

# MVSE

VOLUME  
FORTY-EIGHT  
2014



Annual of the  
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

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

The Museum Store is open from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Tuesday through Friday.

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

All submitted manuscripts are reviewed.

*Front cover:*

Frederick E. Shane (American, 1906–1990)

*The State Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1946–1947*

Oil on Masonite, 81.9 x 103 cm

Gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for operations, University of Missouri (2014.96)

*Back cover:*

Lawrence Beall Smith (American, 1909–1995)

*Note from St. Louis, 1947*

Oil on Masonite, 36.2 x 28 cm

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## Director's Report 2014



ALEX W. BARKER

One might understandably assume that 2014 would be a quiet year for the museum, as its galleries were closed while spaces were being renovated and prepared for its future use.

Hardly.

First, the backstory. In 2013 the Museum of Art and Archaeology had learned that it would be vacating its longtime home in Pickard Hall for a new location, Mizzou North, two miles north of campus and that the move out of Pickard needed to be completed before the end of the calendar year. Despite myriad challenges the move was completed ahead of schedule and under budget, but in order to accommodate this very aggressive time line the museum was forced to vacate Pickard before its new facility was fully ready. Two other facilities—Swallow Hall, which housed the Museum of Anthropology, and Jesse Hall, the main administrative building on campus—were also being renovated during this same period. The Museum of Anthropology was to join us at Mizzou North, and since it did not share our year-end deadline, plans called for the renovation of its areas at Mizzou North to take priority so that it could move from Swallow Hall directly into its new galleries.<sup>1</sup> Museum of Art and Archaeology collections were therefore moved into temporary compacted storage on the ground floor of the new facility, while renovations of the collections storage and gallery areas got under way. A more complete description was included in my 2013 Director's Report.

Renovations of some Museum of Art and Archaeology spaces could be completed quickly, however, in areas where the work required was minimal. Collections storage areas were finished first, as no structural changes were made, cosmetic renovations were negligible, and the only substantive changes involved renovations to HVAC systems to provide adequate environmental controls. Installation of newly purchased collections furniture, therefore, began in December 2013. Painting storage screens by Crystallizations Systems, Inc. were installed during the first weeks of December, and new Delta Designs

cabinets for textiles, prints, and three-dimensional objects were configured and installed beginning on December 19. Delta Designs installers assembled the cabinets, followed by museum staff using photographs and dimensions of cabinetry in Pickard Hall, in order to space shelving appropriately, and then lining the installed shelves with Volara foam and Tyvek coverings as needed. The photographs and shelf lists were left in place in preparation for the unpacking and reinstallation of works in individual cabinets. During this same period collections specialist Kenyon Reed completed digital plans for the location of each painting on storage racks, ensuring that as works were unpacked they could be stored in the most efficient arrangement possible. Layouts showing the location of each work on each screen, including color images of the works, were attached to each individual screen to facilitate the unpacking and reinstallation process and were supplemented by cross-indices by accession number and screen.

An area just to the right of the main building entry on the first floor, which had the greatest available floor-to-ceiling space, had been identified as the best location for the collection of nineteenth-century casts of Greek and Roman statuary. Work began in late 2013 to convert this space into a secure and presentable gallery—including the removal of mechanicals and the opening of the ceiling to the deck above, as well as the addition of walls and fire-rated doors with electromagnetic fire releases—and was largely completed by year's end. Once a wall color had been selected, chief preparator Barb Smith and assistant preparator Larry Stebbing began repainting the casts' bases using a complementary color, and replacing casters and bases as needed.

In the second week of January 2014, art-handlers and riggers from U.S. Art Company and Terry Dowd, Inc. returned to Columbia to help complete the second stage of the move—from temporary ground floor storage into more permanent storage and into the just-completed Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts. Collections had been densely stored in last-in, first-out order, with the cast collection being the last sets of objects to leave Pickard Hall. They were, therefore, the first objects to be unpacked. The precise location of casts in the new gallery had been modeled by Barb Smith and curator of collections/registrar Jeff Wilcox, in consultation with curator of ancient art Benton Kidd, using scale models. With minor adjustments the final arrangements closely followed a semi-chronological iteration developed by Wilcox.<sup>2</sup> Some of the casts, which had been secured through walls into older (and hence potentially contaminated) parts of Pickard Hall were not allowed to leave the building pending further analyses,

and the layout of the new gallery reflected only those works that had already moved. In one or two instances (sets of works from the Parthenon East frieze, for example) full-size rasterized images of works were mounted temporarily to minimize disruption to the overall spacing and interpretive scheme. Finish work and installation of signage continued until the beginning of February, driven in part by the decision to reopen this gallery to the public as soon as possible.

The decision to reopen a single gallery on the first floor while work continued on the main galleries was not taken lightly and reflected several concerns. The museum had already been closed to the public for some four months, and renovations of the main galleries constituted a complex task whose final form and schedule for

completion changed several times over the ensuing months and ultimately took much longer than initially planned. While the specific causes of delays were not known in advance, the likelihood that there would be delays of some kind was anticipated,

and we planned accordingly (at the

outset University of Missouri Campus Facilities planned for renovations to be completed by late April 2014, but in the end the galleries were not transferred to the museum until the end of November). Opening the Cast Gallery represented an important stake in the ground and expressed the museum's commitment to maintaining its public presence and its educational mandate. It also provided a space for group tours and gatherings, allowing programmatic and social functions to resume, albeit on a limited scale.

On February 7, 2014, the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts formally reopened (Fig. 1). Museum supporters crowded the room, and newly



Fig. 1. Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts at Mizzou North. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

appointed University of Missouri chancellor R. Bowen Loftin told the assembled guests, “I know moving was difficult, driven by some very difficult circumstances.” He looked forward to better days ahead. Understandably, my remarks focused on thanking all involved—museum staff and art-handlers, Campus Facilities crews, administrators, and renovation contractors—for bringing us to that point, and on thanking museum supporters for their continued enthusiasm and engagement.

Once the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts had been opened, we were able to use the outside walls of this finished area to offer limited space for the display of two-dimensional works of art. Our own collections remained in temporary storage, but for many years the casts have been drawn by successive generations of students in the university’s Department of Art. Art professor Matt Ballou selected drawings that were then mounted outside the Cast Gallery and in adjacent areas of Mizzou North’s first floor, allowing us the opportunity to present the work of outstanding student artists, showcase the continuing role of ancient forms in modern art, and emphasize our ongoing engagement with academic departments on campus despite our physical distance.

During this same period staff and contracted art-handlers were busy unpacking the museum’s collections into its new storage areas. As with the move-out, the thoroughness of preparations by museum collections staff helped the process move along quickly. The cross-referenced lists of objects by location and accession number, posted in multiple places, and the shelf lists and photographs of the objects on each shelf in each cabinet enabled efficient placement, with records being continuously updated noting condition or changes in location. Curator of collections/registrar Jeff Wilcox and collections specialist Kenyon Reed merit particular praise for their efforts in this regard. Most of this unpacking was completed by late spring.

But no plan long survives contact with reality. We had initially planned that objects intended for immediate exhibition would be left in storage and unpacked directly into the finished galleries and had staged the movement of objects into temporary storage accordingly. Changes in the scale and schedule of the second-floor renovations soon made it apparent, however, that the galleries would remain closed for longer than we had hoped. Many works intended for display, including all but a few oversized paintings, were, therefore, moved into permanent storage. Here again, prior planning paid handsome dividends. While many paintings were intended to be displayed in the new galleries, space for

their storage had nonetheless been allocated and individual locations identified in advance, allowing their seamless inclusion on the new storage racks (Fig. 2).

In some respects the delays were not unwelcome (and in this instance the double negatives are fully intended). The university had initially planned minimal alterations and allocated precisely the same square footage to the museum as it had occupied in Pickard Hall. As we planned storage space and layouts the impracticality of these allocations became clear for two reasons: (1) despite equivalent square footage the usability of the new space was significantly less because of the ways in which it was broken up into rooms and corridors; and (2) allocations had been based on two-dimensional space, and the three-dimensional volume

was far less in the new facility than in Pickard, which was graced with ceilings more than twice as tall as those in Mizzou North. Eventually the space allocated to storage increased at the partial expense of gallery space, and additional office space was allocated.

It was not possible to convert this additional office space into galleries because the cost per square foot for full demolition, relocation of mechanicals, and renovation was prohibitive; office space was transferred to the museum without renovations of any kind and without adding costs to the larger project budget.

While we would obviously have preferred more high-quality gallery space—expansion of space for storage was at the expense of space planned for changing exhibitions—plans did change to improve the quality of these new galleries significantly. Initial designs called for minimal changes—removal of a few wall segments but otherwise leaving the floorplan intact,



Fig. 2. Painting racks in Mizzou North, second floor. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

keeping existing drop ceilings, and covering the ceramic-tiled walls of what had once been operating rooms with modular Mila-Wall panels. Plans were changed, revisited, then changed again; ultimately the gallery areas were completely gutted, ceilings removed and opened to the deck above, and walls were relocated or removed, with final locations constrained only by mechanicals and changes necessary for building operation. Designs for built-in cases to display the antiquities collection underwent similar changes and improvements to accommodate Arreis/Medex construction and non-off-gassing materials, LED lighting, and specific features needed for the display of ancient textiles and Roman-era glass. Jason Golden, the university's project architect, worked iteratively with me, University of Missouri director of space planning and management Heiddi Davis, College of Arts and Science dean Michael O'Brien, and other senior university administrators to balance our needs with available resources. While the results still represented a compromise, and many constraints and challenges remained, every change from the initial plans represented, without exception, an improvement or upgrade, and I am grateful for this demonstration of the university's manifest commitment to the museum and its mission.

The unpacking and placement of objects in appropriate storage locations was a primary focus of staff throughout the first months of the year. Collections staff—and other staff previously trained in object handling and registration procedures—worked with art handlers to unpack, condition check, record, and then place objects into new cabinets or on storage screens. That process actually unfolded more quickly than we were anticipating, and by the end of spring we had shifted from unpacking collections to miscellaneous upgrades and improvements to storage locations and environments.

As collections were placed into permanent storage, the wooden slat crates, double-wall cardboard bin boxes, foam inserts, and other packing materials were reclaimed. Items such as lumber were recycled for other projects, while padding and boxes were set aside for use during the Museum of Anthropology's planned move. The pre-cut foam inserts for packing ceramic vessels proved particularly useful during the Museum of Anthropology's transfer of whole vessels from vault storage in Swallow Hall to temporary storage at the Museum Support Center south of campus on Rock Quarry Road.

Because renovation of spaces for the museum's preparation and fabrication shop was unfortunately scheduled for the same time as gallery renovations,

Barb Smith, Matt Smith, Travis Kroner, Pete Christus, and George Szabo were forced to operate from a temporary workspace and without the benefit of larger power tools needing a dedicated 220-volt power supply. Their success in doing so—and the remarkable degree of organization they brought to temporary and makeshift spaces—merits special recognition. That group was absent one familiar face, however. Longtime assistant preparator Larry Stebbing took medical leave from the museum in late 2013. In early 2014 these same concerns forced him to take medical retirement from the museum. He remains in our thoughts and prayers.

When the galleries were formally transferred to the museum in November, the contractors and Campus Facilities crews had completed the larger-scale tear-out and renovation (Fig. 3), but finish work and placement of cases, vitrines, and pedestals remained, along with installation of environmental monitoring and security systems and the installation of objects. One of the more difficult challenges involved lighting, as the new LED lamps produced a surprisingly wide range of intensities and color temperatures despite being from the same manufacturer, model, and even production batch.

The final stage of the main move began in mid-December 2014, with the return of art-handlers and riggers from U.S. Art Company to help with the installation of large, heavy, or particularly unwieldy works requiring slings, gantries, or other specialized equipment. Much had changed for those crews in the interim as well. We had initially contracted jointly with U.S. Art and Terry Dowd Inc. for the move out of Pickard Hall, and the cooperation and camaraderie of the joint crews led me to joke that the two firms would probably merge, with us as the marriage broker. I was nearer the mark than I knew; Terry Dowd underwent significant corporate changes in 2014, and most of the Terry



Fig. 3. Second floor galleries in Mizzou North under construction. Photo: Alex Barker.

Dowd art-handling crew with whom we had worked so closely then joined U.S. Art and their erstwhile collaborators. Installation of large statues such as von Halbig's marble *Bathing Nymphs* (Fig. 4), the Indian granite *Victorious Durga*, and a number of ancient stone sculptures, along with larger paintings such as *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, whose locations constrained the spacing of smaller works in the galleries, were completed in less than a week. From that point forward museum staff worked to hang paintings and place three-dimensional objects, using the locations of already installed larger works to define key sightlines and to allocate space for a largely chronological installation. While a host of details remained to be done, by the end of 2014 the museum was able

to announce that it would reopen its galleries on April 19, 2015.

A few objects received minor damage during the move—notably wear and small chips in areas where portions of plaster casts rejoined, and some older mends on objects that failed because of brittle (or cross-linked) adhesives. A total of one object (or rather part of an object) was missing. One perforated shell from a possibly prehistoric necklace could not be located following rehousing of the collection. Our records indicate that the necklace included eight perforated shells, but our re-inventory following the move shows only seven.<sup>3</sup>

While it had been



Fig. 4. Art handlers installing the *Bathing Nymphs*. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

my stated intent to minimize loans and acquisitions during the move and reinstallation, the reality proved somewhat different. Because we had been unaware a move was in the offing, we had incurred obligations that had to be discharged despite the demands of the transfer from one facility to another. In 2012, the museum had mounted the exhibition *Cityscapes: Silkscreen Prints by Photorealist Artists*, curated by Mary Pixley. Arrangements had been made—before learning that the museum would move—to lend the exhibition to the Leigh Yawkey Woodson Art Museum in Wausau, Wisconsin. Ten serigraphs and accompanying interpretive information duly traveled to the Woodson, and the exhibition was presented there from June 21 to August 24, 2014, as part of the *Purely Prints* series of installations. During the exhibition's two-month run it was viewed by 5,730 visitors.

Nowhere, however, was this disparity between the intent to minimize other projects during the move and the reality of staff effort more evident than in acquisitions. At the same time that we were moving, several other entities on campus were also relocating as part of scheduled building renovations. One of these renovations was for Jesse Hall, the main academic building on campus, which had housed the Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Heart of the Nation collection of regionalist works for more than sixty years. Given to the University of Missouri in 1950, before the founding of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, the ninety-eight works in this important collection had been commissioned by a major St. Louis department store to “depict through the medium of American Art, the natural beauties, industrial activities and cultural characteristics of [Missouri].” While it had been agreed at the time of donation that the collection would be transferred to the university's art museum when one was established, it was more than two decades before the museum had its own facility, and by then the collection had become too familiar and beloved by Jesse Hall staff to be easily relocated. I had actually approached university officials regarding transfer of the collection shortly after I came to Columbia but had been rebuffed at the time. Now, however, Jesse Hall was scheduled for renovation, and the collection needed a new home. The museum accepted fourteen paintings by Howard Baer, two drawings and seven paintings by Aaron Bohrod (one of which was stolen from Jesse Hall in the 1990s, but title was transferred to the museum in case of eventual recovery), seven paintings and one pastel by Nicolai Cikovsky, two paintings including *Union Station—St Louis* by Fred Conway,





**Fig. 5.** Jackson Lee Nesbitt (American, 1913–2008). *Farm Auction, Jackson County*, 1947, tempera on composition board, 45 x 76.5 cm. Gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.85). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

ten paintings by Adolf Dehn, nine paintings by Ernest Fiene, eight paintings by Peter Hurd, five paintings by Frederic James, eight paintings and one drawing by Fletcher Martin, three paintings including *Farm Auction, Jackson County* by Jackson Lee Nesbitt (Fig. 5), eight paintings including

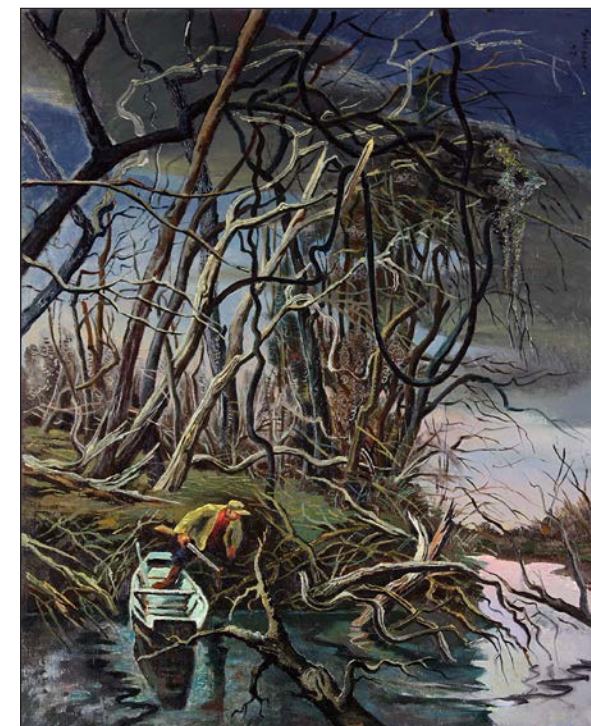
*Mink Trapper on Finley Creek* by Georges Schreiber (Fig. 6), four paintings and one ink drawing by one-time University of Missouri faculty member Fred Shane, six paintings by Lawrence Beall Smith, and two paintings by Wallace Herndon Smith. In order to increase knowledge of and access to the collection, Department of Art History and Archaeology associate professor Kristin Schwain and her students are working on a website examining the history, iconography, social context, and physical settings depicted in the collection, while Rick Shaw, director of the Pictures of the Year International Program at the University of Missouri's Reynolds Journalism Institute, is preparing a documentary film regarding the collection and its transfer to the Museum of Art and Archaeology. A catalogue of the collection had been prepared at the time of its donation to the university, but it is long out of print and lacks both high-resolution images and detailed catalogue entries for each work. A new catalogue is planned.

Coincidentally, an additional work by Adolf Dehn was offered to the museum during this period. *Snow Fields*, a 1950s watercolor, was given to the

museum by the artist's estate through the efforts of Sam F. and June S. Hamra, longtime university donors, and by principals of the Harmon-Meek Gallery in Florida. The Hamras and Harmon-Meek Gallery also arranged for the museum to receive a 2010–2012 painting, *Ars Longa*, by American artist Philip Morsberger.

Four additional works, thematically related but not part of the Heart of the Nation collection, were added by purchase through the generosity of Museum Associates. Frank Nuderscher's *The Gasconade*, a landscape on canvas board depicting a central Missouri river flowing out of the Ozarks,

adds an additional work by a distinguished Missouri artist once called the "dean of St Louis artists." James Penney's *Missouri State Fair 1941* is an oil on canvas genre painting showing visitors to the state fairgrounds in Sedalia. Penney studied under Albert Bloch and completed several murals for the Federal Arts Project in the 1930s. Joseph Vorst's untitled Missouri landscape depicts a weather-beaten house set in an eroded field but tinged with greens and hinting at the reawakening of life. It's a scene Vorst returned to several times (describing the structure as a sharecropper's cabin), with this being his most positive portrayal. Jack Keijo Steele's *Battle of the Overpass* (1938) depicts the notorious 1937 confrontation between United Auto Workers organizers and security guards from the Ford



**Fig. 6.** Georges Schreiber (American, b. Belgium, 1904–1977). *Mink Trapper on Finley Creek*, 1947, oil on canvas, 79 x 63.5 cm. Gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.90). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



Fig. 7. Jack Keijo Steele (American, 1919–2003). *Battle of the Overpass*, ca. 1938, oil on Masonite, 43.5 x 73.7 cm. Gift of Museum Associates (2014.196). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Motor Company at the River Rouge factory in Michigan (Fig. 7). Workers and union organizers were severely beaten, but guards confiscated film and the company denied initial reports of the incident. One enterprising reporter, however, hid his exposed plates in his coat and surrendered unexposed ones; the published photographs helped sway public opinion in favor of the workers. Steele's painting captures the struggle in stark colors against a dark background, as a guard rides down one worker with arms upraised, while other workers crowd grimly forward.

The family of the late Robert F. Bussabarger, longtime professor of art at the University of Missouri, generously arranged for a significant donation of works. The works in the Bussabarger estate had initially been transferred to the Boone County Historical Museum (BCHM), which had previously exhibited and sold his works. Following a change in direction at BCHM, it was decided that the collection should be removed and after discussion with family members it was brought to the museum for disposition. I wish to acknowledge specifically Chris Campbell, director of BCHM, for his kindness and assistance in arranging for the transfer of the more than 1,000 works in the Bussabarger collection. A committee of consulting art faculty, including Brooke and Ben Cameron

and Jerry and Joanne Berneche, reviewed all the works and recommended selections that were most significant for museum acquisition. Members of the museum's Collections Committee then reviewed these selections, and ultimately eighty-two works by Bussabarger, including forty drawings, twenty-two paintings, three collages, one etching, and sixteen sculptures were acquired for the permanent collection through the generous donation of Bussabarger's widow, Mary Louise, and children, Wendi Newell and David Bussabarger. The museum then coordinated the distribution of other works from the collection to area institutions, including the Ashby Hodge Gallery of American Art, The State Historical Society of Missouri, and the University of Missouri's Museum of Anthropology. Additional gifts were made to area schools, to the Columbia Public Library, and to our own Museum Associates for a fund-raising effort; the remainder of the collection was returned to the family in 2015.

Other collections areas also expanded. Professor Juanamaria Cordones-Cook of the university's Department of Romance Languages and Literature continues to work closely with the museum in development of its Afro-Cuban collection. She donated an art book assemblage created by Rolando Estévez Jordán for Ediciones El Fortín, with text by Nancy Morejón and Ruth Behar; the work complements our fine collection of works by Estévez through Ediciones Vigía. We purchased a small wooden relief panel depicting Narasimha, one of the avatars of Vishnu, and Josh Markus gave a sandstone plaque depicting several Hindu deities, with Ganesha in upper center. We also received two other South Asian works—a watercolor, gold, and ink depiction of Krishna and a cloth Ravananugraha painting by Jagnath Mahapatra—from the estate of Robert Bussabarger. The Bussabarger family also gave two mid-nineteenth-century Japanese color woodblock prints. Finally, the Missouri State Museum in Jefferson City transferred a stone effigy metate in the form of a jaguar, probably from Costa Rica, which it deaccessioned as being outside its collecting scope. It is a welcome addition to our Pre-Columbian holdings.

Three other works were acquired by purchase. One is a ceramic plate by noted American ceramicist Beatrice Wood, which complements our holdings of ceramics by Glen Lukens, given earlier by his niece, and the gifts by the late Mark Landrum of works by several contemporary artists. Two prints were also purchased, an 1881 Max Klinger etching and aquatint depicting *Amor, Tod, und Jenseits* (Cupid, death, and the beyond), and the powerful twentieth-century etching *Four Heads* by Vilmos Huszár.



**Fig. 8.** Young attendees take a lunch break at the Summer Art Camp held in June 2014. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

While our galleries were closed museum staff refocused their efforts on public outreach. Some schools, like Lee Expressive Arts Elementary, felt our absence very keenly, and assistant museum educator Rachel Straughn-Navarro organized a special program “conserving” Dürer prints for Lee’s Fall Festival. Arthur Mehrhoff recorded essays for the City of Columbia’s Office of Cultural Affairs audio tour of public art in the city and helped organize a Material Culture working group. For the first time the museum offered a summer camp (Fig. 8).<sup>4</sup> Focusing on grades 3–5 and led by Rachel Straughn-Navarro, the camp represented a more sustained and intensive arts education experience using the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts, meeting rooms in the Mizzou North facility, traveling trunks, and education collections left accessible for this purpose. Straughn-Navarro arranged for the participants to receive t-shirts, and it remains a source of real pleasure to unexpectedly encounter the shirts (and their wearers) around town. Straughn-Navarro also introduced special programs for middle school students, and over the spring a series of three Art Labs were

conducted for students in grades 6–8. In addition to seven Kids’ Series: World of Art events and five Art after School programs, museum educator Cathy Callaway and Straughn-Navarro also arranged three special Family Events (Fig. 9). On April 12, a special 125th birthday party was held for Missouri’s own Thomas Hart Benton, held in



**Fig. 9.** Attendees at the “Food in Art” family event on May 8, 2014. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

conjunction with The State Historical Society of Missouri.<sup>5</sup> The museum hosted other Columbia museums and cultural institutions for National Museum Day in September (with considerable help and support from academic coordinator Arthur Mehrhoff) and for International Archaeology Day in October. Both celebrations featured programs at Mizzou North, with participants including the Museum of Anthropology, The State Historical Society of Missouri, and the Missouri Historic Costume and Textile Collection. We also presented one lecture at our unfinished Mizzou North facility: Art History and Archaeology doctoral student Lauren DiSalvo presented a “History of Sculpture Casts” to an appreciative audience on March 13. In December we marked (with minimal irony, given that our galleries remained closed) “National Day Without Art,” observed in recognition of the disproportionate number of members of the arts community who are living with or have died from AIDS.

The Film Series continued despite the difficulties in finding consistent locations for screenings. Our new facilities in Mizzou North lack an auditorium, and the single meeting room of moderate size had no projection capabilities until late in the year, so the screenings became pop-up events in different locations across campus; as a result Cathy Callaway changed its title to the “Ad Hoc Museum Film Series.” Ten films, ranging from the original *Jason and the Argonauts* (a perennial favorite) to *The Rape of Europa* were screened.

Museum education staff (educators Cathy Callaway and Rachel Straughn-Navarro and academic coordinator Arthur Mehrhoff) also worked to redesign the museum's website. We had hoped that changes could be accomplished quickly and that the new website would help serve our audiences while the physical galleries were closed, but the actual process proved more lengthy and complex than anticipated reflecting a combination of communication issues with college web designers, differences over college-mandated coding formats and



**Fig. 10.** Docent trip to the Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art, Central Methodist University, Fayette, Missouri, on May 4, 2014. Photo: Barbara Fabacher.

branding standards, and the need to fully revise content during a period of change and transition. While the new website has launched, many areas needing revision and expansion remain. Work also continues on ancillary websites that will eventually become part of the museum larger web presence. Callaway completed revisions to parts of

an existing site dedicated to art books from Ediciones Vigía in Matanzas, Cuba (<http://vigia.missouri.edu/>), while students under the direction of associate professor Kristin Schwain worked to develop the website documenting and exploring the Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Heart of the Nation Collection.

The respite from tours allowed additional training for the museum's docents, and focused enrichment and educational programs were offered over the course of the year, including docent field trips to peer institutions (Fig. 10). In addition to these training programs, docents also began offering tours in the reopened Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts and presenting outreach programs

to local schools, retirement facilities, and other audiences; I'd like to particularly recognize docent Valerie Hammons for her efforts in this area. While other museums have reported that closure for any period of time decimated their ranks of docents, we have been blessed with a docent corps that not only stood with us but even expanded their programming. The museum's seventh annual Music and Art concert, given in collaboration with the Ars Nova Singers and the University of Missouri's School of Music, presents selected works of art from the museum's collection and choral works closely related by theme or from the same area and time. In years past the artworks were placed in context by a museum curator or faculty member; this year the visual arts presentations were made by selected museum docents, with Steven Hirner providing similar context for the musical works.

Two docents marked milestones in 2014. Caroline Davis and Amorette Haws each received a pendant with a replica of a bronze Heracles head in the collection to commemorate their five years of service.

Classroom instruction is not a formal part of museum staff job descriptions, but given how closely the museum is integrated into the academic and pedagogical life of campus it is a natural extension of existing duties. During 2014, several museum staff taught or lectured as part of regularly scheduled courses, and four offered courses as instructors-of-record. Rachel Straughn-Navarro taught "New Media in Museums," and Cathy Callaway taught "Men, Women, Myth and Media," both for the university's Honors College. Benton Kidd taught "Classical Mythology" for the university's Department of Classical Studies and represented the museum in a Freshman Interest Group (FIG) and two residential life groups. Arthur Mehrhoff taught an online course on "Shaping Human Settlements" for the University of Missouri's Department of Architectural Studies.

Curator of ancient art Benton Kidd continued preparing a major manuscript on the decorated wall stucco at Tel Anafa, the Hellenistic site excavated in the 1960s and 1970s by museum founder Saul Weinberg; the volume is scheduled to be published soon by the University of Michigan. Lisa Higgins, director of the Missouri Folks Arts Program (MFAP), moderated a special session at the 2014 American Folklore Society annual meeting in November in Santa Fe, New Mexico, *A Conversation with National Partners: A Look at Our Discipline Today and Beyond*, comprised of leaders from the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, the Folk and Traditional Arts Program at

the National Endowment for the Arts, and the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. Higgins also participated in the forum *Fieldwork at the Crossroads: Exploring Fieldwork Practice through the LGBTQA Lens*. I served as an invited panelist for the session *(Re)defining Spatial Archaeometry* at the Society for American Archaeology meetings in Austin. Academic research by museum staff was unfortunately constrained by the competing responsibilities of the move but should return to pre-move levels in the year to come. We did, however, continue to pursue other scholarly projects that will pay future dividends.

In 2013, Rome's Capitoline Museum, the world's oldest public museum, lent the remarkable ancient statue *Fauno rosso* to the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City. Its accompanying couriers from the Capitoline mentioned a very different project to Robert Cohon, curator of art of the ancient world—a collaboration to conduct archaeological assessment and analysis of the massive collections unearthed in downtown Rome in the decades following the 1871 unification of Italy. Cohon and the Nelson-Atkins's director, Julian Zugazagoitia, recognized that the project was too academic and research oriented for the Nelson-Atkins but immediately recommended the University of Missouri as having the three key elements for such an ambitious and groundbreaking project: (1) a doctoral-level academic program with strengths in the antique world; (2) an archaeometric laboratory capable of performing chemical characterization of ancient materials; and (3) an accredited museum, also with strengths in antiquities and in international collaborations. Discussions and site visits began in the fall of 2013 and continued throughout the first half of 2014.

From the 1870s until the rise of the fascists, massive construction occurred in downtown Rome, largely to provide federal buildings for the newly unified nation-state. Most of the objects recovered from excavations associated with these building projects had never been studied. With sponsorship from Enel Green Power, the Capitoline Museum would send unstudied antiquities to the Museum of Art and Archaeology as formal, multi-year loans. The objects would be studied by students and faculty of the Department of Art History and Archaeology and by museum staff, would be analyzed chemically at the Archaeometry Laboratory at the University of Missouri Research Reactor (MURR), under the direction of Dr. Michael Glascock, and described, catalogued, and fully documented. Then the objects would be returned to the Capitoline Museum, and another group of objects would take their place as the next in an iterative series of loans. The project offered many benefits to the

museum and the university: (1) educational opportunities featuring hands-on research on unstudied Roman Republican-era antiquities; (2) opportunities for substantive, interdisciplinary scholarly research on objects from the center of the Roman world, with no restrictions on our publication or dissemination of results; (3) systematic expansion of archaeometric analyses into areas where MURR had limited comparative samples, thereby strengthening existing research databases; and (4) the ability to display previously unexhibited Roman antiquities to our diverse audiences and to address larger issues of cultural heritage and international scholarship through the accompanying didactic material. In addition to the obvious benefit to the Capitoline Museum—additional hands documenting unstudied collections, and eager to do so—the project also directly fulfilled one of Italy's obligations under its bilateral Memorandum of Understanding implementing parts of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, through the Cultural Property Protection Implementation Act. We were selected as the pilot program, with the explicit expectation that this would serve as a model for other U. S. universities and museums to follow.

In the end four main agreements were negotiated: (1) a cultural protocol between the Italian authorities and the University of Missouri, establishing a larger cooperative agreement under which such projects could proceed; (2) formal loan agreements between the Capitoline Museum and the Museum of Art and Archaeology, specifying conditions for the loan of the individual objects; (3) determinations from the U. S. State Department that the project was in the national interest, and that there was immunity from judicial seizure; and (4) sponsorship agreements with Enel Green Power providing financial support for the transportation, insurance, and analytical costs associated with the project. All were negotiated by the museum on behalf of the university and the other participating departments.

Events moved rapidly thereafter, and 249 Roman Republican-era pottery vessels, mostly black-gloss wares, arrived with accompanying couriers (Antonella Magagnini and Carla Martini of the Capitoline Museum) and advisor Pietro Masi on August 28, 2014. Magagnini and Martini worked with museum staff to write condition reports and check-in the collections over the Labor Day weekend, and two weeks later the project was announced at a major press conference featuring the university's chancellor, representatives of the Capitoline Museum, the Cultural Heritage Superintendency of the City of Rome, Enel Green



**Fig. 11.** Capitoline Museum Project press conference. From left to right: R. Bowen Loftin, chancellor University of Missouri; Alex Barker, director Museum of Art and Archaeology; Amee Desjourdy, Enel Green Power North America (behind Anastasi); Maurizio Anastasi, Cultural Heritage Superintendency, City of Rome; Renato Miracco, cultural attaché, Italian Embassy, Washington, D.C. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Power, and the government of Italy (Fig. 11). The press event featured parts of a documentary describing the project that Stefano Saraceni is completing. A second press conference, for the benefit of the Italian and European media, was held in November at the Capitoline Museum in Rome.

The significance of the project is hard to overstate. Some in the cultural heritage community have long criticized source countries for failing to make antiquities more broadly available to scholars and museums. They argue that retentionist heritage policies and restrictions on the trade of antiquities are imprudent or inappropriate when those countries have large backlogs of still-unstudied objects and collections. Whatever the merits of that view—and I remain skeptical for many reasons—this project directly and decisively addressed such concerns by offering American students and scholars unprecedented access to previously unstudied antiquities. No project of this kind had previously been approved by the Italian authorities; the *New York Times* aptly described it as something new for “a country that traditionally kept a tight hold on its cultural patrimony.” Analysis of these objects is continuing, with University of Missouri doctoral archaeology student Johanna Hobratchk (Fig. 12) focusing on cataloguing the vessels using the complex Morel nomenclature, and undergraduate students under the supervision of Dr. Michael Glascock completing X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and neutron activation analysis sampling.

Museum staff meanwhile continued their exemplary local and national service. Staff members served on graduate committees, reviewed manuscripts, and led workshops throughout the area. Cathy Callaway served on the American Alliance of Museums Education Committee, focusing mainly on webinar planning and annual awards, while she also served as a field reviewer for the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS). She also continued as an assistant editor for *Muse*, together with Jeff Wilcox. Arthur Mehrhoff served on the Project for Public Spaces International Placemaking Leadership Council and as a Research Fellow for the Monticello Foundation, while Benton Kidd remains a lecturer for the Archaeological Institute of America and completed his year-long training as part of the Chancellor’s Emerging Leaders Program. Lisa Higgins of the MFAP served a second year on the Arkansas Arts Council’s *Arkansas Treasures* grants panel, completed her term as exhibits review editor for the *Journal of American Folklore*, and with her colleague Brent Bjorkman of Western Kentucky University convened twelve university-based public folklorists for discussions with sponsorship from the American Folklore Society. She also served as co-chair of the planning committee for the Folk Arts Coordinators Peer Session for the 2014 National Assembly of State Arts Agencies in November in New Orleans, Louisiana, which convened forty-three participants and presenters for eight professional development sessions. I served as a panel reviewer for IMLS and chaired the Nominating Committee for the Society for American



**Fig. 12.** Doctoral students Johanna Hobratchk (left) and Lauren DiSalvo (center), Department of Art History and Archaeology, with Antonella Magagnini, senior curator archaeologist with the Capitoline Museum, Rome, inspect black-gloss Roman Republican pottery upon its unpacking at the museum in August 2014. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 13.** Old-time fiddler Travis Inman and Kansas City jazz pianist Donald Cox (both previous Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program master artists) jam with bassist Joe Straws, Jr., at a thirtieth anniversary event hosted by Missouri State Parks and Historic Sites at the Bruce R. Watkins Cultural Center in November 2014. Photo: Deborah A. Bailey.

Archaeology and served also on the Advisory Board for the National Science Foundation-sponsored SPARC (Special Archaeometry Research Collaborations) program at the Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies/Archeo-Imaging Lab at the University of Arkansas. At the same time some of my other service responsibilities lessened, since in 2014 I completed my terms of service as treasurer of the Society for American

Archaeology, as convener of the forty scholarly societies comprising the American Anthropological Association (AAA) Section Assembly, and as a member of the AAA Executive Board. My service as a federal appointee to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act Review Committee, which monitors implementation of the Act and annually reports to Congress on successes achieved and barriers encountered, entered its final year.

MFAP continued its tradition of service with support from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Missouri Arts Council. This year marked the thirtieth anniversary of MFAP's Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program, which matches master folk artists with younger artists interested in ensuring the continuation of native craft traditions by learning at a master's side. MFAP director Lisa Higgins and folk arts specialist Debbie Bailey have made a unique contribution nationally and to traditional folk arts in Missouri, preserving and perpetuating traditions in a range of folk arts including blacksmithing, short-bow fiddling, boot and saddle making, African American storytelling, "walking cane" dulcimer, clawhammer banjo, Slovenian button-box accordion, Native American ribbon work, luthiery, turkey calls, Vietnamese dragon dancing, wheelwrighting, and bluegrass dobro, among others (Fig. 13). Over the years

the program has paired 185 master artists offering 374 apprenticeships to more than 400 students, and I am proud that for the past twenty-one years the MFAP has been part of the Museum of Art and Archaeology. While grants are often portrayed as minimal or unattainable in the arts and humanities, MFAP staff salaries and program budgets continue to be funded entirely through externally funded grants—a remarkable achievement by any measure.<sup>6</sup>

While for the most part we were able to continue all planned grant activities (Folks Arts Program activities, for example, were only briefly interrupted by the move of offices in late 2013), we were unable to implement some grant-funded public exhibition projects funded by the Missouri Arts Council (MAC). After exploring all available options, grant funds supporting 2014 exhibitions were returned to the Arts Council. I am grateful to Keiko Ishida at MAC for her efforts on our behalf, and to Carol Geisler, the museum's fiscal officer, for her careful administration of these and all other sponsored projects. To prove that no good deed goes unpunished, however, at the same time that Carol was arranging for the return of remaining funds to MAC we began anticipating the reopening of our galleries in 2015, and the number and size of external grant applications submitted in 2014 for 2015 projects more than doubled.

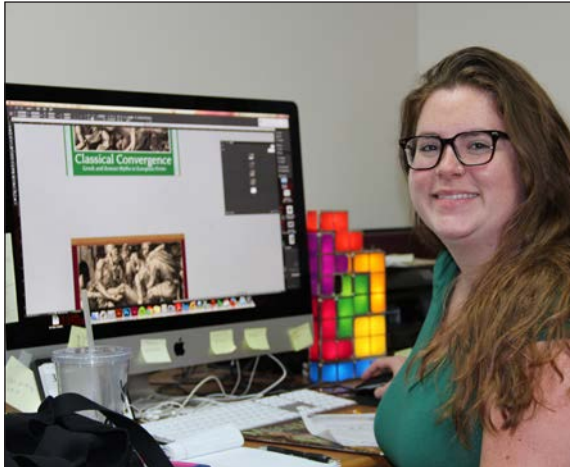
As we began the move I had been concerned that Museum Associates would wither once the public galleries were closed. I needn't have worried, as Museum Associates stepped up with a range of events over the course of the year that effectively maintained their public presence and the public profile of the museum. In February, they hosted the opening of the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts, and in May held the Paintbrush Ball, the museum's annual fund-raising gala, which proved a festive and enjoyable affair (Fig. 14). In September,



**Fig. 14.** Paintbrush Ball co-chairs Patricia Cowden and Pamela Huffstutter on the left with Terri and Chris Rohlfing. Photo: Valerie Berta.



**Fig. 15.** University of Missouri students Gretchen Stricker (left) and Heather Smith posing as mummies during the “Art after Dark” event on April 11, 2014. Photo: Rachel Straughn-Navarro



**Fig. 16.** Graphic designer Cassidy Shearrer. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

they hosted the Crawfish Boil, a more laid-back event (blue jeans rather than black tie) featuring étouffée, muffalettas, and Louisiana crawfish. This year’s Crawfish Boil was particularly meaningful, as large crowds turned out under cold leaden skies to show their support as part of the museum family. In December, the Associates hosted the annual “Evening of Holiday Celebration” in the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts. Museum assistant director of operations Bruce Cox serves as primary liaison to Museum Associates and is deeply involved in organizing and mounting each Museum Associates event. Cox also manages the Museum Store, which reopened at Mizzou North in late 2013, and began rebuilding its retail presence and customer base throughout 2014.

The Associates also helped sponsor “Art after Dark,” the annual juried art show (and party) organized by the Museum Advisory Council of

Students (MACs) (Fig. 15). While overall museum membership did take a dip, it was a smaller decrease than one might reasonably have anticipated, and I am deeply grateful to Museum Associates and its officers (Gary Anger, president,

Robin LaBrunerie, vice president, Linda Keown, secretary, and Larry Colgin, treasurer) for their continuing enthusiasm and for their efforts to maintain the momentum of the Associates during an otherwise trying time.

Finally, in 2014 the museum bade farewell to graphic designer Kristie Lee, who had been responsible for the layout of museum marketing materials and publications including *Muse*. She had served many years at the University of Missouri Press, and when she joined our staff she made it clear that she hoped to retire when she had reached twenty cumulative years of service. It was bittersweet when that day arrived, and we wish Kristie all the best as she begins her new career as a freelance designer of art books. Later in the year we welcomed Cassidy Shearrer to the staff as our new graphic artist (Fig. 16). Previously a graphic designer at Washington-based *National Journal Daily*, she is also a graduate of Columbia’s own Lee Expressive Arts Elementary School, with which the museum has been a formal Partner in Education for the past decade.

## NOTES

1. Demolition and renovation of Museum of Anthropology spaces took place first, but a combination of changing plans for the transfer of Anthropology collections from the Museum Support Center, as well as new acquisitions that required the rethinking of gallery designs and interpretive treatments, led to the Museum of Anthropology adopting a longer time line for reopening its galleries to the public.
2. The arrangement allowed a roughly chronological interpretation by, in some cases, placing a Roman copy in the chronological place of its Greek original.
3. I must wryly note that our curator of collections/registrar, Jeff Wilcox, was aghast when I suggested in a later interview that the discrepancy might also represent an error in recording the original number when catalogued rather than the loss of one perforated shell during the move. I hereby retract that statement—it must have been lost in the move.
4. Former curator of education Luann Andrews offered a number of serial summer programs, but she never officially called them “camps.”
5. Benton’s birthday is actually April 15 but, like many celebrity birthdays, was celebrated on the nearest apposite date on the calendar.
6. While the museum does not fund MFAP programs, we are able to support MFAP by providing bridging monies to support increases in MFAP salaries between the year in which raises are offered and the year in which the corresponding grant funds are received.



# The Uncertain Authenticity of an “Etruscan” Bronze Statuette\*



DOUGLAS UNDERWOOD

In the Mediterranean basin bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, was used in a range of objects from weapons and tools to domestic utensils, from the third millennium B.C.E. onward.<sup>1</sup> The practice of producing bronze statuary in the form of gods, humans, and animals was a significantly later development, not appearing in Egypt until around the seventeenth century B.C.E. The Minoans made bronze figurines by the Neopalatial period (roughly the mid-second millennium B.C.E.), but the practice did not appear in mainland Greece until the early Geometric era, possibly as early as the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> It spread to the Villanovan civilization in central Italy by the seventh century and from there to their successors, the Etruscans.<sup>3</sup> The earliest archaic human and divine figurines largely mirrored the stylistic trends of Greek archaic statuary, featuring stiff poses, expressionless countenances, or occasionally abstract and stylized forms. Artistic developments starting in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., which reached an apogee in Hellenistic Greece in the third century, led to figurines with a greater degree of expression and realism.<sup>4</sup> These trends greatly transformed Etruscan statuary, which began to move toward a more naturalistic style before the civilization and its arts were largely subsumed into the growing influence of Roman culture in the first century B.C.E.

Small-scale figurines and statuettes were used in a number of different contexts in Etruscan Italy. Depending on their size and shape, they could be attached as ornament to other objects, from furniture to tripods to knives and mirrors.<sup>5</sup> Freestanding statuettes could represent gods, goddesses, or demi-gods, which almost certainly served a ritual or religious function. There are, additionally, representations of non-divine men and women in various



**Fig. 1.** Statuette, front view. "Etruscan," bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (62.66.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

guises, both nude and clothed.<sup>6</sup> While there is some debate as to the identity of a few of these statuettes, especially those without a known provenance, most are clearly identifiable as worshipers or offerants through their costume and pose or through their deposition as votive offerings at sanctuaries and temples.<sup>7</sup> A bronze statuette in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, has been identified as such a votive priest/priestess or worshiper (Fig. 1). It has been classified in museum records as Roman (although this is not correct and will be discussed below) and dated from the mid-second century B.C.E. to 50 C.E.

This article will outline the results of a thorough examination of the statuette, including a formal analysis and comparison with other ancient pieces as well as detailed technical investigations of the composition of the metal. Together, these examinations show that there are some significant stylistic and compositional problems with this Missouri statuette that raise serious doubts about its authenticity. The article proposes that instead of being ancient, the statuette is a modern forgery made in the early part of the twentieth century.

Finally, by placing this particular piece in a larger contextual framework of fakes and authenticity, this study will conclude with some insights into the purpose and conceptual role of modern forgeries of ancient works.

### Background on the Study of Ancient Bronze Statuettes

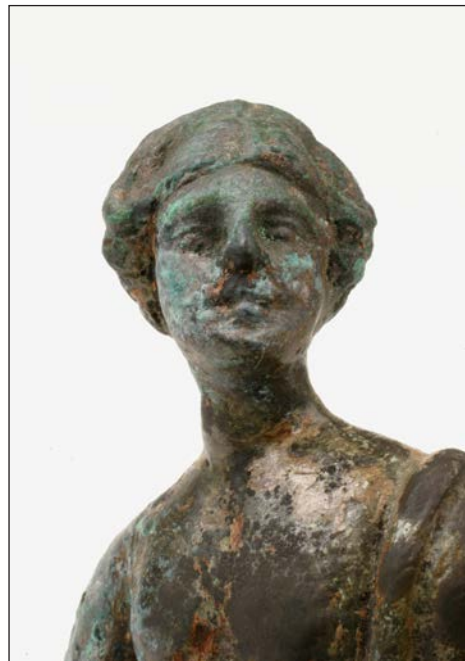
Until relatively recently, classical bronzes—Greek, Roman, and Etruscan—were analyzed primarily in terms of style. Fabrication technique was considered, but only marginally to formal aspects. This is evident especially in Winifred Lamb's foundational 1929 book tracing the development of ancient bronzes, where technique was considered fairly superficially and which only dealt with major compositional issues like casting or engraving.<sup>8</sup> This paradigm continued largely unchanged into the 1960s, at which point a more scientific approach to archaeological material began to develop.<sup>9</sup> This shift was facilitated by the contemporaneous development and spread of technologies necessary for the scientific analysis of ancient metals. Such new approaches were first arguably seen in a symposium held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1967 that accompanied the first major international exhibition of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman bronze sculpture.<sup>10</sup> A number of the studies included in the symposium used works from the exhibition as a springboard for substantially technical discussions, like the role of microscopic analyses, spectrometry, and x-ray photography, and surveys on topics like bronze joints, patinas, and trace metal analysis.<sup>11</sup> The study of bronze statuary since then, while continuing a level of stylistic examination, has leaned heavily on detailed scientific investigation, which has grown even more specialized and sophisticated.<sup>12</sup> Most often these modern analyses are used to determine authenticity, although some have been used for determining the provenance of ancient bronzes.<sup>13</sup>

Etruscan bronzes were originally included either in general surveys of Etruscan art or alongside Greek and Roman bronzes in studies of ancient metalwork. This latter approach is in fact very useful for allowing cross-cultural comparison, which is fitting in light of the influence that Greek statuary had on Etruscan style and how they both influenced Roman statuary. It tends to minimize some of the important differences among the traditions, however, and to lack some depth. As a result, a new, more focused way of studying Etruscan bronzes was developed in the mid-1980s, with the completion of several large surveys of these works in museums around the world.<sup>14</sup> These overviews helped

to establish the broad developments in Etruscan bronze statuary over time, as well as to highlight regional differences among the major production centers. There has been comparably little work done on the topic since then, however, especially in the last fifteen or so years, except for a few studies on the large famous bronzes like the *Chimera of Arezzo* and the *Capitoline Wolf*.<sup>15</sup>

### Physical Description

The Missouri statuette is freestanding, has a human form, and wears a mantel draped over the left shoulder and left arm (Fig. 1).<sup>16</sup> The head is turned slightly to its left and upward (Fig. 2). Eyes, lids, and brows are visible on either side of a prominent nose and nasal bridge. A small mouth sits above a jutting chin. A substantial quantity of hair is parted down the middle in the front and is drawn into three curls on each side of the face. There is a slight ridge running



**Fig. 2.** Statuette, detail of face. "Etruscan," bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (62.66.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 3.** Statuette, detail of back of head. "Etruscan," bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (62.66.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

transversely across the head connected to both of the side curls that may indicate a fillet or diadem of some type or may in fact be the hair pulled up, in some type of braid, to the top of the head. The back of the hair is separated into a number of individual locks that fan out from a central part (Fig. 3). The remaining hair is drawn up off the neck and appears to be bunched together in a small bun on the nape of the neck. The figurine's neck is thin and long and set on sloping shoulders (Fig. 4). The right arm of the statuette is missing from just above the elbow (Fig. 5). The chest of the figurine is bare and shows little musculature, with flat pectoral muscles, yet the abdominal muscles are well defined, indicated by two pronounced, indented lines in the middle of the chest (Fig. 1). Below this, the belly is rounded and bulges slightly. The figure wears a large pleated garment draped in two segments—one around the left shoulder and another around the left arm, down to the wrist, and around the waist and legs. Under this garment, which hangs down to the mid-shin, the left knee is bent slightly forward and inward, lifting the left foot up from the modern mounting (Fig. 6). Both feet are damaged—the right is missing from just below the ankle and the left is lacking toes.

The surface of the figure is covered completely in a brownish patina seemingly resulting from the natural surface oxidation of the metal. This patina is



**Fig. 4.** Statuette, rear view. "Etruscan," bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (62.66.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



Fig. 5. Statuette, detail of arm. "Etruscan," bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (62.66.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

reasonably tenacious and does not easily peel away from the underlying surface. Distinct from the overall patina, there are splotches of aquamarine and brick red spread over the entire surface of the statuette. The blue patches are particularly prominent on the face and upper chest while the red spots are more apparent in the folds of the garment; both have previously been identified as corrosion. There are no obvious casting flaws or repairs to the surface of the statuette.

### Provenance and History of Study

Very little is known about the provenance of this statuette. Museum records indicate that a Mr. Leonard Epstein donated it in 1962. Nothing is noted about the donor, except that he resided in New York, probably in Manhattan. Research has shown that, in addition to gifts to the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, he also gave a number of Egyptian and Classical artworks to various other museums, such as the University Museum at the University of Delaware

and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. He is known to have had a connection to Albert Eid, a Belgian antiquities dealer who is best known for selling a codex of the Nag Hammadi library.<sup>17</sup> Beyond these few details, almost nothing is known about the donor.

In the preliminary museum appraisal, there are few specifics noted besides the monetary value and a question of whether it is a male or female figure. The record does report that Mr. Epstein informed the museum that the dealer from whom he had purchased this piece claimed it was from Italy, but there is no documentation from the dealer to elaborate on or to substantiate these claims. No paperwork was provided concerning the statuette from before it was in Mr. Epstein's possession, and his statement gives no indication of when it was discovered or of its particular provenance, or even when or where he acquired it from the dealer. It is not completely uncommon for a museum object to

have a questionable or altogether unknown heritage, especially before the 1970 UNESCO convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. Still, the complete lack of any documentation or evidence from an ancient artifact sold in the second half of the twentieth century is somewhat troubling. The statuette has never been studied, and there is no record of it ever having been on display in the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

### Iconographic and Stylistic Analysis

The exact identity of this figure—beyond "Roman votive statuette"—has never been proposed. Museum records, however, do note a type of priest figurine found at Lake Nemi south of Rome as a stylistic comparison. When the figures from Nemi were first discovered in the early part of the twentieth century, they were thought to have come from the pleasure galleys of Caligula, which sank in the lake in the first century C.E. It is much more likely, however, that the majority, or even totality, of this type came from the well-known Shrine of Diana on the shores of the lake.<sup>18</sup> As a result of the misunderstanding over their find-spot, there has been some confusion as to whether these figures were Etruscan, Republican, or Imperial Roman. In the late 1960s, several studies demonstrated convincingly that they were Etruscan or Etrusco-Latin, from the second century B.C.E., meaning that the museum's identification of this style as Roman is not strictly correct.<sup>19</sup> The Nemi bronzes were made in a context of declining political and cultural autonomy of Etruscan

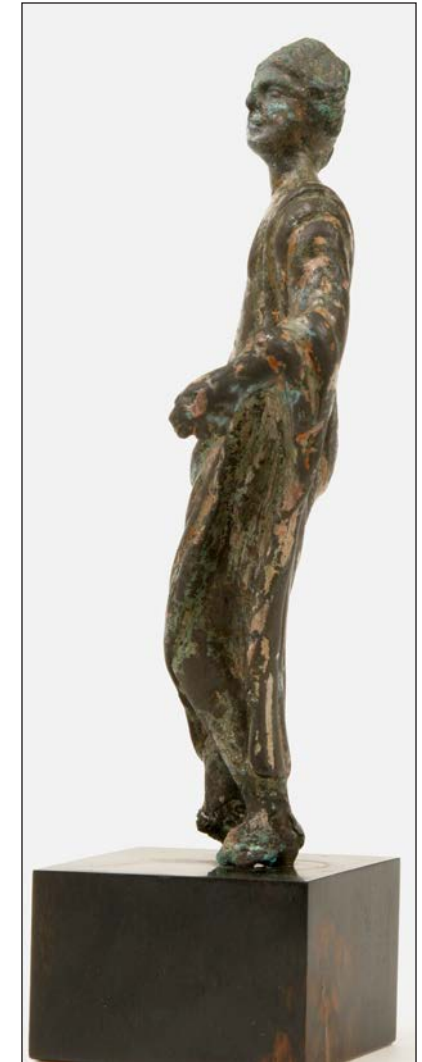


Fig. 6. Statuette, side view. "Etruscan," bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (62.66.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

cities and the corresponding rise of Rome and were deposited in a sanctuary well within Roman territory, but within a long tradition of Etruscan votive statuary, making them slightly hybridized figures representative of a changing situation.<sup>20</sup> These Nemi statuettes are all bronze and generally small (ca. 17–26 cm in height) and depict both males and females. They represent priests, priestesses,

or worshipers, indicated by their radiate crowns and the offerings carried in their hands; this can be seen, for example, on a Nemi-type figure in the Metropolitan Museum, currently misidentified as a solar deity (Fig. 7).

The similarities between the Missouri statuette and the Nemi type include stance, costume, and general style. Upon closer inspection, however, these superficial similarities begin to break down, and it is clear that the Missouri statuette is not a Nemi priest. First, the Nemi figures generally hold a *pyxis*, or small cylindrical box, in their left hand and a *phiale mesomphalos*, or libation bowl, in the right. The Missouri statuette holds no such object in the surviving hand, which is in fact turned downward, suggesting that it was not intended to hold anything. More substantially, there is the issue of the sex of the figurine. The female Nemi priestesses all wear a sleeveless *chiton*, a garment held together at the shoulders.<sup>21</sup> The Missouri figurine is bare-chested suggesting that it is a male, which is further supported by the relatively flat chest and pronounced

upper abdominal musculature. The rather soft facial features, sloping shoulders, abundant hair, and rounded belly are, however, all largely female physical characteristics. The hair of the Missouri statuette, parted down the middle and

pulled into curls along the side and back of the head, is more regularly seen on the female Nemi statuettes. The female statuettes also wear some type of fillet or diadem, the remains of which might be the band running across the head of the Missouri statuette. The male priests all have much less tidy hair and wear a large wreath of leaves. There is the possibility, in light of the more female hairstyle and male body, that the head of the Missouri statuette may have been replaced at some point. While there is a fine line with some discoloration where the neck meets the torso on the front of the statuette, it does not continue onto the back, indicating that the head has not been replaced. Further, Kurtz argues that because of the nature and difficulty of reworking the metal, an exchanged head is very unlikely for bronze statuary.<sup>22</sup> Overall, there is no clear indication of the sex. Ortiz notes, in discussing a similar fake Etruscan statuette without any clear sex, "It is difficult to put in [a marker of the] sex, [the faker] might not get it quite right, but the Etruscans always put it in."<sup>23</sup> We should expect to see a clear indication of the sex of this figurine if it is authentic.

A further problem concerns the garment the statuette wears, which differs from those worn by almost all Greek and Roman statues or statuettes.<sup>24</sup> Greek portrait statuary tended to show males nude (Fig. 8), in military garb (Fig. 9), or in the civic *himation*.<sup>25</sup> The *himation* was constructed from a large rectangular piece of cloth and could be worn around the entire upper body (as on a Hellenistic bronze statue, Fig. 10), over the shoulder (as on a marble statuette, a Roman copy of a



Fig. 7. Statuette of a solar deity. Etruscan, third–second century B.C.E., bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.174.5). Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org.



Fig. 8. Statue of a victorious youth. Greek, 300–100 B.C.E., bronze with inlaid copper. The Getty Museum (77.AB.30). Image: Courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

Greek portrait of a philosopher, Fig. 11), or just around the waist (as on a Roman marble statue of Jupiter, Fig. 12). It fell low and straight across the legs, with a good deal of excess material hanging freely from the side. The Roman version of the *himation* was the *pallium*. It was rectangular and could be worn in a number of fashions, most often with a tunic underneath.<sup>26</sup> The Etruscan *tebenna*, in contrast, was constructed from a semi-circular piece of cloth that made the front edge of the garment always appear round (Fig. 13).<sup>27</sup> The mantel on the Missouri statuette seems to be round and there is no extra material hanging loosely to the side. The

Roman toga—the descendant of the *tebenna*—was also rounded in the front but was a fairly large garment that from the second century B.C.E. onward was always worn with an undergarment.<sup>28</sup> By the Augustan period, the toga had become an even bulkier garment with more excess cloth than is seen on the Missouri statuette.

In all, it is most likely then that the statuette is wearing something most akin to (although not exactly the same as) the Etruscan *tebenna*, further confirming that it is almost certainly not Greek or Roman. In addition, this statuette's garment comes up and over the shoulder, covering the left arm with a rounded bottom edge, and falls below the right hip, revealing flesh below the waist. This is problematic in terms of the sex of the figure. For male figurines of the Nemi



**Fig. 9.** Grave stele of Philoxenos with his wife, Philoumene. Attic Greek, about 400 B.C.E., marble. The Getty Museum (83.AA.378). Image: Courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



**Fig. 10.** Statue of a man. Hellenistic, ca. mid-second–first century B.C.E., bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, 2001 (2001.443). Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org).



**Fig. 11.** Statuette of a seated philosopher. Imperial Roman, first or second century C.E., marble. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.73). Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org).



**Fig. 12.** Statue of Jupiter (Marbury Hall Zeus). Roman, first century C.E., marble. The Getty Museum (73.AA.32). Image: Courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

type, the *tebenna* generally sits high on the waist, as can be seen with the priest statuette from the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 13). And yet, the clothing of the Nemi priests is notably different from that of the Missouri statuette. The *tebennae*

that the Nemi figures wear have many small folds and have no obvious break between the two edges of the garment. This stands in contrast to the large folds and very clear split in the Missouri statuette's garment, which is generally much less detailed.

The Missouri statuette overall shares some characteristics with the Nemi figures, but there are also pronounced differences in terms of the garment and sex. It, therefore, cannot be clearly identified as either a Nemi priest or priestess on iconographic and stylistic grounds, although it does bear a vague, overall resemblance to Etruscan statues. The identification of this statuette thus remains unclear. Bronze statuettes in the ancient world could depict both humans and divinities. If it is a human figure, it is unclear what type or kind it is, or even what it represents. The features are not unique enough to be a portrait, which are, in any case, generally on a larger scale. There are no readily identifiable characteristics that indicate its type, and no immediate parallels for the style, beyond the loose, yet problematic resemblance to the Nemi types. If the statuette cannot be readily identified as human, we may, therefore, consider the possibility that it is a representation of a divine or mythical figure. The statuette has

no attributes, however, that immediately identify it as a particular god, such as Mars' weapons, Apollo's lyre, or Neptune's trident. If it is meant to be a divinity, which one is not immediately clear.

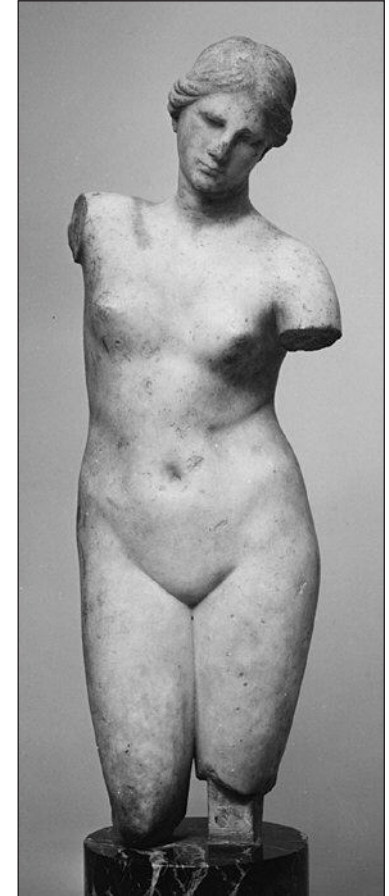


**Fig. 13.** Statuette of a priest or offerant. Hellenistic, third–second century B.C.E., bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase 1896 (96.9.411). Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org).

The sex of the statuette is also a problem for identifying it as a divinity. As noted, it seems to have both masculine and feminine physical characteristics

and clothing. For such an ambiguous figure, Hermaphroditus—possessor of both male and female corporeal traits—comes to mind. In all depictions of Hermaphroditus, however, it is depicted with both a visible penis and breasts, to emphasize its dual nature; both of these sex markers are lacking in the Missouri statuette. Further, the hair on this statuette is not helpful for determining anything about its identity. It has a similar hairstyle to those found on Greek and Roman depictions of Aphrodite; for example, a marble statue at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 14) has distinct locks of hair parted in the middle, pulled back and covering the ears. The band or diadem that possibly runs across the head of the Missouri statuette (if it is not just gathered-up hair) might lend credence to its identification as a female figure, but too little of it is preserved to be able to fully ascertain this. Additionally, a similar hairstyle is also seen on representations of Dionysus and Apollo, as with a bronze statue head that has been identified as either god (Fig. 15). There are differences in the medium, details, and execution among these examples and the Missouri statuette, but they are reasonably similar, meaning that the hairstyle can suggest either sex. In any case, these hairstyles are more regularly seen on Greek or Roman statues rather than Etruscan.

More important, the clothing of the statuette seems to be immediately masculine, with a bare chest and garment around the shoulder and arm. There are many Etruscan bronze statues of divinities that are bare-chested, but they always wear their garments high on the



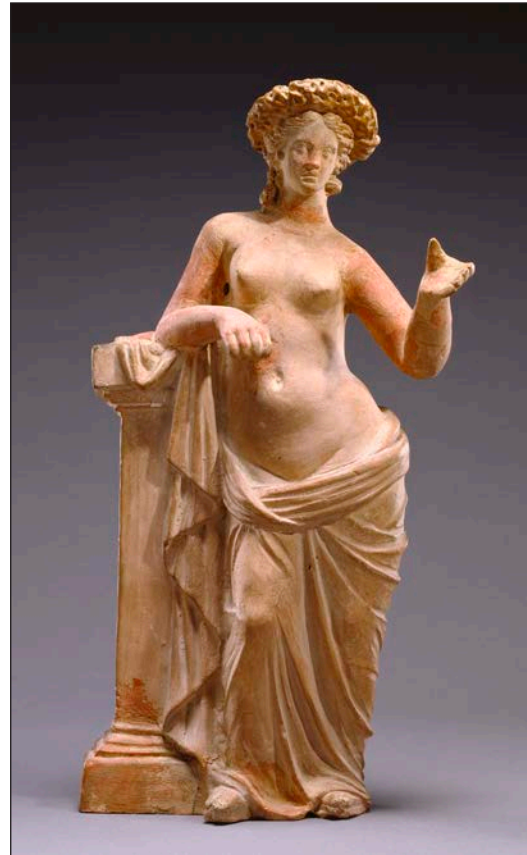
**Fig. 14.** Statuette of Aphrodite Anadyomene (rising) type. Hellenistic, late second century B.C.E., marble. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John W. Cross, 1950 (50.10). Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org).



**Fig. 15.** Head of Dionysus or Apollo. Classical Greek, third quarter of fifth century B.C.E., bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1929 (29.48). Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org).



**Fig. 17.** Sarcophagus, detail. Roman, third century C.E., marble. The Getty Museum (83.AA.275). Image: Courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



**Fig. 16.** Statuette of Aphrodite leaning on a pillar. Hellenistic, third century B.C.E., terracotta with polychromy. The Getty Museum (55.AD.7). Image: Courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

hip.<sup>29</sup> In contrast the top edge of the mantle on this statuette drops below the hip, which is problematic. Such a drooping garment is occasionally seen on goddesses, especially Aphrodite, as for example with the terracotta statuette shown in Figure 16. But in the case of goddesses, the presence of breasts makes

the identification of the sex absolutely clear. There are also examples of roughly

similar clothing on statues of Apollo, Dionysus, and Hermaphroditus. Yet the key difference is that any male figure that wears a drooping garment (as opposed to one worn high up above the hips) wears it low below the groin, revealing the penis and confirming the sex. This can be seen in a detail from a relief on a Roman sarcophagus showing Dionysus (Fig. 17). The sex of a figure wearing a low-hanging mantle, either male or female, is never dubious.

Overall, the formal features of this statuette provide no clear identity. The gender remains ambiguous, seemingly taking cues from male and female traits, both in physical features and clothing. In reality, the statuette seems to combine features and elements from a number of different ancient works in a variety of media from, most obviously, the Greek and Etruscan traditions. The statuette has the closest parallels with the Etruscan Nemi-type priest figurines. There are problems with this comparison, however, such as the details of the garment and the absence of a radiate wreath around the head and votive items in the hands.

An examination of the manufacturing technique can also be helpful for identifying a time and place of production. Casting was the most common method for making bronze statuary in the ancient world; this was done most often using the lost-wax method, also known as *cire-perdue*.<sup>30</sup> In this process, a wax model was formed and then covered by a sand and clay mold or mantle, which was heated to melt out the wax. Molten metal was poured into the mantle, which held the negative impression of the original wax figure. Once cooled, the mantle would be broken apart to reveal the rough metal figure that would be finished by hand. The Missouri statuette was almost certainly cast in this method. There are no indications of any seams along the sides of the statuette, which would indicate a two-sided, reusable mold. Also, the level of detail, especially on the hair, would have been difficult to achieve with any other method of casting. Lost-wax statues could be cast solid or hollow. In antiquity, works of less than 15 to 23 cm would typically be cast solid, and works larger than that would be cast hollow to conserve metal and to produce a more uniform cast.<sup>31</sup> This statuette stands at 12.5 cm and is solid cast, presenting no difficulties. Cast bronzes could be finished and detailed by hand through chasing and engraving the surface or through gilding or inlaying the bronze with other materials (although these latter are generally reserved for larger works). The surface of the Missouri statuette bears no trace of any of these finishing processes.

The break in the right arm is, however, problematic (Fig. 5). While there has been subsequent damage around the area, the U-shaped indentation at the



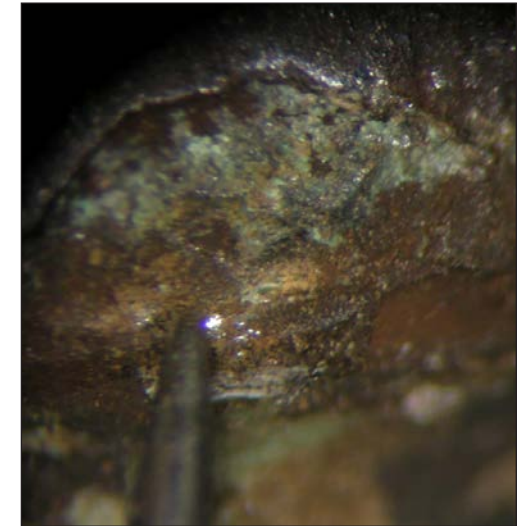
break resembles a tongue-and-groove joint. The central position of the groove and the flat face suggest that this mechanical joint was cast. Most likely, the statuette was made in more than one piece and then joined together. Casting a figurine in several pieces, even one as small as this, is not unheard of in antiquity. It happens most often with limbs, since it is often challenging to get bronze to flow into a long, narrow tube without trapping a pocket of air that would ruin the cast. In the ancient world, joins were either metallurgical (i.e., soldering or fusion welding) or mechanical (i.e., the addition of physical force, or designing two pieces to interlock).<sup>32</sup> The most common form of mechanical joint was a socket that was then secured with a rivet, dowel, or peg.<sup>33</sup> There is no evidence for any kind of socket and peg or solder on the Missouri statuette that would indicate such a technique. Instead, there is a tongue-and-groove joint, for which there is no parallel in ancient bronze working. The presence of this kind of joint is indeed problematic and suggests, in conjunction with the eccentric stylistic qualities (particularly the sex, dress, and hairstyle of the figurine), that the statuette is not ancient.

### Technical Analysis

The stylistic problems of this statuette led to further scientific investigations of its metallic composition, in order to determine first its authenticity and second, if possible, its origin. On the level of superficial visual examination, the figure appears to reflect light rather strongly, at least more than other bronze statuettes with a similar patina and level of corrosion. And when subjected to strong light, the surface of the statuette gives a strong silvery reflection, which is unexpected in a bronze. First investigations took place in 2007 at the University of Missouri's Museum of Art and Archaeology. The initial step was to examine the surface corrosion microscopically. Seen through a microscope, the surface has a fairly regular patina, or surface corrosion layer, although there is much additional incrustation. The compounds that make up a patina are a natural result of the reaction of the copper in the bronze with atmospheric carbon dioxide. This reaction creates two kinds of copper carbonates, malachite and azurite, which give a normal patina its green and blue tones.<sup>34</sup> These two compounds seem to be visible in the brownish and green-blue patches that coat the entire statuette. The next type of typical bronze corrosion is called red cuprous oxide and has a distinct brick-red color.<sup>35</sup> This type of corrosion

is typically beneath the two surface oxidations and can be seen in patches on microscopic views of the surface of this statuette (Fig. 18). Below these corrosion layers should be the natural, un-corroded bronze. Instead, a bright, silvery metal is apparent when the surface is cleaned. It is clearly not standard bronze, as un-oxidized bronze should have a naturally reddish gold hue.

This unexpected surface led to further testing to calculate the approximate density of the statuette in order to give an indication of the metallic composition. The volume of the figurine is calculated by the displacement of water (i.e., by the Archimedes principle) to be approximately 35 cubic centimeters. The weight of the figurine, 272.5 g, is then divided by the volume, which provides an average density of approximately 7.785 g-cm<sup>3</sup>. It is important to note that this number is only approximate due to the impossibility of more precise measurement in determining the volume since the cylinder used for measurement was only graduated down to 10 ml. Furthermore, while the base was taken off to conduct the test, the screw that mounts the figurine could not easily be removed. Copper alone has a density of 8.9 g-cm<sup>3</sup> and the density of an average bronze, being primarily composed of copper, is 8.3 g-cm<sup>3</sup>. This suggests that the alloy of the statuette has a relatively high amount of a lighter metal, which was presumed to be zinc, with a density of 7.13 g-cm<sup>3</sup>, or possibly tin, at 7.310 g-cm<sup>3</sup>. Knowing the exact composition of the interior metal is critical in trying to secure a date and provenance for this object because certain metals or alloys were used more often at specific points in history in specific regions. For example, zinc, which when combined with bronze creates brass, was rarely added in significant quantities—above a few percent—to statuary in the ancient world.<sup>36</sup> High antimony content



**Fig. 18.** Statuette, back fold under microscope. "Etruscan," bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (62.66.3). Photo: Douglas Underwood.

would suggest a Medieval or post-Medieval date.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, later bronzes (Hellenistic and onward) often contain notable amounts of lead, whereas earlier specimens do not.<sup>38</sup>

The significant uncertainty about this statuette, both iconographically and then compositionally, led to more detailed scientific testing. This analysis was carried out in November 2011 at the University of Missouri research reactor, a 10 thermal megawatt highly enriched uranium aluminate fuel reactor. The object was subjected to X-ray Fluorescence (XRF) and Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) over a period of two weeks. In basic terms, XRF works by bombarding a sample with X-rays or gamma rays; the sample then radiates a lower-energy form of the primary radiation. This secondary radiation, which is characteristic of the materials present in the sample, can be read and analyzed to allow the identification of the source elements. NAA operates somewhat comparably, but samples are irradiated with neutrons instead of X-rays or gamma rays. Neutrons interact with the nuclei of the elements in the sample, making them radioactive and causing the emission of a particular gamma ray spectrum over a period of time, which can be measured and used to calculate the composition of the sample.

For the XRF test, a portable energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence (ED-XRF) spectrometer (Bruker Tracer III-V) was used at a number of surface locations on the statuette. X-rays from such handheld machines are only able to penetrate 35–40  $\mu\text{m}$ , about half of the thickness of an average piece of paper, so this test is suited for surface analysis only. For NAA, seven samples of metal between 1 and 6 milligrams were obtained by using a tungsten drill bit to remove a small amount of material from a variety of locations and depths without significantly damaging the object. The seven sample spots (illustrated in Figure 19) are:

- #1. Foot next to the screw (surface)
- #2. Foot next to the screw (deeper into interior)
- #3. Patina from back and shoulder area
- #4. Encrustation from fold in mantle
- #5. Back of right ankle on mantle (surface)
- #6. Back of right ankle on mantle (deeper into interior)
- #7. Back of right ankle on mantle (deeper into interior – shiny metal)

For the purposes of calibration, quality control, and comparison, standard samples made from SRM-37e brass and SRM-400 copper alloy were also prepared. The samples and standards were irradiated in two separate tests. The first test was a five-second bombardment followed by a twenty-five-minute

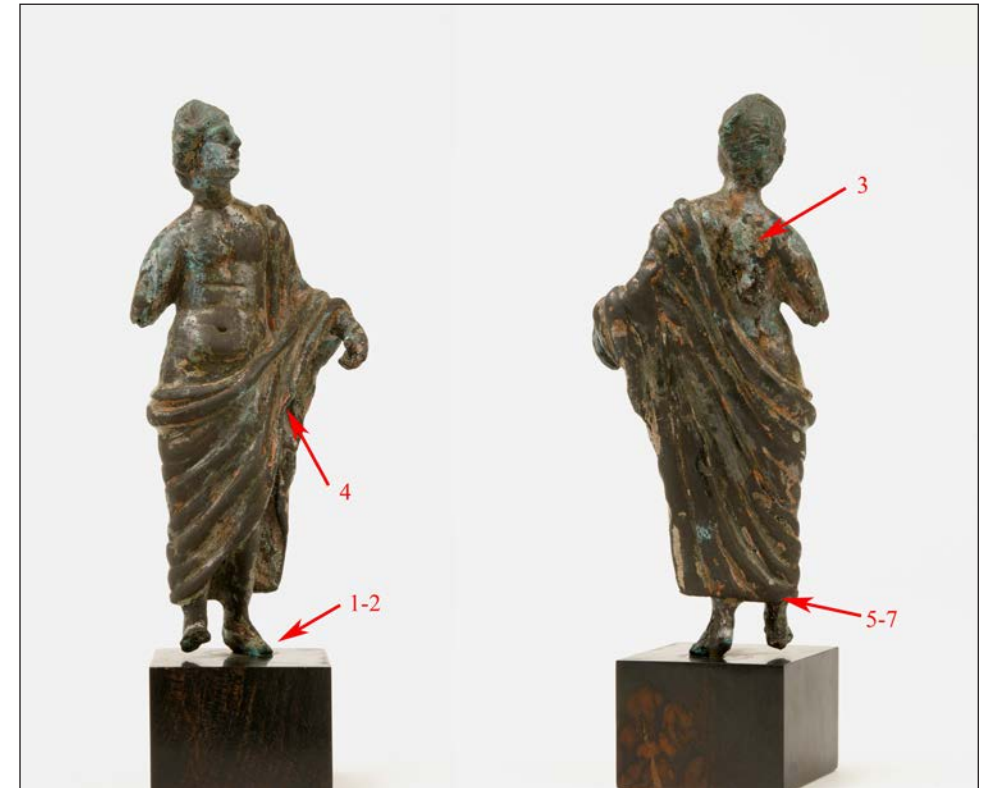


Fig. 19. Statuette, sample spots for NAA. "Etruscan," bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (62.66.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox; Illustration: Douglas Underwood.

period for decay and ten-minute counting time, which provided measurements for copper and tin. A second, three-minute irradiation was followed by decays ranging from 24 to 96 hours. One-hour measurements were made on each sample in order to determine the amount of copper, antimony, arsenic, silver, and gold. For all of the measurements, the precision calculated from the standard samples was better than 5 percent of the measured value.

The XRF revealed that the primary compositional elements of the statuette's surface were copper, tin, and antimony. When the machine was pointed at a thick patch of the brown-red surface encrustation in the folds of the statuette's garment, calcium was also reported. The NAA reported the six most significant elements in the statuette as copper, tin, arsenic, antimony, silver, and gold (Table 1). Lead cannot be directly measured by NAA, but it is assumed to account

for the portion of the metal that was not composed of other elements. More important, zinc was not directly observed by XRF or NAA. Engineers at the Research Reactor calculated an upper limit for the amount of zinc that might be present but not show up in the analysis—up to 1 percent of the overall composition. Any amount of the element above that would have been detected. Somewhat similarly, the signal from the base metals copper and tin made the detection of small levels of iron (Fe) impossible. It is likely, however, that the upper limit for iron is less than 0.5 percent.

Table 1: NAA Composition Report

Element	Chemical Signal	Compositional Range
Copper	Cu	70–75%
Tin	Sn	10–15%
Arsenic	As	0.12–0.14%
Antimony	Sb	0.10–0.12%
Silver	Ag	0.020–0.025%
Gold	Au	0.0015–0.0020%
Zinc	Zn	Possibly less than 1%
Lead	Pb	10–20% (not measured directly)

These tests show that the statuette is composed of bronze, albeit a highly leaded form (hence the silvery color of the un-oxidized metal), with some trace impurities. Such leaded bronzes are known from both antiquity and the modern period, and added lead would have lowered the melting point of the alloy and made it more fluid and thereby easier to pour into molds. Because of this added malleability, leaded bronze was less appropriate for

applications where strength was critical, such as for weaponry, but would have been suitable for figural work. Yet as noted, lead was almost entirely absent from any Greek or Etruscan bronzes from before the Hellenistic era.<sup>39</sup> There are some exceptional early Etruscan statues with especially high lead content, like a fifth-century kouros from the Getty that has been measured at 14.41 percent.<sup>40</sup> This statue is only 6.23 percent tin, however, considerably lower than the Missouri statuette. Lead became increasingly common in later phases of Etruscan bronzes—after the fourth century B.C.E.—and is found in a wide variety of quantities (up to 27 percent in one case).<sup>41</sup> Yet like the early kouros, most of these high-lead bronzes have a tin content below 10 percent; there are, however, several atypical examples (eleven in Craddock's extensive catalog of 700 Etruscan bronzes from all periods) with lead and tin contents over 10 percent, like the Missouri statuette.

Despite these few outliers, the quantity of tin in the statuette raises suspicion. In Caley's early analysis of seventeen Roman leaded statuary bronzes, only three have a tin content above 10 percent, with the highest, a large gilded statue of uncertain provenance, at 10.77 percent.<sup>42</sup> The Missouri statuette is composed of 10–15 percent tin. In one analysis of classical (i.e., Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) bronzes at the Getty museum, only five of sixteen bronzes have tin levels close to or above 10 percent.<sup>43</sup> And bronzes with high tin content generally do not have similarly high lead content (and vice-versa, as noted above), especially small figurines. In Caley's list, four of the five high-tin bronzes have a lead-to-tin ratio of slightly under 1 (the Missouri statuette's ratio is between 2 and .66), and only one of those is a small object. Similarly, in the five Getty bronzes only two have ratios in the same range as the Missouri statuette (1.6 and 1.15), and these are both large-sized Herms. A look at late (post fourth century B.C.E.) Etruscan statuette bronzes—perhaps the closest parallel for style—shows this group of forty-six to be, on average, 7.9 percent tin; eleven examples from this group are over 10 percent tin, although these are mostly just over this quantity (a single one was as high as 12 percent).<sup>44</sup> And of those eleven, only three had lead levels above 10 percent. So while this amount of tin and the lead to tin ratio is not completely impossible for an antique bronze, it is very uncommon, especially for such a small statuette.

The trace elements of the statuette can also be compared to known ancient bronzes. Riederer notes that silver is comparatively uncommon, generally 0.04–0.06 percent, and that antimony is very stable across a large number of Roman bronzes, at around 0.06 percent.<sup>45</sup> In their analysis of bronzes at

the Getty Museum, however, Scott and Podany see more variation in both elements.<sup>46</sup> Silver concentrations run from 0.009 to 0.08 percent (0.07–0.08 percent for Etruscan bronzes only) and antimony from 0.00 to 1.18 percent (0.01–0.05 percent for Etruscan bronzes). Similarly, arsenic ranges from 0.04 to 1.18 percent overall, and 0.04 to 0.28 percent in Etruscan statues. The Missouri statuette is composed of 0.02–0.025 percent silver and 0.1–0.12 percent antimony and 0.12–0.14 percent arsenic. While iron was not directly attested, it may have composed up to 0.5 percent of the statuette. This is in line with ancient bronzes, which were almost always under 0.5 percent iron.<sup>47</sup> Overall there is nothing particularly revealing about the trace element composition of the Missouri statuette. It has a slightly lower silver composition than other Etruscan statuary, but not beyond what was common in other ancient bronzes.

Therefore the NAA testing was not able to provide any definitive confirmation of the origin or antiquity of this statuette. The composition, particularly in regards to the level of tin, lead, and copper, is unusual for ancient bronze but not completely anomalous. The percentages for the trace elements are roughly in line with both ancient and pre-industrial modern leaded bronzes. Ultimately, there is nothing about the composition that allows an identification of a particular time or place of manufacture, either ancient or modern. And yet the composition has no direct parallels with other ancient statuettes, at least based on published studies of bronze compositions.

XRF testing, however, proved to be somewhat more useful. Calcium was found in the brown-red encrustation on one of the folds of the garment. Calcium carbonate—a mineral common in chalk, limestone, and marble—has been used in paints since antiquity. This encrustation must be some form of paint. Unfortunately, the presence of paint alone does very little to help establish the age or provenance of this piece. This is for two reasons. First, if the statuette is indeed antique, the paint could have been applied at any point after it was discovered. It is at least hypothetically possible that it is an Etruscan bronze, but coated in modern paint. Exactly why it would have been painted is not immediately obvious. Perhaps the paint was intended to cover up an unattractive patina, or to give the statuette a more authentic look. Second, there is some very limited evidence for the application of paint to bronze in antiquity. While there is no evidence for the painting of small figurines like this one, there are indications, both textual and physical, for the artificial patination of bronze with paint.<sup>48</sup> For example, a first millennium B.C.E. helmet was painted with a

substance that has been identified as calcium carbonate and quartz.<sup>49</sup> Yet given the very few examples of ancient paint on bronze art works and that pigments were widely used to make forged objects look antique from the Renaissance to at least the nineteenth century, it seems most likely that the paint on the statuette is not antique.<sup>50</sup> This leaves two possibilities: the statuette was indeed made in antiquity but painted at some time after its discovery, or it is a modern fake and painted to look antique. Yet given the scientific evidence, in combination with the stylistic problems, and the significant problems with the joint in the arm, it is more probable that the statuette is a forgery.

## Discussion and Conclusions

The numerous problems regarding the identity, sex, technique, and composition of the statuette strongly suggest that it is a modern forgery that was cast and treated with an artificial patina and paint before being passed off as an antique. For the style, it seems that the sculptor started with an Etruscan votive statuette but then added features from other classical works for this statuette. Since the Missouri statuette seems to draw inspiration at least in part from the Nemi figures, it was possibly made after the Nemi figures were first discovered. While the story of their discovery is somewhat murky, it seems that the earliest they could have been found was 1887.<sup>51</sup> These priests and priestesses were first put on display in London in 1908, which is a more likely point after which they would have been familiar enough to warrant an imitation. Yet, the stylistic connection between the Nemi statuettes and the Missouri one is not strong enough to assign a definite date.

For the surface treatment, it is nearly impossible to say whether the splotchy patination and encrustation on this statuette was the result of poor workmanship or intentionally produced to give the appearance of age. Beginning in the nineteenth century, a wide variety of chemical processes was available for the development of artificial patinas.<sup>52</sup> Antimony salts in particular were commonly used in the creation of false patinas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and this statuette has notable amounts of antimony in the surface, possibly indicating this treatment.

The presence of at a minimum 0.24–0.29 percent impurities in the bronze (not counting zinc and iron, which were not measured, but might be present below 1 percent and 0.5 percent respectively) suggests that the statuette was

made before refining processes improved later in the twentieth century. It is impossible to know which component of the alloy introduced impurities into this statuette, which complicates suggesting a date based on the technological advances in refining practices of various metals. Electrolysis, which can produce copper with purities of 99.95 percent, was first developed in Wales in 1869 and became reasonably common in the 1880s.<sup>53</sup> Metal produced by this method was largely used for electric wires, or other contexts where purity was essential. Copper with similar purity (ca. 99.25 percent or greater) became more widely available after the 1920s when the process of "fire-refining" was developed.<sup>54</sup> Because the Missouri statuette might be comparably pure (although we do not know the precise amounts of zinc or iron), this may suggest that it was produced around the 1920s. This fits with the earlier suggestion that it was probably made in the early twentieth century—not long after 1908 and before 1950 or so. Without any further specific evidence, this must remain at best speculative.

Simply identifying this statuette as a forgery (and further as a pastiche) does not, however, devalue it entirely. Rather, it puts it in the middle of a broad discourse on fakes, reproductions, and the nature of the authentic. It transforms what would otherwise perhaps be a rather average Etruscan votive bronze into a launching point for a larger discussion on the methods and nature of forgery of ancient art and the place of art and authenticity in society. This discourse, perhaps, is even more valuable than traditional art-historical practice, simply because it is more critically self-aware.

To begin this discussion, definitions are critical. What sets forgeries apart from other art is the intention of deceit, by either the artist or the seller. The artwork must be represented as authentic, or else it is simply a replica or imitation. Forgery can be done in several ways: *ex novo* (i.e., at the creation of the object), or through repairs, restorations, and transformations. This latter occurs when an authentic piece is altered or augmented beyond a certain (admittedly fuzzy) line. The issue is one of degree of treatment rather than one of treatment at all, as a significant number of works in museums have had at least some conservation work.<sup>55</sup> One of the more common instances of this practice, at least for ancient statuary, is fitting various authentic fragments together to form a new whole. This type of restoration, as for example putting an ancient head on a different body, was especially common in the eighteenth century.<sup>56</sup> In this case, while the object remains antique, it is no longer authentic. This type of forgery can overlap with pastiche, discussed below. One

reasonably famous example of this sort of restoration is an Egyptian statuette that represents a man standing with Osiris directly in front of him, which was once in the collection of Sigmund Freud and is now in the Freud museum (acc. number LDFRD 3132). X-rays revealed that several authentic statuette pieces had been cobbled together and joined with modern pins and plaster.<sup>57</sup>

*Ex novo* forgeries can be sorted into three categories: direct copy, evocation, and pastiche.<sup>58</sup> Direct copy is straightforward, meaning an object has been copied through mechanical or manual means. Although the practice has declined in recent years, ancient art collections used to license out their artworks to local artisans for reproductions. The National Archaeological Museum of Naples, for example, worked with the famous Chiurazzi foundry to make cast reproductions of numerous classical statues from Pompeii and Herculaneum from the 1870s.<sup>59</sup> These reproductions were available with a variety of distinct artificial patinations.<sup>60</sup> A direct copy only becomes a forgery when it is passed off as authentic, at whatever point in its history. But as they are derived from known (and often well-known) pieces, they are easily identified as copies. Evocation, in contrast, refers to non-authentic pieces that do not exactly copy a particular work but, instead, create something new evoking the general style of an artist or era and often employing certain specific elements to evoke authenticity and/or age. One example of this type of forgery may be the still-contested Getty Kouros. This large-scale marble statue of a young man generally looks like an Archaic statue and has the correct proportions, stance, etc., but is strongly suspected to be a forgery.<sup>61</sup> Finally, the third kind of forgery is pastiche, in which the artist takes aspects of several different works and combines them in a new way that is not at once immediately obvious. There can be some overlap in this category with evocation, depending on how faithfully the individual elements were copied.

The Missouri statuette is such a pastiche; it has a grab bag assortment of features that together give a vague impression of antiquity. It is impossible to know whether the artist intended such deceit or was simply making a statuette in an ancient style. It is, therefore, impossible to tell when this piece became a forgery. Nevertheless, at some point it was fraudulently sold as authentic. Since there are no records of the statuette before 1962, that part of its history is lost. There are, however, two facts that suggest that the person who created the piece intended it to be passed off as authentic. First, the patina, both from the treatment of the bronze and the paint laid over it, must have been intended to lend credibility by making the object look antique. Second, pastiche (and

evocation, as well) works by subtly disorientating the viewer into suspending disbelief. By employing a number of elements that are, or on first look appear to be, authentic, an overall picture of validity is built up and authenticity is created. In some part, the use of pastiche—a powerful tool that draws in and disorientates the viewer—is what allowed this statuette to slip into the collections of the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Perhaps other forms of forgery would not have succeeded so well in their deception in the more critical marketplace of the last half-century, which has been increasingly aware of such practices.

Jonathon Keats, in a recent provocative book, argues, “Fakes are arguably the most authentic of artifacts. Certainly, they’re the most candid, once the dissimulation has been detected. To discover what ancient Egyptians or Romans lied about, and what they did not, is to penetrate the inner sanctum of their values and beliefs.”<sup>62</sup>

While this is not a forgery of the Etruscan era, the act of forgery illuminates the time when and place where the statuette was created, which seems most likely to be in early twentieth-century Europe. First, it shows that there was a market for ancient art, specifically statuettes. This sheds light on the values and ideas of the period. As Briefel notes, “National and local patterns of object acquisition encouraged the forger and the dishonest art dealer, both of whom filled a demand for art-works that could not be satisfied by authentic objects alone. . . . Forgers assessed which objects and artists were currently valued the most and produced art-works that met the desired requirements.”<sup>63</sup> For example, there exists what is often called a “cult of the artist” in contemporary society, whereby the most famous artists, like Vermeer or Van Gogh, are valued above all others. This phenomenon is reflected in the prices that the works of well-known artists fetch compared to contemporaries of similar ability. And this has germinated some of the most famous instances of forgery in the last century, which have largely been focused on big-name artists. Alfred Lessing explains this phenomenon, saying, “It is just the preponderance in the art world of nonaesthetic criteria such as fame of the artist and the age or cost of the canvas which is largely responsible for the existence of artistic forgeries in the first place.”<sup>64</sup>

Similarly, the art of Greco-Roman antiquity once held a significant cultural value, which might be called a “cult of the antique.”<sup>65</sup> This trend had its origins in

the Renaissance, yet flourished in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the new wealth found in the industrial revolution and the expansion of education—particularly classical education—to a wider base of society. One element of this “cult” was the popularity of the Grand Tour, where wealthy young men from England and America traveled across Europe, generally ending in Italy to take in the art and antiquities there (and often returning with souvenirs made specifically for foreign tourists, notably reproductions of classical statues and miniature models of buildings). While the cult of the antique has waxed and waned over the intervening years, it has never fully disappeared. The Missouri statuette affirms this, being most likely made at the beginning of the twentieth century in Europe and sold there or in the United States. Its manufacture and sale shows that money could still be made from an average and un-provenanced Etruscan votive statuette and, therefore, that such items had value for that time and place. Interestingly, Etruscan art has long been seen as fertile ground for forgeries. Artifacts from Etruscan civilization were extremely popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and they are generally both highly stylized and notably eclectic, making it easy to create and pass off imitations as authentic.<sup>66</sup> Of course, the statuette was sold to the museum as “Roman,” but it was linked to known examples that were thought to be either Etruscan or Roman (the Nemi figures, whose dating was at the time unclear).

Yet the cultural significance of fakes goes beyond the cultural fascination with ancient art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The existence of forgery also reflects the wealth of the society in which it was purchased. Prosperity breeds forgeries. Briefel makes this point clearly, noting that, for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

Forgeries were considered accurate indicators of cultures whose artistic heritage or superior resources made them worthy of being deceived. *Not* falling prey to the forger could have far more unsettling implications than being duped—it might designate a nation that was too destitute to be defrauded. The existence of fakes was material proof of cultural abundance, a confirmation of an extensive demand for luxury goods. . . . National wealth could be measured through the presence of forgeries.<sup>67</sup>

While the provenance of this statuette is largely undocumented, a man living in Manhattan, a thriving metropolis and hub of culture, purchased it sometime before 1962, probably in the midst of the postwar economic boom. Applying Briefel's analysis to this era, forgeries like this statuette were a direct and unavoidable consequence of a particular period of prosperity in American history. Moreover, Umberto Eco postulates that fakes are a result of a particularly American desire to have an authentic experience: "The frantic desire for the Almost Real arises only as a neurotic reaction to the vacuum of memories; the Absolute Fake is offspring of the unhappy awareness of a present without depth."<sup>68</sup> The *horror vacui* arising from the absence of any extensive past, coupled with new wealth, pushes a society into the realm of half-truths and fakes.

Finally, the general relegation of discovered forgeries to basement storage is also significant for what it says about contemporary values. This sort of banishment happens regularly, as, for example, to an Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus that was on display in the British Museum from 1871 to 1935. Serious concerns were raised on several occasions about its authenticity, and it has not been publicly displayed since, except for when it was pulled out of storage in 1990 for the exhibition *Fake? The Art of Deception*.<sup>69</sup> Yet forgery—not the practice of creating and passing off antiques, but the concept and framework that allow it to exist—is a strictly modern concept. As Lessing defines it, "forgery is a concept that can be made meaningful only by reference to the concept of originality, and hence only to art viewed as a *creative*, not reproductive or technical, activity."<sup>70</sup> Authenticity thus requires originality. Meyer connects this to "the cult of the new, arising out of nineteenth-century notions of personal expression."<sup>71</sup> It is impossible to forge without the societal framework of authenticity and originality; there was no forgery, therefore (in this conception), for example, in the Middle Ages or even in the Renaissance. Forgery is a problem particular to our own era.

There is a case, of course, to be made for honesty and full disclosure in the art and museum world, which the very nature of a forgery contravenes. In this way, a forgery is deception and perhaps morally or ethically wrong. But in strictly art historical terms, scholars and the lay public both largely value authenticity in art over any aesthetic or other (e.g., historical) criteria. This is notable, since aesthetics are integral in evaluating art; theoretically, a forgery could be just as or even more aesthetically valuable than an original.<sup>72</sup> Meyer takes this further,

creating a paradox whereby "the great forgers have not been mere copyists . . . though their vision is not original, their works of art are, in a sense, creations."<sup>73</sup>

The discourse on authenticity, both as a philosophical concept and an art historical concept, is considerably too deep to do anything but skim its surface in the present discussion. But it will be sufficient to note that authenticity, as much as the "cult of the artist," runs deep in our understanding of art.<sup>74</sup> As Lessing provocatively questions, "In a museum that did not label its paintings, how many of us would feel uneasy lest we condemn one of the greats or praise an unknown?"<sup>75</sup> Walter Benjamin calls authenticity "a most sensitive nucleus" but notes that,

The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on the authenticity, the former, too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter. And what is really jeopardized when the historical testimony is affected is the authority of the object.<sup>76</sup>

In his view, the authority of an object is what is primarily challenged by a reproduction, and authenticity is almost an extraneous concept, a falsity that we only notice once it comes up against the question of whether copies of objects still have worth. The same notion can be applied to an object discovered to be a forgery; in the same way that a copy does nothing to change the object itself (only its authority), revealing this statuette as forgery changes nothing about its intrinsic qualities.

Fundamentally, then, authenticity is a double-edged sword. This votive statuette was created as a result of a market—where demand outstripped supply—for original, authentic antiques. Now, since it has been revealed as a fake, the same desire for genuineness means it will never be displayed although no aspect of it has changed. In some sense, this reveals something critical (and some may say problematic) in Western art-historical discourse, which is firmly rooted around the authority of the past. So while this statuette has perhaps lost its art-historical value, it has gained a whole second life in how it was a springboard for exploring these important issues. In that sense, this otherwise

small and mediocre votive statuette, which was not likely to be on regular display in the museum, acquires an impressive significance.

## NOTES

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1. Carol Mattusch, "Metalworking and Tools," in John Peter Oleson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (New York, 2008) p. 422.
2. Carol Mattusch, *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary* (Ithaca and London, 1996) p. 4.
3. Mattusch, "Metalworking," p. 422; Alain Hus, *Les bronzes étrusques (Collection Latomus 139, Brussels, 1975)* p. 66.
4. Renate Thomas, *Griechische Bronzestatuetten* (Darmstadt, 1992) pp. 77–79.
5. Hus, *Bronzes*, p. 117.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Marianne Caroline Galestin, *Etruscan and Italic Bronze Statuettes* (Warfhuizen, 1987) p. 132.
8. Winifred Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929).
9. For a more thorough overview of this transition, see *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-processual and Cognitive Approaches*, David Whitley, ed. (London, New York, 1998).
10. David G. Mitten and Suzannah F. Doeringer, eds., *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, Fogg Art Museum (Mainz on Rhine, 1967).
11. *Art and Technology: A Symposium on Classical Bronzes*, Suzannah F. Doeringer, David G. Mitten, and Arthur R. Steinberg, eds. (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).
12. Outlined concisely in Arthur Beale, "Scientific Approaches to the Question of Authenticity," in *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World*, J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1990) pp. 197–208. Studies of this kind can also be noted in recent publications of various congresses on bronzes such as *I bronzi antichi: Produzione e tecnologia, Atti del XV Congresso internazionale sui bronzi antichi organizzato dall'Università di Udine, Alessandra Giumla-Mair, ed. (Sede di Gorizia, Grado-Aquileia, 22–26 maggio 2001, Montagnac, 2002)*.
13. On the former, see Paul T. Craddock, *Scientific Investigation of Copies, Fakes and Forgeries* (Oxford, 2009); on the latter, Pieter Meyers, "The Use of Scientific Techniques in Provenance Studies of Ancient Bronzes," in *Small Bronze Sculpture*, pp. 237–252.
14. Especially, Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* (London, 1985); E. Formigli and Mauro Cristofani, *I bronzi degli etruschi* (Novara, 1985); and Galestin, *Etruscan and Italic*.
15. For example, Anna Maria Carruba, *La Lupa Capitolina: Un bronzo medievale* (Rome, 2006); *La Minerva di Arezzo*, Mario Cygielman, ed. (Florence, 2008); *The Chimaera of Arezzo*, Mario Iozzo, ed. (Florence, 2009).
16. Acc. no. 62.66.3. H. 12.5 cm; W (head) 1.9 cm; W (shoulders) 3.6 cm. Mounted on a modern base. Weight (without the base) 272.5 g.
17. James Robinson and Richard Smith, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Francisco, 1988) p. 25.
18. The earliest research on these statuettes is summarized in Sybille Haynes, "The Bronze Priests and Priestesses from Nemi," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 67 (1960) pp. 34–35.
19. Brian F. Cook, "Two Etruscan Bronze Statuettes," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 1 (1968) p. 168, n. 6.
20. For a thumbnail sketch of Etruscan history, see Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes*, pp. 17–39.
21. All comparisons with the Nemi figurines come from the catalogue established in Haynes, "Bronze Priests."
22. Otto Kurz, *Fakes: A Handbook for Collectors and Students* (New Haven, 1948) p. 181.
23. George Ortiz, "Connoisseurship and Antiquity," in *Small Bronze Sculpture*, p. 262.
24. Haynes, "Bronze Priests," p. 42.
25. Christopher Hallet, *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 B.C.–A.D. 300*, (Oxford, 2005) p. 20. The second example, the funerary stele with a man in military garb (Fig. 9), is not precisely a portrait statue and instead likely featured generic or only slightly personalized features. Still, it demonstrates a key way that men were represented in Greek sculpture.
26. Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (London and New York, 2007) p. 137.
27. Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore, 1975) p. 48.
28. Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, p. 190.
29. The statues in the section entitled *le divinita* in Cristofani, *I bronzi*, provide a good survey of the iconographic standards for Etruscan divinities.
30. Mattusch, "Metal Working," p. 427.
31. David Brown, "Bronze and Pewter," in Donald Strong and David Brown, eds., *Roman Crafts* (London, 1976) p. 27.
32. Heather Lechtman and Arthur Steinberg, "Bronze Joining: A Study in Ancient Technology," in Doeringer, Mitten, and Steinberg, *Art and Technology*, p. 6.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
34. Craddock, *Scientific Investigation of Copies*, pp. 349–352.
35. Rutherford J. Gettins, "Patina: Noble and Vile," in Doeringer, Mitten, and Steinberg, *Art and Technology*, pp. 61–62.
36. Brass was first used in the classical world in coinage (except for a few outstanding Etruscan statues), only becoming somewhat more widespread in other applications, including some statuary, in the first and second centuries c.e. Generally speaking, zinc



- replaced tin, meaning that any alloy with a high tin content had very little zinc and vice versa. For further information, see Paul T. Craddock, "The Composition of the Copper Alloys Used by the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Civilizations: 3. The Origins and Early Use of Brass," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 5 (1978) pp. 1–16.
37. Craddock, *Scientific Investigation of Copies*, p. 142.
  38. David A. Scott and Jerry Podany, "Ancient Copper Alloys: Some Metallurgical and Technological Studies of Greek and Roman Bronzes," in *Small Bronze Sculpture*, pp. 33–34.
  39. Earle R. Caley, "Chemical Composition of Greek and Roman Statuary Bronzes," in Doeringer, Mitten, and Steinberg, *Art and Technology*, p. 41.
  40. Scott and Podany, "Ancient Copper Alloys," p. 56.
  41. Paul T. Craddock, "The Metallurgy and Composition of Etruscan Bronze," *Studi etruschi* 52 (1986) p. 229.
  42. Caley, "Chemical Composition," p. 43.
  43. Scott and Podany, "Ancient Copper Alloys," p. 43.
  44. Craddock, "Metallurgy," p. 229.
  45. Riederer, "Trace Elements in Roman Copper Alloys," in Carol C. Mattusch, Amy Brauer, and Sandra E. Knudsen, eds., *From the Parts to the Whole (Acta of the Thirtieth International Bronze Congress, Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement 39, Portsmouth, 2000)* pp. 283–284.
  46. Scott and Podany, "Ancient Copper Alloys," p. 43.
  47. J. E. Rehder, *The Mastery and Uses of Fire in Antiquity* (Montreal, 2000) p. 118.
  48. Hermann Born, "Patinated and Painted Bronzes: Exotic Technique or Ancient Tradition?" in *Small Bronze Sculpture*, pp. 186–188.
  49. *ibid.*, p. 189.
  50. Paul T. Craddock, "A Short History of the Patination of Bronze," in Mark Jones, ed., *Why Fakes Matter: Essays on Problems of Authenticity* (London, 1992) pp. 67–68.
  51. Haynes, "Bronze Priests," p. 34.
  52. Craddock, "Short History," pp. 67–68.
  53. Leslie Aitchison, *A History of Metals* (London, 1960) p. 524.
  54. *Ibid.*, p. 524.
  55. Mark Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception*, The British Museum (London, 1990) p. 134.
  56. Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, 2006) pp. 84–85.
  57. Paul T. Craddock, "The Art and Craft of Faking: Copying, Embellishing and Transforming," in *Fake?* p. 270.
  58. Thomas P. F. Hoving, "The Game of Duplicity," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26 (1968) p. 243.
  59. Lusia Fucito, "Methods and Materials Used for Patination at the Fonderia Chiurazzi," in Erik Risser and David Saunders, eds., *The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes: Naples and Beyond* (Los Angeles, 2013) p. 137.
  60. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
  61. See the various papers in *The Getty Kouros Colloquium*, J. Paul Getty Museum (Athens, 1993).
  62. Jonathon Keats, *Forged: Why Fakes Are the Great Art of Our Age* (Oxford, 2013) p. 5.
  63. Briefel, *Deceivers*, p. 3.
  64. Alfred Lessing, "What Is Wrong with a Forgery?" in Denis Dutton, ed., *The Forgers Art: Forgery and the Philosophy of Art* (Berkeley, 1983) p. 62.
  65. Jones, ed., *Fake?* p. 132.
  66. Julie Dawson and Trevor Emmett, "Plaguey Things," *Journal of the History of Collections* 24:3 (2012) p. 393.
  67. Briefel, *Deceivers*, p. 8.
  68. Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyper Reality: Essays*, trans. William Weaver (San Diego, 1986) pp. 30–31.
  69. Jones, ed., *Fake?* pp. 30–31.
  70. Lessing, "What Is Wrong?" p. 68.
  71. Leonard B. Meyer, "Forgery and the Anthropology of Art," in Denis Dutton, ed., *The Forgers Art: Forgery and the Philosophy of Art* (Berkeley, 1983) p. 85.
  72. Meyer, "Forgery," p. 78. While not strictly relevant for a discussion of forgery per se, the many Greek statues manually copied for aristocrats in the Roman Empire add a further layer of complexity to the ideas of originality and authenticity. Mattusch, *Classical Bronzes*, ch. 5, has a good discussion of these issues.
  73. Meyer, "Forgery," p. 88.
  74. Nelson Goodman, "Art and Authenticity," in Dutton, ed., *The Forgers Art*, pp. 93–114.
  75. Lessing, "What Is Wrong?" p. 63.
  76. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Walter Benjamin with Hannah Arendt, ed., *Illuminations* (London, 1999) p. 215.

## Bathing in the Heart of Paris

### “L'enseignement mutuel” from Daumier’s Series *Les baigneurs*\*



MAXIME VALSAMAS

The caricaturist Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) spent the majority of his career capturing on paper the social mores of Parisians during the nineteenth century. When censorship laws prohibited Daumier from visually attacking the monarch and politicians, he predominantly satirized the bourgeoisie.<sup>1</sup> More than any other French caricaturist at the time, Daumier succeeded at mocking his fellow middle-class compatriots and their physiognomy. The human body played a significant role in the humor of his prints. Public bathing, an activity that became a social phenomenon in the decades leading up to the middle of the nineteenth century, provided an ideal subject for the artist to exploit the physical appearance of figures and to continue codifying his human types artistically. Daumier represented swimmers in approximately 150 lithographs, but it is undoubtedly the thirty lithographs forming his series *Les baigneurs*, published in the newspaper *Le Charivari* from June 11, 1839, to September 27, 1842, that are his most famous illustrations of the theme of bathers.<sup>2</sup>

“L'enseignement mutuel” (Fig. 1) is the twenty-ninth print of this comical series. The version of this print held at the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri is a fine example of a lithographic proof before the addition of letters. The handwritten caption and the vertical crease through the center of the print offer the viewer valuable insight about the editing and publishing process of a print in a daily journal during Daumier’s career.<sup>3</sup>

Proofs with handwritten legends in ink, on either vellum or wove sheets, are



**Fig. 1.** Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “L’enseignement mutuel” (Mutual instruction), state I/III, *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 20.6 x 26.2 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2011.6). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

the most sought-after lithographs created by Daumier (after those he produced on white vellum paper that have not even been marked by the handwriting of journalists). Daumier rarely wrote the legends that accompany his images, and on the few occasions that he did, he wrote them with a lithographic pencil rather than with pen ink. Moreover, the captions that Daumier wrote are for the most part laconic in nature, barely exceeding a couple of words.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, those written by the journalists at *Le Charivari* tend to be complete sentences and even short paragraphs, since writers were hired separately by the newspaper and paid by the line.<sup>5</sup> Occasionally, journalists even disregarded the aesthetic value of prints by inscribing them with personal statements. The notation in the left margin of Figure 1, “Pendant qu’il fait encore chaud . . .” (While it is still warm . . .) appears to refer to the series *Les baigneurs*, or at least to the works that succeeded

“L’enseignement mutuel” in the set. The writer (whether journalist or editor) informs an undisclosed member of the newspaper team that the prints need to be delivered promptly. This inscription serves as visual evidence that on numerous instances there was little or no communication between the caption writers of *Le Charivari* and Daumier. The writers were not sitting with him exchanging ideas about a certain topic. More often than not, Daumier designed caricatures at home, and once completed, they were sent to the publishing house where different individuals provided the captions for the images.<sup>6</sup> In some instances, the writers chose to write their legends on separate pieces of paper (which were then glued to the artist’s print) knowing that they could be asked to rewrite a legend multiple times.

The crease on the sheet of paper, that has since been flattened, indicates that Daumier’s print moved through the hands of various people. Prints were regularly folded into two, four, and sometimes even eight immediately after they were no longer in the artist’s possession. Works circulated among the artist, the journalist, and the editor of the journal, who had the responsibility of noting the plate number and series title of a given lithograph and to forward the print to censorship authorities. The various steps that prints underwent in order to be considered “officially” complete and publishable meant that it often took several days (up to approximately three weeks after the artist had originally conceptualized the work) before the drawn image could physically appear in a newspaper.<sup>7</sup> In the case of lithographs appearing in *Le Charivari*, once the censors approved the images and captions, the prints were produced in editions ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 depending on the year of publication. Lithographs published in *Le Charivari* differed from the proofs because their captions were not handwritten, and they often contained information about the publishing house (including name and address, as is noticeable on the second state of “L’enseignement mutuel” [Fig. 2]). In total, there are three states of “L’enseignement mutuel” (see Figure 3 for an impression of the third state), and the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri houses the lone surviving version of the first state.

In contrast to the many caricatures Daumier produced of the *bourgeoise*, Parisian women whose exaggerated fashions drew the caricaturist’s satirical eye, the primary subject in the series *Les baigneurs* is the male. Male bathers could not hide behind their street clothes, rendering the visual representations of their bodies in this series of works more comical. The figures in “L’enseignement mutuel” vary in age and facial features, characteristics that are typical of Daumier’s *Les baigneurs* and his oeuvre at large. Daumier depicts a man standing thigh-



Fig. 2. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “L’enseignement mutuel” (Mutual instruction), state II/III, *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 20.6 x 26.2 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Horace M. Swope (485:1915).

deep in water with circular air bladders strapped to his body under his armpits. The floating devices are bizarre, and their artificiality is striking. They look like wings that will help the man survive as he tries to plunge into the pool. He uneasily dips his hands into the water, and his facial expression reveals his anxiety at having to swim (or to learn to swim). The bather’s face, limbs, and posture are unheroic, in contrast to the grandiose nudes and classical deities seen in the works of an artist such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867). Ingres, like his mentor Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), was a classical revivalist, and the nude figures in his works signified an ideal grace. Daumier’s style was anti-classical, and for him, the modern bodies of members of the French bourgeoisie, especially those individuals who were separated from nature and living in the city, were far from eloquent. As a realist, Daumier rejected academic standards of beauty, and the hollowness of his contemporaries who aspired to be part of high culture could be exposed through their less-than-perfect bodies.<sup>8</sup>

Bathing was a social activity in which the majority of the Parisian population participated during the nineteenth century. On nice summer days, public baths

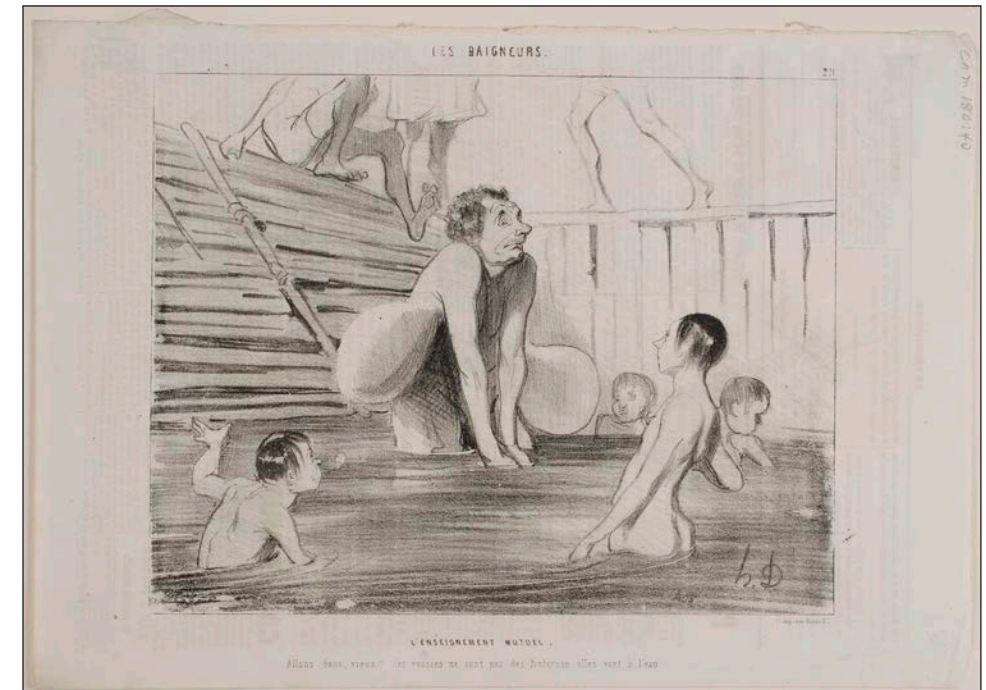


Fig. 3. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “L’enseignement mutuel” (Mutual instruction), state III/III, *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 20.6 x 26.2 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Horace M. Swope (180:1940).

were the joy of Parisians. Medical doctors approved physical exercise as contributing to a healthy lifestyle. Fewer and fewer Parisians were engaged in agrarian activities, but to remain physically fit, even those people who had not fallen in love with swimming during their youth began to demonstrate a greater desire to swim in the 1800s. The movements that enabled one to swim and float above the water were, however, awkward and unnatural to human beings (even for those who eventually mastered the activity). As Eugène Briffault states, walking is a simpler form of exercise.<sup>9</sup> Whereas quadrupeds and various other animals can easily navigate their way through water, human beings, at least on the first few occasions, find swimming a complete effort and display of energy; many fear the possibility of drowning.<sup>10</sup> It has always been easier for humans to learn to swim at a young age in comparison to later in life, and Daumier pokes fun at the man in “L’enseignement mutuel” by making him the oldest and only figure to be wearing inflated air bladders.

In the scene, four boys surround the man at the shallow end of the pool. Although the boys are not swimming, the water that covers their bodies is not a nuisance to them, and the boy to the immediate left even smokes a pipe. The legs of three other figures are visible around the upper ledge of the embankment that encloses the water and the bathers. One of these figures, likely a *gamin* (boy), is on the verge of kicking the man in the back. Bathing houses in Paris were full of people who had varying levels of swimming skills, and accordingly, it was not uncommon for some bathers to fall prey to the opportunistic antics of young pranksters.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the *Les baigneurs* series Daumier also ridicules the grotesque nature of the bathers' bodies (primarily the body of urban dwellers). Unlike the individuals who are clothed in Daumier's countless scenes of the streets of Paris, in the bathers' series, the figures are either naked or only wearing swimming suits in order to heighten their "ugliness." Here, Daumier can reveal the true nature of the bourgeoisie. He certainly is not perpetuating the timeless beauty of these figures. Many members of the middle class strove to give the impression that they formed part of polite society. The pompousness of such social types irritated Daumier. Hence, by making these individuals anything but elegant in his *Les baigneurs* series, Daumier indicates that both the physique and the acts of these people are repulsive. The caricaturist deliberately exposed the vulnerability of these figures to the castrating gaze of his audience.

People cannot hide behind their clothes, and as a result, "Daumier met en oeuvre une esthétique de la difformité et offre aux lecteurs le spectacle de la laid-eur: quelle que soit la classe sociale, le corps se révèle sans fard aux bains publics, tantôt bedonnant, tantôt abîmé, toujours grotesque, le ridicule est démocratique" (Daumier highlights an aesthetic of deformity and offers his readers the spectacle of ugliness: regardless of social class, the body at public baths is revealed, sometimes potbellied, sometimes impaired; always grotesque, the ridicule is democratic).<sup>12</sup> While the individuals may not be embarrassed by their physical outlook, figures with bodies of all sizes appear in the thirty prints (see for example "Eh bonjour! enchanté de vous rencontrer . . ." [Fig. 4]).<sup>13</sup> The bathers in these works are neither erotic nor aesthetically pleasing. Even when the poses of the figures suggest that their muscles should be articulated, it is the lack of fitness of these people that meets the viewer's eye. Members of the audience are meant to laugh at the characters because their own bodies may be equally grotesque and because of the absurdity of the situation in which the figures find themselves.



Fig. 4. Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “Eh bonjour! enchanté de vous rencontrer . . .” (Oh hello, how good to see you . . .), *Les baigneurs*, 1840, lithograph, 26.5 x 20.7 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Horace M. Swope (171:1940).

Whether it is the scrawny bones of the swimmers, their fat stomachs, or their unattractive facial features (like those of the man in “L’enseignement mutuel”), as a witty caricaturist, Daumier exposed them in *Les baigneurs* for all to see.

A year after the final print of the series was published, *Le Charivari* readily advertised the *Les baigneurs* series as illustrating the humorous side of the bathing houses of Paris: “Cet Album est rempli de physionomies grotesques, de scènes plaisantes, tout le répertoire de toutes les tribulations qui peuvent assaillir le baigneur infortuné” (This album is full of grotesque physiognomies and of pleasant scenes; the entire repertory of all the tribulations that can torment the unfortunate bather).<sup>14</sup> The editors of the newspaper believed that Daumier’s bather series was popular among the readership of *Le Charivari* and thus, they decided to sell the thirty lithographs as a separate album and in the process earn the publishing house extra revenue.

The River Seine, situated in the heart of Paris, was frequented in great numbers

on a daily basis in the first half of the nineteenth century by those who desired to swim, fish, or canoe. The growth of the train system in Paris and its surroundings facilitated accessibility to the Seine outside the heart of the city. Accordingly it is not surprising that Daumier's *Les baigneurs* was highly acclaimed in the 1840s. Eugène Briffault, the author of *Paris dans l'eau*, stated in 1844 that there were over a thousand prints on the subject of bathers created by caricaturists in France.<sup>15</sup> City dwellers from all over the French capital swam in the Seine, and the bathing houses greatly contributed to the industrial economy of the river.<sup>16</sup>

The public baths or *baignades* varied in size, and the majority of them were located near the Ile Saint-Louis and the Ile de la Cité in the fourth arrondissement. The *baignades* differed from modern-day swimming pools in that they were baths directly installed on the Seine and used the river's water instead of chlorinated water. Most of them were floating pontoons that had the shape of long rectangular boats, as is evident in a photograph taken by Armand Guérinet (Fig. 5).

Bathing houses often had multiple basins allowing male and female bathers to swim separately and to bathe in both warm and cold water. In addition, baths were distinguished according to social classes (the price of entry differed from one establishment to the other, while the wealthiest people used their own private baths). The baths ranged from the *bains à 4 sous* used by the lower classes and the petty bourgeoisie (most of Daumier's *Les baigneurs* lithographs take place in such establishments) to the Deligny baths, which acted as the model prototype of quality baths, offering visitors numerous water basins, changing rooms, and a dining room serving French cuisine.<sup>17</sup> The lack of space in the city of Paris due to the growing demography at the time was reflected on a micro level in some of Daumier's *Les baigneurs* prints set in the *bains à 4 sous*; the man's confrontation with the crowd of young boys in "L'enseignement mutuel" is a reminder of this complicated matter.<sup>18</sup> Not surprisingly, the difference in quality from one bath to the other certainly pleased those individuals who could afford to pay the larger sums of entrance fees and the bourgeois who wanted to be taken for nobles.

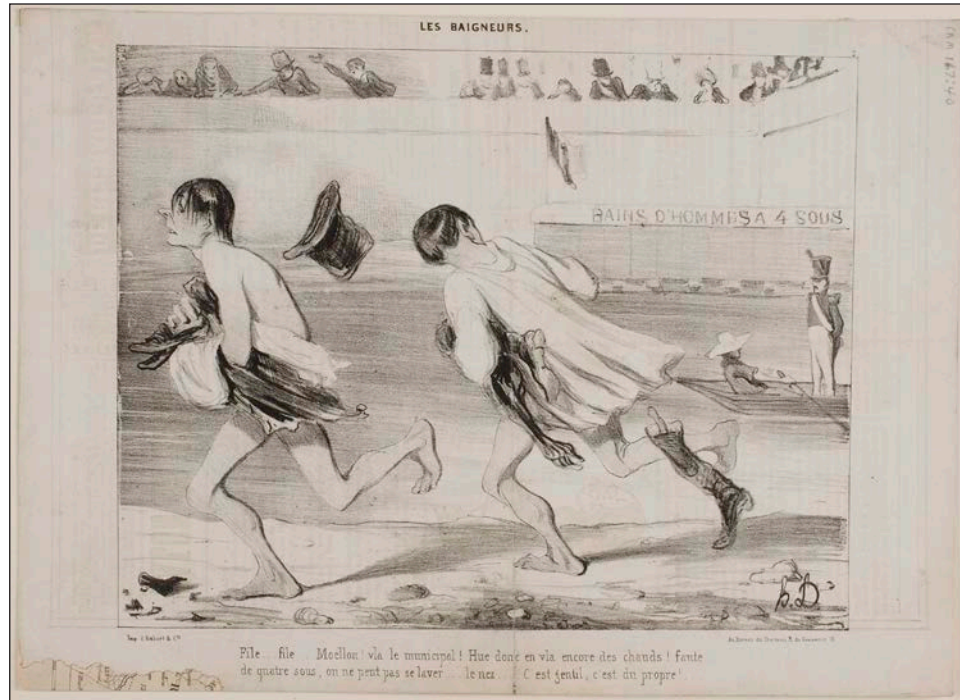
The first bathing houses started appearing at the end of the eighteenth century, and the number of bathing establishments kept increasing over the course of the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> In 1833, a few years before Daumier began his *Les baigneurs* series, there were nineteen permanent bathing establishments on the river.<sup>20</sup> In their simplest form, public baths provided a secure space for bathers and were limited by embankments in a natural environment. When their popularity increased, bathing houses began offering swimmers



Fig. 5. Armand Guérinet. *Les bains parisiens* (Parisian Baths), late nineteenth century. Image © Ministère de la Culture (France).

greater levels of comfort (for example, towel service), and eventually they were furnished with relaxation rooms and other spaces that provided bathers a variety of complementary services. These flourishing bathing houses provided Daumier with a source of inspiration to record the moods and attitudes of Parisian bathers and to historicize the modern practice of this recreational activity in regulated spaces.

Public baths were particularly popular at the time, because the law prohibited people from swimming in the river (outside of these establishments). Policemen patrolled the water in order to ensure that no men or women were swimming in the open river (it was the responsibility of the Prefecture of Police of Paris to discipline transgressors). Daumier addressed the issue explicitly in two of his lithographs of the *Les baigneurs* series.



**Fig. 6.** Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “File . . . file . . . Moellon! via le municipal! . . .” (Run away Moellon, there comes the guard! . . .), *Les baigneurs*, 1839, lithograph, 27.1 x 21.4 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Horace M. Swope (167:1940).

The second print of the series (Fig. 6) shows two boys fleeing away on the banks of the river with clothes in their hands as they notice a patrol approaching.<sup>21</sup> The policeman stands on a small boat and looks in the direction of the two boys. A sign *bains d'hommes à 4 sous* (Baths for men for 4 sous) is noticeable in the background, and a crowd of onlookers peers down at the pursuit from beyond the wall that leads to the river's bank. In the twenty-fifth print of the series (Fig. 7) “Pardon, Mr. le Maire! . . .”, Daumier mocks the judicial system that enforces the interdiction of swimming in the river.<sup>22</sup> The caricaturist rarely missed a chance of criticizing the government and its policies; it is uncertain whether he himself was fond of swimming. In this lithograph, Daumier depicts a man in his swimming suit interrupting the mayor from enjoying a walk in the countryside with his partner in order to ask him sarcastically whether it is permitted to swim in a small stream of water. The mayor is irritated by the man's action, while his

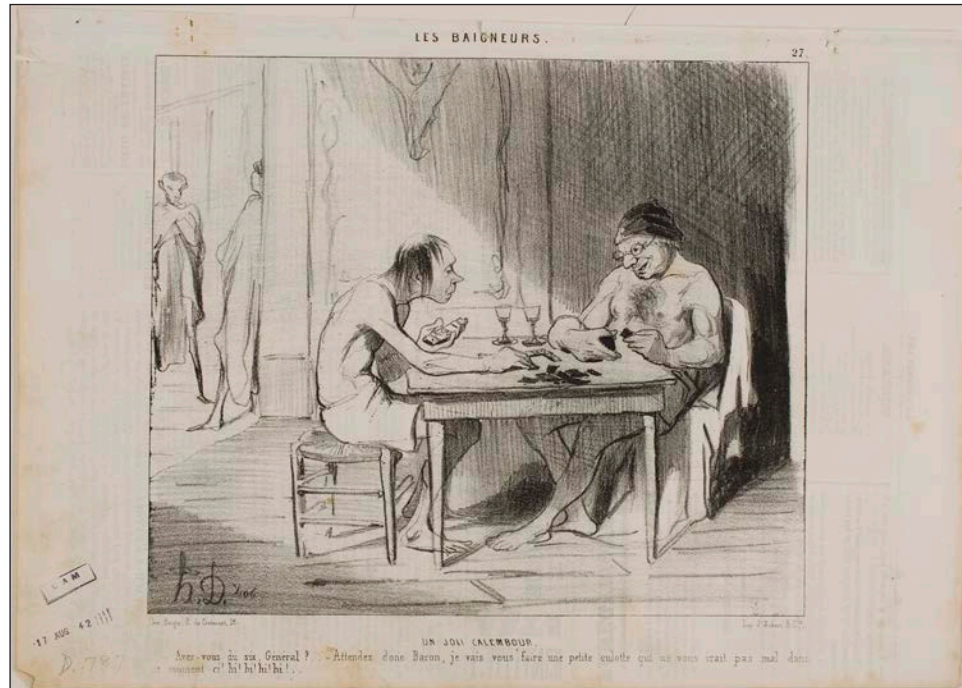


**Fig. 7.** Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “Pardon, Mr. Le Maire! . . .” (Excuse me, Mr. Mayor . . .), *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 19.7 x 26.3 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Horace M. Swope (481:1915).

female companion turns her head away from the bather and raises her hand in displeasure. In short, a direct correlation existed between the development of bathing houses and the politics of the period that banned free access to the water. Although some people inevitably tested the limits of the law, Daumier exaggerated certain scenes of his bather series to add to their entertainment value.

Many French citizens also enjoyed the *baignades* as locations where they could socialize and engage in people watching. Certain individuals would spend multiple hours at a bathing house and leave without even having touched the water once. They went to the baths to have a drink or two, smoke a cigar, discuss politics in small groups, and to read the newspaper.<sup>23</sup> Such figures appear in Daumier's *Les baigneurs* series. For example in “Un joli calembour” (A nice pun) (Fig. 8), the twenty-seventh print of the series, a couple of men sit at a table with wine glasses and are absorbed in a game of dominoes.<sup>24</sup>

In an article dating from 1844, the *Paris Comique* journal humorously noted that there were three types of bathers: the bathers that never swim, the novice



**Fig. 8.** Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879). “Un joli calembour” (A nice pun), *Les baigneurs*, 1842, lithograph, 21.2 x 25.3 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Horace M. Swope (483:1915).

swimmers, and those who are diving fanatics. Moreover, the journal even estimated the age group of the people who belonged to these three distinct categories of bathers and suggested that the novice swimmers, who for undisclosed reasons felt the need to learn how to swim (like the man in “L’enseignement mutuel”), were generally aged between twenty-seven and forty years old.<sup>25</sup> A good number of the main characters in Daumier’s *Les baigneurs* lithographs are from this age category. Daumier was displaying male figures in the prime of their lives physically, yet their lack of swimming skills insinuated that the preservation of their masculinity was at stake in public spheres. Daumier likely knew some men in their late twenties and thirties (he was in his early thirties when he made the prints for this series), who attended bathing establishments not because swimming was healthy but because the rich had made it one of their favorite pastimes, and thus it became a trendy activity for all. Daumier wittily revealed the foolishness of such pretentious individuals. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the caricaturist did

not spare anyone from embarrassing moments in his images; attacking all types of bathers rendered the series more comical and ultimately more successful.

The bathing establishments on the Seine offered Daumier a pleasant variety of scenes that he could ridicule as part of his greater aim of caricaturing the social mores of Parisians in the nineteenth century. He targeted the irony of the modern urban world as experienced by city dwellers living in the French capital, and the popularity of public baths in Paris inspired him to return to the subject on multiple occasions throughout his career. Since bathing became a widespread phenomenon, and literary sources addressed this recreational activity from a variety of angles in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, Daumier’s *Les baigneurs* series was produced at the height of the theme’s prominence.

By focusing on the grotesque nature of the figures’ bodies, Daumier ensured that his bather lithographs were funny in the eyes of his nineteenth-century audience, while simultaneously making a comment about the artificiality of the modern man and his distance from nature. For Daumier, members of the middle class in nineteenth-century Paris simply lacked the ability to adapt themselves to nature and its elements. His prints imply that the urban bourgeoisie was largely at a loss outside its comfort zone. In comparison, as an individual piece, “L’enseignement mutuel” equally allows the present day viewer to poke fun at the comical physiognomic traits of the main figure—after all, the body is not simply meant to be desirable, it can also be the source of comic relief—as well as to understand in detail how prints came to fruition within the context of nineteenth-century satirical newspapers.

#### NOTES

- \* I wish to thank Elizabeth Childs for her comments and support throughout. All translations are my own except for that of the inscription in the left margin of Figure 1, given in endnote 3 below. My thanks go to Jean-Charles Foyer and Elizabeth Wyckoff for helping me with this notation.
1. After rigorous censorship laws were implemented in September 1835, Daumier stopped his direct attacks against King Louis-Philippe, focusing instead on the representation of social mores until the end of the July Monarchy in 1848.
  2. Swimmers also appear in the following of Daumier’s series: *Les baigneuses*, *Paris dans l’eau*, *Croquis d’été*, *Les bains froids*, and *Croquis aquatiques*.  
As of this writing, fourteen of Daumier’s series are partially represented in the Museum of Art and Archaeology’s collection: *Les bohémiens de Paris* (76.43.1–11), *Histoire ancienne* (76.44.1–17, 86.130), *Voyage en Chine* (76.45.1–12), *Les étrangers à Paris*



- (76.46.1–7), *Paris l'hiver* (76.47.1–5), *Les amis* (47.48.1–3), *Professeurs et moutards* (76.49.1–3), *Caricatures du jour* (76.50), *Les carottes* (76.51), *Actualités* (76.52, 87.3, 2015.3), *Physionomie de l'assemblée* (87.68), *Caricaturana (Les Robert-Macaires)* (2004.3), *Les baigneurs* (2011.6), and *Les bas-bleus* (2015.2).
3. Dimensions: 26.8 x 35.1 cm (sheet); 20.6 x 26.2 cm (image). Ex collections René Gaston-Dreyfus and Henri Petiet (1894–1980). Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (acc. no. 2011.6). Handwritten captions in pen and brown ink in the bottom and left margins: at the bottom “L'enseignement mutuel. Allons donc vieux! Les vessies ne sont pas des lanternes, elles vont à l'eau” (Mutual instruction. Come on in old man! The bladders are not lanterns, they are meant for the water); in the left margin “Pendant qu'il fait encore chaud, il faut donner tous les Baigneurs; veuillez donc me faire les lettres immédiatement et ingénieusement. votre dévoué Guillaume” (While it is still hot, one must give all Bathers; thus, please produce for me the letters immediately and ingeniously. Yours truly, Guillaume). Handwritten number 789 in pencil at lower right corner of sheet. Plate number of the series, 29, in black crayon at upper right corner of sheet. Two collectors' stamps on verso: H. M. P. within an oval and R. G-D, also within an oval. Published: “Acquisitions 2011,” *Muse* 44–45 (2012) p. 131, fig. 1. Exhibited: *Collecting for a New Century: Recent Acquisitions*, Museum of Art and Archaeology, January 28–May 13, 2012.
  4. See Valérie Sueur-Hermel et al., *Daumier: L'écriture du lithographe*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (Paris, 2008) p. 163.
  5. For more information on the captions written by Daumier and writers from *Le Charivari*, refer to Valérie Sueur-Hermel, a specialist on the topic. In particular, Sueur-Hermel, “Avant la lettre: lithographies de Daumier pour *Le Charivari*,” *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* 19 (2005) pp. 21–25, and Sueur-Hermel et al., *Daumier: L'écriture du lithographe*, pp. 146–182.
  6. In some cases the journalists did not understand the image and wrote to the editors of the newspaper with a certain degree of frustration asking them to clarify the image's meaning. More details on the collaborative process of publishing lithographs and on the payment some writers received for their legends can be found in Elizabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign* (New York, 2004) pp. 22–25.
  7. The three-week time frame is suggested by Ségolène Le Men, “La physiologie du bourgeois dans les séries du *Charivari*,” in *Daumier 1808–1879*, H. Loyrette et al., eds., National Gallery of Art, Ottawa (Ottawa, 1999) p. 207. This is a valid estimation even though Daumier did not date his prints. “L'enseignement mutuel” was published in *Le Charivari* on August 29, 1842.
  8. Daumier was visually expressing that not all bathers were strongly built immortals or sensual nymphs, and in addition, he “was pillorying not merely his victims but the high-art bather theme itself, as it existed in endless dreary Salon representations of his time.” Linda Nochlin, *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty: The Visceral Eye* (Cambridge, 2006) p. 23.
  9. “Il n'est pas vrai de prétendre qu'il soit aussi naturel de nager que de marcher” (It would be false to pretend that swimming is as natural as walking). Eugène Briffault, *Paris dans l'eau* (Paris, 1844) p. 42. Briffault then goes on to write that, in water, humans are subject to concerns that are not shared by frogs and other animals.
  10. Alain Corbin suggests that the discomfort of swimming was a widespread feeling

- among European populations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: “The way people swam was dictated by an incessant fear of drowning heightened by the firm belief that man could neither float nor swim naturally,” in A. Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World 1750–1840*, trans. J. Phelps (Cambridge, 1994) p. 76.
11. Briffault writes, “il est dans les écoles de natation une race d'individus, farceurs importuns et fâcheux, qui infestent tous les plaisirs; on ne peut pas toujours se soustraire à l'énormité de leurs jeux” (In swimming schools there are particular types of individuals, who are annoying and opportunistic pranksters, and they spoil all the pleasures; it is not always possible to avoid their pranks). Briffault, *Paris*, p. 93.
  12. Clémence Laurent, “Au milieu coule la Seine . . .” in *Les Parisiens de Daumier de la promenade aux divertissements*, Agnès Colas des Francs et al., eds. (Paris, 2013) p. 49.
  13. “Eh bonjour! Enchanté de vous rencontrer—Comment se porte Madame?—A merveille—Dans l'eau, je ne vous reconnaissais pas; je vous prenais pour un lion—vous êtes bien bon, c'est ce que tous le monde me dit” (Oh, hello, how good to see you—How is your wife?—She's well.—I did not recognize you in the water; I took you for a lion.—You are too kind, that is what everybody tells me).
  14. Anonymous, *Le Charivari* (August 2, 1843), cited in Loys Delteil, *Le peintre-graveur illustré*, vol. 22 (New York, 1969) entry 790.
  15. Briffault, describing the physiognomy of the bathers, states, “les tailles sans fin, les bras maigres, les pieds longs et vilains, engendrent mille caricatures vivantes à réjouir Gavarni et Daumier” (The never-ending waistlines, the skinny arms, and the long and nasty feet, trigger a thousand lively and delightful caricatures by Gavarni and Daumier). Briffault, *Paris*, p. 85.
  16. “Ce sont surtout les bains qui forment la grande base de l'exploitation industrielle et aquatique de la Seine” (It is the baths that form the greatest source of industrial and aquatic exploitation of the Seine). L. Huart et al., “Ecoles de natation à Paris,” *Paris Comique* (Paris, 1844) p. 1. Ultimately, it was only due to the river's pollution that bathing establishments experienced their demise in the early twentieth century.
  17. More details about the comparison between the *bains à 4 sous* and the *bains Deligny* are available in Isabelle Duhau, “Les baignades en rivière d'Ile-de-France des premiers aménagements à la piscine parisienne Joséphine-Baker,” *Livraisons d'histoire de l'architecture* 14 (2007) pp. 1–22. In terms of the food, Briffault claims that the quality of the meals offered at some of the higher scale baths would have rendered restaurants throughout Paris envious: “alors s'organisent des déjeuners que le boulevard Italien et la rue Montorgeuil pourraient envier” (breakfasts are organized that would make the boulevard Italien and the rue Montorgeuil envious). Briffault, *Paris*, p. 81.
  18. In bathing establishments, specifically the *bains à 4 sous*, “malgré le règlement, il règne un désordre insupportable pour la classe moyenne” (despite the rules, total disarray reigns, rendering it unbearable for the middle class). Klaus Herding, “Le citadin à la campagne: Daumier critique du comportement bourgeois face à la nature,” *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 46/47 (1979) p. 30.
  19. The popularity of bathing houses in Paris led to the creation of bathing establishments in urban settings in several European countries in the nineteenth century, primarily northern European countries. Patricia Berman, “Body and Body Politic in Edvard Munch's *Bathing Men*,” in *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since*

- the Renaissance*, Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon, eds. (Cambridge, 1993) p. 77.
20. The number of permanent establishments remained the same until 1875 (at that time, a twentieth was added). For more information on the history of bathing houses in Paris, see Duhau, “Les baignades,” p. 14.
  21. “File . . . file . . . Moellon! vla le municipal! Hue donc en vla encore des chauds! faute de quatre sous, on ne peut pas se laver . . . le nez . . . C’est gentil, c’est du propre!” (Run away Moellon! There comes the guard! Another one of those hotheads! Just because we don’t have four pennies we cannot wash . . . our noses . . . talk about getting cheated!).
  22. “Pardon M. le Maire! . . . pourriez vous me faire le plaisir de me dire s’il est permis de se baigner ici” (Excuse me, Mr. Mayor! Would you please be so kind as to tell me whether swimming is permitted here?).
  23. Bathing houses offered visitors a variety of newspapers, including *Le Siècle* during the day and *Le Moniteur Parisien* during the evening. Huart et al., “Ecoles,” pp. 2–3.
  24. “Un joli calembour. Avez-vous du six, Général? Attendez donc Baron, je vais vous faire une petite culotte qui ne vous irait pas mal dans ce moment-ci. Hi! hi! hi! hi!” (Do you have the six, General?—Just wait and see Baron, I’ll make you lose your pants, which would serve you right in this moment! hi! hi! hi! hi!). The visual pun is the difference in size of the figures. Literally, the pun is that the larger man possesses the dominoes to win the game, and he grins because by playing his hand he will make the other man lose everything including his bathing suit, “faire une petite culotte.”
  25. *Paris Comique* 1844, p. 2. In the words of the newspaper: “il y a 3 classes distinctes: 1 celle des baigneurs qui ne se baignent pas; 2 celle des baigneurs novices; 3 enfin la troisième est celle des fanatiques de la coupe et du plongeon” (there are three distinct categories: 1. that of bathers who do not swim; 2. that of the novice swimmers; 3. finally, the third category is that of those who are bathing and diving fanatics). *Ibid.*, p. 2. The age groups of the other types of swimmers are also described.

## Missouri, Heart of the Nation Art, Commerce, and Civic Pride



MARGARET FAIRGRIEVE MILANICK

In the painting *Note from St. Louis* by Lawrence Beall Smith (Fig. 1 and back cover), a shoeshine boy pauses during his working day to gaze at *The Meeting of the Rivers*, a recently installed fountain. Connecting St. Louis with ancient Greek and Roman cultures, Carl Milles’s fountain greets visitors to St. Louis as they arrive at and depart from Union Station. The fountain symbolizes the confluence of two mighty rivers, the Mississippi and the Missouri, and heralds the importance of these rivers for the mythos of Missouri. The shoeshine boy has parked his kit at his side on the pavement and stands contemplating a sculpture of a putto struggling with a gargantuan fish.<sup>1</sup> Jets of water arch over and around this tableau. The shoeshine boy embodies what some felt art could do—elevate the morals and sensibilities of the working and middle class with a promise of personal transformation.

### History

*Note from St. Louis* is one of ninety-eight paintings in the Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection, commissioned in 1946 by Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc. (henceforth SVB), a St. Louis department store. The collection came about when Reeves Lewenthal, founder and head of Associated American Artists (AAA), a New York organization, approached Frank M. Mayfield, president of SVB, and proposed a collaborative project. Lewenthal worked with Mayfield and Mary Gamble, the public relations director of SVB, to commission and exhibit a collection of almost 100 paintings depicting contemporary Missouri. The timing was propitious: SVB would soon be celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of its founding in 1850 as McClelland-Scruggs and Company Dry Goods, and



**Fig. 1.** Lawrence Beall Smith (American, 1909–1989). *Note from St. Louis*, 1947, oil on Masonite, 36.2 x 28 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.101). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Missouri’s favorite son, Harry Truman, became president of the United States in 1945.

In addition to SVB, Lewenthal approached three other department stores with his idea of forming corporate-sponsored art collections: Ohrbach’s in New York City, Gimbel Brothers in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and New York City, and J. L. Hudson in Detroit, Michigan.<sup>2</sup> Of the four department store art collections, Missouri, Heart of the Nation is the only one that remained together after it was exhibited.<sup>3</sup> It is now part of the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri.

Why would a department store commission a collection of paintings

depicting contemporary life in Missouri? The answer rests on Mayfield’s belief in the union of art, commerce, and civic pride. In his preface to the catalog *Missouri Heart of the Nation*, he asserted that one purpose for commissioning the works was “to depict for St Louis, Missouri, and for the world the charm, the strength, the beauty, the way-of-life of our mid-western Missouri of today.”<sup>4</sup> A second purpose was to identify commercial enterprise with Missouri life, for he felt commercial enterprise went hand in hand with civic enterprise, “for no commercial endeavor becomes truly great unless it is accompanied by many civic endeavors.”<sup>5</sup> He believed that SVB, a commercial enterprise, had become

an integral part of Missouri’s character and way of life. Mayfield sought to harness art’s ability to elevate the morals and sensibilities of viewers in order to create community that in turn would foster cultural stability; cultural stability is good for business. The vision of the community he had in mind, however, did not incorporate the full diversity of Missouri life, but only that of middle- and upper-class whites. It is ironic that the painting he particularly liked, *Note from St. Louis*, pictures a black youth, the very person Mayfield never included in his vision of a community of potential customers.

The Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection was commissioned at a time when the general feeling among art and business observers was that fine art and commercial art were merging.<sup>6</sup> The broker among American business, consumers, and modern art was Lewenthal, who founded AAA in 1934. Lewenthal was a former newspaper reporter and an artists’ agent and public relations expert. The collapse of the stock market in 1929, however, precipitated the corresponding collapse of the art market. Lewenthal proclaimed as dead the traditional gallery system of selling expensive art objects to upscale clientele through high-class dealers, and he founded AAA in the depths of the Great Depression to broaden the economic base for art. He stated “American art ought to be handled like any other American business.”<sup>7</sup>

Lewenthal merged the world of American art with that of middle-class consumerism by selling art using modern business practices of production (buying plates and producing prints), distribution (through department stores, mail order, and his own gallery), and advertising (equating art with status) (Fig. 2). This was a successful business model. By 1941, AAA had become “the largest commercial art gallery in the world,” a \$500,000-a-year business (\$8 million-a-year in 2015 dollars), located at 711 Fifth Avenue in New York City with 30,000 square feet of gallery space that included showrooms, offices, and shipping spaces. By the

What . . . only \$5 for this signed ORIGINAL by THOMAS BENTON? Why, he's one of the country's finest artists!

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**Fig. 2.** Advertisement for Associated American Artists. From *American Artist* 4, no. 9 (November 1940) p. 29.

mid-1940s, Lewenthal had expanded the business to include much higher priced original drawings and paintings and began to sponsor the Annual National Print competition. In 1943, AAA handled 107 American artists, sold over 62,000 prints and almost 2,000 paintings. Its net income was more than \$12 million per year (over \$164 million per year in 2015 dollars). It employed a staff of fifty-three clerical workers, sent out more than 3 million catalogs and gallery announcements, and during the Christmas season that year, its busiest time, sent checks of \$25,000 to \$75,000 to the participating artists (\$343,000 to \$1 million in 2015 dollars).<sup>8</sup>

Given the success of merging art production and consumerism, Lewenthal worked on business models to ally producer, consumer, and corporation. As the Great Depression settled in, for good it seemed to the American consumer, confidence in capitalism itself plummeted, and consumerism declined. Lewenthal saw a need for art to restore consumer confidence and mediate public goodwill, and he offered corporations a way to do that by using the particular style of contemporary art that he was marketing at AAA. This representational style, already popular in America from the New Deal arts projects as well as through the retailing success of AAA, was an upbeat vision of an ideal America revitalized through community and productivity.<sup>9</sup> Lewenthal opened an Art for Advertising Department, attracting business clients such as Abbott Laboratories, American Tobacco Company, Standard Oil, and United Artists. The advertisements the artists worked on appeared in magazines targeted at middle-class consumers such as *Time*, *Life*, *Look*, *Fortune*, *Esquire*, *McCall's*, *Holiday*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Country Gentlemen*, *Farmer*, and *Coronet*.<sup>10</sup>

There was precedent for Lewenthal's belief in the success of a merger of art and business. In 1943, with World War II raging and the wartime economy booming, the federal government had stepped out of the role of major patron of the arts—a role it had assumed in the 1930s following the collapse of the stock market. By 1943, industry had expanded its role in the arts just when the government had dismantled its arts programs. A precedent for the commissioning of a collection of original paintings for public relations purposes rather than for direct sale came from Pepsi Cola's Portrait of America project, presented annually from 1944 to 1948. It was intended to serve as a model for corporate support of contemporary art. Walter Stanton Mack, Jr., CEO of Pepsi Cola (1895–1990), regarded support of culture as an important way to contribute to public welfare and a large part of corporate responsibility to the human community. Public relations was an important postwar strategy to ensure that the public thought of business as a good neighbor,

as socially responsible as it had been during the war.<sup>11</sup> Portrait of America was Pepsi Cola's "good neighbor" policy.<sup>12</sup> In 1944, Pepsi held a competition for new American painting administered by an organization of artists' groups.<sup>13</sup> The artists picked judges and administered the competition, and Pepsi provided prize money and expenses. An exhibition of selected paintings was held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and it then traveled to museums around the country.

## Artists

When Lewenthal approached SVB's Mayfield in 1946 to propose an art collection project that would be administered by AAA and, like the Portrait of America project, would be a public relations "good neighbor" project for the SVB department store, it made perfect sense for Mayfield to join the endeavor. AAA eventually chose fourteen artists to create works for the Heart of the Nation Collection. They were among America's premier and best-known artists; all were already represented by AAA. They included Howard Baer, Thomas Hart Benton, Aaron Bohrod, Nicolai Cikovsky, Adolph Dehn, Ernest Fiene, Peter Hurd, Fletcher Martin, Georges Schreiber, and Lawrence Beall Smith. Three of the artists, Cikovsky, Fiene, and Schreiber, were born in Europe but had immigrated to the United States. All the artists were educated in elite art academies in the United States or abroad; many studied in both.<sup>14</sup> Eight of the fourteen had just returned from work as artist-war correspondents from the many theaters of WWII and had been employed by commercial enterprises such as *Life Magazine* and Abbott Laboratories. Each artist was assigned general areas and topics in Missouri and given great latitude for specifics in execution, but AAA scheduled the visits to Missouri so that all four seasons would be represented. The artists made field notes and sketches at their sites in Missouri and returned home to complete the paintings in their own studios.<sup>15</sup> Studios for seven of the fourteen artists were located in New York City. Mayfield took an active interest in the execution of the project, entertaining the artists when they came to St. Louis and occasionally accompanying them to sites.<sup>16</sup>

Although Thomas Hart Benton was on the original roster for the project, he withdrew after just three months. Known for creating controversy, he made his announcement in the venue he favored—the press.<sup>17</sup> According to SVB's public relations officer Mary Gamble, he never told SVB of his decision. Benton complained that AAA should have chosen artists who lived in the area and grew up in the culture they were to illustrate. He maintained that artists needed personal

experience as well as artistic expertise to represent a culture authentically and said he did not want to get his “ideas of Missouri mixed up with a bunch of tourist snapshots, however high class.”<sup>18</sup> Benton’s rhetoric did not match his record, however. First, he did not really grow up in Missouri. Although he spent summers in Missouri, he spent more time in Washington, D.C., because his father was a four-time U.S. congressman (1897–1905). He attended high school at Western Military Academy in Alton, Illinois, and at eighteen enrolled in the Art Institute of Chicago, moving to Paris at the age of twenty. Returning to the United States after three years of art study there, he settled in New York City in 1912. He lived and worked there for twenty-three years until 1935 when he accepted a teaching position at the Kansas City Art Institute (1935–1941). For fifty years he summered at his house on Martha’s Vineyard. At the time he was asked to paint for the Missouri, Heart of the Nation project, however, he did spend part of the year living in Missouri. Second, anticipating that the department store art collection projects would expand to other states, he told Lewenthal “to be sure and count me in,” if Lewenthal organized projects in Texas and Oklahoma.<sup>19</sup> Benton had never lived in Texas or Oklahoma. Third, he waited three months after the line-up of artists was announced before resigning, even though he knew all the other artists were not from Missouri. He insisted he had suggested artists from Missouri when AAA first contacted him before announcement of the line-up. Fourth, he was increasingly upset by his lack of control over his work for commercial entities and wanted to sever all his ties with AAA, something he did four months later. He told his longtime friend Fred Shane: “They were just making a damn commercial artist out of me anyway.”<sup>20</sup> Five artists from Missouri replaced Benton on the SVB project: Fred Conway, Fred Shane, and three of Benton’s former students: Frederic James, Jackson Lee Nesbitt, and Wallace Herndon Smith.<sup>21</sup>

### Missouri and Industry

The Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection is unique among the art collections of the four department stores because it is the only one to make the grand claim to represent the “Heart of the Nation.” In the preface to the catalog Charles van Ravenswaay, at that time director of the Missouri Historical Society, described Missouri as the geographic center of the continent, where four mighty rivers (the Des Moines, the Illinois, the Missouri, and the Ohio) meet the mightiest river of all (the Mississippi).<sup>22</sup> To highlight the state’s centrality to transportation and commerce, Lawrence Beall Smith’s painting *The Meeting of the Rivers Fountain, St. Louis* (Fig. 3) is featured

prominently on the second page of the collection’s catalog. Sixteen of the ninety-eight paintings in the collection depict the Mississippi or the Missouri, reinforcing the view of Missouri as the heart of river transportation and commerce. Even when the collection emphasizes the contemporary landscape of Missouri as a mix of small farms and industrial agriculture, Missouri’s importance as a transportation hub is also represented. The cover of the catalog featured this connection with Adolf Dehn’s painting *A Nice Day in Missouri near Cameron* (Fig. 4). One cannot miss the forward progress of a freight train cutting through the pastoral farmland scene.

The Heart of the Nation Collection also includes representations of industry, commerce, origins, and civic undertakings. In *The State Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri* Fred Shane depicts the state’s capitol building, but with a train yard prominently in the foreground, bracketed by the tall smokestacks of industry (Fig. 5 and front cover).<sup>23</sup> Commerce is represented by paintings such as *Kansas City Christmas* by Frederic James, *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City* by Aaron Bohrod, and *The General Store–Old Mines* by Howard Baer (Figs. 6, 7, and 8). The collection also emphasizes the founding stories of Missouri as a keystone in the growth of America as a nation. *City Art Museum, Statue of St. Louis* by Nicolai Cikovsky references links to Missouri’s past (Fig. 9).<sup>24</sup> Because, as Mayfield stated, no commercial endeavor is truly great unless accompanied by civic endeavor, the collection also includes paintings such as *Penn Valley Park, Kansas City* by Aaron Bohrod (Fig. 10).<sup>25</sup>

### Department Stores

Lewenthal’s connection of art and department stores was an astute business decision. He understood that in the new climate of a consumer economy, made possible by the industrial revolution, department stores had created the most effective links between art, commerce, and civic pride. Department stores, originating about the same time as modern museums, had become effective culture brokers, even more effective than museums. The first big department stores, formed in the 1860s and 1870s, were Marshall Field’s and The Fair in Chicago, Macy’s in New York, and John Wannamaker’s in Philadelphia.<sup>26</sup> By 1890, every large American city had several mammoth emporia. During the years between the two world wars, museums lagged behind department stores as culture brokers. In 1930, Robert W. de Forest, president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1913–1931), told a group of department store executives that their influence was greater than that of all museums. He proclaimed, “You are the most fruitful source of art in America.”<sup>27</sup>



**Fig. 3.** Lawrence Beall Smith (American, 1909–1989). *The Meeting of the Rivers Fountain, St. Louis*, 1947, oil on Masonite, 48.1 x 65.8 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.104). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

What was the economic model before the advent of department stores and a consumer economy? Howard Baer gives us a look at that older model in *The General Store–Old Mines*, where goods circulated in a small community and were often bartered (Fig. 8). That process bound customers and merchants tightly together. At the center of the painting a man stands at the counter. His foot propped up on a barrel, he looks as though he is settling in to barter with the proprietor behind the counter. The painting depicts a space for shopping with a purpose. In the painting, we find ourselves peering into the dark, cluttered interior of the store. The floors are wooden; the furnishings and fixtures are spare. The interior is designed for utility not comfort. The goods are piled casually on counters and hang from every available space, and much of the merchandise is inaccessible to customers because it is stored on shelving from floor to ceiling



**Fig. 4.** Adolf Dehn (American, 1895–1968). *A Nice Day in Missouri near Cameron*, 1946, watercolors on paper, 49.9 x 74.2 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.42). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

behind a long counter. The one exception is the candy counter, a specialized display behind glass calculated to direct attention and create desire for the items it contains. Placed right at the eye level of the little boy holding his mother's hand, it has captured his attention. He leans in to view the wondrous display. Also, it is difficult to miss the point made in this painting, that it is women who do the shopping. As the painting illustrates, however, this sort of store is not just a space for bartering or buying; it is also a space for socializing. It is the hub of the community, offering services above and beyond shopping. To the right the words "Post Office" are just visible above a window framed by a clutter of posters advertising events and news of interest to members of the community. Three members of the tightly knit community sit together front and center with their backs to the viewer, swapping stories with each other.<sup>28</sup> *The General Store–Old Mines* represents the old-time center of the community, a tradition that the modern department store strove to invoke in every way. The 1940 SVB publication *St. Louis*



**Fig. 5.** Frederick Emanuel Shane (American, 1906–1990). *The State Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri*, 1946–1947, oil on Masonite, 81.9 x 103 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.96). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

and Vandervoort’s “*Yesterday and Today*” describes the emporium as “at once a commercial establishment and a social institution.”<sup>29</sup> SVB contained a branch of the U.S. Post Office “for the convenience of Vandervoort’s customers.”<sup>30</sup>

How was community created and represented by department stores in the economic climate of consumerism made possible by the industrial revolution? The Heart of the Nation Collection implies that this market economy occurs in urban centers, as shown in *Kansas City Christmas* by Frederic James (Fig. 6). James depicts a street scene in the main shopping district of downtown with the mammoth emporium Emery-Bird-Thayer in the background, a store that SVB had bought in 1945.<sup>31</sup> Males and females of all ages and occupations animate this street scene. We see people dressed in a whole range of clothing from women in furs and



**Fig. 6.** Frederic James (American, 1915–1985). *Kansas City Christmas*, 1947, watercolors on paperboard, 58.4 x 73.7 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.70). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

the latest in millinery fashions and men in power suits and fedoras to women dressed in cloth coats and men in the blue work shirts and overalls of farmers. The populations of St. Louis and Kansas City exploded during the latter half of the 1800s due to the influx of immigrants needed to fuel the engines of the industrial revolution.<sup>32</sup> The new economic model turned commodities into merchandise, and merchandise, unlike the bartered goods seen in *The General Store–Old Mines*, circulate freely and do not bind people together to form community.<sup>33</sup> How was community created out of all the diverse people who made up St. Louis’s and Kansas City’s exploding populations? Community was created through education. The department store, among other entities, was important in acclimating everyone to similar standards. Stores became “pictures” to impress customers, both physically



Fig. 7. Aaron Bohrod (American, 1907–1992). *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City*, 1946, gouache on composition board, 36.5 x 49.5 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, (2014.25). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

and psychologically. These “pictures” told a particular story of collective cultural roots, of St. Louis’s and Missouri’s origins, of what was important, and how to think and feel about it. Department stores promoted this picture of civic pride so that customers all felt and thought similarly and therefore had similar desires.

This unification of desire was accomplished through a revolution in approach. Merchandizing used modern technology to the best advantage in order to connect consumer goods to the desires in customers’ minds and to make customers wish to purchase those goods. Taking the lead from the *grands magasins* of Paris, department stores revolutionized merchandizing to increase customers and sales in the boom years of the 1920s. They exploited the latest technology to create drama in shopping, channel attention, and put on a show with fantasies of luxury. Department stores hired architects and designers to dress up and streamline their stores and to make the commodities accessible to customers to feel and try on. Designers lightened the interiors; removed clutter by creating



Fig. 8. Howard Baer (American, 1906–1986). *The General Store—Old Mines*, 1946, gouache on paper, 47.4 x 78.5 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.19). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

selective displays; animated space by using color, mirrors, and lighting; created dramatic show windows; installed cooling and heating for customers’ comfort; and introduced a sense of adventure for the customer by continually showcasing new objects. In 1935, during the Great Depression, customer-centered and moving with the times, SVB opened its Downstairs Store with twenty-five budget departments.<sup>34</sup> By 1940, SVB occupied 12 acres of space, had 1,500 employees, and 400,000 items for sale in 150 departments.<sup>35</sup>

Merchandizing liberates consumer goods and generates an excitement that bartered goods do not. Advertising amplifies that excitement, endowing the consumer goods with transformative messages and associations that they do not objectively contain. The great show windows of department stores were major instruments of education through advertising. The department store shopping districts of major cities “became a vast promenade of huge glass windows in which mannequins stood as mistresses of taste to teach people how to embody their secret longings for status in things of great price.”<sup>36</sup> The advent of cheap plate glass in the mid-1890s made this possible, and by the 1920s, large department stores had transformed their windows into art. SVB’s own display staff designed and executed



changing window displays for nineteen windows that were the talk of Saint Louis, with themes such as, in 1940, “Nine Decades of Progress.”<sup>37</sup> Every year, emporia designed the ever popular Christmas windows. *Kansas City Christmas* (Fig. 6) shows streets lined with garlands of evergreen, wreaths, bells, Christmas trees, and the cheery faces of many Santas along the length of the street. The festive street decorations communicate agreeable sensations, priming the shopper to step into a new world of fantasy and personal transformation. In the great show windows of Emory-Bird-Thayer department store, *Kansas City Christmas* gives us a provocative peek of swaying palm trees, a tropical refuge in the middle of a Missouri winter.

In the foreground of *Kansas City Christmas*, Frederic James prominently places an elderly man walking toward the viewer with a full white Santa beard, but he is dressed in a dark three-piece suit with an overcoat and a distinguishing black bowler-like fedora. Just to the left we see a boy in a red coat and woolen cap holding his mother’s hand. As he walks away from the viewer, he turns with an astonished look on his face toward the man with the bushy white beard. That white-whiskered man reminds the boy and the viewer of Kris Kringle, the main character of the popular film *Miracle on 34th Street*, which was released in 1947, the year *Kansas City Christmas* was painted. The film was nominated for Best Picture, eventually winning three Academy Awards, and has become a favorite classic Christmas holiday movie. The particular story of Santa as a desire fulfiller was connected to the place where customers could fulfill those desires—the department store.

Emporia strove to elevate everyone to upper-class standards of comportment by sponsoring arts events. The arts instilled credibility, confidence, and status in department store messages. Emporia staged plays, musical events, and art exhibitions. They also held lectures and classes on interior design, cooking, child development, and the use of new materials like plastic. SVB opened the Vandervoort Music Hall inside its store in 1920, offering free lectures, Shakespearean programs, and recitals.<sup>38</sup> SVB also featured the Art Needlework Department, the Interior Decorating Department, and the Book Shop.<sup>39</sup> All were designed to shape the preferences of the public by increasing particular knowledge and expanding particular experiences.

### Origins of the State of Missouri

The paintings in the Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection also increased particular knowledge and expanded particular experiences of contemporary



Fig. 9. Nicolai Cikovsky (American; b. in Poland, emigrated in 1923, 1915–1984). *City Art Museum with Statue of St. Louis*, 1946, oil on canvas, 61.0 x 76.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.32). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Missouri life for potential customers of SVB. Important to Mayfield’s endeavor to illustrate the union of art, commerce, and civic pride, the collection tells a founding story of Missouri. The third painting in the collection’s catalog, *City Art Museum, Statue of St. Louis* by Nicolai Cikovsky, presents as French the founding story of the city of St. Louis (Fig. 9). Front and center is the statue of Louis IX (1214–1270), the namesake of the city of St. Louis and the only king of France to be canonized. By showing this statue so prominently, the painting connects the city of St. Louis with French medieval Christian history. The statue itself, titled *The Apotheosis of St. Louis*, served as the principal symbol of the city from the time when it was donated to commemorate the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition until the Gateway Arch was built in the 1960s. The sculp-



**Fig. 10.** Aaron Bohrod (American, 1907–1989). *Penn Valley Park, Kansas City*, ca. 1946, gouache on composition board, 33.4 x 47.6 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.28). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

ture figured heavily in the iconography of St. Louis. For example, it served as part of the logo for the St. Louis Browns baseball team in the 1930s and 1940s. It reminded viewers of St. Louis's status as the largest city in Missouri and, in 1946, as the eighth largest in the nation, and of its aspirations to greatness.

In another painting by Nicolai Cikovsky, *Old Cathedral of St. Louis*, the cathedral stands on the waterfront of the Mississippi in the oldest part of the city (Fig. 11). Old Cathedral was dedicated to the French king Louis IX, a dedication that invoked the history of the city as a French fur-trading post founded circa 1764. Built on land dedicated by St. Louis founders fur-traders Pierre Laclede and Auguste Chouteau, Old Cathedral reinforces the founding story of St. Louis as French and Catholic, with a connection to the fur trade, a trade conducted on the two mighty rivers, the Missouri and the Mississippi that meet and flow together at St. Louis.<sup>40</sup> SVB itself promoted this early history as it advertised “for generations women have bought furs with confidence at Vandervoort’s.” Cus-



**Fig. 11.** Nicolai Cikovsky (American; b. in Poland, emigrated in 1923, 1915–1984). *Old Cathedral of St. Louis*, 1946, gouache on paperboard, 51.6 x 62.5 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.35). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

tomers could have their individual designs executed at the Fur Design Studio and could store their furs at the Fur Workroom.<sup>41</sup>

The Heart of the Nation Collection also contains three paintings with the Mississippi river town of Ste. Genevieve as their subject.<sup>42</sup> Founded by French Canadian settlers in 1735, Ste. Genevieve is the oldest permanent European settlement in Missouri and was named for the patron saint of Paris, further grounding the founding story of Missouri on French settlers. *Uncle Paul and Aunt Luce* by Howard Baer adds another chapter to that founding story, representing descendants of the early Creole settlers in Missouri (Fig. 12). Baer surrounds Uncle Paul and Aunt Luce with crucifixes and other Catholic artifacts of



**Fig. 12.** Howard Baer (American, 1906–1986). *Uncle Paul and Aunt Luce*, 1946, oil on composition board, 51.0 x 66.2 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.21). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

their forebears, as they live quietly with their cat in their simple Ozark home.

Charles van Ravenswaay, who wrote “An Introduction to Missouri” in the collection’s catalog, states, however, “The original settlers of this area (Northern Missouri) were mainly Anglo-Americans who made their homes along the fringes of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, and then gradually drifted inward across the prairie.”<sup>43</sup> We have already seen that the Heart of the Nation Collection does not depict Anglo-Americans as the state’s first settlers but instead presents the French as the original ones. Neither were. Revealing the unspoken disregard of the native peoples of Missouri, there are no depictions of these original settlers, even though the name of the state, Missouri, is a Native American word, and the names of its two mightiest rivers, the Missouri and the Mississippi, are the names those indigenous people gave to the rivers. The erasure

of that Native American history is part of the founding story van Ravenswaay, Mayfield, and Missouri adhered to in the 1940s.

### Civic Issues

Several paintings in the Heart of the Nation Collection illustrate investment in culture as a means to enhance social stability in urban communities. They instruct the viewer about activities in the city, such as visits to parks, like the one seen in *Penn Valley Park, Kansas City* by Aaron Bohrod (Fig. 10).<sup>44</sup> This painting is a good example of how Mayfield’s vision of investing in culture to help solve social problems translates visually in the painting and actively in the park. In the late 1800s, parks, just like department stores, were designed to make overcrowded American cities places where families could live. Penn Valley Park was part of an 1893 “Parks and Boulevards” plan, a model of urban planning that grew out of the immense pressure placed on cities in the Industrial Age. With the huge influx of working-class immigrants needed to fuel the engines of industrialism in the United States, the population in Kansas City increased from 60,000 to 250,000 people between 1878 and 1910.<sup>45</sup> Thanks to land speculation and the lack of any coherent plan for growth, Kansas City developed a reputation as a Wild West cowtown: a good city for business but not a place in which to live. “Make Kansas City a good place to live in,” was the parks supporters’ rallying cry.<sup>46</sup> In response, the newly appointed Kansas City Board of Park Commissioners retained George Kessler, a German-trained landscape architect, to deliver a sweeping plan that redefined the city. He designed a series of large parks like Penn Valley that formed a belt around the outskirts of the city and smaller parks and squares to serve as oases in the interior of the city with tree- and flower-lined boulevards connecting them.<sup>47</sup> F. Laurent Godinez, an electrical and mechanical engineer and authority on illumination, addressed the issue of making a city livable from the perspective of the department store when he wrote in 1914: “The American city is in a state of evolution, due largely to woman’s influence, and there is a rapidly spreading sentiment to the effect that our cities . . . must be something more than bare shelters for enormous aggregations of humanity. . . . They must be places to live in . . . and must afford facilities for recreation and the attainment of an artistic ideal.”<sup>48</sup> His comments apply just as well to parks. Aaron Bohrod represents Penn Valley Park as an aesthetically picturesque landscape of green designed to facilitate family recre-

ation. We see a child chasing a dog, couples lounging by the lake, and women sitting in the shade.

## Commerce

The Heart of the Nation Collection illustrates commerce as a central part of how the world works. The organizers of the state fair in Sedalia learned the lessons of merchandizing taught by department stores. In *Canning and Button Art, State Fair, Sedalia* by Lawrence Beall Smith, a family group stands in



**Fig. 13.** Lawrence Beall Smith (American, 1909–1989). *Canning and Button Art, State Fair, Sedalia*, 1946, oil on Masonite, 84.1 x 61.1 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.100). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

the foreground (Fig. 13). The mother leans in to inspect a display of canned goods carefully arranged to best advantage on graduated shelves so that their many colors can grab her attention. The father hangs back, twirling a pennant behind his back, while his son pulls on his arm imploring him to explore an exhibit that holds more interest. Decorating the wall behind the colorful canning display, two canvases of button art explode overhead. Merchandizing strategies developed in department stores to catch the attention of shoppers are on display at the fair: visitor-centered displays that allow handling and create arresting juxtapositions, selectivity, and drama.

Department stores also learned from the *grands magasins* of Paris how to court women. In the painting *Kansas*

*City Christmas* (Fig. 6), Frederic James shows a 1946 city street scene—Petticoat Lane (East 11th Street), the retail heart of Kansas City. Representing the influence of St. Louis–based SVB on life even in Kansas City, James depicts the large Kansas City department store Emery-Bird-Thayer (EBT), bought by SVB in 1945. It is easily identified by the caduceus carved in relief on the corner of the mammoth building. The caduceus is a herald’s staff typically carried by Mercury, the god of merchants (among other things), and makes a connection with ancient Greek and Roman culture, giving EBT and Missouri old and venerable roots. SVB got its start in 1850, and EBT in 1868, as small dry goods stores servicing wagon trains for the great movement west and telling a story of Missouri as the Gateway to the West. Petticoat Lane, Kansas City’s prime retail thoroughfare in the 1890s, got its name because, according to a writer of the day, garments of the same name could be exposed by the fickle whims of Kansas prairie winds.<sup>49</sup> The name stuck partly because as early as the 1840s and 1850s women primarily did the shopping in American urban centers. By the 1890s, middle-class women moved comfortably in public, that movement made possible by the emergence of a feminine world constructed around shopping. Macy’s, for example, created a ladies’ waiting room in the 1891 addition to its downtown New York City store, and according to their advertising it was “the most luxurious and beautiful department devoted to the comfort of ladies to be found in a mercantile establishment in the city. The style of decoration is Louis XV, and no expense has been spared in the adornment and furnishing of this room.”<sup>50</sup>

SVB and department stores in general created an environment that catered to women’s individual desires, inducing women to become accustomed to being served, instead of serving others.<sup>51</sup> SVB and EBT considered service to be the benchmark of their reputations. In *Kansas City Christmas*, everyone is bustling by on the street carrying festively wrapped packages; we see no one carrying plain bags. Both department stores had “Wrapping Departments.” *St. Louis and Vandervoort’s “Yesterday and Today”* brochure from 1940 described nine different lunch rooms for their customers’ pleasure and four different tea rooms, one “reserved for patrons who do not smoke” and one featuring “a distinctive and tempting salad bar at which guests choose their own salad luncheons.”<sup>52</sup> The brochure also described over twenty departments catering to women’s fashion and called itself the fashion authority of the Midwest (Fig. 14).<sup>53</sup> A stylist, known as “Marion Fenton,” worked as a fashion arbiter and consultant to train employees and customers alike.<sup>54</sup> The Bride’s Shop offered “a special secluded

shop where the bride receives specialized service from our Bride's Secretary."<sup>55</sup> The brochure described only one department focused on men.<sup>56</sup>

In the painting *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City* Aaron Bohrod places two fashionably attired women in summer dresses in the center foreground of the Country Club Plaza shopping center (Fig. 7). One woman wears a stylish hat at a rakish angle. SVB housed six millinery shops, their buyer making regular trips to both California and New York to ensure new, up-to-date fashions.<sup>57</sup> Fashion imparts value over and above the intrinsic worth of the goods, and the power of that value rests in it as a "model of desire."<sup>58</sup> Customers seek to emulate that model so that it will set them apart from other people and heighten their desirability. American department stores brought fashion to customers, and their advertising tied the glamour of Paris, the aristocracy, theater, and Hollywood to the merchandise for sale. The French Room in SVB was distinctively designed by St. Louis architect Harris Armstrong as a circular unit, supported by narrow chromium

pillars.<sup>59</sup> SVB featured the Costume Shop "for the caviar of clothes" where a customer could find "America's most beautiful clothes," and the Carlin Shop, an "exquisite shop, exclusive with Vandervoort's in Saint Louis . . . devoted to lovely accessories and fine bedding for milady's boudoir."<sup>60</sup> The promise of personal transformation that these goods carried created desire for them.

Prominently placed in the right foreground of the painting *Country Club*

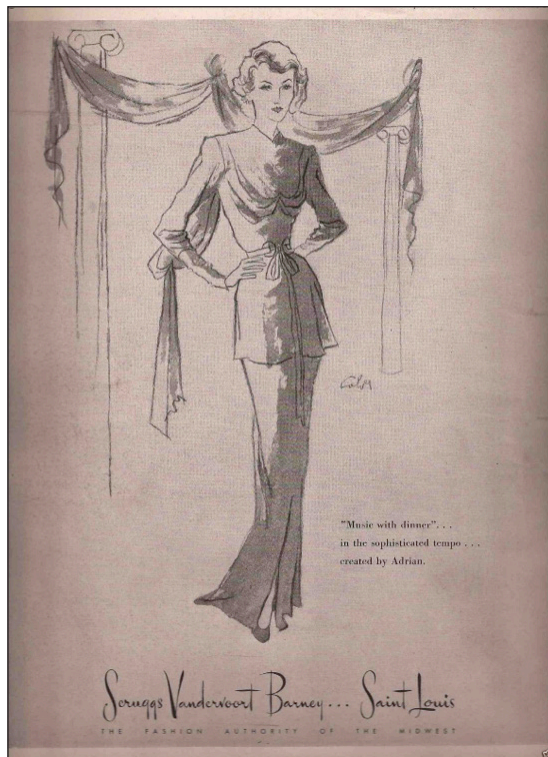


Fig. 14. Advertisement for Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney department store as fashion authority of the Midwest. Image courtesy of Kristin Schwain.

*Plaza, Kansas City*, a putto holds a fish that spouts a fountain of water overhead (Fig. 7). The Country Club Plaza is known for its many fountains, importing the glamour and looser sensual boundaries of the aristocratic gardens of Europe. The putto kneels with his little naked bottom conspicuously displayed to the viewer. Department stores promoted looser sensual boundaries through their sensuous displays.<sup>61</sup> As early as 1868, department store fittings were chosen to showcase the most luxurious materials, such as furs and silks, frescoed walls, fountains, and art, all carefully and thoughtfully displayed to the best advantage. Glass was used to make everything visible and apparently accessible. Lighting banished shadows and created even, diffuse illumination. Mirrors multiplied images and reflected light, giving the illusion of space. Innovations in chemical dyes allowed colors of the whole spectrum to decorate spaces. These sensuous displays sought to trigger buying on impulse, by feeling rather than rational thought.

Bohrod's *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City* also illustrates decentralization of retail dollars away from downtown. Although the Country Club Plaza was built in 1922, it was the model for the restructuring of the consumer marketplace that accompanied suburbanization of residential life in the 1950s. When the Country Club Plaza was built, it was the first commercial center designed with the car in mind. The land on which it was constructed had recently been pig farms. Department stores and shopping centers were made possible by the mass concentration of capital and people, as well as by the expansion of the transportation network. Hence, in *Kansas City Christmas* (Fig. 6), a bus plays a prominent role in the painting, and in *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City* (Fig. 7), cars play a more dominant role. Department stores as well as shopping centers determined urban organization in the real estate market, the office districts, and the transportation network and had great influence over the newspaper industry through advertising dollars. In the Country Club Plaza, the shopping center was only one part of the development: office buildings, and planned residential communities were also built. Because this was all privately owned land, however, the developer of the Country Club Plaza could actively create a white, upper-class community through marketing and policing. This suburban center was segregated, and the community experiences were constructed around the cultural tastes of white, upper-class people. Management controlled architecture, graphic design, and politics. Choices decreased because chain stores and franchises were chosen over local stores. This occurred because big investors, like insurance companies who generated large amounts of capital, wanted big returns for their financial investments.

The ideal for the big-city shopping center was the same for the downtown department store as for the small-town general store: the creation of a centrally located common space that brought together commercial and civic activity. This common space for both the department store and the shopping center offered



**Fig. 15.** Frederic James (American, 1915–1985). *Twilight on Quality Hill, Kansas City*, 1946, watercolors and ink on paperboard, 70.0 x 55.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.73). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

opportunities for social life and recreation in a protected pedestrian environment with civic and educational facilities. The shift from city center to shopping center, however, made the common space of the Country Club Plaza no longer public but now private, owned by investors. The common space was privatized, and this caused the rights of the property owners to be privileged over free speech.<sup>62</sup> In *Kansas City Christmas* Salvation Army volunteers stand on the public space of the sidewalk of the city center soliciting donations for the poor and downtrodden, an activity undertaken at the Country Club Plaza only with permission. In the painting *Twilight on Quality Hill, Kansas City*

by Frederic James, a “For Sale” sign is prominently displayed in front of a house, embodying the change in real estate that has begun, set in motion by the institutional investment in a decentralized suburban model (Fig. 15). Commerce be-

came more and more controlled by investors, whites left the city to invest in real estate in suburbia, and art became inaccessible, its value controlled by investors.

SVB’s Mayfield made the decision to commission the collection of ninety-eight paintings to represent contemporary Missouri because he believed the cultural aims of his department stores in St. Louis and Kansas City and those of Reeves Lewenthal at AAA were one and the same. Both brokered a culture of consumption. Consumption is encouraged in a culture of stability where everyone has attained, or hopes to attain, the same standard of living. The Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection portrayed a particular picture of Missouri that connected its scenes of industry, beauty, ways of life, and charm with commercial endeavor. In Mayfield’s and Lewenthal’s minds, art amplifies the excitement already present in consumer goods and endows them with transformative messages and associations, such as credibility, quality, and status, which they do not objectively contain. For Mayfield, therefore, the collection was a use of art that best helped connect the merchandise sold at SVB with desires in customers’ minds.

The art collection, however, was not a consumer good. It premiered at AAA’s galleries at 711 Fifth Avenue in New York City and the Museum of the City of New York and then toured from August 1947 through December 1949, opening first at the City Art Museum in St. Louis.<sup>63</sup> There were in all nineteen venues in Missouri, Illinois, and Kansas, including art museums, colleges and universities, clubs, and a department store. Addressing the eventual need for a permanent home for the collection, several officials at SVB argued it should be dispersed—the fate of the three other commercially funded art collections commissioned by department stores.<sup>64</sup> Fred Shane, however, an artist represented in the collection and a professor of art at the University of Missouri, worked hard to secure the entire Heart of the Nation Collection for the university.<sup>65</sup> He enlisted the help of Elmer Ellis, then dean of the College of Arts and Science, and Ellis argued persuasively with Mary Gamble, who supported the university in discussions at SVB. University President Frederick A. Middlebush accepted the collection on behalf of the university at a ceremony hosted by Mayfield on January 25, 1950, at Hotel Statler in St. Louis.

## Conclusion

The general picture of Missouri that the Heart of the Nation Collection presents is one a viewer could have observed every day in 1946 or 1947. The artists

recorded the prosaic, the daily grind that gives a sense of security, and they paid genuine attention to Missourians and their occupations. The paintings depict what an outsider might see, but in a style that gives the viewer the sense of being an insider, creating a feeling of personal connection. The paintings are not nostalgic; they do not create tension between the past and the present. Instead, the collection uses the past to maintain continuity with the present. Approved cultural destinations and a liturgy of approved important scenes were created through the work of fourteen individual artists, but they had great leeway in the execution of assigned topics, and as a result, the approved version was not always represented. The paintings, for example, record an origin story for Missouri that is French, not English, and a more diverse population for Missouri than upper-class and white. They do, however, give the viewer a sense of place and shared community.

Mayfield had watched Lawrence Beall Smith paint *Note from St. Louis* in 1946. It became his favorite painting in the collection, and he hung it in his office. When the collection was given to the University of Missouri in 1950, *Note from St. Louis* remained behind because of Mayfield's affection for it. It represented his reasons for commissioning the Heart of the Nation collection in the first place: the elevation of morals and sensibilities to give viewers a sense of place and community. But that sense of place was in fact only of one community, and the community changed. Although the collection does not view Missouri through a nostalgic lens, Mayfield's view was nostalgic. It was organized by an earlier notion of elite stewardship that sounded universal but was in fact limited to upper-class whites. It was predicated on racial hierarchy and the construction of one truth and one story.

In 1967 SVB went out of business, leaving in its wake a disillusioned Frank Mayfield. Its upper-class white clientele had moved out to the suburbs, and downtown St. Louis had died. Mayfield revealed his frustration with the workability of the model of the union of art, commerce, and civic pride when he was interviewed in 1974 about the Heart of the Nation collection: "Now that the company which financed it is gone, I do not want to do much to perpetuate [the collection]. . . . I think that the project can now be forgotten."<sup>66</sup>

At some point before SVB closed in 1967, *Note from St. Louis* rejoined the collection housed in the halls and offices of Jesse Hall, the main administrative building of the University of Missouri. The collection hung there for sixty-four years, until it moved to the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the university

in the summer of 2014. Mayfield indicated in his 1974 interview with Marian Ohman that he had always intended the Heart of the Nation Collection to be a gift to the people of the state of Missouri. Ending up at a public museum has ensured that the collection will not be forgotten. Its new museum home will facilitate the telling of the many truths and stories of the diverse communities that make up Missouri.

## NOTES

1. The fountain depicts a river god, a naiad, and tritons, all classical references. The figure with the fish is, therefore, probably correctly identified as a putto rather than a small boy. (Putti are defined as usually nude and sometimes with wings, sometimes without.) Putti are a Renaissance creation, and formal Italian gardens in Baroque times often contained grottos with statues of river gods attended by putti, making a classical and Renaissance connection. Carl Milles makes these same connections with his fountain.
2. Ohrbach's funded the exhibition *New York—Drama City of the World* (1947), changed to *New York—Wonder City of the World* by the time the collection was completed; the Gimbel Brothers store premiered *Pennsylvania as Artists See It: The Gimbel Pennsylvania Art Collection* in October 1947; and *Michigan on Canvas*, commissioned by the J. L. Hudson department store, opened in the store's auditorium on February 17, 1948.
3. Marion M. Ohman, "The Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Art Collection," *Missouri Historical Review* 43:2 (1999) pp. 180–181.
4. Frank M. Mayfield, "Missouri Heart of the Nation: The Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Collection," in Anon., *Missouri Heart of the Nation*, Associated American Artists and Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney (New York and St. Louis, 1947) p. 3.
5. Ibid.
6. Michelle Bogart, *Artists, Advertising and the Borders of Art* (Chicago and London, 1995) p. 284.
7. Erika Doss, "Catering to Consumerism: Associated American Artists and the Marketing of Modern Art, 1934–1958," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26:2/3 (1991) p. 144. Lewenthal pitched his ideas to a group of artists at the New York studio of Thomas Hart Benton. AAA would hire them to produce original etchings and lithographs and would buy the plates for \$200 (\$3,542 in 2015 dollars) for each edition and would publish editions of 100 to 250 impressions. Lewenthal made contracts with fifty department stores across the nation (almost every city with greater than 150,000 population had a store carrying AAA prints) to market their work to middle-class consumers for \$5 (\$88.56 in 2015 dollars) per print plus \$2 (\$35.42 in 2015 dollars) for a frame. The prints were advertised as "signed originals by America's great artists, one price \$5," and were marketed to appeal to the socially ambitious by equating buying modern art with upward mobility (Doss, "Catering to Consumerism," p. 149). (CPI Inflation Calculator from the U.S.

Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics website: [www.bis.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](http://www.bis.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm))

8. Ibid., p. 151.
9. Ibid., p. 154.
10. Ibid., p. 156.
11. Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley, 1998) p. 357.
12. Also, Mack used Pepsi sponsorship of art to set it apart from its rival Coca Cola.
13. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising*, p. 286.
14. Fletcher Martin studied under the older model, an apprenticeship program in the studio of a mural painter.
15. Two of those sketches, *Washington Square, Kansas City*, and *Main Street, Kansas City*, both by Aaron Bohrod, are included in the Heart of the Nation Collection.
16. During one excursion, both Mayfield and the artist Georges Schreiber were picked up by police as suspicious-looking characters. Also, the debonair Fletcher Martin was questioned by police while he was searching for interesting views along the Mississippi River.
17. Ohman, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Art Collection," p. 170.
18. Ibid., p. 171.
19. Ibid., p. 172.
20. Ibid.
21. For a complete listing of the artists' works in the collection, see Acquisitions 2014, pp. 135, 137–144 of this issue. An online catalogue of the collection by Kristin Schwain is in preparation.
22. Charles van Ravenswaay, "An Introduction to Missouri," p. 5.
23. Industry is also represented by paintings such as *Roofs of Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis* and *Bringing Ore to Shaft, Lead and Zinc Mine, Joplin* by Ernest Fiene, and *Lake of the Ozarks at Bagnell Dam* by Fletcher Martin.
24. *Final Seal Fur Inspection, Fouke Fur Company, St. Louis* by Georges Schreiber and *Ste. Genevieve, Train Ferry Boat* by Cikovsky also provide links to Missouri's past.
25. Other paintings with a cultural topic include *Ballet between the Oaks, Municipal Opera, St. Louis* by Lawrence Beall Smith and *Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis* by Nicolai Cikovsky.
26. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1870), the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1877), and the Art Institute of Chicago (1882) were all established around the same time as the first department stores.
27. Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago and London, 1990) p. 72.
28. William R. Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890–1925," *Journal of American History* 71:2 (1984) p. 326.
29. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, "Yesterday and Today" (1940) p. 3.
30. Ibid., p. 10.
31. Philip J. Reilly, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co.," *Old Masters of Retailing* (New York) p. 171.
32. In St. Louis, the population from 1850 to 1910 increased almost nine times from

- about 78,000 to about 700,000. In Kansas City, the population in that same time frame increased 350 times from about 700 to 250,000.
33. Leach, "Transformations," p. 326.
34. Reilly, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co.," p. 172.
35. Ibid.
36. Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Culture and Democracy: The Struggle for Form in Society and Architecture in Chicago and the Middle West during the Life and Times of Louis H. Sullivan* (Totowa, N.J., 1965) p. 116.
37. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 11.
38. Reilly, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co.," p. 172.
39. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, pp. 12, 15, 16.
40. Reinforcing that same founding story are three paintings by Georges Schreiber. One depicts a modern-day fur trapper, *Mink Trapper on Finley Creek*, and the other two, *Washing the Seal Pelt, Fouke Fur Co., St. Louis* and *Final Seal Fur Inspection, Fouke Fur Co., St. Louis*, depict the commercial descendants of the founding fur-trade.
41. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 11.
42. *The Old Cemetery, Ste. Genevieve* by Fred Shane, and two works by Nicolai Cikovsky, *Outskirts of Ste. Genevieve* and *Ste. Genevieve, Train Ferry Boat*.
43. Charles van Ravenswaay, "An Introduction to Missouri," p. 5.
44. They could also attend "The Muny," the St. Louis Municipal Opera Theatre as Lawrence Beall Smith represents in his *Ballet between the Oaks, Municipal Opera, St. Louis*. The Muny brought nightly music, dancing, and "enchantment under the stars" to the "music-loving city" of St. Louis (Anon., *Missouri Heart of the Nation*, p. 46). The zoo provided further entertainment as seen in *The Elephant Show, St. Louis Zoo*, by Lawrence Beall Smith, and one could also visit the botanical garden, painted by Nicolai Cikovsky in *Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis*.
45. George Ehrlich, *Kansas City, Missouri: An Architectural History, 1826–1990* (Columbia, Missouri, and London, 1992) pp. 41, 66.
46. Henry Schott, "A City's Fight for Beauty," *World's Work* 11 (1906) p. 7201.
47. The painting *Washington Square, Kansas City* by Aaron Bohrod depicts one of these squares.
48. Leach, "Transformations," p. 336.
49. [http://kchistory.org/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/Mrs&CISOPTR=1018](http://kchistory.org/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/Mrs&CISOPTR=1018).
50. Harris, *Cultural Excursions*, p. 64.
51. Leach, "Transformations," p. 336.
52. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 12.
53. Reilly, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co.," p. 172.
54. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 9.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., p. 14.
57. Ibid., p. 12.
58. Leach, "Transformations," p. 327.
59. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 12.
60. Ibid., pp. 11, 15.
61. Leach, "Transformations," p. 328.
62. Lizabeth Cohen, "A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Post-



war America," *Journal of Consumer Research* 31 (2004) p. 238.

63. Ohman, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Art Collection," p. 179.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 180–181. Ohrbach's collection, New York–Drama City of the World, became the first exhibition of contemporary American painting shown in the Museum of the City of New York, but no record can be found of what happened to the paintings after that 1947 exhibition. In 1955, the J. L. Hudson's collection, Michigan on Canvas, was divided among many different public institutions: art schools, hospitals, libraries, courthouses, and educational institutions. In 1959, the 115 paintings of the Gimbel Pennsylvania Art Collection were divided among the University of Pittsburgh, its satellite campuses, and the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

## Transitional Bodies: Amputation and Disfiguration in Moche Pottery\*



KATHERINE A. P. ISELIN

The art of the Moche culture, which thrived from 100 to 700 c.e. in Peru, is well known for its exquisite portrait vessels. These skillfully crafted ceramics include a variety of individuals shown in such detail that one can distinguish the passing of time through the aging of certain subjects. Although the Moche did not have a writing system, much can be learned about the Moche people through archaeological evidence and the complex iconography that appears in their art. The emphasis on individual characteristics found in Moche portraits is a trademark of Moche art and one commonly discussed by scholars. This affinity for realism and individuality in Moche art is further shown in the frequent depiction of individuals with facial disfigurement, mutilation, or amputation. Figures such as these are, however, often ignored in art historical scholarship. The majority of scholarship on amputation and disfigurement in Moche art has been published in the medical field, although a few art historians have visited the subject briefly in publications on other aspects of Moche art. The sole scholarly work that discusses the imagery of amputees in Moche art from an art historical perspective is an article by David Arsenault published over two decades ago, in which he examines the representation of individuals with a prosthesis on an amputated foot.<sup>1</sup> Another significant contribution to this topic was published in 2004 by Jürgen Heck, in which he catalogued the various types of deformations found on 800 different ceramic vessels.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the subject of individuals with disfiguration or amputation in Moche art needs to be revisited and examined from a new perspective. This article will look at two examples of Moche pottery from the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, both of which feature individuals with facial disfigurement and one with amputated feet, and examine them within the context of the Moche preference for portraiture and individual characteristics in art. Additionally, this article will consider



**Fig. 1.** Vessel in the shape of a kneeling figure with facial disfiguration and amputated feet. Moche, 200–500 C.E., pottery, H. 21 cm, W. 8.9 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (73.241). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

how gender relates to such representations. The frequency of disfigured individuals in Moche art, along with their appearance in ritual activities, suggests there may have been a large number of amputees or disfigured persons within the population, possibly even maintaining a level of status in both life and death.

Both of the vessels from the Museum of Art and Archaeology came to the museum in 1973 as gifts from Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Westreich of Bethesda, Maryland. There is no archaeological context for either of the vessels or a history of ownership before that of the Westreichs. Moche vessels such as these are, however, most often found in

a funerary context, so it is quite possible that both of the museum's pots were from a grave or graves.<sup>3</sup> Both objects have been dated to about 200–500 C.E., the early part of the high point of the Moche culture.

The first vessel shows a kneeling figure with a disfigured nose and mouth (Figs. 1–4).<sup>4</sup> It is a stirrup-spout vessel, with the body of the pot in the form of

a figure.<sup>5</sup> The spout widens slightly at the opening and where it attaches to the vessel body. It is mold-made and entirely slip painted. The vessel is intact with very little of the paint worn off. The figure has a large, rotund body and kneels on undefined legs. The bottom of the vessel is flat, but the artist has differentiated between the white of the clothing and the pink of the legs with both color and an incised line (Fig. 4). The legs end where the ankles should be, and instead of feet there is a single, vertical groove (Fig. 3). The figure rests the right hand on the waist and holds a white staff or cane in the left hand (Fig. 1). The hands are imperfectly rendered, but display four fingers and a thumb on each hand. The artist has also indicated fingernails on each finger with white slip. Figures such as these are interpreted as males by scholars, but this is not a certainty, as will be discussed below.

The head is wrapped in a white cowl that comes to a point at the middle of



**Fig. 2.** Vessel in the shape of a kneeling figure with facial disfiguration and amputated feet (profile view). Moche, 200–500 C.E., pottery, H. 21 cm, W. 8.9 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (73.241). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 3.** Vessel in the shape of a kneeling figure with facial disfiguration and amputated feet (back view). Moche, 200–500 C.E., pottery, H. 21 cm, W. 8.9 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (73.241). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

the back between the shoulders. The artist used the same technique as on the waistband to indicate a knot. Underneath the cowl, hair and another headdress are shown. The neck is indicated in front and is distinct from the hair. The second headdress goes over the forehead of the figure and underneath the cowl and appears in the back on the neck as well.

The face is painted a darker red color, the same color as the stirrup spout. The eyes are detailed, with both eyelids indicated. The artist has also painted the whites of the eyes. The irises are the red of the face, but some of the paint is worn. The face shows some sort of mutilation.

The figure's nose

is deformed, missing the whole front part (it is almost as flat as the rest of the face). The nostrils are indicated by a deeper depression. The upper lip is completely gone, and the lower lip looks swollen. Six teeth are detailed on top, by a low semicircular ridge and white paint. The lower lip also bears three painted white dots, possibly also to indicate teeth.

The clothing is characteristic of similarly disfigured individuals. It consists of a white tunic with a collar that comes to a point at the front of the figure's neck. The tunic hangs all the way down the back and in the front between the knees and is indicated on the vessel's bottom (Fig. 4). The top and bottom are separated by a pink waistband (the same color as the figure's legs, hands, and neck). This waistband is tied in front, as one end goes over the band and the other is noticeably rendered behind it.

The waistband widens in the back.

The second vessel is in the shape of a heterosexual couple engaged in coitus (Figs. 5–7).<sup>6</sup> The vessel is in reasonably good condition, with two major breaks that severed the heads of the figures having been repaired before their donation to the museum. A few small chips are missing from around the breaks. There is no evidence of paint on the pot, but it may originally have been painted. The vessel was mold-made but is not of the highest quality. The red clay is somewhat coarse, leaving the surface a little rough from some white and dark purple inclusions and a few gold flecks.

The lower figure is presumably female and is on her elbows and knees. Her hands hold the base of the vessel. Five fingers are indicated by straight lines



**Fig. 4.** Vessel in the shape of a kneeling figure with facial disfiguration and amputated feet (bottom view). Moche, 200–500 C.E., pottery, H. 21 cm, W. 8.9 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (73.241). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 5.** Vessel in the shape of a heterosexual couple engaged in coitus (three-quarter view). Moche, 200–500 c.e., pottery, H. 15.3 cm, L. 15 cm (base), W. 9.9 cm (base). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (73.234). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

with no distinct thumb. Her feet are flexed and sit on the balls of her slightly discernable toes. Her face is not particularly detailed or individualized aside from a distinctly large nose, which has two small depressions for the nostrils (Fig. 6). Her mouth is cursory, with just a line for the lips. The eyes are not symmetrical, although the eyelids are detailed, and the left eye has the iris rendered. She wears either a headdress or a helmet-like hairstyle, which ends as bangs on her forehead and at the level of her chin on the sides and back. She faces straight ahead. She does not appear to display any emotion, although the left side of her mouth goes up in what seems to be an intentional manner. The right side also goes up, but that seems to be due more to the artist's haste in portraying her mouth. A seam is not visible on the back of her head, but

the area looks reworked. No breasts are visible and if her genitals were initially rendered, they have since worn away (Fig. 7). Because of the number of Moche vessels depicting copulating couples that do indicate female genitalia, however, and the rare occurrence of homosexual activity in Moche art, it is safe to assume this figure is also female.<sup>7</sup>

A male figure sits on top of her and penetrates from behind. His feet sit flat on the floor, and only four toes have been indicated with cursory lines on each foot; it is difficult to know whether the number of toes was intentional. His hands hold the shoulders of the female, and four fingers and a thumb are distinctly rendered. There is a double band around his waist and lines over his buttocks to suggest an underwear-like garment. Two protrusions shown in the area of the woman's genitals probably represent his testicles. Because of the condition of the vessel, it is difficult to discern where the garment stops and flesh begins. On top of his lower back and buttocks is a flanged opening, which indicates the function as a vessel, as with the other museum pot.

The male figure's head is individualized (Fig. 5). His eyes are sunken (like a skeleton's), and he has an overlarge brow. There does seem to be some indication of eyelids, especially on his right eye where the sculptor used two horizontal lines. The left eye has a slight trace of a top eyelid. The male figure's nose is smaller than the



**Fig. 6.** Vessel in the shape of a heterosexual couple engaged in coitus (front view). Moche, 200–500 c.e., pottery, H. 15.3 cm, L. 15 cm (base), W. 9.9 cm (base). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (73.234). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 7.** Vessel in the shape of a heterosexual couple engaged in coitus (back view). Moche, 200–500 c.e., pottery, H. 15.3 cm, L. 15 cm (base), W. 9.9 cm (base). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (73.234). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

woman's and turned upward with the nostrils detailed (not just as poked holes); the nose is probably deformed, but not to the extent of that on the first vessel. The upper lip seems to be missing but has three vertical incised lines on his right side and four on the left. His lower lip protrudes out a great deal, further than the lower lip of the figure on the first vessel. It is difficult to see because of wear, but teeth also seem originally to have been detailed. His chin is also distinct. He wears the same cowl headdress as the figure on the first vessel. Since he is turned to his right (perhaps toward the viewer?), the cowl comes to a point on his left shoulder. There are two ridges on the lower part of his forehead, above his brow, indicating another headdress underneath.

Although these two vessels represent very different subject matters, the disfigurement and amputation shown on the figures are quite common in Moche art. The nose and lip deformation present in both vessels is the most common type of disfigurement, as shown in the data offered by Jürgen Heck. His study of 800 ceramic vessels revealed 977 disfigurements.<sup>8</sup> The majority of these contained abnormalities of the head, with 603 occurrences. Of these, 275 of the deformations were of the nose-lip variety like that shown on the museum's vessels.

The cause or causes of disfigurement are unknown, although the most likely possibilities are disease or purposeful mutilation. The most widely accepted natural cause for this type of facial disfigurement is a disease called leishmaniasis. This disease is a parasitic infection that results from the bite of the sand fly. One particular type—mucosal leishmaniasis—eats away at the nasal and oral mucus membranes and can be fatal. As it still is today, the disease was common in Peru during the time of the Moche. It is likely that the museum's kneeling figure depicts an individual who had suffered from leishmaniasis.<sup>9</sup> The disfigured nose and scarred upper lip of the male figure on the sex pot indicate he may have also suffered this affliction.

Interestingly, a large number of figures in Moche art with nose-lip deformities seem to record purposeful mutilation. Heck identified 217 instances of artificial nose-lip mutilation among the 275 examples, citing symmetry and a straight edge around the mouth, a visible septum on the nose, and a lack of swelling as the criteria for an unnatural cause of disfigurement.<sup>10</sup> For those afflicted with leishmaniasis, the disease would have eaten away at the septum and the swelling may have remained even after they overcame the disease. Heck's criteria are, however, largely subjective. Both museum vessels exhibit some of these characteristics, but not all. The male figure on the sex pot shows a clearly defined septum, but his mouth

does not have a straight line around his missing top lip, as it would if it had been cut with a sharp knife. Instead, the asymmetrical vertical lines indicate scarring, which suggests the individual is in the process of healing, although whether this is the result of natural or artificial disfigurement is ambiguous. The lower lip is also noticeably swollen, a possible permanent side effect from leishmaniasis. On the kneeling figure, the nose contains far less flesh, although a septum is slightly shown dividing asymmetrical nostrils. The overlarge, asymmetrical nostrils are indicative of a leishmaniasis infection. On the figure's mouth, however, a cleanly cut line outlines the top row of teeth, which may indicate the use of a knife.

Why would the Moche have purposefully mutilated the faces of individuals? Additionally, why would they amputate one or more limbs on any particular person? The most common reason cited by early scholars was that the Moche practiced punitive mutilation.<sup>11</sup> There is absolutely no evidence to support this theory. Instead, it is far more likely that these purposeful disfigurements had a ritualistic intention. Steve Bourget has suggested that artificial disfigurement of the face was done in emulation of leishmaniasis. According to Bourget, this mutilation was done to "transform the face of a living being into that of a skull, a sort of authentic living-dead."<sup>12</sup> Since leishmaniasis is a potentially fatal disease, someone afflicted with it would need to overcome death. The flesh and mucus membranes are often affected so severely by the disease that the bone begins to show through.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, lesions can return months or even years after the initial recovery, which suggests the affected individual lived in a continuous state of liminality between life and death. Thus, the facial scars would have been visible reminders of that person's survival of and constant struggle with death; they symbolized the transition between the realms of life and death. It is possible that, by imitating these scars, the individuals bearing the surgical wounds embodied these abilities as well. Likewise, an amputee would have to overcome the traumatic experience of losing a limb and thus would also embody ideas of transition and overpowering death.

Bourget's suggestion echoes his theory that Moche sex pots were associated with the transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead. He speculates that the sex depicted on the sex pots is some sort of ritual copulation, done as an inversion of life and death at funerary or sacrificial rites.<sup>14</sup> Bourget suggests that a sacrificial victim would participate in ritual copulation prior to the sacrifice and thus would exist simultaneously in both the world of the living and the world of the dead during the ritual.<sup>15</sup> Rebecca Stone continues this line of thinking and suggests that survivors of leishmaniasis were more apt to be associated with the

role of a ritual practitioner in Moche culture.<sup>16</sup> According to Stone, ritual practitioners were seen as “wounded healers,” having already healed themselves of some injury and now having the ability to guide others through the process.<sup>17</sup> She attributes this elevated status of healer to individuals in Moche art that display other types of deformities as well, such as the permanent physical effects of rickets.<sup>18</sup> This status likely also applied to amputees. The frequent depiction of such individuals may suggest they held a higher status as healers in Moche culture.

Both Bourget and Stone emphasize the transitional nature of the figures represented on sex pots and individuals represented with facial disfiguration. It is important to note, however, that the figures represented on sex pots have a wide range of physical attributes, from representations of humans both with and without physical deformities to skeletons that are clearly not even living beings. There are also many examples that include animals (both with each other and with humans) and specific iconographical figures, such as the character called “Wrinkle Face” (who Bourget asserts is only found in representations of vaginal copulation).<sup>19</sup> While it is difficult to discern a pattern among these representations, it seems likely they held various meanings. Even so, Bourget contends that representations of vaginal copulation are associated with the afterworld and that sex scenes that do not feature vaginal copulation (such as anal penetration, masturbation, or sexual touching) were related to the transition between life and death.<sup>20</sup> The large number of figural types involved in these various activities indicates, however, a very complex iconography that likely included numerous meanings for each representation. Since many sex pots do not clearly indicate what type of sex is being performed, it seems likely that the individuals involved were more significant.

The variety of participants in the sexual activities makes it difficult to identify a clear meaning. Perhaps the skeleton figures that appear in some of them symbolize the transitional psychological state of a ritual practitioner. The differences in the types of disfigurements could also indicate individuals at different points of the sacrificial process. The scars present on the mouth of the male figure of the museum copulation vessel suggest a passage of time between the physical mutilation of his face and the copulation ritual. This emphasis on the process of healing and movement through time further supports the transitional nature of the individual represented.

Considering this liminal status of the figures, it is possible that the individuals represent a transition between genders as well. Bourget has observed that in sex scenes with skeletal beings, the skeletal figure is always white and the female

(when she is depicted as a living person) is always red.<sup>21</sup> Bourget argues that these colors function as a duality between the genders, as well as between life (red) and death (white).<sup>22</sup> He notes that even a white skeleton has its penis painted red, linking the sex organ to its role in life. Mary Weismantel also sees a duality between gender and life and death in such representations, with the fleshly penis acting as a transitional element between them.<sup>23</sup> The skeletons, as well as male figures in copulation scenes, often wear a red hood or cowl—a garment that is typically worn by female healers.<sup>24</sup> Bourget contends that the incorporation of both opposing colors was a way to represent this dichotomy. He writes, “The red capes worn by skeletal males would not only reinforce the association with the feminine gender but also with the dualist concept of life (red cape) and death (white corpse).”<sup>25</sup> Significantly, this headdress is worn by both “male” figures in the museum vessels (although on the kneeling figure the cowl is predominantly white with red on parts underneath). The contrast between white and red is a common occurrence in Moche art, from garments on portrait vessels to the bichrome slip used in two-dimensional vase paintings. It could be argued that the dichotomy of color in skeletal sex scenes not only represented a duality of gender but also a fluidity in gender. The skeletons are in a transitional phase not only between life and death but also between genders. Likewise, the human figures could also represent this liminal quality.

On some vessels, the male and female counterparts even cease to be separated. A sex pot in the Art Institute of Chicago shows a human female masturbating a male skeletal-like figure (Fig. 8). The right hand of the male touches the



**Fig. 8.** Handle spout vessel in form of a female and skeletal figure in a sexual embrace. Moche, 100 B.C.E.–500 C.E., pottery, H. 20.3 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Buckingham Fund (1955.2677).

female's chin as she touches his penis with her left hand. A single, white garment encloses both figures into one, making it impossible to discern where one body begins and the other ends (although his left hand is embracing her around her neck on the back). Two legs appear in the front, but again it is impossible to identify to which body they belong. Significantly, the feet do not appear to be "normal," nor do they show the cleft associated with an amputated foot. The woman's face is naturally sculpted and features elaborate face paint. The male figure is fleshy, but the sunken eyes, small nose, and toothy mouth suggest he is closer to the deathly realm than the living world to which the female clearly belongs. The incorporation of two genders into one being, as well as the dichotomy of the living and the dead, give this vessel a liminal quality.

Similarly, the male figure of the museum copulation vessel may indicate a living being, but the sunken eyes, deformed nose, and missing upper lip convey a "skeletal" quality to the individual. The inclusion of a headdress associated with female healers on a male figure also shows a fluidity between the genders. This may also be the case for the female figure.

The hairstyle on the female figure of the museum sex pot is one that is found on warriors and sacrificial victims and seen on decapitated heads on Moche fineline pottery.<sup>26</sup> It is not a gender marker and since her genitals are not visible, the only reason she can be identified as female is the lack of homosexual representations in Moche art. While the biological sex of the figures on sex pots is often easily identifiable because the genitalia are usually visible, the appearance of breasts is uncommon. This makes identifying male and female individuals on other Moche vessels more difficult, although scholars often rely on garments or headdresses. Unfortunately, as shown with the cowl and headdress, this method is not definitive.

This ambiguity of gender markers makes the gender identification of amputated individuals much more difficult. Some scholars avoid discussion of the gender aspect and gendered pronouns (e.g., Stone), while Heck identifies them all as male.<sup>27</sup> It is easy to see why Heck does this. None of the amputated individuals display biological markers such as breasts. Archaeological evidence shows, however, that women were also subject to amputated limbs and could easily be some of the figures represented in the pottery.

John Verano, Laurel Anderson, and Régulo Franco identified three instances of amputation in which the people continued to live and use the amputated limb(s) for a significant period of time after amputation occurred.<sup>28</sup> Two of the

individuals come from the complex at El Brujo. The first is a complete adult male skeleton from Tomb 4, one of four male bodies in the same burial (one other adult and two adolescents). No foot bones were present in the burial, confirming that both feet had been amputated. The second example is the tibia and fibula of a male found in the disturbed fill of a high status chamber tomb in the Huaca Cao pyramid, also at El Brujo. The third example is the almost complete skeleton of a young adult female at Mocollope (a site just under twenty-three kilometers from El Brujo). Her right foot had been amputated.

The authors examined the bones and found that, in all three instances, there was wear and use of the limbs following the amputation of the feet. All three individuals appear to have been healthy and of normal size, and the remaining bones do not indicate any type of infection that would have required amputation (although the authors do state that trauma or disease of a foot cannot be ruled out).<sup>29</sup> The evidence suggests the disarticulation of the foot through the ankle joint, an amputation technique established later in Western medicine by Sir James Syme during the mid-nineteenth century. The remains show that the individuals were able to heal properly after the procedure and the bones show evidence of bearing weight after healing.<sup>30</sup> The representation of amputees in Moche art with the cleft at the bottom of the leg correctly depicts how this surgical procedure would have healed, as seen in the kneeling figure on the museum vessel (Fig. 3).

Similar burials were found in the royal tombs at Sipán. In Tomb 1, there were several individuals with amputated feet.<sup>31</sup> As excavators dug below a pyramid directly above Tomb 1, the first burial they found (about four meters below the surface) was that of a twenty-year-old male, possibly a warrior. Both feet were missing. As they excavated further below him, they found an elaborate tomb enclosed by large wooden beams to create a sort of room. At the center of this was an adult male individual with a number of grave goods, luxurious beyond anything previously known by archaeologists. It was surrounded by the burials of five other adults, all in coffins, and a child. The child was buried on the floor in a seated position near the head of the elite burial and likely had poor health during life. Two adult males flanked the elite burial, and one of them was missing his left foot. Two adult females were placed in two stacked coffins at the head of the elite burial. The upper female, also missing her left foot, was turned downward to face the lower female. A third female was buried at the foot of the main burial. All three women showed no signs of illness or violent death, but

they had predeceased the main deceased individual. Some of their bones had been moved into positions that would have been impossible unless they were already decomposed or in the process of decomposing. Some sort of textile wrapping had kept the bones together, which suggests the missing foot of the upper female was not simply lost in transit.

Tomb 2 also housed an elite male individual placed within a room delineated by wooden beams.<sup>32</sup> He was accompanied by three adults (one male, two females) and a child. None of the skeletons exhibited any limb amputation. Above the chamber, however, was another “warrior” burial like that above Tomb 1. Here, too, the adult male was missing both of his feet. Verano says that he himself examined the skeletons of both “warriors” for Tombs 1 and 2 and then states that “two articulated human feet were found in an adjacent room.”<sup>33</sup> The excavators, Walter Alva and Christopher B. Donnan, describe these “human hands and feet” as offerings and suggest they were “trophies” taken from sacrificial victims.<sup>34</sup>

Clearly the amputation of feet held some sort of ritual significance for the Moche and was likely part of funerary customs. Even though the Sipán burials do not indicate how much time passed between the amputation of feet and when the amputee was buried, the El Brujo and Moccollope burials tell us that at least some individuals continued to live after the loss of their limbs. Erica Hill examines the transformative nature of sacrifice itself, for both the ritual practitioner and sacrificial victim.<sup>35</sup> Although she focuses on the victim who is sacrificed and dismembered after death, her observations on the power of the dismembered body parts are applicable. She suggests that the limbs become sacred objects after separation from the body and that dismemberment was a way to disperse this power, not unlike the function of relics during the medieval period in Europe.<sup>36</sup> Amputation on a still living person utilized this transformative power, a power that likely resided in the sacred object (the separated limb) and the surviving donor of the limb.

The number of figures in Moche Art with amputated limbs suggests that these individuals were regularly part of the population and, because they were frequently represented, that they possibly also held a high status. Of his 800 vessels, Heck identifies 127 instances of foot amputation, the most of any type of limb disfigurement.<sup>37</sup> Seventy-nine figures had both feet amputated, twenty-five had the left foot missing, seventeen were missing the right foot, and with six it was unclear. Many of these figures wear garments similar to those worn by the kneeling figure on the museum vessel, and a few feature a prosthesis that looks

like a cylinder worn on the bottom of the leg.<sup>38</sup>

In 1913, the Peruvian physician Lizardo R. Vélez López also wrote about the discovery at Moccollope of a male skeleton with both feet amputated that had two wooden prostheses buried with him, both of which showed significant signs of wear.<sup>39</sup> No photos were taken, however, and the whereabouts of the remains are unknown, so it is difficult to say more about this burial.<sup>40</sup> Regardless, the use of prostheses can be confirmed by the imagery found in Moche fineline painting, as well as in a few sculpted vessels.

While individuals with amputated feet regularly appear in Moche sculpted vessels (such as the museum’s kneeling figure), they are also occasionally pictured with prostheses. These figures are usually represented sitting down with their legs crossed. Sometimes they wear the prosthesis on their amputated foot, at other times they lay the amputated foot on top, to show it, and then display their prosthesis in their hand.<sup>41</sup> Only figures missing one foot are shown with a prosthesis, however, a rule that holds in the fineline painting representations as well.<sup>42</sup> Arsenault argues that individuals with amputated feet performed important roles within certain Moche rituals, a relevant claim considering their frequent appearance in art and inclusion in elite burials. He examines the representation of individuals with at least one amputated foot in twenty-six scenes in Moche fineline pottery, identifying five contexts in which an individual with an amputated foot is prominently displayed. They are found in scenes of a ritual feast, a ceremonial game with spear shafts, a ceremonial dance, human sacrifice, and preparing ceramic offerings for deposit in tombs.<sup>43</sup> Arsenault contends that the placement and actions of the amputees within these contexts suggests their role as a supervisor for “maintaining order and good conduct” in the presence of and for the leader of the community.<sup>44</sup> While his identification of amputated individuals in some of these scenes is problematic because of his assumption that sitting, cross-legged individuals have an amputated limb, Arsenault’s identification of an individual with a prosthesis in representations of the realm of the dead (the ceremonial dance scenes) is intriguing.

Arsenault looks at two different scenes that reflect the world of the dead: a scene that features figures associated with death (Fig. 9) and another that shows a leader transitioning into the world of the dead (Fig. 10).<sup>45</sup> The figures included in the scenes may vary slightly between representations, but the key roles are usually included. In Figure 9, the dead leader is identified as the frontally facing skeletal figure with the elaborate headdress and costume. Two small musicians



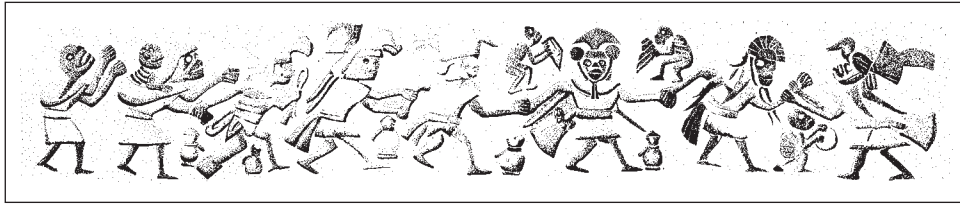


Fig. 9. Death dancing scene. Moche, MOCHE IV, pottery. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VA 17883). Drawing: Donna McClelland. The Christopher B. Donnan and Donna McClelland Moche Archive, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 10. Transition ceremony scene. Moche, MOCHE IV, pottery. Private collection. Drawing: Donna McClelland. The Christopher B. Donnan and Donna McClelland Moche Archive, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.

flank his head. He is the central figure in a chain of other individuals with extravagant costumes, all of whom hold hands, indicating they are dancing. Donnan has suggested that dance scenes such as this separate the groups into major and minor figures.<sup>46</sup> Major dancers can be identified by their more elaborate costumes and are often larger in size, such as on the two connecting figures that flank the dead leader on each side. To the left of this chain is a group of three figures and a baby, the minor dancers, who run toward the chain of elite individuals. An individual with an amputated foot seems to be the primary figure for the minor group due to its placement between the two groups.<sup>47</sup> A prosthesis can be seen on one foot, and the figure carries a whip in one hand and drags a female carrying a child on her back with the other. Arsenault contends that the individual with the prosthesis was responsible for keeping social order in the realms of both the dead and the living.<sup>48</sup>

In another version, shown in Figure 10, two levels are depicted featuring primarily skeletal-looking figures with a larger human figure, likely the dead

leader, being pulled between the levels. Several of the figures echo those found in Figure 9. The lower level features a group of four individuals on the left that Donnan has identified as dancers, mimicking the four from the minor group in Figure 9.<sup>49</sup> To the right of them is a figure on a llama holding a club and wearing a prosthesis. Above the figure on the llama is an individual holding a musical instrument. On the left of the top level is a copulating couple, both human. Arsenault believes that the figure wearing the prosthesis is overseeing the events in both scenes, which would indicate that the figure's role extended into the realm of the dead as well.<sup>50</sup>

All the figures on the lower level are skeletons, which Arsenault interprets as an association with death.<sup>51</sup> Most of the figures on the upper level, however, also feature skeletal qualities. The only figures that are fully human are the transitioning leader and the copulating couple. Significantly, these figures are also considerably larger than all the others in the scene. Donnan suggests their size and difference in appearance indicated that these two activities are the focal points for the entire scene.<sup>52</sup> He also proposes that the placement of the copulating couple with the dancers may imply they were all part of the same ritual. Bourget uses this scene as proof that "sexual performances are related to the funerary ritual."<sup>53</sup> He goes on to suggest that the scene revolves around a transition after death: from the world of the dead on the bottom into the afterworld on the upper level.<sup>54</sup>

Anne Hocquenghem, on the other hand, has suggested that this scene is the separation of the world of the living (top) and the world of the dead (bottom), with the deceased individual in the center transitioning between them.<sup>55</sup> Arsenault interprets the scene as the dead leader being welcomed into the world of the dead on the bottom.<sup>56</sup> Donnan, however, points out that many examples of Moche art show the interaction of skeletons and humans and thus this does not have to be the separation of the world of the dead from the world of the living.<sup>57</sup> Regardless of which interpretation of the scene is correct (if any of them are), the placement of the dead leader between the levels shows an association with transition. Additionally, the similarity in size between the copulating figures and the leader, as well as their human status, show a direct correlation between the two actions. Thus, the figures involved in the ritual could also embody this liminal quality. Due to the importance of the ritual, this association may have transferred to representations in art outside the context of such a scene.

In his landmark article, "The Thematic Approach to Moche Iconography," Donnan shows that complex scenes in Moche fineline pottery could be

abbreviated so that only a few key elements needed to be depicted in order to represent the whole.<sup>58</sup> These segments of the whole scene could be used in varying combinations, and some of the individuals were even depicted singly in other media (such as sculpted figures on ceramic vessels). He examined “The Presentation Theme,” an elaborate scene of almost twenty figures that depicts the giving of a goblet from one elite individual to another. It seems likely that this method would transfer to other scenes in Moche art, such as with the transition ceremony scene (Fig. 10). This means copulating couples or individuals with amputated limbs represented singly could embody all the facets of the roles they performed in ritual activity. Thus, the two sculpted vessels from the museum would reference the rituals in which each individual participated and the role they occupied within the Moche community due to their participation in those rituals.

The importance of copulation within Moche rituals and the participation of individuals with facial disfigurement and amputation are supported by the number of vessels depicting such individuals, as well as the archaeological evidence. Arsenault suggests that the deceased individuals with amputated feet at Sipán correspond to the individuals with prostheses in the ceremonial funerary scenes depicted in the fineline pottery.<sup>59</sup> The inclusion of amputated individuals in complex group burials confirms the participation of amputees in funerary rituals, but the practice of amputation on both males and females implies that gender (or lack thereof) may be more significant than previously realized by scholars.

First, it is important to remember that more than one individual in the tomb had amputated feet. This suggests that amputated individuals were a substantial and meaningful part of the burial ceremony for such an elite person. Additionally, the remains of both male and female skeletons featured an amputated foot, as well as the male “warrior” found above both tombs who was missing both feet. This indicates that the individual with the prosthesis in the ceremonial transition scene cannot be positively identified as either male or female. Even though figures with amputated limbs are usually considered male due to their lack of breasts, the lack of breasts on the majority of female figures in copulating vessels shows that this biological marker was often ignored. This results in a few possibilities. First, it is possible that gender did not matter for these individuals and that both males and females were included without discretion. The second possibility is that individuals with amputated limbs were considered outside the binary gender division of male and female and instead

were part of a third gender. Another option is that these individuals were without an assigned gender, or perhaps they possessed a fluidity in gender. A flexibility in gender would connect well with the notion of transition, especially in consideration of life and death.

Likewise, this fluidity in gender also appears in the copulation scenes, even though the male and female genitals are clearly depicted. The male figure wears a headdress that was often associated with female healers, while the female wears a hairstyle that was used on both male and female sacrificial victims. As previously stated, the genitals are often the only way to identify the sex of the individuals due to the lack of secondary biological markers. The liminal space between genders parallels that between life and death, especially since some of these figures are involved in the transition ritual for the deceased (Fig. 10). While this article has not focused on the other figures included in the transition ceremony, it is noteworthy that none of them exhibit gender markers either.

It is clear that these individuals occupied a specific role within Moche culture, likely in association with certain ritual activities. At what point, however, do these individualized characteristics stop signifying the subject’s role, status, or position and begin indicating a specific person? Moche art features copulating figures and amputated individuals with an array of facial characteristics. In the transition ceremony of Figure 10, the copulating couple seems to consist of a human male and female, both likely with face paint. Neither of them seems to have any type of facial mutilation, and they are the only figures other than the deceased leader that do not have any skeletal features. The skeletal qualities of all the other figures, including the figure with the prosthesis, do, however, suggest facial mutilation. These figures may not be individuals at all but, rather, representations of a certain role that was played within these copulation and transition rituals that also included mutilation. But the level of individuality in the sculpted vessels like those in the museum’s collection—especially the number of different types of mutilations that are represented—would suggest that many of these individuals are not anonymous figures.

This theory of portraiture is supported by the discovery of the fragments of over fifty-two unfired, full-figure portrait vessels in the walled courtyard at Huaca de la Luna (Temple of the Moon), located in the Moche capital city. Found adjacent to the remains of seventy-two “mutilated and dismembered” sacrificial victims (all adult male warriors), these portrait vessels depicted seated nude prisoners, each with a unique face.<sup>60</sup> Not only are all these figures sculpted



**Fig. 11.** Handle spout vessel depicting a couple engaged in coitus. Moche, 100 B.C.E.–500 C.E., pottery, H. 17.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Buckingham Fund (1955.2682).

individually, but each one features distinctive face paint as well.<sup>61</sup>

Likewise, the method used to create Moche pottery indicates the artists' affinity for sculpting individual subjects. Even though the museum sex pot is mold-made, the artist used a tool to create the "scar" incisions on the male figure's upper lip after the clay was removed

(the upper lip may

also have been scraped away after being removed from the mold). Furthermore, a similar vessel in the Art Institute of Chicago shows a great deal of care given to the faces of both copulating individuals (Fig. 11). The male is again presented with sunken eyes, although lines inside the sockets indicate eyelids. There is evidence his face was painted. He has a heavy brow and the same headdress as the male figure on the Museum of Art and Archaeology's vessel. His nose is also missing the tip and the bottom portion, suggesting leishmaniasis. Even so, both his lips are fully intact, unlike those of the figure on the University of Missouri vessel. The female, in contrast to the Museum of Art and Archaeology's sex pot, is accurately rendered and features detailed face paint. The artist has sculpted her face so realistically that she even appears to have bags under her eyes. Her lips are painted black, and a fleur-de-lis shape extends from the corners. Both cheeks have a curved black line extending down from the middle of her bottom eyelid. Sideburns appear under her hair on each side, which may indicate she is

wearing a wig or a headdress.

While the artist has paid a great deal of attention to the facial characteristics of both figures, the bodies are sloppily executed and not proportional. The artist emphasized the heads of both individuals, a common characteristic in Moche art. Stone has pointed out the cephalocentrism commonly found in Moche art, suggesting that the head was seen as "the seat of authority."<sup>62</sup> Although she discusses this primarily within the context of ritual practitioners, the Moche practice of using the head to express individuality is evident simply from viewing the large number of portrait head vessels that survive.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the head was used to show specific individuals, even though they may have been represented in a role that was performed by many other individuals as well.

Even though copulating figures and amputees may be linked in their transitional nature and the use of facial disfigurement in both contexts, there seems to be a very significant difference between the two roles. Significantly, no sex pots feature an individual with an amputated limb.<sup>64</sup> As seen on the vessels with the transition ceremony scenes, there are numerous individuals involved in the ceremony. It seems as though the figures involved in the copulating ritual had different responsibilities from the figures with the amputated foot. All are part of the transition ceremony but performed different roles. The attributes are also significant: Only individuals with a prosthesis or amputated foot hold the cane or whip in any of the death rituals. Since this attribute is found on representations outside the transition ceremony (for example, the amputee on the University of Missouri's vessel holds the cane), it is likely part of the set iconography for the role of such individuals.

The facial mutilation found on both amputated individuals and copulating individuals again suggests that the liminal status between life and death was a desired characteristic in such individuals. Because not all copulating figures feature facial disfigurement it is, however, difficult to prove that mutilation was a requirement for this role. Copulating figures are found in other contexts and scenes too, suggesting that copulation was an important part of numerous Moche rituals. It is also possible that purposeful mutilation was performed on one or both individuals after the copulation ritual. Arsenault also points out that individuals may have suffered some other affliction that would not have been visible (such as being deaf or dumb).<sup>65</sup>

It is possible that those individuals who display some sort of disfigurement, whether on the face or another part of their body, occupy a similar position

within the Moche culture. Interestingly, there is no pattern to the presence of the various types of disfiguration on individuals. Not all figures with amputated limbs have disfigured faces and vice versa. Nor is there a pattern to the number of individuals with one or both feet amputated, although the greater number of figures with both feet amputated does seem significant, especially since Arsenault has shown that only individuals with one amputated foot (not both) are engaged in the Moche dance ceremonies. The only distinct difference found between the figures with mutilated faces and those with amputated limbs is that there are no depictions of amputated individuals engaging in coitus. This cannot, of course, be taken as definite as many Moche vessels are unpublished and could possibly feature such individuals. Their absence from published material does, however, at the very least indicate a very low representation in that context. Thus, it seems likely that individuals with amputated feet occupied a particular role within Moche culture, one that required their participation in specific rituals. Since representations of such figures include an array of facial disfiguration, or none at all, it seems as though the artists were referencing specific individuals in their representations. Similarly, a lack of consistency in the facial characteristics of figures engaged in coitus suggests numerous participants, likely also participating in various rituals.

There is always the possibility that these are anonymous representations. These figures may not be individuals at all but, rather, representations of a certain role that was played within these copulation rituals that also included mutilation. But the level of individuality in the figures—especially the number of different types of mutilations that are represented—would suggest that many of these are not anonymous figures. Some of the portrait head vessels also feature various facial deformities, implying some sense of individuality in the full-figure representations as well.<sup>66</sup> There does not seem to have been a standard type of mutilation across the board for these types of figures, in either portrait vessels, sex pots, or representations of amputees. Indeed, it seems appropriate to assign a higher status to these individuals. Their repeated representation in art, possibly in what appears to be actual portraits, suggests that these individuals were held in high esteem in Moche culture. This is also supported by the discovery of several individuals with amputated feet in the burials of elite leaders at Sipán.

The number of Moche pots that depict facial disfigurement, in both portrait-head vessels and full body representations, indicates that these individuals played such a significant role in Moche culture that representation in the art was

important. The use of distinctive facial characteristics shows that the depiction of specific individuals was not limited to portrait-head vessels. The repeated appearance of a variety of distinct facial characteristics suggests some form of individuality in the figures represented, especially when comparing individuals occupying the same role in another representation (such as with the sex pots). Although several attributes were used to convey information about the figure's status (such as engaging in coitus or holding a cane), another marker was the fluidity of gender. For these transitional figures, it is the role they perform that is important. A flexibility in gender reflected their transitional nature. Thus, the only gender markers used in copulation vessels were the genitals, and no gender markers are identifiable in representations of amputees. Consequently, it was important for the artist to find other ways to show the unique characteristics of the individual represented. It is quite possible that the two vessels housed in the Museum of Art and Archaeology represent particular individuals, forever remembered in ceramic form because of their roles within Moche rituals.

#### NOTES

- \* First and foremost I would like to acknowledge the late Andrea Stone, who offered excellent feedback on the initial research of this project. I would also like to thank Kathleen Slane and all those who gave comments on the subsequent presentation of this paper in my graduate seminar at the University of Missouri. Staff at the Art Institute of Chicago were also extremely helpful, particularly Elizabeth Pope and Raymond Ramirez, who provided me with the opportunity to examine the vessels discussed in this paper. Jeffrey Wilcox supplied stimulating conversation on the museum vessels, as well as numerous photographs of the pots. I would also like to thank Mary Weismantel for her helpful comments during the review process. Finally, I wish to convey my gratitude to the Art Institute of Chicago and the Dumbarton Oaks Archives for the use of their images.
1. David Arsenault, "El Personaje del pie amputado en la cultura mochica del Peru: Un ensayo sobre la arqueología del poder," *Latin American Antiquity* 4:3 (1993) pp. 225–245.
  2. Jürgen Heck, "Krankheit und Körperdeformation in Darstellungen auf Moche-Tongefäßen: Analyse und Synopse aus ärztlicher Sicht," *Baessler-Archiv* 52 (2004) pp. 105–124.
  3. Mary Weismantel, "Moche Sex Pots: Reproduction and Temporality in Ancient South America," *American Anthropologist* 106:3 (2004) p. 501.
  4. This vessel has been featured in two earlier publications as an illustration of leishmaniasis occurring among the Moche people. Fabio Bergamin, "Wenn Viren Parasiten

- helfen," *Horizonte* 95 (2012) p. 25, and M.-A. Hartley, K. Kohl, C. Ronet, and N. Fasel, "The Therapeutic Potential of Immune Cross-Talk in Leishmaniasis," *Clinical Microbiology and Infection* 19 (2013) pp. 119–130.
5. Acc. no. 73.241. H. 21 cm; W. (bottom) 8.9 cm; D. (rim spout) 2.3 cm.
  6. Acc. no. 73.234. H. to top of the male figure's head 15.3 cm; L. base 15 cm; W. base 9.9 cm. L. female figure 18.3 cm. D. (spout) 5.2–5.4 cm. Many Moche vessels depict figures engaging in assorted sexual activities, which can be referred to as "sex pots," a term used by Mary Weismantel to describe vessels showing sexual activity (Weismantel, "Moche Sex Pots"). Similar imagery shown in Moche pottery may include figures with detailed genitals, or the genitals alone (male or female, realistic or anthropomorphized). This article will avoid any mention of the word "erotic," as it is unlikely that these vessels functioned as a way to create arousal.
  7. A recent article eliminated the confusion on the surviving examples of representations of same-sex copulation in Moche art (Janusz Z. Wołoszyn and Katarzyna Piwowar, "Sodomites, Siamese Twins, and Scholars: Same-Sex Relationships in Moche Art," *American Anthropologist* 117: 2 [2015] pp. 285–301). Contrary to many earlier, gender-driven publications, Wołoszyn and Piwowar identify only two extant vessels depicting sex between two male figures, one of which they were unable to verify due to lack of a response from the holding museum. The authors suggest more originally existed but were "purged" by private collectors, museum workers, and explorers wishing to destroy representations of immoral acts in the early twentieth century (pp. 288–289). Even so, the dearth of surviving same-sex representations makes it highly unlikely the receptive figure here is definitively male.
  8. Significantly, Heck does not include in his study any sex pots. He states that any vessels depicting sexual acts should be considered their own category (Heck, "Krankheit," p. 106).
  9. Jeffrey Wilcox, registrar and curator of collections at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, first suggested this possibility to me.
  10. Heck, "Krankheit," p. 110.
  11. Lizardo R. Vélez López, "Las mutilaciones en los vasos antropomorfos del antiguo Perú," *XVIII Session of the International Congress of Americanists* (London, 1913) pp. 267–275 and Oscar Urteaga-Ballon, "Medical Ceramic Representation of Nasal Leishmaniasis and Surgical Amputation in Ancient Peruvian Civilization," *Human Paleopathology: Current Synthesis and Future Options* (Washington, D.C., 1991) pp. 95–101.
  12. Steve Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture* (Austin, 2006) pp. 55–56.
  13. Rebecca R. Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art* (Austin, 2011) p. 172.
  14. Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice*, p. 177.
  15. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
  16. Stone, *Jaguar*, pp. 171–176. Stone prefers the term "shaman," but as it is extremely problematic to use that term outside its original culture in the region of Siberia, "ritual practitioner" will continue to be used here.
  17. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
  18. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
  19. Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice*, pp. 157–172.
  20. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
  21. *Ibid.*, fig. 2.41.
  22. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
  23. Weismantel, "Moche Sex Pots," p. 501.
  24. Stone, *Jaguar*, pp. 187 and 200.
  25. Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice*, p. 108.
  26. Christopher B. Donnan, "The Thematic Approach to Moche Iconography," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 1 (1975) fig. 1.
  27. Heck, "Krankheit," p. 118.
  28. John W. Verano, Laurel S. Anderson, and Régulo Franco, "Foot Amputation by the Moche of Ancient Peru: Osteological Evidence and Archaeological Context," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 10 (2000) pp. 177–188.
  29. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
  30. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
  31. Walter Alva and Christopher B. Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán* (Los Angeles, 1993) pp. 55–125.
  32. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–165.
  33. Verano, Anderson, and Franco, "Foot Amputation," p. 185.
  34. Alva and Donnan, *Sipán*, pp. 164–165.
  35. Erica Hill, "Sacrificing Moche Bodies," *Journal of Material Culture* 8:3 (2003) p. 288.
  36. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
  37. Heck, "Krankheit," p. 107.
  38. Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru* (Austin, 2004) fig. 1.3.
  39. Vélez López, "Las mutilaciones," pp. 267–275.
  40. Verano, Anderson, and Franco, "Foot Amputation," p. 185.
  41. Urteaga-Ballon, "Medical," figs. 18–21.
  42. Arsenault, "El Personaje," p. 232.
  43. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
  44. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
  45. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
  46. Christopher B. Donnan, "Dance in Moche Art," *Nawpa Pacha* 20 (1982) p. 98.
  47. Arsenault, "El Personaje," p. 232.
  48. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
  49. Donnan, "Dance," p. 101.
  50. Arsenault, "El Personaje," p. 240.
  51. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
  52. Donnan, "Dance," p. 101.
  53. Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice*, p. 180.
  54. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
  55. Anne Marie Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica* (Lima, 1989).
  56. Arsenault, "El Personaje," p. 232.
  57. Donnan, "Dance," p. 102.
  58. Donnan, "Thematic Approach."
  59. Arsenault, "El Personaje," p. 240.
  60. Donnan, *Moche Portraits*, pp. 136–137.
  61. *Ibid.*, figs. 7.45 and 7.46.

62. Stone, *Jaguar*, p. 77.
63. Donnan, *Moche Portraits*.
64. The skeletal masturbation vessel from the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 8) admittedly challenges this statement. The odd rendering of the “feet” on that representation, however, makes it difficult to identify definitively the representation of amputation. Additionally, I have not found other representations of amputation on any other vessel depicting copulation.
65. Arsenault, “El Personaje,” p. 235.
66. Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice*, figs. 1.7 and 1.53.

## About the Authors



**Katherine Iselin** is a doctoral student in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. Her research focuses mainly on Greek and Roman art, but she also works on the art of the ancient Americas. Her interest in gender, sex, and the body is incorporated into both these areas.

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**Douglas Underwood** recently received a Ph.D. from the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. His primary topic of study is late antique urbanism and archaeology, particularly in the western Mediterranean. He completed a M.A. in Classical Archaeology at the University of Missouri in 2010.

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## Acquisitions



2014

### European and American Art

#### Assemblage

Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953), published by Ediciones El Fortín, Havana, Cuba, booklet, *NM-RB: Dos Mujeres, Una Isla*, by Nancy Morejón and Ruth Behar with a prologue by Juanamaria Cordones-Cook, 2014, mixed media: photocopies on paper with collaged paper elements and watercolor accents, cloth, and glass mirror (2014.195), gift of Prof. Juanamaria Cordones-Cook (Fig. 1).



**Fig. 1.** Rolando Estévez Jordán, *NM-RB: Dos Mujeres, Una Isla*, H. 28, W. (front cover with wings open) 30 cm (2014.195). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## Collages

Three collages by Robert F. Bussabarger (American, 1922–2013), *Peopleplex*, last quarter of twentieth century, watercolors and pencil on paper with plain and metallic paper cutouts adhered onto cardboard (2014.156); *Centaurs*, 1980s (?), oil, acrylic, and paper on Masonite (2014.161); *Stamp of Security*, early twenty-first century, paper on poster board with watercolors and graphite (2014.171), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family.

### Decorative Arts

Beatrice Wood (American, 1893–1998), untitled (plate), mid-twentieth century, ceramic (2014.7), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 2).



**Fig. 2.** Beatrice Wood, untitled (plate), D. 20.5 cm (2014.7). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

### Drawings

Two drawings by Aaron Bohrod (American, 1907–1992), *Main Street, Kansas City* (sketch), 1946, brown ink and ink wash on paper (2014.27); *Washington Square, Kansas City* (sketch), 1946, brown ink and ink wash on paper (2014.31), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Forty drawings by Robert F. Bussabarger (American, 1922–2013), *Galveston House*, late 1970s or early 1980s, pastels on paper (2014.108) (Fig. 3); *Hannibal Building*, 1980s (?), pastels on paper (2014.110); *Self Portrait*, 1960s, pastels on illustration board (2014.112) (Fig. 4); *Lake Palace Hotel*, 1969, pastels on paper mounted to backing sheet (2014.113); *Canal*, 1991 (?), pastels on paper (2014.114); *Oaxaca*, 1967, pastels on paper (2014.115); *Barcelona Three Cultures*, 1965, pastels on paper (2014.116); *House in Barcelona*, 1965, pastels on paper (2014.117); *October Stephens Lake View*, 2001, pastels and walnut stain on paper (2014.119); *The Doge's Palace*, 1991 (?), pastels on paperboard (2014.120); *Aquatic Frontal Vision*, end

of twentieth or beginning of twenty-first century, charcoal with watercolor wash on paper (2014.123); *Air Race*, 1980s–1990s, ink on glossy paper (2014.125); *Town*, 1956, pastels on paper (2014.130); *The Endless Battle*, 1942, conté crayon on paper (2014.133); *Roof in Puebla*, 1967, conté crayon on paper (2014.135); *Puebla West*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.136); *Palace of Cortez, Cuernavaca*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.137); *The Valley of Mexico*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.138); *Zócalo Gathering*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.139); *Madrid Corner*, 1965, pencil on paper (2014.140); *Madrid Palace*, 1965, pencil on paper (2014.141); *Toledo Wall*, 1965, pencil on paper (2014.142); *Toledo Alcazar*, 1965, pencil on paper (2014.143); *Figures in a Park*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.144); *Reforma Glorieta*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.145); *Avenue of the Fifth of May*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.146); *Equestrian in Saltillo*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.147); *Mexico DF Corner*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.148); *Monument on Avenida de Reforma*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.149); *Popocatepetal from Mexico City*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.150); *House on Hamburgo, Mexico D.F.*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.151); *View of Pegasus, Mexico D.F.*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.152); *Cathedral of Saltillo*, 1967, pencil on paper (2014.153); *Short Street*, 1960s (?), pastels on heavy paper (2014.162); *Portrait of Trish Jones*, 1989, pastels on heavy illustration board (2014.163); *Color Always*, end of twentieth or beginning of twenty-

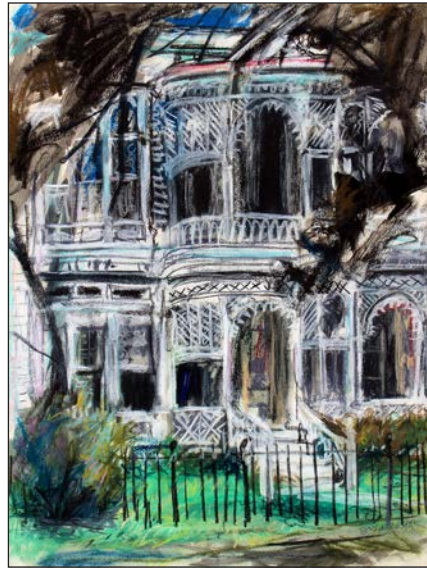


Fig. 3. Robert F. Bussabarger, *Galveston House*, 61 x 45.6 cm (2014.108). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

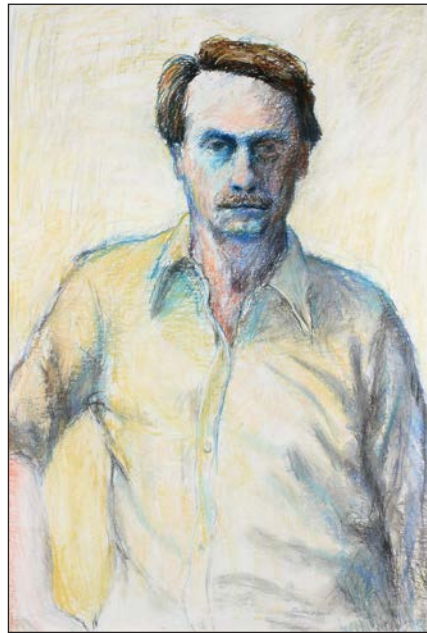


Fig. 4. Robert F. Bussabarger, *Self Portrait*, 76.5 x 51 cm (2014.112). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

first century, pastels on paper (2014.164); *Hellenic Conning Tower*, 1961, pastels on paper (2014.165); *Seated Figure*, late 1980s (?), pastels on paper (2014.166); *Torana*, last quarter of twentieth century, pastels on paper (2014.167); *Shrimp Boat*, late 1970s or early 1980s, pastels on illustration board (2014.170), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family.

Nicolai Cikovsky (American, b. Belarus, 1894–1984), *Forest Park, St. Louis*, 1946, pastels on paper (2014.33), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Fletcher Martin (American, 1904–1979), *On the Levee, St. Louis*, 1947, ink and ink wash on paper (2014.78), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Frederick E. Shane (American, 1906–1990), *University of Missouri (diagrammatical sketch)*, 1946, black crayon on paper (2014.98), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

### Graphics

Robert F. Bussabarger (American, 1922–2013), *Fish*, ca. 1970s, hand-colored etching (2014.158), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family.

Vilmos Huszár (Hungarian, 1884–1960), *Four Heads*, second quarter of twentieth century (?), etching (2014.6), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Max Klinger (German, 1857–1920), *Amor, Tod, und Jenseits (Cupid, death, and the beyond)*, plate XII from the portfolio *Intermezzi-Opus IV*, 1881, etching and aquatint (2014.5), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

### Paintings

Fourteen paintings by Howard Baer (American, 1906–1986), *Floatin' Fishing*,



*The Current River*, 1946 (?), oil on Masonite (2014.9); *Gigging, The Current River*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.10); *Livestock Auction, Potosi*, 1947, watercolors and gouache on paper (2014.11); *Moss's Farm*, 1946 (?), oil on Masonite (2014.12); *Old Farm Hand*, 1946, watercolors on paper (2014.13); *Planing Mill*, 1946, gouache on paper (2014.14); *Post Office, Owl's Bend*, 1947 (?), watercolors on paper (2014.15); *Prosperous Farm, The Ozarks*, 1946, gouache on paper (2014.16); *Ride to the Store*, 1946, gouache on paper (2014.17); *Saturday, The County Courthouse, Ironton*, 1946, oil on Masonite (2014.18); *The General Store—Old Mines*, 1946, gouache on paper (2014.19) (Fig. 8, p. 89); *Uncle Paul*, 1946, watercolors and pencil on paper (2014.20); *Uncle Paul and Aunt Luce*, 1946, oil on composition board (2014.21) (Fig. 12, p. 94); *Village Church*, 1946, gouache on paper (2014.22), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Seven paintings by Aaron Bohrod (American, 1907–1992), *Across the Missouri at Kansas City*, 1947, oil on Masonite (2014.23) (Fig. 5); *Construction, Tenth Street, Kansas City*, 1946, gouache on composition board (2014.24); *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City*, 1946, gouache on composition board (2014.25) (Fig. 7, p. 88); *Kansas City Stockyards*, 1946, oil on Masonite (2014.26); *Penn Valley Park, Kansas*



Fig. 5. Aaron Bohrod, *Across the Missouri at Kansas City*, 63.8 x 107.6 cm (2014.23). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

*City*, 1946, gouache on composition board (2014.28) (Fig. 10, p. 92); *Swope Park Zoo, Kansas City*, 1946, oil on composition board (2014.29); *Washington Square, Kansas City*, 1946, gouache on composition board (2014.30), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Twenty-two paintings by Robert F. Bussabarger (American, 1922–2013), *Dam Angel*, 1979, oil on canvas (2014.107); *Badland Bodies*, 1963, casein and acrylic on illustration board (2014.109); *Haitian View*, early 1970s, watercolors on heavy paper (2014.111); *Darjeeling (India)*, 1964, oil on canvas (2014.118); *Big Colorful House*, 1950s, oil on canvas (2014.121); *Lufkin Saw Mill*, 1952, watercolors on paper (2014.122); *Disparate Combination*, 2010, watercolors and pencil on paper (2014.124); *Seals*, last quarter of twentieth century, watercolors on paper (2014.126); *Commedia dell'arte*, 2010, watercolors and pencil on paper (2014.127); *Real Picture of an Artificial Tree*, 2010, watercolors and pencil on paper (2014.128); *Something the Wind Blew In*, 2010, watercolors and pencil on paper (2014.129); *Yellow Horizon*, early twenty-first century (?), acrylic on paper (2014.131); *Moth World*, 1980s (?), acrylic on paper (2014.132); *Galveston Shrimp Boat*, late 1970s–early 1980s, watercolors on paper (2014.134); *Ie Shima with Isursuou Yama Mountain off Okinawa*, 1945, tempera on paper (2014.154); *David*, 1965, acrylic on Masonite (2014.155); *Shiva-Nandi-Mobile*, last quarter of twentieth century, ink and acrylic on paper (2014.157); *Mountain Pass*, 1964, oil on canvas (2014.159); *Passage to India*, 1963, watercolors on paper (2014.160); *Still Life*, 1963, oil on canvas (2014.168); *Haitian View*, early 1970s, oil on canvas (2014.169); *Zodiac*, early 1990s, watercolors on paper with silk mounting (2014.188), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family.

Seven paintings by Nicolai Cikovsky (American, b. Belarus, 1894–1984), *City Art Museum with Statue of St. Louis*, 1946, oil on canvas (2014.32) (Fig. 9, p. 91); *Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis*, 1946, oil on canvas (2014.34); *Old Cathedral of St. Louis*, 1946, gouache on paperboard (2014.35) (Fig. 11, p. 93); *Outskirts of Ste. Genevieve*, 1947, gouache on paperboard (2014.36); *Ste. Genevieve, Train Ferry Boat*, 1946, oil on canvas (2014.37); *Veiled Prophet Parade, St. Louis*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.38); *Washington University, St. Louis*, 1946, oil on canvas (2014.39), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Two paintings by Frederick E. Conway (American, 1900–1973), *Grand and Olive–St. Louis*, 1946, oil on Masonite (2014.40); *Union Station–St. Louis*, 1946, oil on Masonite (2014.41), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Eleven paintings by Adolf Dehn (American, 1895–1968), *A Nice Day in Missouri near Cameron*, 1946, watercolors on paper (2014.42) (Fig. 4, p. 85); *Farmyard in Missouri (East of Macon, on Route 36)*, 1946, watercolors on paper (2014.43); *Herefords at Water Hole (on Route 71 between Iowa Border and Maryville, Missouri)*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.44); *On the Mississippi at Louisiana, Missouri*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.45); *Sheep Farm in Missouri on Route 71*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.46); *St. Joseph, Missouri*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.47); *The Court House at Marshall, Missouri*, 1947, gouache on paper (2014.48) (Fig. 6); *The Mark Twain House and Museum*



**Fig. 6.** Adolf Dehn, *The Court House at Marshall, Missouri*, 55.5 x 75.5 cm (sheet); 53.2 x 73.3 cm (image) (2014.48). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

*at Hannibal*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.49); *The Mississippi at Hannibal from Lover's Leap*, 1946, watercolors on paper (2014.50); *The Missouri River at Glasgow*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.51), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri; *Snow Fields*, 1950s, watercolors on paper (2014.193), gift of the estate of the artist, through the efforts of Sam F. and June S. Hamra and the Harmon-Meek Gallery.

Nine paintings by Ernest Fiene (American, b. Germany, 1894–1965), *8:00 A.M., Union Station, St. Louis*, 1947, oil on canvas (2014.52); *Brew Kettles in the Old Brew House, Anheuser-Busch, St. Louis*, 1946, gouache on composition board (2014.53); *Bringing Ore to Shaft, Lead and Zinc Mine, Joplin*, 1947, gouache on composition board (2014.54); *Cutting and Boring Corn Cob Pipes, Washington, Mo.*, 1947, gouache on paper (2014.55); *Drilling and Loading Lead and Zinc Ore, Joplin*, 1947, gouache on composition board (2014.56); *Lead and Zinc Mining, Joplin*, 1947, oil on canvas (2014.57); *Old Brew House, Anheuser-Busch, St. Louis*, 1947, gouache on composition board (2014.58); *Railroad Incline to Merchants' Bridge, St. Louis*, 1947, gouache on composition board (2014.59); *Roofs of Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis*, 1946, oil on canvas (2014.60) (Fig. 7), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Eight paintings by Peter Hurd (American, 1904–1984), *A Golden Stallion*, 1947, gouache on Masonite (2014.61) (Fig. 8); *American Saddle Stallion*, 1947, tempera on Masonite (2014.62); *Early Morning Exercise*, 1947 (?), watercolors on paper (2014.63); *Hackneys at Play*, 1947, watercolors on paper



**Fig. 7.** Ernest Fiene, *Roofs of Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis*, 76.2 x 91.5 cm (2014.60). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

(2014.64); *Mares and Colts*, 1947, tempera on composition board (2014.65); *Mules*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.67); *Missouri Mule Farm*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.66); *Spring Evening, Missouri Horse Country*, 1946, watercolors on paper (2014.68), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Five paintings by Frederic James (American, 1915–1985), *Downtown View of Kansas City*, 1947, watercolors on paper (2014.69); *Kansas City Christmas*, 1947, watercolors on paperboard (2014.70) (Fig. 6, p. 87); *Missouri Farmer*, 1947, watercolors on paper mounted onto mat board (2014.71); *Missouri Valley at Farley*, 1947, watercolors on paper mounted onto composition board (2014.72); *Twilight on Quality Hill, Kansas City*, 1946, watercolors and ink on paperboard (2014.73) (Fig. 15, p. 100), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Eight paintings by Fletcher Martin (American, 1904–1979), *Barges near MacArthur Bridge, St. Louis*, 1947, watercolors and ink on paper (2014.74); *Breakwater above St. Charles*, 1947, watercolors and ink on paper (2014.75); *Eads Bridge from MacArthur (Municipal) Bridge, St. Louis*, 1947, watercolors and ink on paper (2014.76); *Lake of the Ozarks at Bagnell Dam*, 1947, oil on

canvas (2014.77); *Sand from the Missouri at St. Charles*, 1947, watercolors and ink on paper (2014.79); *Seaplane Landing between Eads and MacArthur Bridges, St. Louis*, 1947, gouache and ink on paper (2014.80); *The Golden Eagle, St. Louis*, 1947, oil on canvas (2014.81); *The Mississippi at St. Louis*, 1947, oil on canvas (2014.82), gift



Fig. 8. Peter Hurd, *A Golden Stallion*, 76.6 x 107.2 cm (2014.61). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Philip Morsberger (American, b. 1933), *Ars Longus*, 2010–2012, oil on canvas (2014.194), gift of the artist, through the efforts of Sam F. and June S. Hamra and the Harmon-Meek Gallery.

Three paintings by Jackson Lee Nesbitt (American, 1913–2008), *Cattle Buying at Kansas City Stockyards*, 1947, tempera on composition board (2014.83); *Charging Hot Metal at Sheffield Steel Corporation, Kansas City*, 1947, tempera on composition board (2014.84); *Farm Auction, Jackson County*, 1947, tempera on composition board (2014.85) (Fig. 5, p. 10), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.



Fig. 9. James Penney, *Missouri State Fair 1941*, 65 x 85 cm (2014.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Frank Bernard Nuderscher (American, 1880–1959), *The Gasconade*, second quarter of twentieth century (?), oil on canvas board (2014.4), gift of Museum Associates.

James Penney (American, 1910–1982), *Missouri State Fair 1941*, 1941, oil on canvas (2014.3), gift of Museum Associates (Fig. 9).

Eight paintings by Georges Schreiber (American, b. Belgium, 1904–1977), *Basket Maker in the Ozarks, Reed Springs*, 1947, watercolors, ink, and pencil on paper (2014.86); *Deeds Farm Dairy near Springfield*, 1947, watercolors on paper mounted onto composition board (2014.87); *Final Seal Fur Inspection, Fouke Fur Co., St. Louis*, 1947, watercolors and ink on paper (2014.88); *Hog Killing at Nixa*,

1947, oil on canvas (2014.89); *Mink Trapper on Finley Creek*, 1947, oil on canvas (2014.90) (Fig. 6, p. 11); *Rabbit Trapping near Nixa*, 1947, watercolors and ink on paper (2014.91); *Washing the Seal Pelt, Fouke Fur Co., St. Louis*, 1947, watercolors and ink on paper (2014.92); *Winter Cornfield in the Ozarks*, 1947, watercolors and ink on paper (2014.93), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Four paintings by Frederick E. Shane (American, 1906–1990), *Missouri Musicians*, 1947, oil on Masonite (2014.94) (Fig. 10); *The Old Cemetery, Ste. Genevieve*, 1946, oil on Masonite (2014.95); *The State Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri*, 1946–1947, oil on Masonite (2014.96) (Fig. 5, p. 86 and front cover); *University of Missouri*, 1946, oil on Masonite (2014.97), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Six paintings by Lawrence Beall Smith (American, 1909–1995), *Ballet between the Oaks, Municipal Opera, St. Louis*, 1947, oil on Masonite (2014.99); *Canning and Button Art, State Fair, Sedalia*, 1946, oil on Masonite (2014.100) (Fig. 13, p. 96); *Note from St. Louis*, 1947, oil on Masonite (2014.101) (Fig. 1, p. 78 and back cover); *Peanut Stand at the State Fair, Sedalia*, 1947, oil on composition board (2014.102); *The Elephant Show, St. Louis Zoo*, 1947, oil on Masonite (2014.103); *The Meeting of the Rivers Fountain, St. Louis*, 1947, oil on Masonite (2014.104) (Fig. 3, p. 84), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-

Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Two paintings by Wallace Herndon Smith (American, 1901–1990), *Cold Dawn*, 1947, oil on canvas (2014.105); *Hunter*, 1947, oil on canvas (2014.106), gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-



Fig. 10. Frederick E. Shane, *Missouri Musicians*, 40 x 60.8 (2014.94). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Barney, Inc.; transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri.

Jack Keijo Steele (American, 1919–2003), *Battle of the Overpass*, ca. 1938, oil on Masonite (2014.196) (Fig. 7, p. 12), gift of Museum Associates.

Joseph Paul Vorst (American, 1897–1947), untitled (Missouri landscape), late 1930s (?), oil on canvas backed by Masonite panel (2014.197), gift of Museum Associates.

## Sculptures

Sixteen sculptures by Robert F. Bussabarger (American, 1922–2013), untitled (female head), 1970s–1980s (?), earthenware with slips and glaze (2014.172); untitled (man wearing a uniform), 1960s–1970s, stoneware with glaze (2014.173); *Show Me Bear*, 1970s–1980s, earthenware with slips and stains (2014.174) (Fig. 11); *Samson*, 1960s–1970s, stoneware with stain and glaze (2014.175); untitled (male head with hat), 1950s–1960s (?), stoneware with stain (2014.176); *OMNIBUS*, ca. early 1980s, earthenware with slip and stains (2014.177); *Air Chance*, 1980s (?), earthenware with slips and stains (2014.178); *Bird-Man*, 1970s (?), earthenware with slip, stain, glaze, and overglaze (2014.179); *Trombone Player*, 1970s–1980s (?), stoneware with stain, slips, enamel overglaze, and paint (2014.180); untitled (catfish), 1970s (?), vitrified ceramic with glazes (2014.181); untitled (helmeted head), 1980s (?), stoneware with slip and colored stains (2014.182); *Bull*, 1959, earthenware with slips and glazes (2014.183); untitled (skeletal figure), 1960s–1970s (?),



Fig. 11. Robert F. Bussabarger, *Show Me Bear*, H. 45.9, W. 32.4, Depth 31 cm (2014.174). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

stoneware with glaze (2014.184); untitled (fish vehicle), last quarter of twentieth century, stoneware with glazes and enamel overglaze, metal, plastic, and wood (2014.185); *Head Plaque*, 1970s–1980s (?), stoneware with glazes (2014.186); untitled (half woman/half bird creature), 1970s–1980s (?), stoneware with glaze (2014.187), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family.

## South Asian Art

### Sculpture

Relief panel from a temple cart depicting Narasimha, India, nineteenth century, wood and paint (2014.1), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Plaque depicting several Hindu deities, India, nineteenth century, pink sandstone (2014.2), gift of Josh Markus.

### Paintings

Anonymous (Indian), *Scene depicting Krishna*, late nineteenth or early twentieth century (?), opaque watercolors, gold paint, and red and black ink on paper (2014.189), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family.

Jagnath Mahapatra (Indian, act. twentieth century), *Shiva, Parvati, and Ravana*, 1960s (?), paint on cloth (2014.190), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12. Jagnath Mahapatra, *Shiva, Parvati, and Ravana*, H. 50.7, W. 30.3 cm (2014.190). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## East Asian Art

### Graphics

Utagawa Hirokage (Japanese, act. 1855–1865), *Sumida-zutsumi no yayoi* (No. 8, Spring on the Sumida River embankment), from the series *Edo meisho dôke zukushi* (Comical views of famous places in Edo), 1859, color woodblock print (2014.191), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family.

Utagawa Kuniyasu (Japanese, 1794–1832), untitled (The Godaison Myoo kaicho festival), 1825, color woodblock print (2014.192 a and b), gift in memory of the artist Robert F. Bussabarger from his family.

## Pre-Columbian Art

Metate in the form of a jaguar, Costa Rica, ca. 800–1500 c.e., stone (2014.8), gift of the Missouri State Museum (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13. Metate in the form of a jaguar, H. 17.6, L. 65, W. 27 cm (2014.8). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## Exhibitions



2014

### ***Artful Bras***

October 20–24, 2014

This small exhibition was mounted as part of a program of events in connection with October's Breast Cancer Awareness month and featured award-winning entries in a contest sponsored by the University of Missouri's Ellis Fischel Cancer Center. The bras were created by local artists using a variety of nontraditional art materials.



Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

### ***Touching the Past:***

#### ***Student Drawings from the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts***

November 2014–ongoing

The Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts in Pickard Hall long served as a drawing studio for art students in the university's Department of Art. Before the opening of the museum's galleries in Mizzou North, art students' drawings of casts, selected by professor of art Matt Balou, were placed on view in an open-ended display in Mizzou North outside the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts and in adjacent areas.



Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## Loans to Other Institutions



2014

To the Leigh Yawkey Woodson Art Museum, Wausau, Wisconsin, June 21–August 10, 2014, ten serigraphs: John Baeder (American, b. 1938), *Market Diner*, 1979 (2010.19.1); Charles Bell (American, 1935–1995), *Little Italy*, 1979 (2010.19.2); Arne Besser (American, 1935–1995), *Bridgehampton*, 1979 (2010.19.3); Tom Blackwell (American, 1938–2012), *451*, 1979 (2010.19.4); Fran Bull (American, b. 1938), *Lincoln Center/Dusk*, 1979 (2010.19.5); Hilo Chen (American, b. Taiwan, 1942), *Roof-Top Sunbather*, 1981 (2010.19.6); Han Hsiang-Ning (American, b. China, 1939), *N. Y. Skyline*, 1980 (2010.19.7); Ron Kleemann (American, 1937–2014), *Gas Line*, 1979 (2010.19.8); Noel Mahaffey (American, b. 1944), *Night-Times Square*, 1979 (2010.19.9); Ching-Jang Yao (American, b. Taiwan, 1941–2000), *Building Reflection*, 1979 (2010.19.10) for the exhibition *Cityscapes: Silkscreen Prints by Photorealist Artists*.

## Museum Activities



2014

### Lectures

#### March 13

Lauren DiSalvo, graduate research assistant, Department of Art History and Archaeology, “History of Sculpture Casts.”

### Special Events

#### February 7

Cast Gallery opens at Mizzou North with reception.

#### March 3

Annual Music and Art Concert performed by Ars Nova Singers, School of Music, University of Missouri; art described by museum docents.

#### April 11

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

#### May 3

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

#### September 12

Museum Associates sponsored Crawfish Boil.

#### November 14

Museum Associates annual meeting.

#### 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 3

Museum Associates annual “Evening of Holiday Celebration.”

### Family Educational Programs

#### January 18

Art Lab for Middle Schoolers for grades 6–8.

#### January 23

Art after School, “Kids in the Cast Gallery” for grades K–8 (postponed).

#### February 15

Art Lab for Middle Schoolers for grades 6–8.

#### February 27

Art after School, “Make Your Mark!” for grades K–8.

#### March 15

Art Lab for Middle Schoolers for grades 6–8.

#### March 20

Art after School, “Kids in the Cast Gallery” for grades K–8.

**April 12**

Family Art Event, Celebration of Thomas Hart Benton's 125th Birthday, co-sponsored by The State Historical Society.

**May 8**

Art after School, "Food in Art" for children K–8.

**June 9–13**

Art Summer Camp for grades 3–5.

**June 19**

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Experimenting with Color."

**June 26**

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Art in 3D."

**July 10**

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Pinch Me, I'm Dreaming!"

**July 17**

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Art Rocks!"

**July 24**

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Mixed Media Self-Portraits."

**July 31**

Kids' Series: World of Art, "What a Relief!"

**August 7**

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Warhol Pop."

**September 27**

National Museum Day, in conjunction with the Smithsonian's National Museum Day.

**October 18**

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

**November 13**

Art after School, "Kids in the Cast Gallery" for children grades K–8 (postponed).

**Ad Hoc Film Series****March 20**

*Meet Me in St. Louis*, 1944.

**April 17**

*All That Heaven Allows*, 1955.

**May 15**

*Diva*, 1981.

**June 19**

*Venus*, 2006.

**July 17**

*Rare Birds*, 2001.



**August 21**

*The Train*, 1964.

**September 5**

*The Rape of Europa*, 2006, in conjunction with the Daniel Boone Regional Library One Read program.

**September 18**

*Ever After*, 1998.

**October 16**

*Orpheus*, 1950.

**November 20**

*Jason and the Argonauts*, 1963.

## Museum Staff



2014

Alex Barker

*Director*

Bruce Cox

*Assistant Director, Museum Operations*

Carol Geisler

*Administrative Assistant*

Donna Dare

*Tour Coordinator*

Kristie Lee (through 05/14)

Cassidy Shearrer (beginning 11/14)

*Computer Graphic Artists*

Vacant

*Curator of European and American Art*

Benton Kidd

*Curator of Ancient Art*

Cathy Callaway

*Museum Educator*

Rachel Straughn-Navarro

*Assistant Museum Educator*

Arthur Mehrhoff

*Academic Coordinator*

Jeffrey Wilcox  
*Curator of Collections/Registrar*

Kenyon Reed  
*Collections Specialist*

Barbara Smith  
*Chief Preparator*

Larry Stebbing (through 04/14)  
*Preparator*

George Szabo  
*Assistant Preparator*

Lucas Gabel (through 03/14), Nick Seelinger (through 06/14), Ryan Johnson (through 07/14), Christopher Ruff (through 12/14), Leland Jones, Pete Christus (beginning 04/14)  
*Security Guards*

Antone Pierucci (through 06/14), Kenneth Kircher (beginning 07/14)  
*Graduate Research Assistants, Ancient Art*

Danielle Gibbons (through 06/14), Kaitlyn Marie-Lightfoot Garbarino (beginning 07/14), Heather Smith (beginning 07/14)  
*Graduate Research Assistants, Registration*

Meg Milanick (through 06/14), Lorinda Bradley (beginning 12/14), Sarah Sylvester Williams (beginning 07/14, through 12/14)  
*Graduate Research Assistants, Department of Art History and Archaeology, Special Collections*

Amanda Malloney (through 05/14)  
*Undergraduate Student Assistant*

Lisa Higgins  
*Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program*

Deborah Bailey  
*Folk Arts Specialist*

Jackson Mendel, Alison Balaskobits (through 07/14), Darcy Holtsgrave (beginning 05/14)  
*Graduate Research Assistants, Folk Arts Program*

## Museum Docents



2014

Andrea Allen	Kathryn Lucas
Gary Beahan	Nancy Mebed
David Bedan	Meg Milanick
Patricia Cowden	Rachel Straughn-Navarro
Caroline Davis	Alice Reese
Ross Duff	Tamara Stam
Sharon Emery	Carol Stevenson
Barbara Fabacher	Remy Wagner
Sue Gish	
Valerie Hammons	<i>Emeritus status</i>
Dot Harrison	
Amorette Haws	Nancy Cassidy
Ingrid Headley	Averil Cooper
Sue Hoelman	Dorinda Derow
Karen John	Ann Gowans
Leland Jones	Mary Beth Kletti
Linda Keown	Michael Kraff
Barbara Kopta †	Pam Springsteel

## Museum Store Volunteers



2014

Emilie Atkins	Linda Lyle
Nancy Burnett	Andy Smith
Sue Gish	Pam Springsteel
Valerie Hammons	Remy Wagner
Karen John	

## Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS)



2014

### *Officers*

Kalina Irving, co-president  
Meagan McKay/Sarah Jones (second semester), co-presidents  
Ying Hu, treasurer

### *Active Members*

Jessica Anders  
Jackson Bollinger  
Nicole Eaton  
Kaitlyn Garbarino  
Sarah Jones  
Kenneth Kircher  
Lindsey Kolisch  
Katelyn Lanning  
Heather Smith  
Sarah Williams

## Advisory Committee



2014

Alex Barker  
*Director, Museum of Art  
and Archaeology*

Brooke Cameron  
*Professor Emerita, Art*

Signe Cohen  
*Associate Professor, Religious Studies*

Tammy McNiel  
*Webmaster*

Ingrid Headley  
*Docent, Museum of Art  
and Archaeology*

Scott Southwick  
*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*

Nancy West  
*Director, Honors College*

Kristin Schwain, Chair  
*Associate Professor, Art History  
and Archaeology*

Laurel Wilson  
*Professor Emerita, Textile  
and Apparel Management*

## Museum Associates Board of Directors



2014

### Officers

Scott Southwick (resigned 11/14)  
Gary Anger (beginning 11/14)  
*President*

Robin LaBrunerie (beginning 11/14)  
*Vice-President*

Alex Barker  
*Executive Vice-President*

Larry Colgin  
*Treasurer*

Terri Rohlfing (resigned 11/14)  
Linda Keown (beginning 11/14)  
*Secretary*

### Board Members

Gary Anger  
Tracey Atwood  
Kristy Bryant (beginning 11/14)  
Tootie Burns  
Pat Cowden

Lisa Eimers  
Nancy Gerardi (resigned 11/14)  
Ken Greene  
Diana Groshong  
Pam Huffstutter  
Darlene Johnson  
Linda Keown  
Randall Kilgore (beginning 11/14)  
Patty King (resigned 11/14)  
Mark Koch  
Robin LaBrunerie (beginning 11/14)  
Don Ludwig  
Barbara Mayer  
Toni Messina (resigned 11/14)  
Alfredo Mubarah  
Vicki Ott (resigned 08/14)  
Christiane Quinn  
Terri Rohlfing  
Joel Sager  
Scott Southwick  
Charles Swaney  
Gary Tatlow (resigned 11/14)  
Stacey Thompson  
Nancy West (resigned 11/14)

## **Ex Officio Members**

Bruce Cox

*Assistant Director, Museum Operations*

Remy Wagner

*Docent Liaison*

Vacant

*Associate Curator of European and American Art*

Susan Langdon

*Chair, Department of Art History and Archaeology*

(Vacant)

*Student Liaison*

## **Honorary Members**

Patricia Atwater

Libby Gill

Osmund Overby (deceased 06/14)

Patricia Wallace (deceased 09/14)

