featured a selection of coins of the ancient Roman period depicting Mên, an obscure Anatolian lunar god. The show both honored and celebrated the scholarship of the late Dr. Eugene Lane, a frequent

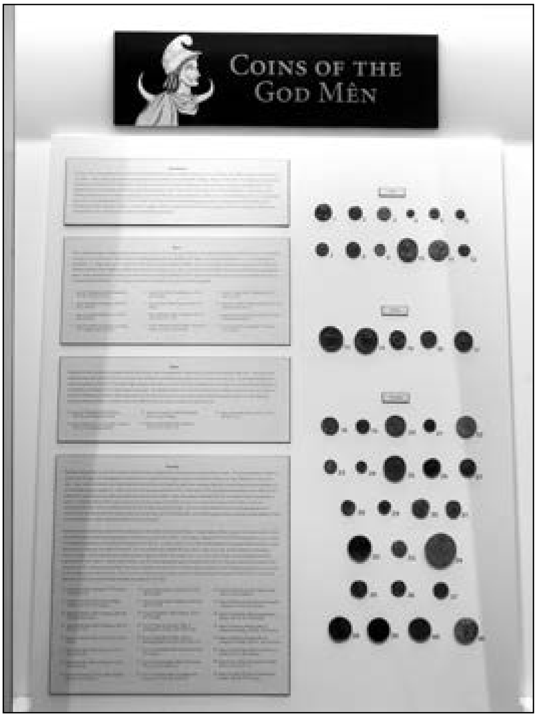


Fig. 4. *Coins of the God Mên.*

contributor to *Muse* and author of the primary publication on the god. Some of the coins were unpublished specimens, unknown to Lane and acquired by the museum after he had completed his work. Many of the museum's Mên coins were on exhibit for the first time, and several loans from private collectors were also included.

"The Third One" by Rahraw Omarzad (Fig. 5)

May 5–August 12, 2012

This film by Afghan video artist Rahraw Omarzad, presented in the museum's Barton Gallery, sensitively explored one of the principal debates for and about Muslim women—the wearing of the burqa, the outer garment that covers the whole face and body. By observing the cutting of an opening in a black fabric screen to reveal a woman dressed in a burqa, the film inquired into the culture of veiling and the world behind the veil. Using the realm of video,

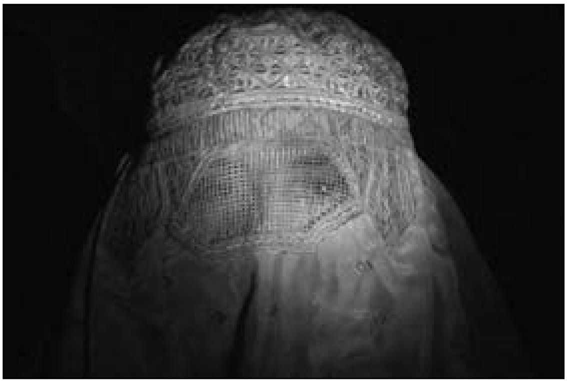


Fig. 5. *"The Third One" by Rahraw Omarzad.*

Omarzad scrutinized issues related to body, gender, religion, and society. The thought-provoking film also affirmed the power that art has to explore and reveal complex cultural customs and offer understanding on a deeper level.

City-scapes: Silkscreen Prints by Photorealist Artists (Fig. 6)

May 29–September 2, 2012

First- and second-generation Photorealist artists have used the medium of silkscreen prints to explore the urban landscape as they balance realism with an investigation into the pictorial aspects of the photograph. The prints, all from the museum's permanent collection, focused on the various aspects of illusionism and dissected the illusion of realistic art.

Portraiture, Power, and Propaganda on Ancient Coins (Fig. 7)

June 12–October 21, 2012

The evolution of portraits on ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine coins, the reasons portraits first appeared, and the social, political, and cultural factors behind subsequent changes in portrait styles were examined in this exhibition. Changes in style were due to many factors, including current trends, a desire to emulate past rulers, or the wish to provide distance from preceding rulers or dynasties. The exhibition drew primarily upon the museum's extensive collection of ancient coins, supplemented by loans from private collectors.

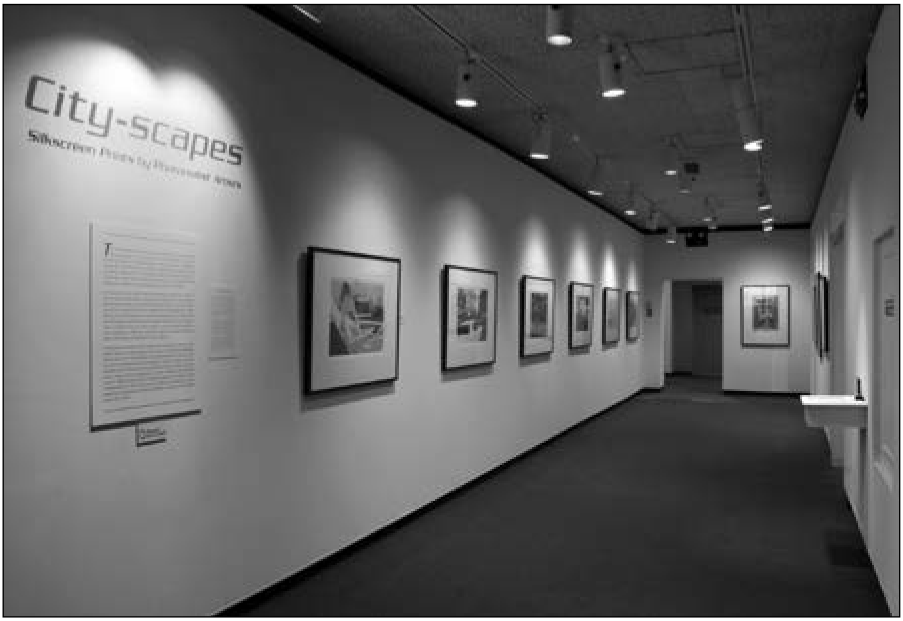

City-scapes
Silkscreen Prints by Photorealist Artists

Fig. 6. *City-scapes: Silkscreen Prints by Photorealist Artists.*

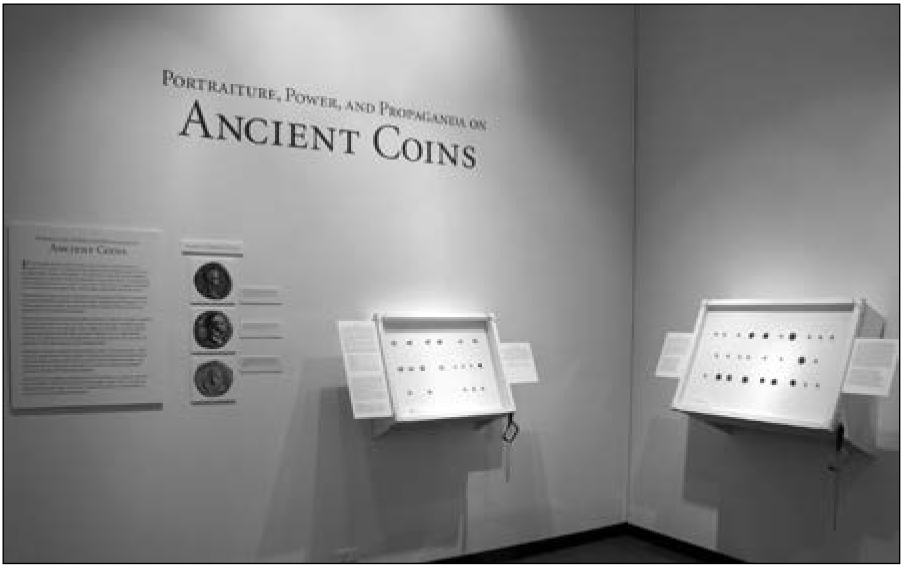

Portraiture, Power, and Propaganda on
Ancient Coins

Fig. 7. *Portraiture, Power, and Propaganda on Ancient Coins.*

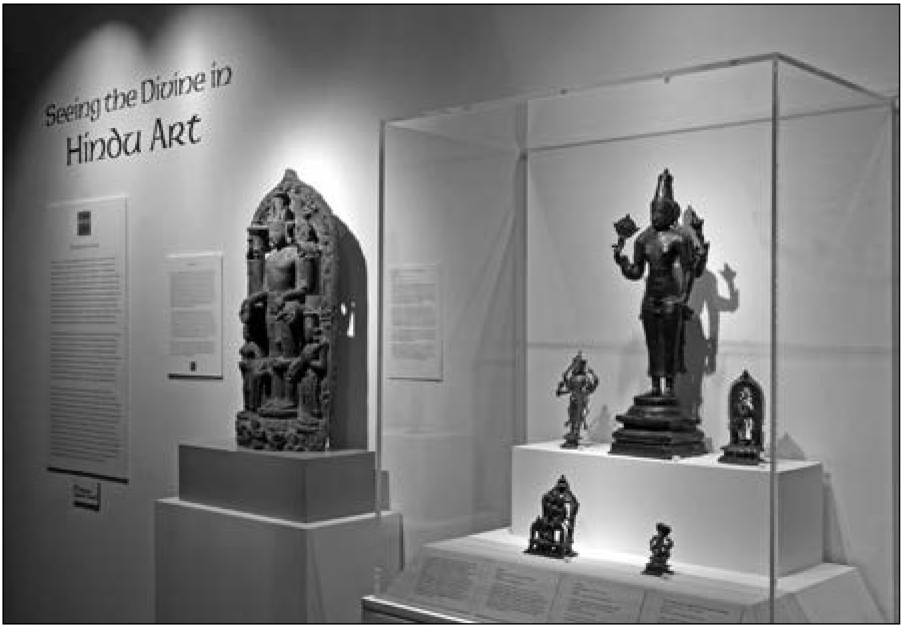


Fig. 8. *Seeing the Divine in Hindu Art.*

Seeing the Divine in Hindu Art (Fig. 8)

September 21–December 16, 2012

An exhibition focusing on the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, this show examined many of the most important deities of Hinduism, one of the great religions of the world with a long and rich history of depicting the divine in art. Sculptures, paintings, and other art forms were represented, fashioned in a variety of media and ranging in date from the eighth century to the present day. Stories of the gods' exploits were related, and the deep symbolic meanings imbedded in their imagery were explained. The artworks, whether originally created for worship in public temples or for personal household shrines, illustrated imagery that through the centuries has provided instruction, support, and inspiration to millions of devout Hindus. The exhibited works were drawn from the museum's extensive holdings of South Asian art but also included loans from the university's Museum of Anthropology, as well as from several local collectors.

Artful Bras

October 18–October 24, 2012

Mounted as part of a program of events in connection with October's Breast Cancer Awareness Month, this small exhibition featured winning entries in a contest sponsored by the University of Missouri's Ellis Fischel Cancer Center. The bras, some poignant, some comic, but all definitely attention getting, were created by local artists using a variety of nontraditional art materials.

Rolando Estévez and the Genius of Vigía (Fig. 9)

November 3, 2012–March 3, 2013

This exhibition presented a selection of limited-edition art books, authored by various poets and writers, but all designed by Cuban artist Rolando Estévez and published by Ediciones Vigía in Matanzas, Cuba. Along with the books, the exhibition also featured several large one-of-a-kind assemblages that Estévez created and that contain his very personal autobiographical stories. Unlike typical publishing houses that print books on fresh paper, Estévez and Ediciones Vigía books employ repurposed materials with added components such as straw, fabric, yarn,

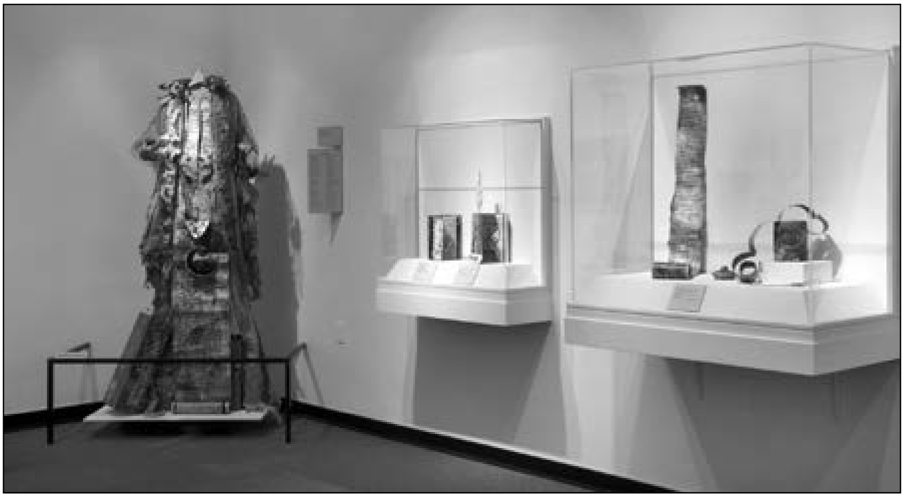


Fig. 9. *Rolando Estévez and the Genius of Vigía.*

and dried flowers; many books have cut-outs, pop-ups, and various interactive components. Estevez's unique assemblages have hand-written, poetry-covered scrolls combined with all kinds of materials embedded with meaning special to the artist. Estévez's designs for the books and artworks support the various texts they contain and also embody the spirit of the authors, thus intertwining the two art forms of poetry and sculpture. With the exception of one loan, the works in the exhibition came from the museum's own growing collection of Vigía assemblages, all having entered the collection in the past four years.

End of Days: Real and Imagined Maya Worlds (Fig. 10)

November 17, 2012–March 17, 2013

Primarily featuring Maya ceramics from the permanent collection, this exhibition coincided with the supposed "end of the world," based on the putative end of the Maya calendar. The show examined the reality of the ancient Maya world and the way Maya societies understood the cosmic order. Themes included the role of sacrifice, political propaganda, and the economic circulation of both prestige goods and commodities. A number of polychromed, incised, and glyph-inscribed vessels was shown, including two particularly fine vases lent by the Milwaukee Public Museum.

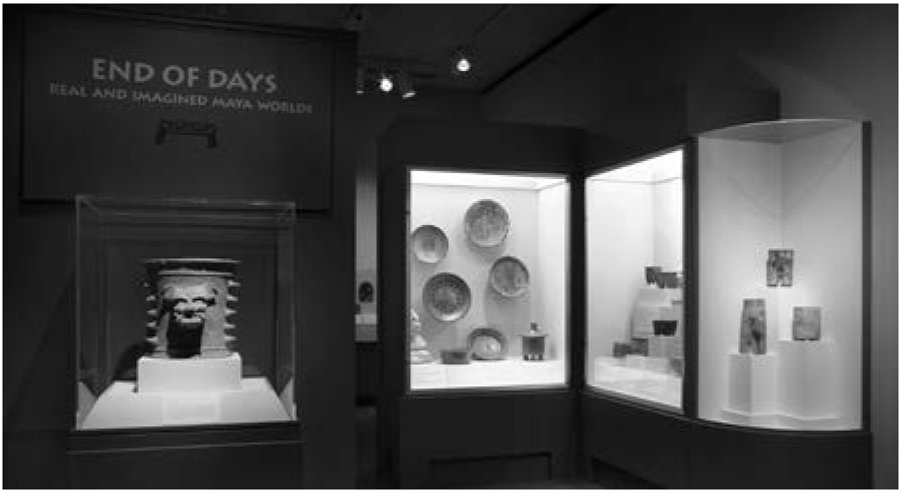


Fig. 10. *End of Days: Real and Imagined Maya Worlds.*

Museum Activities

2012

Lectures

February 2
Gladys Coggswell, storyteller, “The Stories I Tell.”

March 22
James Curtis, professor emeritus, Department of German and Russian Studies, University of Missouri, “Beyond Fabergé” (postponed).

October 11
Signe Cohen, associate professor, Department of Religious Studies, University of Missouri, “Darshan: Hindu Art and the Religious Gaze.”

November 15
Ritcha Chaudhary, senior research specialist, Structural Biology Core Research Facilities, University of Missouri, “Yoga and Spirituality.”

December 6
Alex Barker, museum director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, “End of Days: Real and Imagined Maya Worlds.”

Gallery Talks

February 8
Mary Pixley, associate curator, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, “Exhibition Tour of *Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions*.”

February 29
Misty Mullin, graduate research assistant, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, “Exhibition Tour of *Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell*.”

June 20
Kenyon Reed, collections specialist, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "Exhibition Tour of *Portraiture, Power, and Propaganda on Ancient Coins*" (rescheduled).

September 12
Kenyon Reed, collections specialist, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "Exhibition Tour of *Portraiture, Power, and Propaganda on Ancient Coins.*"

September 26
Jeffrey Wilcox, curator of collections/registrar, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "Exhibition Tour of *Seeing the Divine in Hindu Art*."

Special Events

January 27
Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions, exhibition opening.

February 2
Black Women in Art and the Stories They Tell, exhibition opening.

February 14
Valentine's Day Event: film, *Sabrina*, 1954, champagne reception, and roses for the ladies.

February 17
Music and Art Concert, Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions, performed by Ars Nova Singers, School of Music, University of Missouri.

February 23
An Evening with Young Storytellers, Gladys Coggswell, storyteller, with elementary school children.

February 29
Caoimhghin Ó Fraithile: Ritualizing Place, exhibition opening.

March 16–18
Art in Bloom, mid-Missouri florists celebrated the museum's artwork with their inspired floral designs.

April 3
Junior docent presentations, Lee Elementary School.

April 5
Art after Dark, sponsored by the Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS).

April 12
Slow Art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

April 21
Paintbrush Ball, wine and cheese reception, dinner, silent and live auctions, fund an acquisition, and dancing with the Kapital Kicks Orchestra.

September 6
Annual University of Missouri ART-I-FACT Gallery and Museum Crawl: Museum of Art and Archaeology, Museum of Anthropology, The State Historical Society of Missouri, The George Caleb Bingham Gallery, and Craft Studio Gallery.

September 14
Museum Associates Crawfish Boil in the Shadow of the Columns.

September 21
Seeing the Divine in Hindu Art, exhibition opening.

October 27
The Haunted Museum.

November 9
Museum Associates annual meeting.

November 11
Cultural Bricolage: Artist Books of Cuba's Ediciones Vigía, conference opening reception and documentary screening.

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 5
Museum Associates annual Evening of Holiday Celebration, with a performance by The Battlefield Band of Centralia, Mo.

Family Educational Events

January 12
Art after School, "Lions, and Tigers, and Boars. . ." for children 5 and older (postponed).

March 17
"Art in Bloom for Kids," for children of all ages.

April 12
Art after School, "Slow Art" for children grades K–8.

May 10
Art after School, "What a Relief" for children grades K–8.

June 14
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Picasso."

June 21
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Let There Be Light!"

June 28
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Koins with Kenyon."

July 12
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Found Objects."

July 16–19
Kids' Series: Week of Art, "Books."

July 26
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Portraits, Sketches, and Caricatures."

August 2
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Hello, Dali."

August 9
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Photo Collage."

September 22
Family event, in conjunction with the Smithsonian's National Museum Day, "Artistic Books" for children grades 1–8.

November 8
Art after School, "The Hindu Festival of Lights" for children grades K–8.

November 29
Museum event, "The Art of Henna," all ages welcome (postponed).

December 13
Art after School, "What, Me Worry?" for children grades K–8.

Film Series

January 6
Dangerous Liaisons, 1988.

January 19
The Two Mrs. Carrolls, 1947.

February 3
The Art of the Steal, 2009.

February 16
The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pitman, 1974.

March 2
Mostly Martha, 2002.

March 15
Green Fingers, 2001.

April 6
The Gospel According to St. Matthew, 1964.

April 19
King of Hearts, 1967.

May 4
Guest of Cindy Sherman, 2007.

May 17
Madam Curie, 1944.

June 1
Manhattan, 1979.

June 21
An Evening of Short Films, various dates.

July 19
Atlantic City, 1981.

August 3
Rembrandt, 1936.

August 16
Blade Runner, 1982.

September 7
Welcome to Sarajevo, 1997.

September 20
Heat and Dust, 1983.

October 5
Sita Sings the Blues, 2008.

October 18
Salaam Bombay, 1988.

November 2
Buena Vista Social Club, 1999.

November 15
Before Night Falls, 2001.

December 7
Passage to India, 1984.

December 20
Strawberry and Chocolate, 1995.

Museum Staff

◆

2012

Alex Barker
Director

Bruce Cox
Assistant Director, Museum Operations

Carol Geisler
Administrative Assistant

Barbara Fabacher (through 07/12)
Donna Dare (beginning 08/12)
Tour Coordinators

Kristie Lee
Graphic Designer

Benton Kidd
Associate Curator of Ancient Art

Mary Pixley
Associate Curator of European and American Art

Cathy Callaway
Associate Museum Educator

Arthur Mehrhoff
Academic Coordinator

Jeffrey Wilcox
Curator of Collections/Registrar

Kenyon Reed
Collections Specialist

Barbara Smith
Chief Preparator

Larry Stebbing
Preparator

George Szabo
Assistant Preparator

Larry Lepper
Joshua Webster (through 08/12)
Christopher Ruff
Ryan Johnson
Lucas Gabel (beginning 03/12)
Security Guards

Mary Conley (through 05/12)
Antone Pierucci (beginning 08/12)
Graduate Research Assistants, Ancient Art

Misty Mullin (through 08/12)
Campbell Garland (through, 05/12)
Sarah Jones (beginning 08/12)
Graduate Research Assistants, European and American Art

Shelby Wolfe (through 05/12)
Katharine Mascari (beginning 08/12)
Graduate Research Assistants, Registration

Megan McClellan (through 08/12)
Graduate Research Assistant, Department of Art History and Archaeology, Special Collections

Teagan Russell
Alex O'Brien (through 08/12)
Christina Schappe
Amanda Malloney
Undergraduate Student Assistants

Lisa Higgins
Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program

Deborah Bailey
Folk Arts Specialist

Claire Schmidt (beginning 01/12)
Graduate Research Assistant, Missouri Folk Arts Program

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2012

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Gary W. Beahan
Patricia Cowden
Caroline Davis
Ross E. Duff
Sharon R. Emery
(Carolyn) Sue Gish
Ann Gowans
Dot D. Harrison
Amorette S. Haws
Ingrid A. Headley
Sue S. Hoevelman
Karen M. John
Leland S. Jones
Linda Keown
Barbara G. Kopta
Kathryn A. Lucas
Nancy K. Mebed
Meg F. Milanick
Rachel M. Navarro
Alice A. Reese
Pam Springsteel
Tamara L. Stam
Carol J. Stevenson
Remy B. Wagner
Amber R. Wahidi

Emeritus

Nancy Cassidy
Averil Cooper
Barbara Fabacher
M. Michael Kraff

Museum Store Volunteers

2012

Nancy Burnett
Emani Castro
Rosa England
Linda Lyle
Gabryel McBaine
Andy Smith
Pam Springsteel

Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS)

◆

2012

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Mary Conley, *co-president winter semester*
Ashley Conner
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Alyson Durham
Nicole Eaton
Delan Ellington
Jennifer England
Charles Field
Sebastian Fischer
Natalie Fish
Kristen Ford
Mary Franco
Cami Garland
Kaileen Gaul
Lauren Hummel
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Kalina Irving, *publicity director fall semester*
Katherine Jaster
Maranda Johnson

Sarah Jones, *graduate president fall semester*
Katelyn Lanning
Lindsey Marschka
Maggie McCreary
Kelsey McGinnis
Raina Melvin
Tara Meyer
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Megan Weldy
Rachelle Wilson *treasurer winter semester*
Shelby Wolfe, *undergraduate president fall semester*
Paige Yaeger
Katrina Zacharias

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2012

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and Archaeology

Brooke Cameron
Professor Emeritus, Art

Signe Cohen
Associate Professor,
Religious Studies

Dola Haessig
Webmaster, College of Arts and Science

Ingrid Headley
Docent, Museum of Art
and Archaeology

Robin LaBrunerie (through 11/12)
President, Museum Associates

Susan Langdon
Professor, Art History
and Archaeology

Meg Milanick
Graduate Student, Art History
and Archaeology

Anatole Mori
Associate Professor, Classical Studies

Michael J. O'Brien
Dean, College of Arts and Science

Stuart Palonsky (through 8/12)
Director, Honors College

Kristin Schwain, Chair
Associate Professor, Art History
and Archaeology

Laurel Wilson (through 8/12)
Professor, Textile and
Apparel Management

Museum Associates Board of Directors

◆

2012

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Jennifer Perlow (beginning 11/12)
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Vacant (beginning 11/12)
President Elect

Alex Barker
Executive Vice-President

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Larry Colgin (beginning 11/12)
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Board Members

Emilie Atkins (resigned 12/12)
Tracey Atwood (beginning 11/12)
Lyria Bartlett (beginning 11/12)
Tootie Burns
Marcela Chavez
Juanamaria Cordones-Cook (through 11/12)
Pat Cowden
Lisa Eimers (beginning 11/12)
Nancy Gerardi
Ken Greene
Diana Groshong
Pam Huffstutter
Darlene Johnson (beginning 11/12)
Patty King
Mark Koch
Elizabeth Kraatz
Toni Messina
Vicki Ott
Stacia Schaefer (resigned 9/12)
Annette Sobel
Scott Southwick
Gil Stone (through 11/12)
Charles Swaney
Gary Tatlow
Stacey Thompson (beginning 11/12)
Nancy West (beginning 11/12)

Ex Officio Members

Bruce Cox
Assistant Director, *Museum Operations*

Ingrid Headley
Docent Liaison

Susan Langdon (beginning 9/12)
Chair, Department of Art History and Archaeology

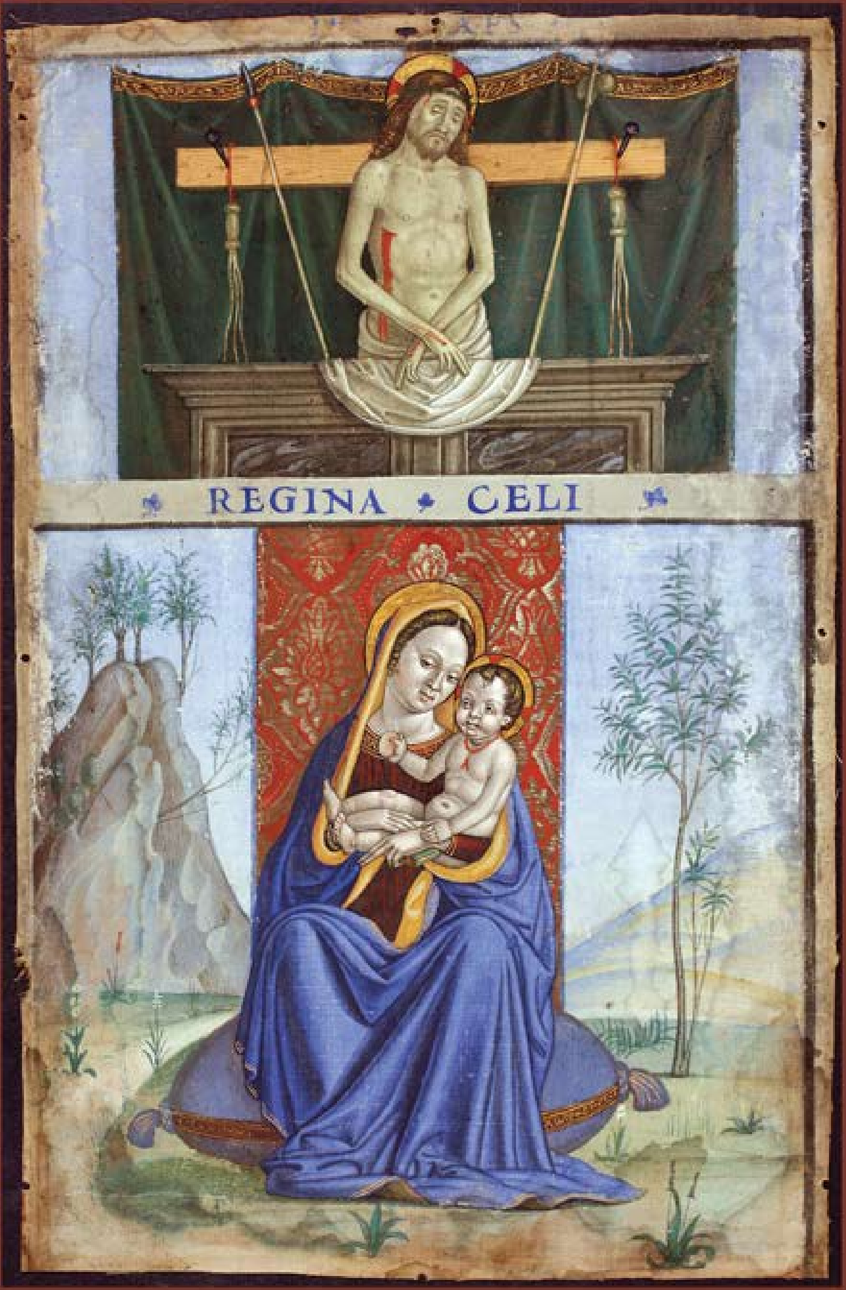
Mary Pixley (resigned 12/12)
Associate Curator of European and American Art

Anne Rudloff Stanton (through 8/12)
Chair, Department of Art History and Archaeology

(Vacant)
Student Liaison

Honorary Members

Patricia Atwater
Libby Gill
Osmund Overby
Patricia Wallace


REGINA CELI