# MVSE

Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

# MVSE

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:*
Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953)
*La silla* (The chair) 2008
Mixed media: paper, cloth, watercolors, ink, flowers, wood, and leaves
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63a–i)
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

*Back cover:*
Francesco Vanni (Italian, 1563/1564–1610)
*The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, 1598
Black and red chalk with brown wash, on light buff paper, laid down, 26.9 x 18.1 cm
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (64.88)
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

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# Director's Report 2015

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## ALEX W. BARKER

Over the course of 2015 the Museum of Art and Archaeology completed its mandated move from Pickard Hall into Mizzou North—the former Ellis Fischel Cancer Hospital—and on April 19 reopened its galleries to the public (Fig. 1). By year's end the museum was back to full strength with the addition of Alisa Carlson (Ph.D. Texas) as new curator of European and American art, and its professional and public programs were well on their way to returning to full capacity.

Lingering radiation from Pickard Hall's use earlier in the twentieth



**Fig. 1.** The reopening crowd awaits the ribbon cutting in front of the museum. Photo: Susan Scott.

century by the University of Missouri's Chemistry Department had forced the museum's move.[1] In its new quarters, gallery renovations were complicated by the former use of these areas as operating theaters for the hospital. Walls contained medical gas lines and other unexpected obstacles, some of which had been added through the years on an ad hoc basis and hence did not appear on building plans. Adjustments needed to be made throughout the design, demolition, and construction process. Cabinet designs and locations were determined as much by the location of obstacles that could not be removed as by aesthetic or interpretive considerations, and selection of objects and interpretive elements had to be continuously updated to accommodate these changes. Except for minor repairs and corrections, however, all renovations were complete by the beginning of 2015, and the galleries were transferred to the museum for final finish work and installation.

Curator of ancient art Benton Kidd and curator of collections/registrar Jeffrey Wilcox planned the general layout of the Weinberg Galleries of Ancient and Byzantine Art. Kidd then selected objects and worked with chief preparator Barb Smith and graduate research assistant Kenneth Kircher in laying out both the sequence of objects and their placement within cases. Smith and assistant preparators Matt Smith and Travis Kroner designed new

bracket-mounted label holders outside the cases for basic object information; each label includes both "tombstone" object information and a thumbnail image of the object. The design allows for easy removal or replacement of objects and accompanying interpretive information and has proved robust in subsequent use. Kidd also redesigned color interpretive maps and interpretive signage for these galleries.

In December of 2014 our colleagues from USArt and Terry Dowd had returned to install some of the larger works that required gantries or rigging and that needed to be placed in particular locations based on load-bearing requirements of the renovated galleries. These works served as anchor points for the placement of the remaining collections. In concert with Smith and other museum staff, Wilcox worked through a series of alternative layouts for the European and American galleries, using exact-sized cardboard sheets to check for spacing and visual balance. Since the closure of the galleries had made a significant impact on pedagogy and curricula, particularly on Art History classes, the primary layout was chronological and intentionally erred on the side of abundance. Wilcox and I worked together to adjust the selection of works and their arrangement, and then Wilcox consulted with colleagues, including former curator Richard Baumann, to refine the selection and layout further. We followed a similar process in selecting works for the Modern and Contemporary Art Galleries.

Only one area remained incomplete by the date of the opening. The Museum of Art and Archaeology and the Museum of Anthropology are adjacent to each other, separated by a long narrow area that both institutions will use for small exhibitions. The Museum of Art and Archaeology's guard desk is located in this space, as it commands sight lines to all entries and exits and represents the main entry for the Museum of Art and Archaeology, as well as a secondary entry to or exit from the Museum of Anthropology. Renovations of this area were minimal and fell under the earlier Museum of Anthropology renovation contract; for those purposes the space was treated as a corridor. We recaptured this area as gallery space, which then required additional finish work, relocation of switches, sensors, and thermostats, and reconfigurable gallery-grade lighting. All of the finish work was completed, but installation of new, dimmable, track-mounted LED lights remained incomplete at the time of the opening. Work in those areas actually continued throughout 2015, as a noticeable flicker remained in the LEDs even after replacement of lighting controls with bespoke electronic dimmers.

Meanwhile graduate research assistant Heather Smith worked with Wilcox on a temporary print exhibition to occupy a small north gallery being designed for the area adjacent to the museum's new print and drawing storage room. Titled *Holy Women–Holy Men: Christian Saints in European Prints* and exploring the characteristics on which artists focused in depictions of saints from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, the exhibition occupied this temporary exhibition area when the museum's galleries reopened.

Until shortly before the reopening the docents had not been allowed access to the galleries, because I wanted to use them as proxies for the museum's other visitors. I was confident they would offer candid and constructive criticism, informed by both their love of the institution and their familiarity with our holdings and past exhibitions. Their responses

were overwhelmingly and gratifyingly positive—and I think most of them have now forgiven me for not letting them see the galleries sooner (Fig. 2).

Eight hundred of the museum's closest friends joined us for the opening event on April 19, 2015. University and community leaders gathered for a ribbon cutting and were the first to view the completed galleries, which received excellent reviews through both visitor comments and local media (Figs. 3–5). I'm particularly grateful to the Museum



**Fig. 2.** Museum docents are introduced to the galleries before the public opening. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

Associates for arranging such a lovely event, bringing together town and gown in a celebration of art, and to Michael O'Brien, dean of the College of Arts and Science, for his dedicatory remarks.



**Fig. 3.** Saul and Gladys Weinberg Gallery of Ancient Art. Photo: Alex Barker.

**Fig. 4.** Gallery of European and American Art. Photo: Alex Barker.



**Fig. 5.** Gallery of Non Western Art. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Less than a week later many of the museum's closest friends reconvened to honor longtime Museum Associates members. At a special ceremony held in the Cast Gallery and lobby, Associates members received pins based on years of membership and service. Current members of the Museum Board, including president Gary Anger, vice president Robin LaBrunerie, secretary Linda Keown, treasurer Larry Colgin, and membership committee chair Christiane Quinn presented longtime members with pins and



**Fig. 6.** From left to right, Robin LaBrunerie, Pamela Huffstutter, and Julie Middleton at the Paintbrush Ball. Photo: Tom Scharenborg.

thanked them for their unswerving support of the museum and its mission. The Museum Associates continued their efforts to increase museum visibility through the Paintbrush Ball (March 21) (Fig. 6), the museum opening ceremonies and membership pin event, an ice cream social during the hottest part of the summer (July 26), the annual Crawfish Boil (September 18) (Fig. 7), which complements the black-tie elegance of the Paintbrush Ball with a far more casual and relaxed atmosphere, the Associates annual meeting (November 13), and the annual Evening of Holiday celebration (December 2). All these events were coordinated with skill by Bruce Cox, assistant director museum operations.



**Fig. 7.** Musicians at the Crawfish Boil in September. Photo: Alex Barker.

The weeks between the museum's reopening event and the end of the school year were somewhat of a blur, as school groups long dependent on the museum's collections and programs for curricular support—limited or absent during parts of 2014—booked tours and programs on a much larger scale than in previous years. This placed considerable demands on staff and docents, and especially on tour coordinator Donna Dare and museum educator Cathy Callaway. Lee Expressive Arts Elementary School, with whom the museum has a long history of rich collaborative programming, brought every student on May 6 and 7 (the museum celebrated its tenth anniversary as a Partner in Education with Lee in 2015), and Parkade Elementary, Jefferson Middle School, Hickman High School, Moberly Elementary School, and other area schools booked programs for large groups of students simultaneously. These were divided into smaller and more manageable subsets, but the usual guided tour format proved



**Fig. 8.** Lee Expressive Arts Elementary School students. Photo: Susan Scott.

unwieldy with so many groups moving through the galleries at once, so we experimented with prearranged "explanation stations" with the students moving between them on a set schedule (Fig. 8).

This placed additional demands on the docents, who proved up to the challenge. The docent program remained vital and active while the galleries were closed, and a series of development activities and focused training sessions organized by Callaway—and in some cases by the docents themselves—paid dividends when the galleries opened, and the public returned. It is commonplace for docent programs to wither or wane when galleries are closed, and I am immensely proud and grateful that ours did the opposite. I was personally inspired by the docents' loyalty and enthusiasm throughout the move and reinstallation, which allowed me to keep a positive perspective during even the most frustrating moments. Several docents were recognized for their years of service in 2015, including Pat Cowden (twenty years), Alice Reese (ten years), and Sue Hoevelman and Kathie Lucas (five years). In addition, Linda Keown, Carol Stevenson, Andrea Allen, Remy Wagner, and Ingrid Headley were awarded five-year awards retrospectively. All had been docents for many years and had previously received recognition for the years of service, but they had passed the five-year milestone before the current five-year awards were offered. Six new docents began their training in 2015.

Education staff who had focused their attention on docent enrichment, outreach to schools, and online programs now stepped up with a range of on-site programming. Assistant museum educator Rachel Straughn-Navarro conducted the second annual Art Summer Camp (Fig. 9), and Straughn-Navarro and Callaway also presented nine different after-school and family events, ranging from "Animals on the Loose" to "Henri Matisse and the Fauves: Painting with Scissors" (Fig. 10). The museum also partnered with the Archaeological Institute of America in presenting programs for International



**Fig. 9.** Art Summer Camp. Photo: Cathy Callaway.



**Fig. 10.** Gary Beahan (in beret, top) as the artist Matisse with his artist's guild. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

Archaeology Day on October 17, and with the Smithsonian for National Museum Day on September 26 (Fig. 11). Art-related films were shown monthly through the museum's Ad Hoc Film Series (with two films screened in September) and, as always, ranged from the profound (*Do the Right Thing*, and *The Best Offer* [La migliore offerta]) to the ridiculous (*Monty Python and the Holy Grail*).

The museum also increased its collaborations with the University of Missouri's School of Music. Academic coordinator Arthur Mehrhoff helped arrange the annual Music and Art concert on February 20th, which brought together the Ars Nova singers with museum art works and docents (Fig. 12). Works were selected, projected, and paired for discussion with choral compositions that explored similar themes or that are from the same region and period. While this annual concert has become a local tradition, in 2015 we expanded the collaboration by launching the first of a larger series of gallery concerts featuring the University of Missouri Graduate String Quartet. The pilot program took place on November 1st, and additional gallery concerts are planned for spring 2016.

The museum also returned to a more regular program of academic talks and lectures, offering ten programs over the course of a somewhat abbreviated



**Fig. 11.** International Archaeology Day with (from left to right) Jean Parsons, Nicole Johnston, and Gretta Hempleman representing the Missouri Historic Costume and Textile Collection, Department of Textile and Apparel Management. Photo: Cathy Callaway.



**Fig. 12.** Music and Art concert at the Missouri Theater. Photo: Alex Barker.

year. Of special note was Professor Riccardo Lattuada of the Second University of Naples, who gave a well-received presentation on his successful efforts to reattribute the museum's painting *David with the Head of Goliath* to Neapolitan master Andrea Vaccaro (Fig. 13); Brick Johnstone of the University of Missouri's Department of Health Psychology, who spoke on deformity in art; and David Spear, a well-known local artist who discussed his ongoing project to understand Thomas Hart Benton's use of maquettes and three-dimensional figures in the composition of his paintings, especially murals. Spear is also creating new works of art based on the aging of one of Benton's maquettes in the museum's collection, which was an expedient construct of found objects and plasticene clay and not intended to be preserved.

One of the most welcome sets of academic talks was by candidates for the position of curator of European and American Art. Following a national search, three finalists visited the museum over the summer and offered public lectures. All were exceptional candidates, and while we were fortunate to have had such a strong pool of applicants, this made the decision by the search committee (including Michael Yonan and Susan Langdon of the University of Missouri's Department of Art History and Archaeology, Jo Stealey of the Art Department, Benton Kidd, Bruce Cox, Jeff Wilcox, and me) a pleasantly difficult one. We were still more fortunate that our chosen candidate, Alisa Carlson, accepted our offer and joined the staff as curator of European and American Art in early September (Fig. 14).



**Fig. 13.** Professor Riccardo Lattuada of the Second University of Naples examining the museum's painting *David with the Head of Goliath*. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 14.** Alisa Carlson, curator of European and American Art. Photo: J. J. Carlson.

Carlson wasted no time. In October her first curated exhibition, *Experiencing Land-scapes in Japanese Prints*, opened and ran until February 2016. Focusing on views of the Tokaido, the exhibition was our first in the reclaimed space between the two museums and is scheduled to be succeeded by additional exhibitions of the museum's rich collection of Japanese woodblocks and woodblock prints in subsequent years. Working with graduate research assistant Lorinda Bradley, Carlson also began developing exhibitions to open in early 2016.

*Holy Women–Holy Men: Christian Saints in European Prints* was shown from April until September and was succeeded by another print show developed by Wilcox and graduate assistant Heather Smith. *Classical Convergence: Greek and Roman Myths in European Prints* examined depictions of classical heroes and gods from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. It opened in late September 2015 and is scheduled to coincide with course offerings from the University of Missouri Department of Classics and with International Archaeology Day.

The museum also mounted two smaller, special-purpose exhibitions during 2015. The *Museum of Civilization* was a small exhibition developed by educator Callaway to support the annual Daniel Boone Regional Library's One Read selection, *Station Eleven*, by Emily St. John Mandel, a post-apocalyptic novel that described a similar exhibition. The museum also again presented *Artful Bra*, a selection of award-winning entries in the Ellis Fischel Cancer Center's art contest to support Breast Cancer Awareness Month. On December 1st, the museum, as always, marked National Day Without Art, which brings attention to the disproportionate impact of AIDS and HIV on the arts community. We also hosted the annual "Art after Dark" event, organized by the Museum Advisory Council of Students, with financial contributions from Museum Associates.

The museum added a number of significant works to its collections over the course of the year, including a seventeenth-century *vanitas* painting attributed to Cornelis Mahu, after Willem Claesz Heda (Fig. 7, p. 94). The painting shows a Nautilus shell cup, peeled lemon, and a meat pie with a roemer and other wine glasses on a partially draped table. We've been seeking a good *vanitas* or closely related theme for some years, and we were pleased to add this work to the permanent collection. It also afforded an opportunity to discuss, internally and with our audiences, the categorization of paintings and whether or not this work should be characterized as a *vanitas*. Through the generosity of Museum Associates, we also added a portrait by a follower of Pieter Pourbus depicting a sumptuously dressed woman with an elaborate lace collar (Fig. 6, p. 93). In the style of the mid-sixteenth century, *Portrait of a Lady* offers fertile ground for future research. One of the first acquisitions made by Carlson was a 1561 oil-on-wood panel *Portrait of Martin Klostermair* attributed to German painter Hans Mielich (Fig. 15).

During the same period the museum acquired Philip Reisman's *The Negro In American History* (1934) (Fig. 8, p. 94) and through the generosity of Robin and Alex LaBrunerie and an anonymous donor also purchased Louis Leon Ribak's *Nocturne*, a disturbing 1937 work depicting klansmen fleeing into a darkening forest (Fig. 16). These works join other recent acquisitions like Albert Pels' *American Tragedy* depicting the aftermath of a

**Fig. 15.** Attributed to Hans Mielich (German, 1516–1573). *Portrait of Martin Klostermair*, 1561, oil-on-wood panel, 48 x 38 cm. Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2015.14). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 16.** Louis Leon Ribak (American, 1902–1979). *Nocturne*, ca. 1937, oil on canvas, 61.2 x 76.5 cm. Acquired with funds from Robin and Alex LaBrunerie and an anonymous donor (2015.4). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

lynching (also acquired through the generosity of Robin and Alex LaBrunerie) and Jack Keijo Steele's *Battle of the Overpass*. All these works offer powerful social commentary and critique; these acquisitions predate the 2015–2016 unrest on the University of Missouri campus. The museum also acquired prints by Romare Bearden (*Carolina Blue*, 1970, serigraph and collage) (Fig. 1, p. 91) and Jacob Lawrence (*People in Other Rooms [Harlem Street Scene]*, 1975, serigraph) (Fig. 17).

The museum also added several other prints offering social commentary, including a lovely James Gillray print from 1796, *Sandwich-Carrots! Dainty Sandwich-Carrots*, a satirical reflection on the lechery of certain English lords that was produced by one of the few female printers and publishers of the age, Hannah Humphrey (Fig. 4, p. 92). We also added to our collection of Daumier prints. One from the *Les bas-bleus* series (*Enfer et damnation!*, 1844, lithograph) is a very different approach to women's entry into publishing, while the other (*Léocadie, de la haut 40 siècles trois quart nous contemplent . . .,* 1869, lithograph with censor's notes and approval) helps round out our collection to illustrate the print creation and publication process (Fig. 3, p. 92). An earlier Daumier acquisition has a handwritten caption and comments. Here the review and approval by censors is also marked.

Other prints acquired over 2015 include two versions of a work by Paul César Helleu, *Portrait of Madame Helleu* (ca. 1900, drypoint, etching and roulette, one printed in black ink, the other in brown), given by George C. Kenney II, two prints by American artist and scholar Gordon Gilkey (of Monuments Men fame), lithographs by Thomas Hart Benton (Fig. 2, p. 91) and Adolf Dehn, and a strong self-portrait by Käthe Kollwitz (*Selbstbildnis*, 1921, etching) (Fig. 5, p. 93).

The move had highlighted certain weaknesses in the museum's existing collections management system (CMS), and it was decided that after the move was completed and new



**Fig. 17.** Jacob Lawrence (American, 1817–2000). *People in Other Rooms (Harlem Street Scene)*, 1975, serigraph, 62.2 x 47 cm. Acquired with funds from the estate of Holly Burgess (2015.17). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

location data were fully recorded we would upgrade to a more capable CMS that would better meet emerging needs, while allowing online access to the museum's collections to anyone, anywhere. Late in the year the museum was awarded a three-year, $129k Museums for America grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) to fund acquisition and implementation of the new CMS, as well as migration of extant records to the new platform. Wilcox and collections specialist Kenyon Reed will play crucial roles in this process, which also supports scanning existing catalogue cards to capture any handwritten notes or comments.

The Missouri Folk Arts Program (MFAP) continued its outstanding work through MFAP director Lisa Higgins, folk arts specialist Debbie Bailey, and graduate assistants Jackson Medel and Dorothy Atuhura. Able assistance for the grants that support MFAP is provided by the museum's business support specialist, Carol Geisler. MFAP hosted seven apprenticeships in 2015 in art forms ranging from two regional styles of old-time fiddling and Kansas City jazz drumming to ornamental blacksmithing, "hornering" (a scrimshaw-like tradition), and the Murye dances and percussion of relocated members of the South Sudanese Kuku tribe. Moreover, 2015 was a banner year at MFAP, as staff, artists, partners, and audiences celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program (TAAP). MFAP and Missouri State Parks and Historic Sites produced four, multi-artist events at the Scott Joplin House Historic Site, the Current River State Park, the Historic Jefferson Landing, and Roaring River State Park (Fig. 18). Over forty artists representing apprenticeships from 1985–2015 performed and/or demonstrated at these special events (Fig. 19). KBIA (our local public radio station), the



**Fig. 18.** Graduate assistant Jackson Medel video-records an old-time music jam at Roaring River State Park during the final TAAP thirtieth anniversary event. Photo: Heather Rhodes Johnson (graduate volunteer).



**Fig. 19.** Storytellers Loretta Washington, Angela J. Williams, and Gladys Caines Cogswell perform outside the Scott Joplin House in St. Louis during a TAAP thirtieth anniversary event. Photo: Heather Rhodes Johnson (graduate volunteer).

Missouri Arts Council, and *Rural Missouri* (a publication of the state's electric cooperative) all produced feature stories on the TAAP's milestone. Members of Missouri's Community Scholars
Network, coordinated by MFAP, presented lectures, stories, and forums at the annual meeting of the Missouri Folklore Society in Jefferson City in November.

The museum continued its partnership with the Capitoline Museum in Rome, documenting and analyzing previously unstudied antiquities. The partnership was supported by professors Susan Langdon, chair, and Kathleen Slane, both of the Department of Art History and Archaeology; and on Slane's retirement Marcello Mogetta (Ph.D. Michigan), who was hired as her replacement, eagerly became involved in the project and has launched additional partnerships with colleagues at other universities to encourage further study of the materials currently on loan.

Staff also remained active in regional and national museum affairs. Lisa Higgins presented a paper at the American Folklore Society meetings in a special session honoring University of Missouri professor Elaine J. Lawless on the occasion of her retirement, and Alisa Carlson is completing an edited volume honoring Jeffrey Chipps Smith, Kay Fortson Chair in European Art at the University of Texas. Benton Kidd published "Masonry Style in Phoenicia: Reconstructing Sumptuous Mural Decoration from the 'Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building' at Tel Anafa" in *Beyond Iconography: Materials, Methods and Meaning in Ancient Surface Decoration*, edited by Sarah Lepinski and Susanna McFadden and published by the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) (Fig. 20). He continues his work on the final volume of the Tel Anafa report and serves as advisor to the University of Missouri's Ancient World Freshman Interest Group. Cathy Callaway served as an IMLS field reviewer, worked with the American Alliance of Museums' Educators Committee and their Professional Development Committee, and served as vice president of the local society of the AIA. Callaway also submitted an article on the Museum of Art and Archaeology's 2012 educational programming for the journal *Art Education*. In early 2015, I completed my four-year appointment to the federal Native American Graves
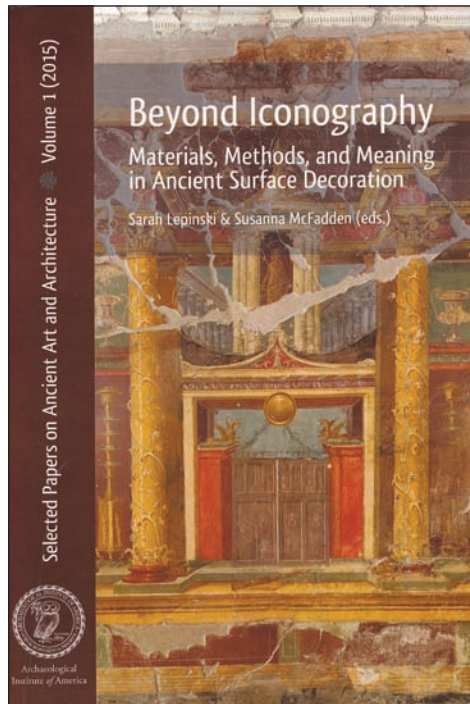


**Fig. 20.** *Beyond Iconography: Materials, Methods and Meaning in Ancient Surface Decoration.*

Protection and Repatriation Act Review Committee, which oversees implementation of the Act and reports to Congress on progress to date, and completed service as chair of the Society for American Archaeology Nominating Committee. My reprieve was brief, as in the summer I became president-elect of the American Anthropological Association. I also served as an IMLS national panelist and conducted an AAM accreditation peer review visit for a university museum in the Ivy League. In April I testified to the federal Cultural Property Advisory Committee, which recommends antiquities protections under the enabling legislation implementing the 1970 UNESCO Convention within the United States, regarding extension of existing protections to Italian antiquities; that extension was subsequently approved. On the research front I continued work on a manuscript on the mound builder myth, published a review article for *Museum Anthropology Review*, an article "Sourcing Obsidian Artifacts from Archaeological Sites in Banat (Southwestern Romania) by X-Ray Fluorescence" for *Analele Banatului, S.N., Arheologie-Istorie*, and an article on prehistoric mound sites in eastern North America for the kids' magazine *Dig Into History*. My colleagues and I also completed our book manuscript describing the multi-year process of revising the principles of professional responsibility for the American Anthropological Association *(Ethics as Process: Anthropology's Ongoing Dialogue regarding Ethical Practice)*, published at the end of 2015 with a 2016 date. Finally, Jane Biers continues her outstanding service as editor of *Muse*, with the support of assistant editors Cathy Callaway and Jeffrey Wilcox, and graphic designer Kristie Lee.

The University of Missouri witnessed unrest and considerable upheavals over the course of 2015, which continued into the subsequent year. While it is neither my desire nor my intention to address in these pages all of the complex and interrelated issues involved, I wish to thank the staff for their resilience and good humor over the course of a tumultuous year.

NOTES

1. For full description of the move and the reasons for it, see Alex W. Barker, "Director's Report 2013," *Muse* 47 (2013) pp. 1–8 and "Director's Report 2014," *Muse* 48 (2014) pp. 1–9.

# Seven Ancient Egyptian
# Figured Ostraca and a Decorated Sherd

*The Wilber Collection in the
Museum of Art and Archaeology,
University of Missouri*\*

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## PATRICIA V. PODZORSKI

## Introduction

Egyptian ostraca are irregular pieces of limestone or pottery (potsherds) that served as surfaces for writing or drawing.[1] Although they were used throughout Egyptian history, the highest concentration of known ostraca is derived from the west bank of the Nile River at Luxor. Most come from either the environs of Deir el-Medina, the modern name for the ancient village of the workmen responsible for the construction and decoration of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, or from the Valley of Kings,[2] although other sources are also known.[3]

Figured, also referred to as decorated, ostraca are typically informal renderings, sketches or outline drawings in red and/or black, although finely executed polychrome images are also known. Egyptian drawing and calligraphy were strongly related, and both the artist and the scribe worked with a brush, using primarily red and black pigments. We know from unfinished examples of tomb paintings that preliminary layouts and drawings were executed in red and corrections were overlaid in black. As sketches, the images on ostraca do not always exhibit this two-stage process,[4] and images were often quickly executed in black, red, or bichrome.

The quality of most ostraca drawings indicates that the figures were usually executed relatively quickly for transitory purposes, making them basically ephemera—although very durable ephemera. Studies of the images preserved on ostraca indicate that they probably served a variety of functions, including as scratch paper, ex-votos, preliminary designs for decoration of walls or objects, architectural plans, sketch pads for training young artists, creative outlet, skill retention and enhancement, pattern books, remedy for boredom, and illustrations of cultural narratives and folk tales.[5]

The Museum of Art and Archaeology possesses eight small drawings on flakes of limestone and pottery that date to the period of the Egyptian New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1070

B.C.E.). Seven are identified as figured ostraca, since they lack inscriptions, while the eighth is a painted potsherd. They depict a variety of human and animal figures (Figs. 1–10). Acquired by the museum in 1963 as a gift from Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber, these were "the best"[6] of the ostraca collected by Mr. Wilber in Egypt between 1930 and 1934.[7] In 1930, Wilber (1907–1997), a graduate student in architecture at Princeton University, was hired by James Henry Breasted, the eminent American Egyptologist, to work as an artist for the University of Chicago Oriental Institute's Egyptian Expedition in Luxor.[8] Wilber's memoirs indicated that he collected ostraca because they interested him as an artist and because they were inexpensive.[9] In the summer of 1931, during the break between field seasons in Egypt, he traveled to Greece and worked at Salonika/Olynthus, Greece, where he met a young scholar, Gladys Davidson (later Weinberg). Their lifelong friendship led to his giving the ostraca to the Museum of Art and Archaeology.[10]

The Wilber collection consists of six limestone and one ceramic figured ostraca and one sherd from a painted pot (catalogue nos. 1–8).[11] The figures and scenes depicted all fall within the corpus of known images and themes. The design repertoire includes representations of humans, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Colors most frequently used are black or black and red. Polychrome (black, red, white) is found on one example (cat. no. 7), and perhaps on one other (black, red, and possibly yellow, cat. no. 8). Scenes with more than one figure or object occur on half of the ostraca (cat. nos. 1, 3, 5a, 7 and 8), and two have drawings on both back and front surfaces (cat. nos. 4a and 4b, 5a and 5b). A total of five human figures are found on four pieces (cat. nos. 1, 4a, 5a/5b, and 6). Non-human elements are more numerous and can be subdivided into figures of animals (cat. nos. 1–3, 7 and 8), plants (cat. nos. 4b and perhaps 5a), and inanimate objects (cat. nos. 3, 4b, 5a and 7). There is one obscure image which apparently consists of overlapping drawings, perhaps containing both human and inanimate elements (no. 5a).

# Catalogue

**1. Rider on a Horse** (Fig. 1)
**Material:** Ceramic, black painted design; L. 7 cm; W. 5 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.1
**Publication:** None

Although more than half of the original drawing is missing, the relative positions of the fragmentary figures clearly indicate that the individual was riding, rather than walking or standing beside the horse. The line work of this sketch is somewhat rough, with extra or irregular lines on the horse's neck and chin, and on the rider's head and arm. Execution of the human figure is awkward, with almost no neck, an oversized eye under an eyebrow indicated by a simple arc, and a very small nose. The dome of the skull is uneven, defined with a heavy wavering line that may indicate either a shaved head or an unusual
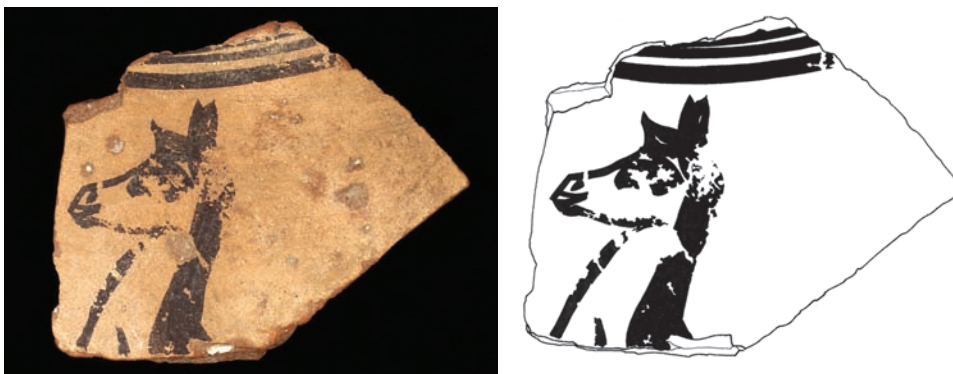
**Fig. 1.** Rider on a horse (ostracon) cat. no. 1. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, ca. 1550–1070 B.C.E., ceramic. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.1). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox. Drawing: John Huffstot.

hairstyle.[12] The preserved hand holds a rein with the loop above the hand, a common feature in this type of scene;[13] the short whip known from some scenes is omitted here.[14] The bridle is simply rendered by a nose strap. A starburst shape on the horse's head may represent the eye or perhaps a tassel connected to the bridle. Faint traces of a horizontal line, possibly representing a second rein, cross the lower neck of the horse. The mane is rendered as a series of flowing arcs, seeming to suggest motion. The small ear is pointed forward, indicating where the horse's attention is focused.

The horse and rider motif is documented on ancient Egyptian ostraca and in other media (tomb relief and painting, stelae, models, and other objects).[15] The rider usually sits bareback and holds one or two reins. Occasionally, riders appear to grasp the horse's mane. Male and female as well as human and divine riders have been noted in the corpus. Male riders are often associated with military scenes. Schulman is of the opinion that these male riders functioned as military scouts.[16] Images of the goddess Astarte on horse-back, identified by her divine attributes, appear in the New Kingdom.[17] A few images of female riders, shown nude and with short, sometimes tufted hair have been noted. These female riders have been identified with Astarte, even though no specific iconography is present.[18] Identification of riders on ostraca may be difficult, since the larger context of a scene is often not depicted. The gender of the rider on the museum's ostracon is uncertain. The relative robustness of the shoulder in relation to the arm may indicate masculine musculature, while the possible unusual hairstyle may indicate a female rider. The slight forward projection of the chest and the nipple cannot be assumed to indicate a female breast, since the male pectoral region may be similarly portrayed.

**Fig. 2.** Head of a horse (potsherd) cat. no. 2. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 18 attributed, ca. 1550–1292 B.C.E., ceramic. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.2). Photo: Kenyon Reed. Drawing: John Huffstot.

**2. Head of a Horse** (Fig. 2)
**Material:** Ceramic, black painted design; L. 7 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.2
**Publication:** None

At the top of the sherd are traces of three black lines of varying thickness, bands that once surrounded the entire vessel. Also in black is the left-facing head and neck of a horse. The ears are rather large for a horse, but the mane, forelock, and shape of the head render the image more horse-like.[19] The eye is small, as is the single nostril. No bridle or other horse gear are depicted. Based on the curvature of the sherd, it probably came from a narrow-necked jar or amphora. Vessels with this type of decoration are usually of fine Nile silt wares with light-colored slip and designs in black or polychrome.

Storage jars with scenes of animals, including running horses and leaping calves in a natural setting, are known from the New Kingdom.[20] Ceramics decorated with horses and other frolicking animals are most frequently dated to earlier in the New Kingdom, with the majority of examples attributed to Dynasty 18. The archaeological context for such vessels includes royal and non-royal elite domestic and funerary sites in Upper Egypt, especially (but not exclusively) at Thebes and Amarna. Sherds with this type of decoration have been found at palace sites of Malkata and Amarna.

**3. Animal Musicians and Dancers** (Fig. 3)
**Material:** Limestone, black, red, and reddish-orange drawing; H. 8 cm; W. 8 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.3
**Publication:** D. Wilber, "The Off-Beat in Egyptian Art," *Archaeology* 13 (1960) p. 264, fig. 17, p. 265; P. F. Houlihan, *Wit and Humour in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001) p. 87, fig. 92

**Fig. 3.** Animal musicians and dancers (ostracon) cat. no. 3. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 19–20, ca. 1292–1070 B.C.E., limestone. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.3). Photo: Kenyon Reed. Drawing: John Huffstot; updated, P. V. Podzorski.

This type of scene, an animal parody of musicians and dancers, is well known in ancient Egyptian papyri and ostraca.[21] The figures on this piece are executed in black and red; the black strokes are fine, sure, and precise. The red lines are dull and hard to see, perhaps indicating the preliminary layout under the finished black drawing. A slightly different shade of red, almost orange, colors the face of the piper. In the upper portion of the ostracon, a table with splayed legs supports two objects. On the left is a long, narrow ovoid, horizontally oriented, and to the right is a rough square with slightly incurved sides. The narrow ovoid may represent either a food item, such as a long-necked chate melon or cucumber, or a slender, narrow-necked vessel lying on its side. The smaller object probably represents a pot stand.[22]

The main scene consists of four animal figures. On the left are the herbivorous musicians. The smaller figure has inward-curved horns, large ears, narrow snout, short tail, and black spotted or piebald coat. It plays a barrel drum. The larger figure plays the divergent double pipes (double oboe). An interesting feature is the object that hangs from its foreleg; this may represent the case used by professional musicians to transport the pipes. Due to a large chip, an important diagnostic feature—the horns—is missing from this figure. The face of this animal is sloped with a blunt muzzle, unlike the more pointed snout of the drummer. This figure lacks the spots but has a short curved tail; vertical lines on the torso and thigh may indicate shadings on the underbelly and rump of the pelt. To the right are the carnivorous dancers. The activity of the smaller animal is unclear. Only enough of the figure remains to identify that the creature stands, perhaps with arms outstretched, and has a somewhat pointed muzzle and erect ears. The larger animal has a pointed muzzle,

large upstanding ears, protruding tongue, spotted coat, and hairy underbelly. It stands with forelimbs spread wide in energetic movement. It is unclear whether it holds something in the forward paw.

While the activities of the animal actors are straightforward, difficulties arise when attempting to identify the specific types of animals portrayed. The musicians have been previously identified as goats.[23] A survey of various New Kingdom, specifically Theban, portrayals of goats shows a variety of horn forms and coat colors, as in the tomb of Ipuy,[24] but a similar horn form is also known from at least one portrayal of a gazelle.[25] Since a piebald coat is not consistent with the gazelle, the smaller figure is certainly a goat. The larger animal may also be a goat, but with its shaded coat an identification of gazelle cannot be ruled out.[26]

The identification of the large carnivore is also problematic. It has previously been identified as a wolf or fox.[27] The pointed muzzle and upright ears have more in common with canine features, but the series of spots might indicate a hyena or other animal. Based on modern forms, the African wolf[28] and jackal both have a bushy tail and shaded, but not spotted, coat.[29] Foxes in Egypt lack spots (although some have horizontal color bands) and have a bushy tail with white tip.[30] The hyena in Egypt is usually assumed to be the striped variety (*Hyaena hyaena*) rather than the spotted (*Crocuta crocuta*). The latter have rounded ears and distinct spots. The stripes in some varieties of *Hyaena hyaena* are discontinuous, looking more like spots; all have a mane, which is smaller on some individuals.[31] Hyenas depicted with stripes, rather than spots, are not unknown in ancient Egyptian ostraca,[32] and I believe that the animal represented on the museum's ostracon may be a hyena.

Scenes of human musicians and dancers entertaining at celebrations are well known from New Kingdom tombs. The musicians are usually female, and the dancers almost exclusively so.[33] The double pipes and barrel drum occur in the tomb scenes, along with several other instruments including the lute, harp, lyre, and single pipe.[34] The jar on its side may indicate that the entertainers have consumed the alcoholic beverage it contained, adding to the enthusiasm of their activities. The Missouri piece is noteworthy for the presence of goat, or possibly gazelle, musicians and the pipe case. In a brief survey of ostraca showing animal musicians (either performing singly or in groups) from the most common ostraca publications, I found that the overwhelming majority (70 percent) of animals depicted playing the divergent double pipe were monkeys. In the remaining 30 percent of the sample, carnivores playing the double pipes were slightly more common than ungulates.

**4a. Kneeling Nude Male** (Fig. 4)
**Material:** Limestone, black and red drawing; H. 7.6 cm; W. 6.3 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.4 obverse
**Publication:** Wilber, "Off-Beat," pp. 261, fig. 7, 263

**Fig. 4.** Kneeling nude male (ostracon) cat. no. 4a. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 19–20, ca. 1292–1070 B.C.E., limestone. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.4 obverse). Photo: Kenyon Reed. Drawing: John Huffstot.

The color and line work on this squatting nude figure are strong and well defined, although the multi-stroke line work classes this as a sketch. The dark red-brown flesh is outlined in black. The well-executed figure has rolls of flesh below a rounded breast/ pectoral area; the abdomen is slightly rounded, with a distinct oval bellybutton. The edge of the iliac crest is delineated by a single line, and a small penis is evident. The lower legs are rather thin compared to the robust thighs, and the back foot is long and narrow. The outline along the back, buttock, and breast of the figure seems to have been created with a double stroke, while the legs and foot were accomplished with thinner strokes. The position of one upper arm is indicated by a black line visible just above the breast.

The gender of this figure is clear based on the presence of the penis. This feature is missing from the drawing published in 1960, and so Wilber misidentified the image as a female. There is a soft quality to the flesh of the figure, although the rolls of the upper body could also be the result of the forward-leaning posture of the body. Figures of overweight men are occasionally depicted on ostraca and in tomb paintings with rolls of flesh below a distinct breast.[35] Nude figures of men or boys are not rare on ostraca, and they are usually associated with scenes of work or energetic play.[36] Due to the missing portion of the ostracon, it is uncertain which activity the man was engaged in. The position of the lower limbs is commonly seen when an individual is involved in activities as varied as kneeling in supplication or prayer before superiors or divinities, sailing a boat, tending a cooking fire, or feeding recumbent farm animals. The fact that only the extreme lower

edge of the forward arm is visible would seem to indicate that whatever activity is represented, the arms were held either before and behind the body, or above chest height (a pose occasionally seen when worshipping).[37] The figure's nudity, however, would seem to preclude the latter interpretation, and some work activity may be represented here. Based on body proportions, especially upper to lower leg, the long foot, presence of iliac crest, and wide oval navel, a post-Dynasty 18, Ramesside, date seems likely.

**4b. Basket with Fruit** (Fig. 5)
**Material:** Limestone, black and red-brown drawing; H. 7.6 x W. 6.3 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.4 reverse
**Publication:** None

    Only part of the image is preserved due to a loss of the lower right corner of the ostracon and an area of dark discoloration possibly due to fire.[38] A portion of what appears to be a wide-mouthed container, possibly a bowl, is outlined in black with horizontal black lines. Piled above the bowl are bag-shaped objects, with more or less narrow necks, which appear to be fruits. These are depicted lying on their sides and appear to be longer than wide, rounded at one end, and narrowing slightly toward the opposite, flat end. The rounded bottom is usually smooth, although one seems to show a central projection. It is unclear whether one or more of the fruits in the upper right section of the pile have very narrow necks, or whether this is the result of how the fruits overlap each other. The area



**Fig. 5.** Basket with fruit (ostracon) cat. no. 4b. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 19–20, ca. 1292–1070 B.C.E., limestone. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.4 reverse). Photo: Kenyon Reed. Drawing: John Huffstot; updated, P. V. Podzorski.

of the fruit was first colored by a wash of reddish brown pigment, over which the black outlines of the fruit were drawn. In the upper left corner of the ostracon are two marks in dense black. The form of the right-hand mark is unclear,[39] and I cannot determine whether this is a brief hieratic or cursive hieroglyphic inscription, or a more modern mark.

The shape of the bowl, which appears to have a flared rim, is a common ceramic form. The horizontal lines may, however, represent coils, perhaps indicating this is a basketry bowl. The fruits overlap each other in a naturalistic fashion, and the slight variation in shapes may indicate that more than one type of fruit is portrayed. The rounded, bag-like shapes perhaps represent dôm-palm fruit,[40] while the narrower-necked fruit, if present, might represent either the sycamore fig or the common fig.[41]

### 5a. Head and Upper Body of a Man and Obscure Image (Fig. 6)
**Material:** Limestone, black and red drawing; L. 7; W. 5 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.5 obverse
**Publication:** None

The drawings on the obverse of this ostracon are difficult to interpret, with overlapping red and black lines that may or may not belong to the same image. The figure on the left appears to be the head and upper body of a person, presumably a man. Preliminary red lines with black overlays are clearly visible in the head and face. The facial profile is quite flat, bisected by the projecting nose. The eye, which is set close to the front of the face, has heavy upper and lower cosmetic lines. The current state of the paint makes it unclear whether there was a separately rendered brow above the upper eyelid, or whether the upper eye line is simply abnormally thick. The mouth is small, with the preliminary red line larger than the black overlay. Where preserved, the hair is dense black. A heavy red line



**Fig. 6.** Head and upper body of a man and obscure image (ostracon) cat. no. 5a. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 19–20, ca. 1292–1070 B.C.E., limestone. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.5 obverse). Photo: Kenyon Reed. Drawing: John Huffstot; updated, P. V. Podzorski.

that projects beyond the hairline at the forehead could represent a lotus blossom worn on the head, as is seen in banqueting scenes, or be related to the large red smear in front of the face.

The definition of the lower body is very obscure, with faint traces of red and black lines and smears making identification of the posture difficult, and at times the traces seem to indicate multiple images. Red lines with occasional traces of black overlay lines appear to define the forward shoulder, back upper arm, and chest. Heavy red and black lines and shapes just below the neck and crossing the rear shoulder may indicate something held in front of the body, or elements of dress, or a separate image overlying the first. It is not unknown for "cross" sketching to occur, where a later figure is drawn over an earlier figure, often with a different orientation.[42] Faint traces of red lines at the front of the torso could represent a rounded pectoral area and forward arm or might relate to another image. Diagonal black lines below the chest seem to connect with the red line of the back torso, perhaps indicating legs in a striding position. The proportions do not match, however, with the head being at a larger scale than the indications of the possible lower body. Red shapes at the lower edge of the ostracon seem unrelated to the primary figure,[43] as do fine black lines to the right of these shapes. It is unclear whether the man and the image to the right are part of a larger composition or whether the images are unrelated.

The figure on the right side of the ostracon is a confusing complex of apparently overlapping images. Some elements may include a hand with long fingers in red oriented downward and vertical black lines that may indicate the pleating of a garment over the lower portion of a woman's body[44] or the lines in a complex papyrus/vegetal bundle column with floral capital.[45] The projecting forms at the upper left of the figure seem to share some elements with a reworked sketch of a divine barque now in Germany or a complex religious installation from an ostracon in Cairo.[46] The highest projecting object has two elements at right angles with a cross-hatched pattern in red; the latter pattern possibly indicates leather binding. Perhaps if more of the ostracon were preserved, the significance of this complex form might become clear.
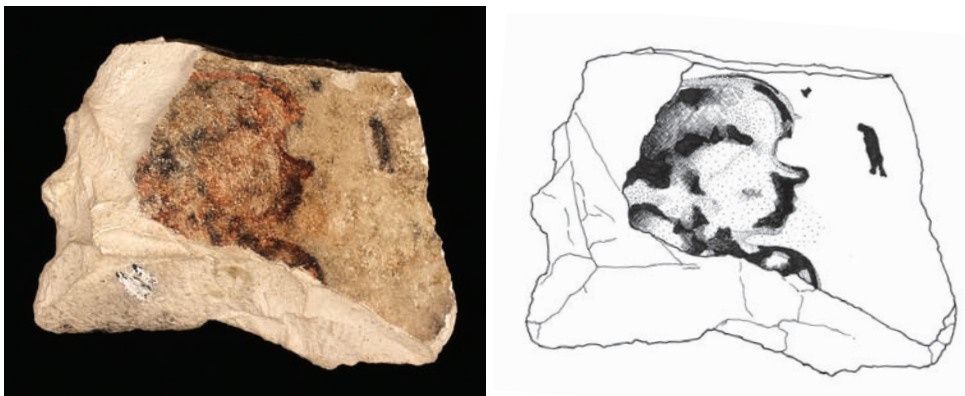
**5b. Head of a Man** (Fig. 7)
**Material:** Limestone, black and red drawing; L. 7 cm; W. 5 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.5 reverse
**Publication:** Wilber, "Off-Beat," p. 261, fig. 8, p. 263

The reverse of this ostracon displays a clear right-facing profile and upper curve of the forward shoulder of a man. There are complex layers of paint on this piece, perhaps indicating a finished drawing with areas of applied color. Strong red lines define the top of the head, nose, chin, and shoulder. Fainter red traces are seen elsewhere. Black lines, appearing less solid than the red, follow the red at head, nose, and shoulder. Black lines also define the hairline above the wide cheek area, what may be the edge of a broad collar on the shoulder, and possible vertical striations in the hair. The hair, which covers the head in a hemispherical cap, projects beyond the forehead. The nose is dished (concave), and

**Fig. 7.** Head of a man, possibly a Nubian (ostracon) cat. no. 5b. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 19–20, ca. 1292–1070 B.C.E., limestone. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.5 reverse). Photo: Kenyon Reed. Drawing: John Huffstot.

the lips are well defined above a small chin. There is no visible eye. A vertical black stroke in front of the face appears to have been intentional. It is unclear whether this was part of another image or whether it is related to the primary figure. A newer-looking scratch runs parallel to this mark. Other scratches are visible under the paint of the head. In the lower left of the ostracon, on a break and therefore unrelated to the ancient surface, a black mark, perhaps a modern number, appears to have been scratched off.

Figures with this hairstyle and profile are known from tomb paintings, reliefs, and ostraca and are usually identified as laborers or other ordinary individuals.[47] Men with these features are sometimes shown wearing one or more feathers in the hair and are usually thought to be soldiers.[48] It has also been suggested that this profile and hairstyle, especially when combined with other elements, may indicate that the individual portrayed is a Nubian.[49] The famous presentation of a Nubian tribute scene from the tomb of Huy (time of Tutankhamon) has figures that display similar features.[50]

**6. Man Wearing Filet** (Fig. 8)
**Material:** Limestone, black and red drawing; H. 6.5 cm; W. 5 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.6
**Publication:** None

This fragment preserves the upper portion of a man with his head turned backward. The figure is outlined in black with significant elements highlighted in red; there are no clear indications of preliminary red lines. The small face is dominated by a relatively large eye with a distinct pupil and narrow eyebrow. The downturned mouth is a single line, and
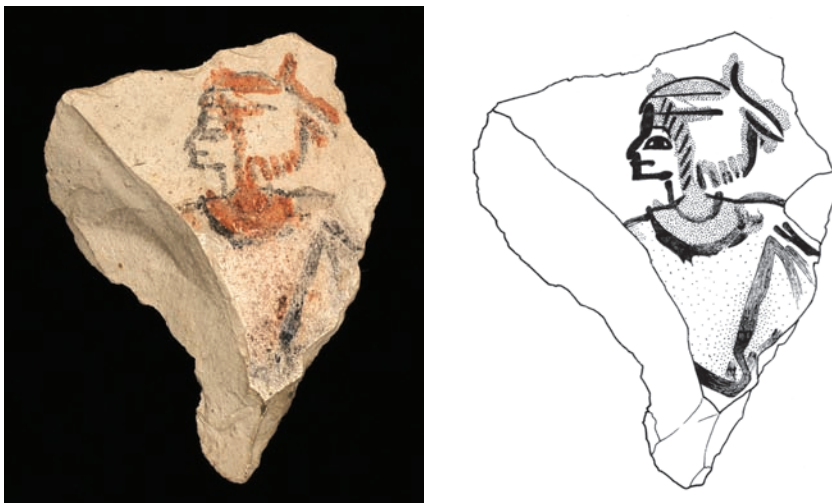
**Fig. 8.** Man wearing a fillet (ostracon) cat. no. 6. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 20 attributed, ca. 1190–1070 B.C.E., limestone. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.6). Photo: Kenyon Reed. Drawing: John Huffstot.

the nose is small and straight. The profile outline was created with one or more uneven strokes. The man wears a short wig with pendant curls and a plain fillet tied at the back of the head. Both are outlined in black and heavily accented in red paint. The red paint has been rather carelessly applied and obscures the earlier black line work. A thin drizzle of red paint shows where the artist rather carelessly passed his brush between the top of the head and the lower margin of the fillet. The torso appears to be covered with a thin layer of red pigment that does not touch the neck or face. The deep broad collar is painted red. The artist seems to have repositioned the surviving arm, as there appear to be two strokes for the underside of the upper arm, a darker one positioning the arm at a higher level, and a lighter one rendering the arm closer to the torso. A spot of black pigment appears to indicate the navel in the rounded, post-Amarna-style lower abdomen, and a curved stroke marks the upper edge of his kilt.

The fillet—also referred to as a circlet, hair- or headband—was worn by both men and women in ancient Egypt from prehistoric times. There was some variation in the forms of fillets; for example, a type known as the "boatman's circlet," with flowers woven through the band, is most commonly depicted in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[51] In the New Kingdom, headbands of plain cloth and also ones ornamented with vegetal elements such as leaves and petals were worn by men and women of all classes.[52] Headbands appear to have been primarily functional, serving to keep the hair, whether natural or a wig, in place and out of the face. Men with shaven heads, acting as either laborers or priests, are also shown wearing fillets, which presumably functioned like sweat bands today. A survey

of non-royal Theban tomb scenes shows that men participating in a funeral sometimes wear plain white fillets, while images of the deceased in offering and banquet scenes often, although not exclusively, show a preference for the decorated fillet. This may indicate that the form of band could be related to a ritual context as well. Women wore decorated fillets in tomb reliefs much more frequently than men.

It is not possible to identify the specific activity depicted on this ostracon due to its fragmentary condition. An investigation was conducted to determine whether comparable images could be located. A survey of wall scenes from more than fifty decorated non-royal Theban tombs and numerous ostraca from published and internet sources indicated that male figures looking backward over their shoulder and wearing a fillet are extremely rare. In fact, only one example, from the tomb of Nakhtamun (Theban tomb TT 341),[53] was located. In this instance, the figure of a *sem*-priest walking in front of the bier and mummy turns backward to offer incense and libation to the deceased. Backward-looking male figures without fillets were found engaged in a wide variety of activities including: (1) rituals associated with the funeral, especially priests preceding the bier or coffin[54] or canopic chest,[55] and funeral-goers carrying objects to the tomb;[56] (2) rituals associated with the cult, specifically preceding cult statues of deified kings;[57] (3) sailors at the bow of a boat;[58] (4) laborers and soldiers,[59] including men shutting bird traps,[60] or leading animals;[61] and (5) scenes with banquets, revelers, and entertainers.[62] Solitary standing figures on ostraca are also known.[63] Scenes with forward-facing men wearing a fillet also covered a variety of activities, including funerary (such as receiving offerings, honoring gods, and participating in the funeral procession and funeral feast) and daily life (such as herding animals, trapping birds, laboring, and boating).

The attempt to find stylistic matches for single uninscribed ostraca is a task fraught with difficulty and yet not without purpose as we attempt to place these wonderful little works of art within contexts of time, space, society, and artist's output.[64] Since these drawings are clearly the product of a single hand, rather than the result of the multi-stage, multi-worker process of tomb decoration, this goal is perhaps achievable. Elements of the face in this depiction—the eye with large pupil and simple eyebrow, the single-line downturned mouth, the small pointed nose and the heavy awkward outline of the profile—appear to share affinities with a few other published ostraca. The closest parallel I was able to identify is the face of a woman nursing a child on a Ramesside ostracon possibly from Deir el-Medina.[65] A few other ostraca were also identified, most notably from the corpus of work attributed to the chief draftsman Amenhotep son of Amennakht, an artist active in Dynasty 20.[66] These have similar features in the "wobbly" line of the profile, small nose, single-line mouth, and simple eyebrow.[67] A distinctive feature unlike that on the museum's ostracon is that the lenticular eye usually has a small pupil attached to the upper eyelid. In addition to ostraca, the hand of the chief draftsman, Amenhotep, or of those working under his guidance has been identified in tombs in the Valley of Kings (KV 2, KV 6 and KV 9), but also in the wider Theban necropolis (Theban tombs TT 65[68] and TT 113[69]). Two additional ostraca share some of the features of the museum's ostracon. The first is inscribed for Ken-her-khepeshef and his son Amennakht and has an

eye with large pupil, simple eyebrow, small nose, and single-line mouth, but the profile is done in a fine, sure stroke.[70] Not too dissimilar is a figure by the draftsman Pentaweret, which exhibits an eye with small pupil, simple eyebrow, small nose, downturned mouth, and profile executed in a single line.[71] Both date to Dynasty 20.[72] If the association of the museum's ostracon with Amenhotep or someone working in similar style is correct, then the piece may date to Dynasty 20 and perhaps even originated outside Deir el-Medina.

**7. Satirical Judgment Scene** (Fig. 9)
**Material:** Limestone, black, red, and white drawing; H. 13 cm; W. 12 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.7
**Publication:** Wilber, "Off-Beat," pp. 264, fig. 20, and 266; B. Brentjes, "Zur Rolle der Eulen im Alten Orient," *Beiträge zur Vogelkunde* 13 (1967) p. 78 (as cited in Houlihan 1992, pp. 30, n. 9, and 35); Patrick F. Houlihan with Steven M. Goodman, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, UK, 1986) p. 134; Houlihan, "A Figured Ostracon with a Humorous Scene of Judgment," *Muse, Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology* 25 (1992) pp. 30–35; Houlihan, *Wit and Humour in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001) pp. 97–99

This ostracon has been discussed in detail by Patrick Houlihan in his article in *Muse* (1992). The structure of the scene is set by the post and crossbar of the scale at the center, which is painted reddish brown and outlined in black. An interesting feature is the ground line at the bottom of the scene. The best-preserved figures are to the left, where a hippo-



**Fig. 9.** Satirical judgment scene (ostracon) cat. no. 7. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 19–20, ca. 1292–1070 B.C.E., limestone. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.7). Photo: Kenyon Reed. Drawing: John Huffstot; updated, P. V. Podzorski.

potamus wearing a white kilt stands on the crossbar and an owl stands on the ground line. The hippo stands on its hind feet with four toes clearly visible.[73] One forepaw is raised to its muzzle, while the other appears to reach forward toward a black bird, probably a crow, which faces him. The owl is well rendered, with a speckled grey band pattern on a white or very light grey ground; the area of the leg feathers, which lacks a background color, has some interior detail. The owl faces forward, as owls usually do in Egyptian art and writing, and has round eyes and long fluffy feathers at the chin. It has no indication of "ears" typical of certain owl species in Egypt, so this may represent a barn owl (*Tyto alba alba*), or other "earless" owl native to North Africa, although the light wing color is unnatural for these species.[74]

The fourth creature is seated on its haunches, with one forepaw raised. Unlike the other animals represented, this one seems to be defined only by the black outline. No interior color is apparent, although it is possible that small spots of black, indicative of a pattern in the fur, were originally present. The upper portion of the figure has been lost, but traces of what may be a broad feline-like muzzle can be discerned.[75] A faint trace of a dark horizontal line behind the back may indicate the tail.

This scene may represent a parody of one of the most significant scenes in ancient Egyptian religious iconography—the weighing of the heart.[76] Before being allowed to pass into the realm of Osiris, the life and character of the deceased, symbolically represented by a heart, were weighed on a balance scale against a feather symbolizing Maat, a goddess who represents truth and righteousness.[77] The deceased stands near the scales, along with the gods Anubis (guide of the dead), Ammut (the Devourer), and sometimes Thoth (who records the outcome of the event). To one side sits Osiris, to receive the deceased should he or she pass the test. The symbolism associated with the specific animal species depicted is uncertain. Houlihan has also suggested that this scene may represent an unknown folktale or a parody of a court trial, where the litigants are the hippopotamus and the crow, and the owl and cat are judge and jury.[78]

**8. Baboon, Monkey, and Insect** (Fig. 10)
**Material:** Limestone, black, red and perhaps yellow drawing; H. 21 cm; W. 15.5 cm
**Acc. no:** 63.6.8
**Publication:** P. V. Podzorski, "The Eyes Have It: A Figured Ostracon with Baboon in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia," in D. Kaiser-Go, C. Redmount, and E. Cruz-Uribe, eds., *Weseret Kau "Mighty of Kas": Papers in Memory of Cathleen A. Keller* (in press)

This is the largest ostracon in the collection. The primary figure, located in the center of the stone and outlined in black with interior details in black, red, and perhaps yellow, represents an adult male hamadryas baboon, seated on the ground on its rump, showing its bilobed red callosity. Its tail is curved forward. A thick mane depicted as locks of hair covers the shoulders and upper body, and its arm is visible below the mane. The head is almost entirely covered by a rounded element representing the cheek whiskers, and the

**Fig. 10.** Baboon, monkey, and insect (ostracon) cat. no. 8. Egyptian, Luxor (west bank), New Kingdom, Dynasty 19 and 20, ca. 1292–1070 B.C.E., limestone. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Wilber (63.6.8). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox. Drawing: John Huffstot; updated, P. V. Podzorski.

face is painted a deep red. The eye is rectangular and the iris, surrounding a distinct pupil, is attached to the upper margin. The muzzle is long and deep. The bridge of the nose is gently arched, and the tip appears to project only slightly beyond the upper lip. Faint traces of preliminary red lines are visible along the head, back, thighs, rump, and arm. Yellow coloration, which may not be part of the original design, is seen on the upper back, shoulder, and lower head. The contour line that creates the crown and back of the head and upper back is thicker than the lines elsewhere in the figure. This is a finely drafted image.

Behind the main figure is an incomplete image of another primate, either a young baboon or monkey, drawn in red only and lacking most interior details. This red is brighter than the red of the primary figure. The lower part of the body appears unfinished, and the work is less skilled in execution. There is no clear indication of a mane, and the upper body narrows down toward the now-vanished hips, perhaps indicating that this figure was originally depicted standing, although it seems unlikely that a full standing figure could have been accommodated in the available space. The artist has made two attempts at the contour line for the top and back of the head, and the pigment here is thick, indicating multiple brush strokes. Slightly more than half of the head is covered with a rounded representation of cheek whiskers. The brow ridge is rendered as a distinct "bump" in the profile, separated

from the hairline by a short, thick line. This feature is seen most commonly in Dynasty 20. A small red mark may represent the medial margin of the eye. The muzzle is rectangular. The bridge of the nose is straight, and the tip is pointed, projecting beyond the upper lip. The chin looks almost as though a small beard is attached, although this seems to have been the result of one or more awkward, heavy brush strokes. This red figure was most likely added after the detailed baboon was completed.

The third discernible representation on this ostracon is a winged insect outlined in black. The upper end of the narrow, tubular body has two long, forward-projecting antennae ending in round dots. The posterior of the body is not preserved. Faint traces of at least three legs can be discerned. Tall, arched features attached to the dorsal aspect of the body apparently represent wings and are poorly preserved. The identification of this creature is tentative due to the uncertain wing shape, but perhaps a butterfly was intended.

Monkeys and baboons are common figures on ostraca, tomb reliefs, and papyri, and sub-adult male and female baboons may look similar to monkeys. Based on evidence such as eye and brow shape, as well as other features, it has been proposed that the hamadryas baboon may date to Dynasty 19, specifically the reign of Ramses II, while the red figure was added later, possibly in Dynasty 20.[79] Images of seated baboons created by the artists of Deir el-Medina appear in both royal and non-royal contexts in a variety of scenes: adoring the solar disk or other form of Ra; as baboon deities, such as Thoth; in vignettes illustrating spells, such as the first chapter of the Amduat or Book of the Dead chapter 125; and elsewhere.[80]

## Conclusion

The seven figured ostraca and one painted potsherd in the Wilber collection comprise a diverse group of images including humans, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Identified by the donor as having been collected on the west bank of the Nile at Luxor, the majority, if not all, probably date to the period of the New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1070 B.C.E.). The earliest piece may be the potsherd, which probably dates to Dynasty 18. Both tomb construction and the Deir el-Medina workforce increased dramatically after the 18th Dynasty,[81] and it is likely that the bulk of the museum's figured ostraca are of Ramesside date (Dynasty 19–20). Due to the lack of precise archaeological context and inscriptions, more specific dates are proposed for only two of the ostraca: cat. no. 8 (Fig. 10) with seated baboon to Dynasty 19 (reign of Ramses II), with possible later reuse; and cat. no. 6 (Fig. 8) with man wearing a fillet to Dynasty 20.

The five unequivocal human figures in the museum's corpus all appear to represent males.[82] Of special interest are the images of the horse and rider and the head that may depict a Nubian. Due to the fragmentary nature of the ostraca, with the exception of the rider, the activities in which the men were engaged are not known. Noteworthy by their absence are images of women and royalty.

Animals are the most numerous images among the corpus, which contains two horses, two primates, two goats,[83] a hippopotamus, a cat, a hyena, and an unspecified small

carnivore. Winged creatures are represented by an owl, a crow, and one insect, possibly a butterfly. The hamadryas baboon is the most artistically accomplished rendering and may have been intended to represent a religious image. The majority of the animals are participants in two satirical scenes or parodies. The liveliest scene is the parody of dancers and musicians (cat. no. 3 [Fig. 3]). The other scene (cat. no. 7 [Fig. 9]) appears to represent a parody of an extremely important funerary motif, the weighing of the heart, or perhaps a court trial. It has been suggested that such animal scenes were a way that the lower social orders poked fun at their betters,[84] or that they illustrate cultural narratives or folk tales.

Several inanimate objects are also depicted on the museum's ostraca. The bowl containing dôm palm fruit is the most carefully rendered of the images of objects. The other items—a balance scale, a table with two pots, and musical instruments (drum, double divergent pipes, and pipe case)—are elements in the two satirical scenes just mentioned. The objects in the musicians and dancers ostracon (cat. no. 3 [Fig. 3]) are summarily rendered compared to the animal figures. This is most clearly shown by the double pipes, which are represented only as single lines.

Previous studies of ostraca from known archaeological contexts have demonstrated that certain subjects appear more frequently among ostraca found at the village of Deir el-Medina, while others are more commonly encountered among the tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Scenes with domesticated animals, ordinary folk engaged in daily activities, and parodies are less commonly encountered in the royal necropolis.[85] Based on this generalization, it is possible that the majority of the Wilber collection may have come from the village rather than from the Valley of the Kings.

## NOTES

1. For the non-specialist, see William H. Peck, "Ostraca," in Donald B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001) pp. 621–622.

2. Cathleen A. Keller, "Private Votives in Royal Cemeteries: The Case of KV 90," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 10/2–3 (1995) p. 140; Kathlyn M. Cooney, "Apprenticeship and Figured Ostraca from the Ancient Egyptian Village of Deir el-Medineh," in Willeke Wendrich, ed., *Archaeology and Apprenticeship. Body Knowledge, Identity, and Communities of Practice* (Tucson, 2012) p. 157. The settlement's ancient name was Pa-demi, "The Village." See Dominique Valbelle, "Deir el-Medina, " *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I:7 (1974) col. 1029.

3. See, for example, William C. Hayes, "Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mût (No. 71) at Thebes, 1942," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46 (1960) pp. 29–52, and Gemma Menéndez, "Figured Ostraca from Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 11–12)," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37 (2008) pp. 259–275.

4. The standing baboon figure on no. 8 in the catalogue below is one of these exceptions.

5. J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostracas figurés de Deir el-Medineh*, vol. 3 (Cairo, 1946) p.

3; Emma Brunner-Traut, *Egyptian Artists' Sketches: Figured Ostraka from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Leiden, 1979) pp. 1–12; Cathleen Keller, "Royal Painters: Deir el-Medina in Dynasty XIX," in Edward Bleiberg and Rita Freed, eds., *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great* (Memphis, 1991) pp. 51–52; and Keller, "Private Votives," pp. 141–143; Cooney, "Apprenticeship," pp. 146, 157–166.

6.  Donald N. Wilber, *Adventures in the Middle East, Excursions and Incursions* (Princeton, N.J., 1986) pp. 16–17.

7.  Ibid., pp. 11–24. One or more of the pieces may have been collected in the 1950s (see Patrick F. Houlihan, "A Figured Ostracon with a Humorous Scene of Judgment," *Muse* 25 (1992) pp. 30–31).

8.  Wilber, *Adventures,* p. 10.

9.  Ibid., pp. 16–17, 23.

10. Ibid., p. 18.

11. The decoration was added to the vessel before firing (cat. no. 2).

12. A few of the known horse and rider ostraca exhibit a hairstyle of short or long tufts. See MM 14 110, Gayer-Anderson collection, Stockholm (Bengt E. J. Peterson, "Zeichnungen aus einer Todenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, Ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche Mitsamt einem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung in Stockholm," *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 7–8 [1973] p. 78, pl. 18, cat. 31) and EGA.4290.1943 Fitzwilliam Museum (Brunner-Traut, *Artists' Sketches*, pp. 29–30, pl. V, no. 5).

13. A similar rein is held by the rider in Peterson, "Zeichnungen," cat. 31, and in Brunner-Traut, *Artists' Sketches*, no. 5.

14. Alan Schulman, "Egyptian Representations of Horsemen and Riding in the New Kingdom," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16:4 (October, 1957) pl. XXXVII, and Jean Capart, "The Memphite tomb of Haremhab," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7:1 (April, 1921) pl. VI.

15. Schulman, "Egyptian Representations," pp. 263–271.

16. Ibid., p. 271.

17. Ibid., p. 269.

18. Brunner-Traut, *Artists' Sketches*, p. 29; William H. Peck, *Egyptian Drawings* (New York, 1978) p. 86.

19. The ancient Egyptians also bred mules and hinnies.

20. Janine Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981) pp. 74–75, cat. 141; Colin A. Hope, "Innovation in the Decoration of Ceramics in the Mid-18th Dynasty," in *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne* 1 (Cairo, 1987) pp. 97–122, pl. XXXII–XXXVII.

21. Patrick F. Houlihan, *Wit and Humour in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001) pp. 66–102.

22. There may be a third object between the putative jar and pot stand; this is difficult to determine due to surface damage. Traces may indicate the image of a small shallow bowl with flared rim, perhaps a drinking bowl. A survey of ostraca scenes with drinking bowls showed, however, that shallow hemispherical bowls were used. Also, if a bowl is present, the neck of the jar would be unusually short.

23. Donald N. Wilber, "The Off-Beat in Egyptian Art," *Archaeology* 13:4 (1960) pp. 264, 265; Houlihan, *Wit and Humour*, p. 87.

24. Charles K. Wilkinson and Marsha Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* (New York, 1983) p. 148, cat. 30.4.117.

25. Arpag Mekhitarian, *Egyptian Painting* (New York, 1978) p. 41.

26. A similar scene from an ostracon in Turin (n. suppl. 6299) shows two horned animals with

coat colors like those on the museum's example playing single and double pipes. Both have been identified as gazelles (Silvio Curto, *La satira nell'antico Egitto* [Turin, 1965] fig. 5).

27. Wolf (Wilber, "Off-Beat," pp. 264, 265); Fox (Houlihan, *Wit and Humour*, p. 87).

28. Recent genetic work indicates that the African wolf is a wolf and not a subspecies of golden jackal. See Eli Knispel Rueness et al., "The Cryptic African Wolf: *Canis aureus lupaster* is Not a Golden Jackal and Is Not Endemic to Egypt," *PLOS One* (Jan. 26, 2011) p. 1. Online journal http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0016385, accessed 19 June 2015.

29. Dale J. Osborn and Jana Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, UK, 1998) pp. 55–57.

30. Ibid., pp. 68–75.

31. Ibid., pp. 97–105; Richard Estes, *The Behavior Guide to African Mammals* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991) pp. 328, 336; Salima Ikram, "The Iconography of the Hyena in Ancient Egyptian Art," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 57 (2001) pp. 127–128.

32. Peck, *Egyptian Drawings,* pp. 142, 166; J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh, Nos. 2734 à 3043*, vol. 4 (Cairo, 1959) pl. 103.

33. New Kingdom scenes identified as containing male dancers often appear in cult celebrations, including raising the *djed* pillar in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) for a *sed* festival of Amenhotep III (Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute, *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192*, Oriental Institute Publications vol. 102 [Chicago, 1980] pl. 47); a festival of the goddess Hathor (Nina de Garis Davies and Alan Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet [No. 82], Theban Tomb Series* 1 [London, 1915] p. 96, pl. 20); and Hatshepsut's Red Chapel at Karnak (block number 61) (Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, vol. 1 [Cairo, 1977] pp. 201–202 and vol. 2 [Cairo, 1979] pl. 9). The *muu*-dancers associated with the funeral ritual can also be male (Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re at Thebes* [New York, 1943] pl. 92).

34. Lise Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991).

35. Emma Brunner-Traut, *Die Altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 1956) p. 79, pl. XXIX; Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca*, vol. 4, pl. 132.

36. Peck, *Egyptian Drawings,* pp. 180–181 and Petersen, *Zeichnungen,* pl. 39. In a different type of scene, an ostracon in the Oriental Institute Museum (E13951) has a parody with a nude boy being beaten by a cat under the supervision of a mouse (Peck, *Egyptian Drawings*, p. 147, fig. 77).

37. R. J. Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (London, 2002) pl. 105.

38. This discoloration is not present on the obverse side of the ostracon.

39. The mark to the left is a simple vertical stroke.

40. Petersen, "Zeichnungen," pl. 55, figs. 106–107; J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh, Nos. 2001 à 2255*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1936) pl. 2, no. 2004.

41. Mekhitarian, *Egyptian Painting*, p. 137; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca,* pl. 50 (BM EA 8507).

42. Peck, *Egyptian Drawings*, pp. 121, 162–163.

43. The clearest of these, a round element above a trapezoid, perhaps represents a cornflower blossom.

44. J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh, Nos. 2256 à 2722*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1937) pl. 56, no. 2400; Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca*, vol. 4, pl. 131, no. 2906.

45. Brunner-Traut, *Scherbenbilder*, pl. 6, no. 5.

46. Ibid., pl. 10, no. 25; Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca*, vol. 2, pl. 82, no. 2603.

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62. DjeserkaRe'sonb (Theban tomb TT 38), Nina de Garis Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with excerpts from 81) Private Tombs at Thebes* 4 (Oxford, 1963) pl. VI; Nebamun (Theban tomb TT 90), N. de Garis Davies and Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (Nos. 75 and 90) Theban Tomb Series* 3 (London, 1923) pl. XXI.

63. IFAO ostracon 3993, Gasse, *Catalogue des Ostraca* 5, cat. 3190, p. 18, pl. 19.

64. Dimitri Laboury, "Tracking Ancient Egyptian Artists, a Problem of Methodology: The Case of the Painters of Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis during the Eighteenth Dynasty," in Katalin Anna Kóthay, ed., *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13–15 May 2010* (Budapest, 2012) p. 203.

65. Peck, *Egyptian Drawings*, p. 89, cat. 14, and p. 203 (British Museum EA 8506).

66. Cathleen A. Keller, "Un artiste égyptien à l'oeuvre: le dessinateur en chef Amenhotep," in *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: La vie en Egypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire: Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre, les 3 et 4 mai 2002* (Paris, 2003) pp. 83–114; Cathleen A. Keller, "How Many Draughtsmen Named Amenhotep? A Study of Some Deir el-Medina Painters," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21 (1984) pp. 119–129; Tamás A. Bács, " '. . . Like Heaven in Its Interior': Late Ramesside Painters in Theban Tomb 65," in Zahi Hawass, Tamás A. Bács, and Gábor Schreiber, eds., *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities, November 5, 2009* (Cairo, 2011) pp. 33–41.

67. Anthea Page, *Ancient Egyptian Figured Ostraca in the Petrie Collection* (Wilts, UK, 1983) pp. 5–6, cat. 5; Keller, "Un artiste," fig. 1 (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 25029 obverse), fig. 2 (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 25029 reverse, pupil larger, mouth not visible), fig. 9 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York accession number 14.6.215).

68. Bács, ". . . Like Heaven in Its Interior," p. 37, fig. 6.

69. Ibid., p. 33; Lise Manniche, *City of the Dead, Thebes in Egypt* (Chicago, 1987) p. 134.

70. Brunner-Traut, *Scherbenbilder*, p. 79, pl. XXIX, cat. 78.

71. Andreas Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige: Ein Beitrag zur Altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte Aufgrund von Neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)* (Basel, 2011) pp. 270–271, pls. 176–177, cat. 187 obverse.

72. Brunner-Traut, *Scherbenbilder*, p. 79, pl. XXIX, cat. 78.

73. A possible alternate identification as a fox has also been proposed (Houlihan, "Figured Ostracon," p. 31).

74. Houlihan and Goodman, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 108–110.

75. Houlihan, "Figured Ostracon," p. 31, identified this animal as a cat.

76. Ibid., pp. 32–34.

77. Ibid., p. 32.

78. Ibid., pp. 32–34; Houlihan, *Wit and Humour*, p. 98.

79. Podzorski, "The Eyes Have It."

80. Ibid.

81. Keller, "How Many Draughtsmen Named Amenhotep," p. 119.

82. Unless the obscure figures on cat. no. 5a include the lower body of a woman (see Fig. 6).

83. Or a goat and a gazelle.

84. Houlihan, "Figured Ostracon," pp. 32–33.

85. Keller, "Private Votives," p. 141.

# The Hidden Treasures of Rome

## *Tracing the Context of Isolated Artifacts*[*]

✦ ✦

JOHANNA M. BOYER

In 2014 the Capitoline Museum of Rome initiated a new partnership with the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri to enable cataloguing and study of artifacts that were in the Capitoline Museum's storerooms and that had lost their documentation. This project is the first of its kind, with plans ongoing to replicate it at other universities in order to make such antiquities available to foreign students and scholars.[1]

The first shipment of material from Rome consisted of 249 pieces of black-gloss pottery of the Republican period that had been recovered during excavations in central Rome in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Due to the large quantity of material that was recovered quickly in these excavations, many of the artifacts were stored in the Antiquarium, a depository built in 1890 for artifacts that could not be displayed. Although this was only intended as a temporary holding place for the finds until they could be displayed in a museum, many of the objects were never removed from storage. The pottery sent to the University of Missouri that was stored in the Antiquarium is therefore being studied in depth for the first time.

The collection of black-gloss pottery contains a wide variety of shapes that date from the late fourth to the first century B.C.E. Bowls and plates are the most frequent shapes, along with a small number of jugs and other vessels used for pouring liquids, such as askoi and gutti. Miniature shapes are also numerous, accounting for 22 percent of the collection. Judging from the composition of the group, it is likely that many of the vessels were excavated from ritual contexts–either tombs or votive deposits.[2] Many of the pots are very well preserved, indicating that they probably came from deposits that were buried and left undisturbed, such as in a tomb. Recent research, however, suggests that the production of much Republican black-gloss pottery was related to cult sites and that the deposition of black-gloss pottery in tombs was not as frequent as is sometimes assumed.[3] A collection such as this one that contains many complete vessels and many votive shapes could potentially shed light on this issue.

One challenge with this collection of pottery, however, is that it did not arrive at the University of Missouri with any records for its specific archaeological context. For modern archaeological excavations, it is standard practice to keep detailed notes for each object recovered regarding the precise location of its discovery; however, during the nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries, such records were not always kept. This is true for many sites in the Mediterranean, not just in Rome. Although most of these objects when found were probably associated with other artifacts and features, they remain isolated now because of the lack of archaeological context. Because we do not know this information for much of the Capitoline pottery, we are left at a great disadvantage when attempting to analyze it.

Since we had no context information, we used other means to study the collection. One of the first steps was to conduct a formal analysis of the pottery by comparing each object to other known parallels. Fortunately, many objects were complete enough and their forms common enough that parallels were easy to find. Most could be identified in Jean-Paul Morel's *Céramique campanienne*, a publication of black-gloss pottery throughout the Mediterranean in which Morel classifies each shape according to its formal characteristics.[4] Through these comparisons, an approximate date could also be determined for most of the objects.[5] Most of the pottery dates to the third century B.C.E. (usually the first half), although a few products of the second and first centuries are present in the collection.[6] After determining form and date, the decoration of the objects, where applicable, was examined in order to refine details of classification and chronology. Many pots in the collection feature specific styles of decoration–either stamped, incised, or painted–that can be associated with a specific place or time period. Although decoration does not figure into Morel's system of classification, other publications of black-gloss pottery in Italy provided a sufficient number of parallels with similar types of decoration, allowing for more precise identification of the objects in the Capitoline collection.[7]

The second method of analysis utilized at the University of Missouri was neutron activation analysis (NAA), carried out at the University of Missouri Research Reactor (MURR). This method of scientific testing involves sampling the ceramic fabric of each object in order to identify groups having similar chemical compositions. If one group of objects is very similar in chemical composition, then it is likely that the clay used to make the pottery came from the same source. If two groups of pottery are very different in composition, then they were probably produced at different locations. Although this type of testing does not tell us where the pottery was found or how it was used, it does help to restore one piece of contextual information about the objects that we would not have had otherwise.[8]

The latest phase of the project has focused on the analysis of use-wear on the pottery.[9] In theory, this approach may offer insight as to how different sizes and shapes of vessels were used, even though their primary context of use is unknown. In collaboration with a team from the University of Bourgogne Franche-Comté, the University of Missouri has tested various methods of high-resolution scanning and data capture. By comparing visual observation with the results gained from 2D data capture with reflectance transformative imaging (RTI) and from high resolution 3D data capture with a blue light fringe projection scanner, potential avenues for enhancing our understanding of ceramic use-wear may be revealed. Because this collection of pottery contains many well-preserved specimens, it presents an especially valuable opportunity to test these new technologies. Once again,

these methods may fill in gaps in our knowledge of how the pottery was originally used, despite its lack of preserved context.

We have therefore used multiple different methods of analysis in order to extract as much information from the pottery as possible and to determine what the objects can tell us about the historical and social patterns of ancient Rome, despite their missing context. Nonetheless, a small number of objects do offer hints as to where they were found. Two black-gloss pots in the collection were accompanied by scraps of paper indicating that they were excavated from the Esquiline Hill, and although brief, these notes contain key pieces of information that may allow for broader conclusions concerning the archaeological context of the group as a whole. Guided by the excavation dates provided with these pots, an examination of early excavation reports revealed that much more is known about the context for the black-gloss pottery in this collection than we were originally aware of. It is now known that at least forty of the more complete pots (about 16 percent of the collection) were excavated from tombs on the Esquiline Hill in Rome. Although the more fragmentary vessels were not published in the same manner, and their context therefore remains unknown, it is likely that many were found in this area of Rome as well.

The brief notes with the two objects that follow record only a date and a general location for where the pots were found, but a surprising amount of information can be extrapolated from these small clues.[10]

**Lekythos (Figs. 1, 2)**

**Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V (inv. 7501)**

**Morel 5420**

**P.H. 0.090, D. base 0.049, D. max. 0.085 m.**

**Body and handle preserved. Broken at neck. Surface heavily worn.**

**Ring foot. Squat, globular body. Concave shoulder tapers to narrow neck. Strap handle attached at neck and shoulder. Four finger marks around base from dipping.**

**Light brown fabric (7.5YR 6/4). Thin, lustrous black slip over all; underside reserved.**

**Second half of fourth century B.C.E.**

**Paper glued to base with writing in black ink: "Esquilin_ / 1875 / 17 luglio / 75_ _"**



Fig. 1. Lekythos. Republican black-gloss, second half of fourth century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom7501). Photo: Johanna Boyer.



Fig. 2. Lekythos with note glued to base of vessel. Republican black-gloss, second half of fourth century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome. (AntCom7501). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

**Jug (Fig. 3)**

**Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V (inv. 44325)**

**Morel 5200[11]**

**H. 0.092, D. rim 0.062, D. base 0.049 m.**

**Intact. Slip slightly worn around rim, handle.**

**Flat base. Ovoid body with maximum diameter below median. Flaring rim with rounded lip, concave on interior. Grooved strap handle attached at rim and mid-body.**

**Reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6). Black slip over all, fired matte to slightly metallic.**

**Fourth to third century B.C.E.**

**Metal wire around handle. White sticker on handle with writing: "110 LXXXIV." Note in plastic bag dated "1875 luglio." Below date: "nel muro del sepolcro dipinto" (in the wall of the painted tomb).**



Fig. 3. Jug. Republican black-gloss, fourth–third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom44325). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

The notes indicate specifically that both objects were excavated in July 1875. One was found on the Esquiline Hill, an area used as a burial ground for centuries in antiquity, and the other came from a "painted tomb." Because both were excavated in the same month, it safe to assume that they were excavated from the same area—the Esquiline necropolis.

In order to determine the significance of these context notes, it is necessary to consider the history of the excavation of Rome in the late nineteenth century. In 1871, Rome was named the capital of a newly unified Italy, and as a result, its central area underwent rapid development in order to support the new government. In May 1872, the city council of Rome established a new archaeological commission whose purpose was to oversee the preservation of the monuments of the city during this process. New construction inevitably involved the excavation of ancient remains, which would be transferred to the care of the Capitoline Museums of Rome.[12] The results of these excavations were published in the *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma*, a journal established for presenting select finds along with whatever commentary was deemed useful for elucidating the history and topography of the city.[13] Issues of the *Bullettino* from this time period do present the results of excavations on the Esquiline Hill, which fits the notes that are preserved with the two objects described above. The first zone of excavation on the Esquiline was a large rectangular area, about 760 meters long and 320 meters wide, located just outside the Porta Esquilina along the Servian Wall.[14] From the gate, the area extended north, crossing Via di S. Eusebio (Carlo Alberto), Via Napoleone III, Via Principe Amadeo, Via Principe Umberto (Filippo Turati), and Viale Principessa Margherita (Giovanni Giolitti).[15]

A large number of burials were encountered during these excavations ranging in date from pre-historic to Roman Imperial.[16] Of particular interest are two painted tombs

discovered in 1875, the Tomb of the Fabii and the Arieti Tomb, one of which might have been the find spot for the jug above (Fig. 3). The Tomb of the Fabii is especially well known, since it contained a fresco of a military scene that can be connected to historical individuals.[17] Excavated in 1875, just outside the Porta Esquilina at Via di S. Eusebio (Carlo Alberto) and Via Rattazzi (Fig. 4), the tomb has a rectangular plan with a flagstone floor.[18] From its wall, a fragment of fresco was recovered that preserves a continuous historical narrative (Fig. 5).[19] In four registers, the fresco depicts the sieges of cities and the delivery of military decorations. Painted inscriptions on the fresco identify the two central figures in the second and third registers: Q. Fabius and M. Fannius. In the third and best-preserved register, a man labeled Q. FABIO, in ceremonial toga and tunic, extends an object in his hand to M. FAN, who wears greaves, a loin cloth, and cloak. In the register above, the
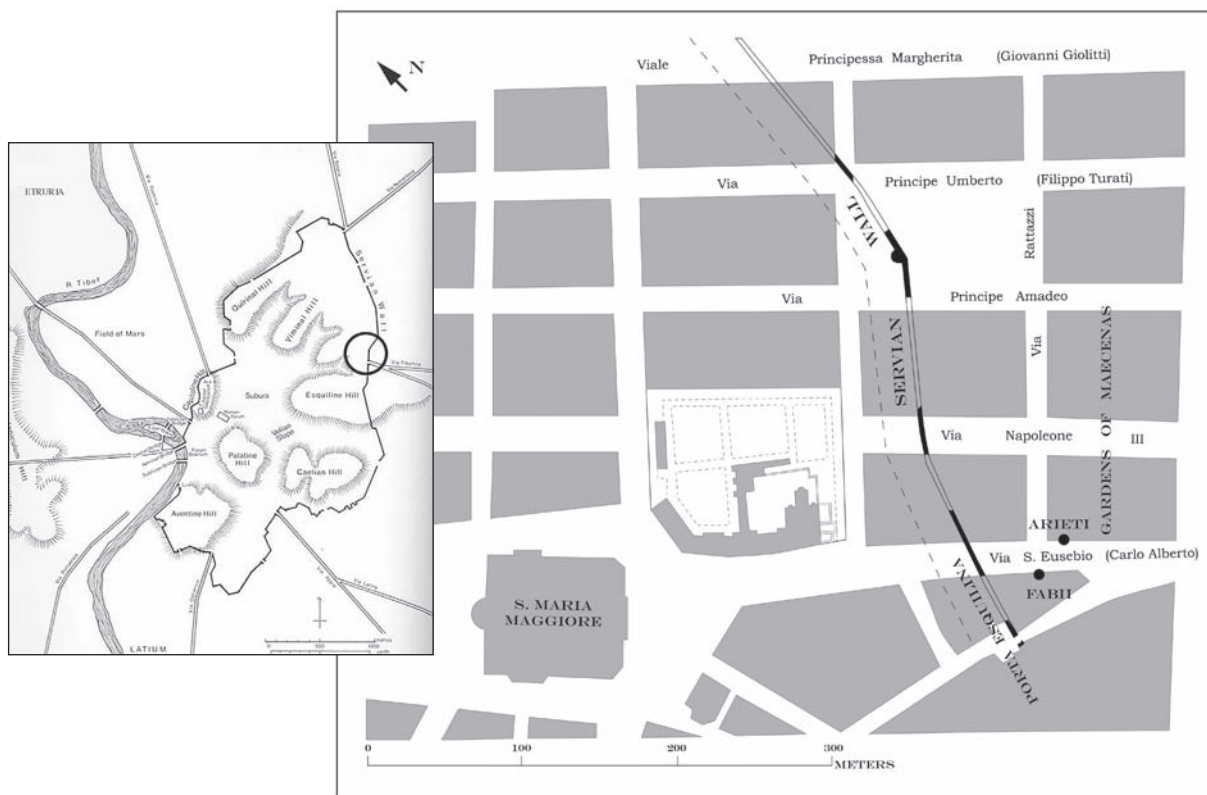


**Fig. 4.** Map of the area of the Esquiline necropolis, Rome, showing location of Republican tombs near the Porta Esquilina on the Esquiline Hill. Drawing: Johanna Boyer, after Rodolfo Lanciani, "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nell prima zona del nuovo quartiere Esquilino," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 2 (1874) pl. V.

**Fig. 5.** Fresco with military scenes from the Tomb of the Fabii. Roman Republic, first half of third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom01025). Photo: Musei Capitolini, htpp://en.centralemontemartini.org.

two figures appear again, and the man in greaves extends his hand to the man wearing a toga, who holds a spear. The inscriptions are not as well preserved in this section, but it is possible to discern the second half of the name "Fannius," making it probable that these should also be identified as Q. Fabius and M. Fannius.[20]

By tracing the history of these family names, it may be possible to connect this fresco to known historical events. In an initial publication of the fresco, C. L. Visconti identified the Q. Fabius in this image as Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus, a hero of the Samnite Wars, who served as consul five times and died around 280 B.C.E.;[21] the fresco may therefore illustrate scenes from the second or third Samnite War, in which Q. Fabius took part.[22] If this attribution is correct, then the date for the tomb fits the time period in which the majority of this collection of black-gloss pottery falls (the first half of the third century B.C.E.). It is also tempting to connect this fresco to the work of Q. Fabius Pictor, a fellow member of the *gens* Fabii and a well-known artist mentioned in ancient sources.[23] According to Pliny, Q. Fabius Pictor was active in Rome during the late fourth or early third century B.C.E., producing notable works such as a series of paintings in the Temple of Salus that were destroyed in a fire during the time of Claudius.[24] The Tomb of the Fabii is therefore an excellent candidate for the painted tomb from which the jug shown in Figure 3 was excavated. It is a "painted tomb," it fits the time period in which the jug was made, and it was excavated in 1875, the year indicated on the note that accompanied the jug.

One other painted tomb was excavated in that same year, however, and this jug may have been found in it. In the same article from 1875, Lanciani reports on a tomb excavated not far from the Tomb of the Fabii (Fig. 4) that had paintings on both jambs of its main door and along its interior walls. Only five small fragments of these frescoes have

been preserved, but it is still possible to identify a chariot surrounded by lictors, advancing toward a naked man who was apparently tied to a gallows.[25] No painted inscriptions were preserved that might identify the subject matter here, though this also seems to be historical narrative, possibly the celebration of a triumph.[26] Transport of the fresco from the tomb was entrusted to Antonio Arieti, whose name still identifies the feature as the Arieti Tomb.[27] One key piece of information from the black-gloss jug, though, probably disqualifies the Arieti Tomb from consideration. Lanciani's report covers tombs that were excavated on the Esquiline from April through June 1875. The date on the scrap of paper with the jug indicates that it was excavated in July 1875, too late to be included in the report. While it is possible that either the note on the jug or the time span quoted in the article is not precise, it is more likely that the jug was found in the Tomb of the Fabii, which was excavated from 1875 into 1876.[28]

Although only two objects arrived at the University of Missouri with notes indicating their context on the Esquiline, many others were excavated from the hill. By tracing publications of tombs from the Esquiline Hill, we have confirmed that many other pots in this collection were excavated from the Esquiline necropolis, probably from less monumental burials than those described above. Granted, a great deal of uncertainty remains concerning the precise context of assemblages recovered from this area. Although the Archaeological Commission established in 1872 carried out some of the preliminary work of inventorying and cataloging finds from the excavations, much of this work was not complete when the artifacts were transported for storage. Many groups were mixed up, some were lost or stolen, and much of the original contextual information was therefore lost.[29] Fortunately, much information has been preserved concerning the topography of the burial ground and the finds recovered from it in early publications by the members of the Archaeological Commission and other archaeologists who were interested in the necropolis.[30]

Finally, in 1973, an exhibition was organized in Rome in order to address the gap in scholarship for the period between the Etruscans and the Late Republic, and many finds from the Esquiline cemetery were published together in a catalog for this project, including forty of the black-gloss vessels that are currently in Missouri.[31] Although the context for most of these objects is listed in general terms, either "from the Esquiline" or "probably from the Esquiline necropolis," eight objects do possess precise context information, linking them to specific tombs or at least to specific sectors of the excavation in the Esquiline cemetery.

One of the most common shapes found in these tombs was Morel 5722, a small, flat-bottomed jug with a tall spout (a *prochous*). In total, seven in this collection were excavated from the Esquiline.[32] Production of the shape has been traced to the site of Caere in Southern Etruria around 300 B.C.E.,[33] and they are best known for examples whose bodies feature large female heads in red-figure, classified as the Torcop Group by John Beazley.[34] Although none of the jugs in this collection features the large female heads in profile that are characteristic of Beazley's Torcop Group, one of them does have a small amount of painted decoration.

**Jug** *(prochous)* **(Fig. 6)**

**Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V
(inv. 5518)**

**Morel 5722**

**H. 0.135, D. base 0.036, D. max 0.065 m.**

**Complete. Some paint worn but otherwise little wear. Modern label glued on underside.**

**Flat underside. Narrow base with compound curve to ovoid body. Tall, narrow neck with rim folded inward to form spout. Strap handle attached at rim and shoulder. Painted decoration on body and neck. Body: upper and lower lines define visual field on upper two-thirds of body. Man in profile, standing left, below spout. Spiral vegetal motifs to either side. Flower (possibly a lotus) with stem below handle. Rays around shoulder at junction of neck and body. Neck: flower with stem directly below spout. Spiral vegetal motifs on each adjacent side.**

**Pink fabric (7.5YR 7/4). Glossy black slip over exterior, fired unevenly. Interior and underside reserved.**

**Late fourth to early third century B.C.E.**

**Tomb CXXVI, Via Napoleone III**



**Fig. 6.** Jug. Republican black-gloss, late fourth to early third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom5518). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

The vase was excavated from Tomb CXXVI along the Via Napoleone III and was illustrated by Lanciani in 1875 along with other select finds from tombs on the Esquiline.[35] Its decoration is not true red-figure, in which the figures are drawn by reserving areas of un-glossed clay; rather, added slip was painted *over* the black-gloss background in order to create a lighter figure in profile (Fig. 6).[36] Much of the painted decoration is worn today, but its similarity to the illustration in Lanciani's report is clear. Small pouring vessels in general were common grave goods in burials on the Esquiline from this period. Of the forty vessels with context, at least twenty can be classified as some variety of jug, lekythos, or askos. Two of them were even found in the same burial together: one a small jug like those of the Torcop Group and the other a small jug with a trefoil mouth.

**Jug (Fig. 7)**

**Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V (inv. 12128)**

**Morel 5722**

**H. 0.109, D. base 0.030, D. max 0.055 m.**

**Complete except for small chip in rim. Minimal wear.**

**Flat underside. Narrow base with compound curve to ovoid body. Tall, narrow neck with rim folded inward to form spout. Strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.**



**Fig. 7.** Jug. Republican black-gloss, late fourth to early third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom12128). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

**Reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6). Lustrous slip over all, fired unevenly, black to dark brown; underside reserved.**

**Late fourth to early third century B.C.E.**

**Tomb 106, Block XXI**

**Jug (Fig. 8)**
**Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V (inv. 12127)**

**Morel 5630**

**H. 0.077, D. base 0.053, D. max 0.068 m.**

**Complete. Slip worn slightly around rim and handle.**

**Molded ring foot with recessed underside, in two degrees. Squat, globular body.**
**Narrow neck flares to trefoil rim. High swung strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.**

**Fourth to third century B.C.E.**
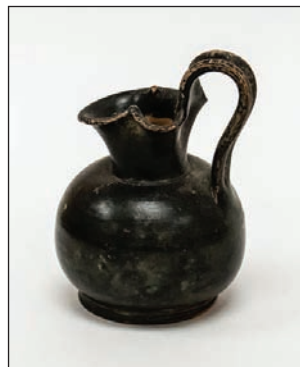
**Tomb 106, Block XXI**



**Fig. 8.** Jug. Republican black-gloss, fourth to third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom12127). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

These two objects were found in Tomb 106, in Block XXI of the excavations at the Esquiline necropolis, between Via Bixio and Viale Manzoni on November 22, 1877.[37] This tomb is one of the most informative features from these excavations, since the context of the entire assemblage of artifacts found in it has been preserved. Tomb 106 was a simple burial in a stone chest that contained not only the two black-gloss pots described above but also a balsamarium of enamel (or glass) decorated with five different species of palms, a bronze ring, and a coarse-ware pot.[38] Although this was not a chamber tomb and no frescoes are associated with this burial, the small finds that were recorded tell us much more about ancient funerary practice. The two jugs, the balsamarium, and the coarse-ware pot were probably involved in the funerary ritual, holding some type of oil, wine, or food that was either poured out, or consumed at the grave, or left there for the deceased.

Although most literary evidence for Roman ideas about the afterlife dates to the first century B.C.E. and later, grave goods like these are not out of place for what is known about Roman funerary ritual. Contemporary written evidence for funerary practice in the third century B.C.E. is virtually non-existent, and our evidence is therefore primarily archaeological. Judging from later periods of Roman history, however, humble ceramic grave goods such as the black-gloss pottery presented here would not be out of place in earlier funerary contexts. Burial practice varied significantly over time and by region; therefore, multiple interpretations of *why* pottery was placed in tombs are possible, and it is risky to generalize. Nonetheless, it is certain that the practice of depositing a small number of ceramic or non-ceramic vessels with a burial was common.[39]

One possibility is that grave goods buried in tombs served not only to honor the dead but also to serve them in the afterlife, ensuring the comfort of their spirits.[40] Offerings of food might have been included. Roman funerary ritual also included several banquets that

were eaten at the tomb and that also included offerings left for the dead.[41] In the case of a cremation burial, the burning of the corpse could take place either at a location designated for cremations or on the spot at which the deceased was to be buried.[42] One plate in the collection may provide an example of this behavior.

**Plate (Figs. 9–10)**

**Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V (inv. 12115)**

**Morel 1124a**

**H. 0.050, D. rim 0.205, D. base 0.063 m.**

**Mended from four fragments. One small fragment of rim restored in plaster. Discoloration of slip indicates secondary burning.**

**Ring foot with hole pierced through wall of ring. Shallow, flaring wall. Overhanging, convex rim. Depression at center floor.**

**Pink fabric (7.5YR 7/4). Glossy black slip over all; underside reserved.**

**Ca. 285 B.C.E.**

**Esquiline necropolis**



**Fig. 9.** Plate, interior. Republican black-gloss, ca. 285 B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom12115). Photo: Johanna Boyer.



**Fig. 10.** Plate, underside. Republican black-gloss, ca. 285 B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom12115). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

Although the precise find spot of this plate is unknown, records indicate that it was also excavated from the Esquiline necropolis.[43] The discoloration of the gloss on the pot suggests secondary burning, meaning that it was exposed to fire after it was initially fired in a kiln. In this case, it seems that the plate was unevenly exposed to extremely high temperatures, damaging the surface of the pottery and causing some of the black gloss to reoxidize to bright red and to grayish orange in other spots.[44] Because we know it was excavated from the necropolis, it is therefore very likely that this plate was burned as part of a cremation burial, either at the tomb or elsewhere.

All of these ritual behaviors could have resulted in pottery being deposited at a burial site, whether it was a large chamber tomb or a humble cist grave, and the number of black-gloss pots studied here that were excavated from the Esquiline necropolis supports this conclusion. The majority of Republican black-gloss pottery that has been excavated in Italy does not come from funerary contexts, however. Helga Di Giuseppe has recently found a closer connection between black-gloss pottery and sanctuary sites, with the production of black-gloss pottery tied to temple economy.[45] Due to sumptuary laws of the mid-fifth century that forbade ostentation at necropoleis, she argues, sanctuaries were the

only places at which one could hoard wealth, resulting in a concentration of black-gloss pottery in those locations and limiting its appearance in tombs. Whether pottery qualifies as "ostentation," however, and whether laws of the fifth century would still have as much of an impact by the third, is a matter of debate. The finds from the Esquiline necropolis suggest that the deposition of black-gloss pottery in tombs during the third to first centuries B.C.E. was not an uncommon practice. The placement of one or two pots in a simple stone burial chest could hardly be seen as ostentatious behavior, and even larger painted chamber tombs do not seem to have been prohibited in Rome during this time. It may be that the activities that took place at sanctuary sites allowed for a higher concentration of ceramic artifacts in contrast to the small number of artifacts deposited in a single tomb, leading to a distortion of the data. A sanctuary could be visited many times by a large number of people who dedicated votives, whereas grave goods may have been left at an individual tomb once or twice by a limited number of people. If many tombs elsewhere in Italy were excavated at an early date, in the same manner in which those on the Esquiline were excavated, many of those artifacts may remain similarly isolated due to a lack of known archaeological context. The black-gloss pottery presented here is still very limited in the information it can offer, since precise find spots for many of the objects are not definite, and we cannot quantify the amount of black-gloss material that was found in tombs. It does suggest, however, that perhaps the deposition of black-gloss pottery in tombs was not a rare phenomenon, and it may be the case that more data is needed from funerary contexts of the Republican period in order to assess the situation more accurately.

## NOTES

*I am grateful to Dr. Kathleen Warner Slane for her guidance on the Hidden Treasures of Rome Project and for her initial suggestion to look at the Tomb of the Fabii, which led to the discovery of important new information for this article.

1. The Hidden Treasures of Rome project was developed by the Capitoline Museum and the University of Missouri under the patronage of the Italian Cultural Heritage Ministry with the support of Enel Green Power and was conceived as the pilot program of a larger initiative undertaken by the Soprintendenza Capitolina. The project was made possible through the kind support of Claudio Parisi Presicce, Soprintendente Capitolino, Antonella Magagnini and Carla Martini of the Musei Capitolini, Pietro Masi, advisor, Francesco Venturini, CEO of Enel Green Power, and Michela De Genarro, director of External Relations and Communications, Enel Green Power North America.

2. The purpose of votive miniatures is a topic that needs further study, but it is probable that small vessels were more affordable than larger ones, allowing for a greater number of dedications. For this view from the Greek world, see Gunnel Ekroth, "Small Pots, Poor People? The Use and Function of Miniature Pottery as Votive Offerings in Archaic Sanctuaries in the Argolid and the Corinthia," in Bernhard Schmaltz and Magnalene Söldner, eds., *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext* (Munich, 2003) pp. 35–37. Alternatively, the small scale of the objects may have been an expression of a more personal dedication; see Michael Shanks, *Art and the Greek City State*: *An Interpretive Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1999) p. 189.

3.  Helga Di Giuseppe, *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy: Production, Management, and Local Histories* (*BAR International Series* 2335, Oxford, 2012).

4.  Jean-Paul Morel, *Céramique campanienne: Les formes* (Rome, 1981). Though some of Morel's dates and conclusions have been revised since the 1980s, this volume remains the primary reference work for Italian black-gloss pottery of the Hellenistic/Republican period (fourth to first century B.C.E.). Five of the objects in the Capitoline collection (all from the Esquiline necropolis) were actually included by Morel in this publication as examples of specific forms: AntCom12111=Morel 8241b, no. 1, p. 429, pl. 213; AntCom12115=Morel 1124a, no. 2, p. 86, pl. 3; AntCom12117=Morel 3681a, no. 1, p. 280, pl. 111; AntCom12118=Morel 4253c, no. 1, p. 299, pl. 123; AntCom12174=Morel 1111c, no. 1, pl. 81, pl. 1.

5.  Of the 249 objects, 60 could not be assigned a precise date or form because they were too fragmentary or because they were produced in miniature, resulting in a distortion of the full-size model.

6.  Products of the second century are rare and varied (e.g. AntCom8626, Morel 1255a, gray ware bowl; AntCom10066, Morel 2862, gray ware bowl; AntCom7633bis, Morel 2250, plate). There is one second-century example of Campana B (MC7581bis, Morel 1445a, plate), but otherwise the Campana wares identified by Lamboglia are not present in the collection. For Campana A, B, and C, see Nino Lamboglia, "Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramic campana," in *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri (1950)* (Bordighera, 1952) pp. 139–206. Products of the first century are represented by a series of black-gloss plates from Arezzo (Morel 2287: AntCom10240, 10241, 44231, 44243; Morel 2286: AntCom10239, 44246, 44257, 44286). AntCom44287 is the same shape (Morel 2286, small plate) but is made of a very different fabric, as demonstrated by neutron activation analysis (NAA); this may be one more example of Campana B, a ware in which Morel 2286 also occurs. Morel 2287, the larger plate, is exclusive to the black-gloss products from Arezzo.

7.  The volume of black-gloss pottery published by the Museo Nazionale Romano (Paola Bernardini, *Museo Nazionale Romano*: V,1, *Le ceramiche* [Rome, 1986]) provided the largest number of precise parallels for the decoration of the black-gloss pottery from the Capitoline. The composition of that collection is very similar, and it was also excavated in central Rome in the late nineteenth century, along the embankment of the Tiber River (ibid., p. 11). Small stamps on the interior of bowls and plates are the most common form of decoration on the Capitoline pottery, most of which can be attributed to the *atelier des petites estampilles* or to the broad classification of "Etrusco-laziali." For the original identification of the *atelier des petites estampilles*, see Jean-Paul Morel, "Etudes de céramique campanienne, 1. L'atelier des petites estampilles," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 81 (1969) pp. 59–117; for his revision of its chronology, see Morel, "*Céramique campanienne*," p. 92. For one of the most recent interpretations and re-dating of the *atelier* and its relationship to pottery classified as "Etrusco-laziali," see E. A. Stanco, "La seriazione cronologica della ceramica a vernice nera etrusco-laziale nell'ambito del III secolo a.C.," in V. Jolivet, C. Pavolini, M. A. Tomei, and R. Volpe, eds., *Suburbium II*: *Il suburbia di Roma dalla fine dell'età monarchia alla nascita del sistema della ville (V–II secolo a.C.)* (Rome, 2009) pp. 157–193.

8.  The NAA results have been recorded in a separate report, produced jointly by MURR and the Museum of Art and Archaeology. It was only possible to sample sixty-five objects, but three different compositional groups were identified with two outliers.

9.  Use-wear analysis was initiated in the spring of 2016 under the direction of Marcello Mogetta and executed by Stephanie Kimmey, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri.

10. A third object with context notes (AntCom44328, bowl) was excavated along the Via della Consolazione in 1939 (located near the Roman Forum). Because the focus of this article is the connection between the black-gloss pottery and the tombs of the Esquiline, AntCom44328 will be excluded from discussion at this point.

11. Closest to Morel 5212 but without the ring foot.

12. "Prefazione," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 1 (1872) p. 3.

13. Ibid., p. 4.

14. For a plan of the area, see Rodolfo Lanciani, "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere Esquilino," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 2 (1874) pl. V. VI.

15. The street names are key, as artifacts are often listed with reference to the road by which they were found.

16. Rodolfo Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepulture esquiline," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 3 (1875) pp. 42–46. At the time, the burials encountered in this area could be classified into three different types: rock-cut (oldest), sarcophagi or urns, and *puticoli* (large, mass burial pits, used for the lower classes). For an updated overview of the Esquiline necropolis, see R. Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium* (London, 1994) pp. 20–36.

17. The attribution of the tomb to the Fabii is not definite. An argument can be made that it belongs to the *gens* Fannii, since M. Fannius is the one receiving honors in this image, a name that does not appear in Roman history until the second century. See Eugenio La Rocca, "Fabio o Fannio. L'affresco medio-repubblicano dell'Esquilino come riflesso dell'arte 'rappre-sentativa' e come espressione di mobilità sociale," *Dialoghi di archeologia* 1 (1984) pp. 31–53. Roger Ling also favors this interpretation in his analysis of the painting (Roger Ling, *Roman Painting* [Cambridge, 1991] p. 10).

18. F. Oriolo, "Sepulcrum: Fabii/Fannii," in Eva M. Steiby, ed., *Lexicon topographicum Urbis Romae*: 4, *P–S* (Rome, 1999) p. 288. The tomb measures 8.5 x 5 m.

19. The fresco fragment measures ca. 87.5 x 45 cm.

20. For a detailed description of the fresco, see C. L. Visconti, "Un'antichissima pittura delle tombe esquiline," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 17 (1889) pp. 340–350. The second inscription referring to Fannius is not clear, and the letters may be read in different ways. These variations in reading do not, however, change the interpretation. See Visconti, ibid., p. 344, n. 2.

21. Visconti, "Un'antichissima pittura," p. 348. See also Filippo Coarelli, "Due tombe repubblicane dall'Esquilino," in *Affreschi romani dalle raccolte dell'Antiquarium Comunale* (Rome, 1976) pp. 13–21. For Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus: Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, viii.30, ix.23, ix.46.

22. A number of prominent Romans came from the *gens Fabia* during the third and second centuries, so it is possible that a different Fabius is depicted here and that the tomb could date as late as the second century (Ling, *Roman Painting*, p. 10); for other members of the *gens Fabia* see "Fabius," in Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, eds., *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*: 5, *Equ–Has* (Boston, 2004) pp. 287–300.

23. Visconti, "Un'antichissima pittura," p. 349. This individual should not be confused with Q. Fabius Pictor, his grandson, an early Roman historian who was active ca. 200 B.C.E.

24. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 35.19. Visconti goes so far as to suggest that this fresco may be part of a small-scale copy of the paintings that decorated this temple (Visconti, "Un'antichissima pittura," p. 349).

25. Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepulture," p. 54. Coarelli argues that the figure tied to a gallows is an early depiction of crucifixion (Coarelli, "Due tombe," p. 13). For further discussion of iconography from the Arieti Tomb, see Filippo Coarelli, "Cinque frammenti di una tomba dipinto dall'Esquilino," in *Affreschi romani dalle raccolte dell'Antiquarium Comunale* (Rome, 1976) pp. 22–28; Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor, 1992) pp. 11–12; Peter Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge, 2002) pp. 36–43. For tomb architecture, see Chiara Giatti, "L'architettura sepolcrale tra il II ed il I secolo a.C.: Modelli culturali e scelte architettoniche a Roma," *Bollettino di Archeologia On Line* Volume speciale (2008) pp. 35–36.

26. Evans, *Art of Persuasion*, p. 11.

27. Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepulture," p. 54. Also known as the "Tomb of the Magistrates." The frescoes were removed from the tomb, but the tomb itself was eventually destroyed in order to accommodate the construction of a modern building. For a possible identification of the owner of the tomb as Atilius Calatinus, see Filippo Canali De Rossi, "Il sepolcro di Atilio Calatino presso la porta Esquilina," *FastiOnlineDocuments&Research* 127 (2008) pp. 1–10.

28. Visconti, "Un'antichissima pittura," p. 340.

29. Mirtella Taloni, "La necropoli dell'Esquilino," in *Roma medio repubblicana: Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III a.C.* (Rome, 1973) p. 188.

30. See Rodolfo Lanciani, "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere esquilino," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 2 (1874) pp. 33–88; Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepulture," pp. 4–56; E. Dressel, "La suppellettile dell'antichissima necropoli esquilina: Parte seconda. Le stoviglie letterate," *Annales Institutorum* 52 (1880) pp. 265–342; L. *Mariani,* "I resti di Roma primitiva," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 29 (1896) pp. 5–60; Giovanni Pinza, "Monumenti paleoetnologici raccolti nei Musei Comunali," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 40 (1912) pp. 15–102; Antonio Maria Colini, *Antiquarium: Descrizione delle collezioni dell'Antiquarium ampliato e riordinato* (Rome, 1929).

31. *Roma medio repubblicana*, pp. 209–233. One additional pot from the collection was included in this same volume under a section on the Servian Wall (ibid., p. 69, no. 40, AntCom5055, fragment of bowl with painted inscription).

32. AntCom5518 (*Roma medio repubblicana*, no. 291, p. 211); AntCom12128 (ibid., no. 303, p. 215); AntCom12129 (ibid., no. 300, p. 214); AntCom12134 (ibid., no. 305, p. 215); AntCom12159 (ibid., no. 304, p. 215); AntCom12160 (ibid., no. 301, p. 214); AntCom12175 (ibid., no. 302, p. 214).

33. Mario A. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Red-Figured Vase-Painting at Caere* (Berkeley, 1974) pp. 68–72, 88–92. The jugs are related to the Genucilia Group, plates that are also common in this collection, which were also produced at Caere and are often decorated with large female heads in red-figure.

34. John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947) pp. 168–169. The name "Torcop" is taken from the examples identified by Beazley in collections at both Toronto and Copenhagen. Beazley notes, however, that it is difficult to separate this Torcop group from other similar groups, such as the Fluid Group (ibid., p. 302).

35. Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepulture," p. 56, no. 19, pls. VI–VIII; for the specific tomb number, see *Roma medio repubblicana*, no. 291, p. 211.

36. Cf. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum British Museum* 7, IV E b, pl. 1, 9, 10.

37. Giovanni Pinza, "Le vicende della zona esquilina fino ai tempi Augusto," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 42 (1914) p. 142; *Roma medio repubblicana*, nos. 303 and 307, pp. 215–216.

38. Pinza, "Le vicende della zona esquilina," p. 142. No image of these objects is available, so there is no way to confirm Pinza's identification of decoration or technique. "Enamel" is a translation of "smalto."

39. A diachronic view of burials at the Roman colony of Corinth demonstrates how grave goods can vary by time and by population (Kathleen Warner Slane and Mary E. H. Walbank, "Anointing and Commemorating the Dead: Funerary Rituals of Roman Corinthians," in Daniele Malfitana, Jeroen Poblome, and John Lund, eds., *Old Pottery in a New Century: Innovative Perspectives on Roman Pottery Studies* [Catania, 2006] pp. 377–387). In eight graves that date to the third century B.C.E., before the foundation of the Roman colony, typical grave goods include a drinking cup, an oinochoe, and a lamp, perhaps with a bronze strigil or ring. It seems that these were meant to accompany the individual to the underworld (ibid., p. 382). By the second century C.E., however, after the migration of Romans from central Italy, customs change. In Robinson's Painted Tomb (a chamber tomb used from the second to the fifth century C.E.) typical grave goods in second-century burials include a single unguentarium and perhaps a fine ware plate (ibid., p. 379). By the fourth century C.E., one or two jugs deposited in burials seem to indicate that a libation was poured, and a coin was tossed into the tomb (ibid). Coarse ware vessels left in the chamber tomb there also seem to indicate commemorative dining (ibid., p. 381).

40. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Baltimore, 1971) pp. 52–62. The view that *all* pottery placed in a tomb should be interpreted as a food offering to the deceased is dated, but it remains a possibility that some pottery should be viewed in this way.

41. Ibid., p. 51. See also Pinza, "Le vicende della zona esquilina," p. 142.

42. Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, pp. 49–50.

43. *Roma medio repubblicana*, no. 349, p. 229; Morel, *Céramique campanienne*, Form 1124a, no. 2, p. 86, pl. 3.

44. For an explanation of the results from different firing processes, see Joseph Veach Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York, 1965) pp. 84–86.

45. Di Giuseppe, *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy*, p. 157.

# Francesco Vanni's *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*

## *Meaning and Technique in Counter-Reformation Siena*

✣ ✥

### JUDITH W. MANN

One of the great treasures in the Museum of Art and Archaeology's collection of Old Master drawings is a beautifully finished sheet related to an altarpiece by the Sienese artist Francesco Vanni (Fig. 1 and back cover).[1] Some scholars have attributed it to Vanni himself, although Marco Ciampolini, one of the most respected students of Seicento Sienese art, has assigned it to Francesco Leoncini, identifying it as a study for his reproductive print (Fig. 2) done after Vanni's altarpiece rather than preparatory to the painting itself (Fig. 3).[2] The high quality of the drawing, which to my eye represents Vanni's accomplished use of red and black chalk as a means of defining the areas of greatest illumination within the composition, suggests that it may in fact be a rare example of a completed study that agrees with the final altarpiece in all of its major features, although some refinements were made in the final oil painting. The altarpiece itself (Fig. 3) can be considered typical of Vanni's productions, a combination of his characteristic pastel palette, flowing figure style, and close adherence to the



**Fig. 1.** Francesco Vanni (Italian, 1563/1564–1610). *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, 1598, black and red chalk with brown wash, on light buff paper, laid down, 26.9 x 18.1 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (64.88). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

**Fig. 2.** Francesco Leoncini (Italian, 1613–1666) after Francesco Vanni. *The Return from the Flight into Egypt*, 1622, etching, 26 x 19.3 cm. British Museum, inv. no. V,9.85. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.



**Fig. 3.** Francesco Vanni (Italian, 1563/1564–1610). *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, 1598, oil on canvas, 2.36 x 1.53 m. Church of Santi Quirico e Giulitta, Siena. Photo: LensiniFoto, Siena.

strictures of Counter-Reformation theology. An examination of both the painting and the drawing can present reasons for assigning the drawing to Vanni himself and offer new insights into Vanni's artistry and into his technique.

The drawing focuses on the Virgin Mary, the young Jesus (he appears to be a child of six or seven years of age), and St. Joseph, Mary's husband and Jesus's guardian. They are walking along a forested path, followed by their dutiful donkey, and framed by the trunk and spreading fronds of a towering palm tree. Above them, interspersed among the palm fronds, are the heads of five cherubs. The young Saint John the Baptist kneels on one knee at the right edge of the composition. As in the case of the three central protagonists, his figure was originally defined with red chalk; the artist later retraced some of the lines in black. Three babies form a pile at the lower left of the sheet; it is unclear if they are dead

or merely asleep. In the finished painting, they are clearly deceased, made evident by stab wounds and the palm fronds (symbolic of martyrdom) that one of them holds in his hand. Details of additional fauna and flora have been indicated by sketchily applied strokes of black chalk throughout the background. As shall be seen, this drawing, when compared with the finished painting, reveals some of the characteristic aspects of Vanni's graphic style as well as his extraordinary attention to the specifics of his narrative and to the setting in which the finished picture would hang. The alterations that were made on the sheet make less sense if they were simply intended to translate the painting into a graphic medium.

Francesco Vanni was the most important artist working in Siena in the last decades of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries. Although his precise birth date is not confirmed (he was baptized in early January of 1564 but may have been born in either December 1563 or early 1564), his death date is documented in 1610.[3] Vanni has been recognized as the most prominent Sienese follower of the Urbino painter Federico Barocci, although recent scholarship has attempted to place him in the larger context of Bolognese and Roman painting of the period as well. Vanni worked in Rome during at least two periods, first in 1579–1580 and then later in the early seventeenth century when he secured important commissions such as *The Fall of Simon Magus*, an altarpiece for the basilica of St. Peter's.[4] A deeply religious man, Vanni was a close associate of the Venerable Caterina Vannini, a former prostitute who converted and lived as a pious nun, experiencing visions that she shared with the artist.[5] He also maintained a life-long relationship with Cesare Baronius, one of the most significant theologians of the time, a scholar of the history of the Christian Church and its early martyred saints, and an advocate for the archaeological investigation of early Christian Rome.[6]

The museum's drawing represents a late stage in the preparation of Vanni's commission for an altarpiece in Santi Quirico e Giulitta, one of the oldest churches in Siena (Fig. 3). Several extant copies of the picture attest to its widespread popularity in the seventeenth century.[7] By first explaining the iconography and significance of the work, it will be possible to appreciate the role that the drawing played in the design of the finished altarpiece and to see how it illuminates Vanni's artistic ideas as well as his creative practice. According to tradition, Santi Quirico e Giulitta was constructed over a pagan temple; evidence of an original twelfth-century structure remains. The current building was erected in the late sixteenth century under the supervision of the church's canon, Ottavio Preziani, who employed a number of painters to fresco the interior and provide altarpieces. He also left a large amount of money in his will to support further work.[8] He was a member of the Compagnia del Sacro Chiodo, a religious organization committed to acts of goodwill with a special dedication to the nails that affixed Christ to the Cross; such a nail figured prominently in the order's insignia.[9]

The church was dedicated to the child martyr Quiricus and his mother Julietta (Quirico and Giulitta in Italian). According to legend, Julietta and her three-year-old son Quiricus lived in the city of Konya (present-day Turkey). In an attempt to escape persecution, they fled to Tarsus where they were identified as Christians. Refusing to renounce her faith,

Julietta was tortured. The young Quiricus also declared his faith, angering the governor who threw the child down some stairs causing him to hit his head and die. Julietta did not weep but celebrated the fact that her son had earned the crown of martyrdom. In anger, the governor then decreed that Julietta was to be beheaded. Her body, along with that of Quiricus, was flung outside the city onto the piled cadavers of dead criminals. Two maids rescued the corpses of both mother and child and buried them in a nearby field.[10]

The decorative program for the church focused on the lives of the dedicatory saints and scenes related to Christ's Passion, typical subjects for sixteenth-century churches. Ventura Salimbeni (Vanni's half-brother) painted the *Martyrdom of Saints Quiricus and Julietta* along the curved apse wall above the main altar (Fig. 4). Other altarpieces depicted the *Pieta* and *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemene* by Alessandro Casolani; *Christ's Crowning with Thorns* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* by Pietro Sorri; and *Christ at the Column,* a picture that was also commissioned from Vanni. Although *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* initially seems out of place in such a group, there are a number of reasons that this topic may have been selected.

Perhaps most important is its focus on a story taken from Jesus's youth. Given the dedication of the church to a martyred child, it is not surprising that Vanni was contracted to paint one of the few childhood narratives from Jesus's life. The particular story that the artist painted is associated with the Massacre of the Innocents from Matthew 2:14–15,



**Fig. 4.** Ventura Salimbeni (Italian, 1578–1613). *Martyrdom of SS. Quirico and Giulitta*, 1598 (?), fresco, 2.60 x 4.25 m. Church of Santi Quirico e Giulitta, Siena. Photo: LensiniFoto, Siena.

when the Roman king Herod attempted to eliminate the newly born savior by issuing a decree condemning to death all male children under the age of two. Portrayals of the massacre itself proliferated during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but during the sixteenth century other events related to it (the Holy Family's escape to Egypt and later return) became far more popular. One story in particular, the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, was illustrated with the greatest frequency. Its details came not from the Bible but from a book called the Pseudo-Matthew, one of a number of non-canonical (called apocryphal) Infancy narratives that filled in specifics of the lives of Jesus and his mother and enjoyed widespread popularity beginning in the Middle Ages and continuing through the Renaissance. Whereas the gospel account in Matthew stated simply that Joseph "got up and, taking the child and his mother with him, left that night for Egypt, where he stayed until Herod was dead," the Pseudo-Matthew embellished the journey with a variety of miracles and adventures that inspired an array of painted illustrations. The central part of the Pseudo-Matthew narrative described how the Virgin Mary became fatigued on the

way to Egypt and asked Joseph if they could stop and rest in the shade of a palm tree. When they did, Jesus instructed the palm to render fruit to salve his mother's hunger and to provide water from its roots, whereupon a miraculous spring appeared.[11] Artists drew on these same details when representing the Holy Family's return from Egypt. Although this later part of the story featured the family traveling back to Palestine through a desert landscape accompanied by a donkey and often guided by angels, artists frequently included palm trees and a spring from the story of the Rest. Sometimes, Christ's encounter with the young Saint John the Baptist was also portrayed.

Vanni has followed this visual tradition, as is evident in the donkey and the prominent palm tree. The specific form of the palm tree and its location along the left border as well as the disembodied angel heads were inspired by Dürer's famous print of the *Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 5).[12] Vanni also developed some unusual elements of his own. No other contemporary portrayal of the Return



**Fig. 5.** Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *The Flight into Egypt*, 1511, woodcut, ink on paper, 29.5 x 20.9 cm (image); 29.9 x 21.3 cm (sheet). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Rosenwald Collection 1943.3.3588. Photo: Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.

from Egypt, for example, included a pile of dead babies. This detail is commonly included in illustrations of the Massacre of the Innocents since the slaughter of the innocents was a recognized allusion to Christ's eventual sacrifice. By including it in the Return from Egypt, Vanni tailored his image to fit well among the scenes of Christ's Passion found elsewhere in the church. Perhaps more important, the piled corpses refer to the story of the church's dedicatory saints and their martyrdoms.[13] In fact, when compared with Ventura Salimbeni's altarpiece of that very subject, the similarities are evident (Fig. 4). On the left side of the fresco, Salimbeni portrayed the assassin raising the young child before casting him down the stairs. Vanni placed the pile of babies on the left side of his composition to make a direct reference to the unhappy result when Quiricus's body was cast onto a heap of cadavers.

Another unusual component that Vanni included is the pail of tools that the Christ Child holds in his left hand, a detail that carries several different meanings. The hammer, pincers, and nails can be related to the backpack of tools that St. Joseph sports upon his back, a reminder that Jesus was schooled in the carpentry trade of his guardian. More importantly, these three items refer directly to Christ's Crucifixion. Furthermore, the large nails symbolized the Confraternity of the Sacred Nail (Confraternita del Sacro Chiodo), the religious organization to which the patron belonged and one that Vanni himself joined in 1580.[14]

Saint John the Baptist, as noted above, is not such an unusual addition to the Return from Egypt. The specific placement and pose of the young saint, however, is atypical. Those features, along with the position of the Christ Child in relation to his mother, indicate that Vanni must have drawn upon some other text for his narrative. Susan Wegner was the first to identify that source, the Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, a work that was originally written in the late thirteenth century and republished in Rome in 1596.[15] It includes the earliest account of an encounter between Jesus and his cousin John. The *Meditations* offers a detailed description of how the seven-year-old Jesus and his family left Egypt, noting that the child rode at times on the ass, but when he dismounted, he walked with his mother. Written partly in the present tense, the account tells how Jesus, vis-à-vis his mother,

> walks behind and more slowly. Then the Child will go to her and the mother will be greatly refreshed in receiving her Son. Thus they go, passing through the desert by which they had come. On that journey you will often pity them who have little rest, and see them weary and tired, by day as well as by night. When they came close to the edge of the desert they found John the Baptist, who had already begun to do penance there although he had not committed any sin.[16]

Jesus's age, the dark setting of the scene, and Christ's placement in front of his mother all evoke the words of the Pseudo-Bonaventura text. The location of Saint John, who is literally on the borderline between an open clearing and a wooded setting, and whose kneeling position suggests the act of penitence, provides the clearest evidence that Vanni was inspired by the *Meditations*. Most other artists represented the scene by portraying the

two young boys embracing; none appear to follow the words of the Pseudo-Bonaventura as carefully as did Vanni.[17]

By examining the surviving drawings that record how Vanni developed the composition, one can understand how the artist consciously amended his design to adhere closely to the texts from which he drew. In this regard, one should note that he was following the recommendations of one of the most important theological councils ever to discuss religious imagery, the Council of Trent. This meeting of church officials convened in the northern Italian town of Trento in 1545 during three periods (1545–1547, 1547–1562, and 1562–1563). Meeting in twenty-five separate sessions, the Council issued seventeen decrees on various aspects of Catholic doctrine.[18] Few doctrinal conferences addressed the nature of sacred imagery as directly as did the Council of Trent. It issued recommendations devoted to the visual arts during the final session on December 4, 1563. Essentially, artists were warned to avoid the lascivious or suggestive. The purpose of religious imagery, it held, was to instruct and inform and not to encourage the faithful to dwell on the worldly and the inappropriate. Artists were, therefore, encouraged by their church patrons to avoid overly complicated compositions with unnecessary figures and to follow closely the details of the gospel texts. In tracing Vanni's development of his final composition through the related extant drawings, it is possible to see how carefully he took these Tridentine ideas to heart.[19]

In addition to the very finished study at the University of Missouri, there are five other drawings that can be associated with Vanni's final painting. The earliest sheet is a small sketch now in the Uffizi in Florence (Fig. 6).[20] Its pen and ink medium suggests that it was an early idea, what is termed a "primo pensiero," literally translated as "first thought." Vanni typically used pen and ink to record preliminary concepts for figures and compositional groupings.[21] This design demonstrates that Vanni originally envisioned a younger (and therefore smaller) Christ child walking at his mother's side. She, in turn, gestures with her opened left hand toward the right side of the composition. The graceful standing pose of the Virgin may derive from a rendition of the Flight into Egypt first developed by the Bolognese painter Annibale Carracci in the 1580s, where the Virgin holds the



Fig. 6. Francesco Vanni (Italian, 1563/1564–1610). *Return from Egypt*, pen and ink, 11.7 x 8.8 cm. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (5004 S.).

**Fig. 7.** Francesco Vanni (Italian, 1563/1564–1610). *Studies for the Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, ca. 1598, pen and ink, black chalk, 18.7 x 28.2 cm. Private Collection (formerly Thomas Agnew and Sons, London).

Christ Child in her arms as she walks in front of the donkey and St. Joseph on her way to refuge in Egypt.[22]

This first sketch does not capture the details taken from the Pseudo-Bonaventura text that Vanni would ultimately use in his final painting. This may be the reason that he changed his conception in the next drawing in the sequence, the most informative of the studies related to the *Rest on the Return* (Fig. 7). With the exception of the female figure in the upper right quadrant, all of the sketches on the page reflect Vanni's thoughts for the *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*. He began this second sheet at the left side, making adjustments to the figure of the Virgin that he had started on the Uffizi sheet. He moved her right arm forward and changed the angle of her gaze in anticipation of a taller child. This pose is explored more fully in the center of the sheet in black chalk. Here, he reintroduced the figure of Jesus as a more mature child, walking closer to his mother and returning her gaze. Immediately to the right of this group, Vanni fine-tuned the boy's pose, representing him from behind in two similar sketches with his left arm raised to grasp Mary's hand. On the left, the child looks up to the left; in the sketch immediately to its right he turns in profile to the right. Presumably the partial back view of a child's legs on the upper left of the sheet (lightly drawn in black chalk) reflects these musings, perhaps based on a life model posed with his weight on his right leg while raising his left. Vanni

may have used this study to capture accurately the load-bearing right leg and foot as seen from behind, an element that he has used in the pen and ink sketch of the child directly beside the black chalk sketch of the Virgin.

Finally, in the lower right quadrant of the sheet, Vanni introduced the key components that will appear later in the final composition, perhaps having re-read the text from the Pseudo-Bonaventura that specified Jesus as having led the way, and his weary family coming more slowly behind. That may, in fact, explain the treatment of the donkey, whose body language and heavy burden suggest the strain of hard work. The essential elements of the composition have all been established: Jesus leads Mary forward and points in the direction of their travel. The donkey follows wearily, and John the Baptist has been introduced, kneeling in profile facing right just in front of the donkey. Mary's right arm seems to reach toward the young saint. Joseph does not yet gesture toward him as he will in the finished painting. The bodies of at least two young babies can be discerned on the lower right. The sheet has been damaged, and the corner has been lost, so it is difficult to know whether the artist represented three babies as he did first in the Missouri sheet and then again in the completed altarpiece. The disembodied right leg appearing beneath the more complete baby's body hints that more corpses were intended. The reclining partially clothed woman, as already pointed out, is not related to the Return from Egypt, although it is interesting to note that her pose comes close to that of the dead baby at the very bottom of the Missouri study.[23]

Only one of the three remaining drawings that have been associated with the Santi Quirico altarpiece provides further information on how Vanni developed this painting.[24] A fragment in the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena (Fig. 8) records an interim stage for the main



**Fig. 8.** Francesco Vanni (Italian, 1563/1564–1610). Study for *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, black chalk, 14 x 17.3 cm. Biblioteca Comunale Intronati, Siena (S.III.9_c.11.r.a.I). Photo: © Autorizzazione Biblioteca Comunale Intronati. Siena, 28.7..2016.

figures completed before Vanni finalized their poses.[25] Executed in black chalk, it includes the lower torso of the Virgin, the entire figure of Jesus, and a good portion of Joseph's body and left arm. The position of Mary's right arm has already taken a form very close to that in the final painting. It is difficult to read the pose of her left arm and hand, although the raised right hand of the child, in a position very similar to the one used in the Missouri sheet, suggests that the artist already had determined how it would be. Most interesting is the appearance of the pail in Jesus's left hand, sketched very lightly at his side. Joseph's left leg and bent knee can be seen just behind Christ's shoulder, creating a confusing outline for the right side of the group. The artist may have already realized that he needed to move Joseph's body to the left, placing it fully behind the Christ child, in order to simplify that contour and emphasize the bucket. This sheet also confirms that Vanni had determined the final placement for John, since a very faint outline of the kneeling young saint, his head inclined to his right (our left) and his hands grasped in front of his chest, can be discerned at the right side of the sheet (Fig. 9).[26]

It is not possible to know how many additional sketches were used in the successive



**Fig. 9** Francesco Vanni (Italian, 1563/1564–1610). Detail, study for *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, black chalk, 14 x 17.3 cm. Biblioteca Comunale Intronati, Siena (S.III.9_c.11.r.a.I). Photo: © Autorizzazione Biblioteca Comunale Intronati. Siena, 28.7..2016.

workings of the composition, assuming that some may have been lost or perhaps even destroyed. Nonetheless, not many changes seem to have occurred between the Siena design and the drawing at the University of Missouri. Several key features have now assumed the final form that will be used in the finished picture. The drawing occupies most of a full-sized sheet of light tan paper and was executed in black and red chalk, with the addition of brown wash to enhance the shadows (back cover). The wash can be observed on the trunk of the palm tree and the foreground earth berm, as well as on the bodies of the dead babies. Vanni devised the framing palm tree and earth berm as an effective means of suggesting the edge of the desert as specified in the Pseudo-Bonaventura text. This idea of the desert's edge has been reinforced through the juxtaposition of dense foliage with a cleared area, where Vanni relied on the natural color of the sheet, augmented here and there with areas of light chalk applied in diagonal hatching strokes. Jesus now pulls his mother along and holds a goldfinch aloft in his right hand. The bird was a popular symbol of Christ's future sacrificial death. Based on a folklore tradition that it ate thorns, a legend developed

that a goldfinch plucked a thorn from Christ's crown on his way to Calvary, causing a drop of blood to fall onto its head that resulted in a permanent red mark.[27] The dead babies have been moved to the lower left. It was noted earlier that this arrangement meshed with the composition of the altarpiece that portrayed Quiricus's death. It also enhances the sense of movement from left to right by crowding the left side of the sheet and allowing the right edge to be seen as an open space for the family to move toward. In this detail, Vanni has followed a long-standing tradition in the portrayal of the escape to and return from Egypt. The flight *into* Egypt typically follows a right to left progression; the return *from* Egypt unfolds from left to right.[28] The sheet differs very little from the completed altarpiece. Several refinements can be noted in the painting, including a tighter grouping of the Holy Family, an additional cherub head (six rather than five), and a revised gesture for the Virgin's right hand.

The treatment of the figure of John on the Missouri sheet offers an opportunity to understand Vanni's method more fully, and to understand the drawing as playing a role in the design of the picture. Having already moved the young saint to the right of the composition, Vanni straightened his posture by aligning his head, hands, and left knee. By finalizing his location at the far right of the sheet, the artist made clear that his meeting with the Holy Family is imminent but has not yet taken place. This idea is underscored through the handling of the lighting on John's body. In the finished painting (Fig. 3), the most important figures within the composition are brightly illuminated, setting them apart from the darkened background. Light washes down over the three members of the Holy Family and the three dead children at lower left. Furthermore, the heads of the attendant cherubim that hover in the forest above are also highlighted through lighter coloration. In the Missouri drawing, Vanni used red chalk to indicate those figures that he intended to fully highlight. John the Baptist's figure does not receive full illumination, and his figure is therefore drawn in a mixture of black and red chalk (back cover). Thus, Vanni devised a visual means to establish that they have not yet encountered the young saint since he is not yet fully lit, but his semi-illumination suggests that the spotlight will pass to him soon. His partial illumination may also make clear his location; he is in the flanking forest and not in the clearing where the Holy Family walk.

This last point may clarify the function of this particular sheet and argue for its role as a preparatory work by Vanni himself rather than a copy to prepare a print. Although it is certainly the most complete of the surviving drawings and therefore may suggest a drawing done after the finished work,[29] Vanni's consistent and careful use of red chalk for those parts of the picture that would be illuminated in the final altarpiece suggests that this sheet served to test out the lighting as he intended to treat it in the finished painting. In fact, close examination of the sheet reveals that Saint John's form was sketched first in red; the black chalk was added on top (back cover). Vanni may, therefore, have originally intended St. John's figure to be bathed in the same bright illumination used for the other figures. Had this been a sheet for translation into the print, done from the finished altarpiece, there would be no need for both red and black chalk as the artist could simply have sketched his figure more lightly with the black chalk. It seems, rather, that the adjustment

in the coloration of St. John was done as the composition was being finalized rather than copied. As part of the preparatory process, in reflecting upon the passage from the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Vanni noted that John was not met in the desert, but at the *edge* of the desert, and he toned down the red chalk as a trial run to see if a middle range of lighting would work visually within the overall composition. In this way, Vanni revealed himself to be a student of Federico Barocci's method, one in which red chalk was often introduced as a means of determining the play of light in a picture. The combination of red and black chalk is characteristic of Vanni's graphic practice, where roughly one-third of his drawings display a mixture of the two media.[30] In no other drawing, however, is the use of red chalk so clearly intended as a means to suggest the final lighting, and in that way the Missouri sheet is an important and noteworthy example of Francesco Vanni's graphic work. Another aspect of the drawing that seems to argue against it as a sheet used to prepare a print is the greater area of white paper on the right side of the holy family. This is reduced in the finished altarpiece, and it is this more compact grouping of the altarpiece that is repeated in Leoncini's print, not the more open arrangement used in the drawing.

There is one last interesting side note to this beautiful sheet, which concerns its previous ownership. On the lower left of the front (the recto), directly below the left heel of the dead child who faces away from the viewer, a collector's mark can be discerned (Fig. 10). The initials "B" and "W," separated by a diamond shape, have been stamped into the sheet. They are the initials of the American expatriate painter Benjamin West (1738–1820) and were a form of identification that was affixed to individual pieces in his collection by his executors after his death.[31] It is not difficult to understand why the American artist would have owned and admired Vanni's drawings. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Vanni was recognized as among the most fastidious and careful masters of drawing; his preparatory studies were often admired far more than his finished paintings. West, a student of antiquity as well as the great Renaissance and baroque painters, would have appreciated Vanni's careful delineation of the human figure, his sophisticated handling of drapery, and his effective employment of gesture.
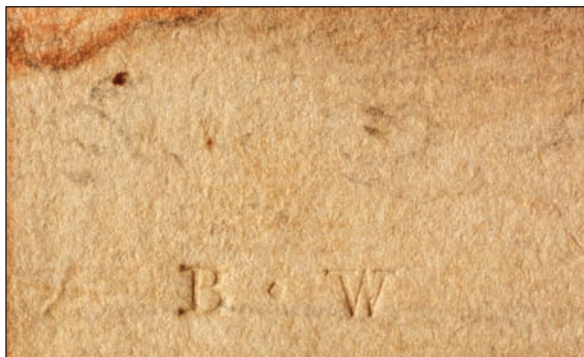


**Fig. 10.** Francesco Vanni (Italian, 1563/1564–1610). *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, 1598, detail, Benjamin West Collector's Mark, lower left corner. Red and black chalk with brown wash, on light tan paper, laid down, 26.9 x 18.1 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (64.88). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## NOTES

1. On the drawing, see Stephen E. Ostrow, "Some Italian Drawings for Known Works," *Muse (*1967) pp. 22–24, fig. 5; Osmond Overby, *Illustrated Museum Handbook* (Columbia, Missouri, 1982) p. 100, no. 155; Susan Wegner, *Images of the Madonna and Child by Three Tuscan Artists of the Early Seicento,* Bowdoin College Museum of Art (Brunswick, Maine, 1986) pp. 26–27, cat. 19; Laura Bonelli, "Francesco Vanni, *Ritorno dall'Egitto*," in Alessandro Angelini, Monika Butzek, and Bernardina Sani, eds., *Alessandro VII Chigi (1599–1667): Il papa senese di Roma moderna*, Palazzo Pubblico and Palazzo Chigi Zondadari (Siena, 2000) pp. 70–71; Edward J. Olszewski, in Burton Dunbar, Robert Munman, and Edward J. Olszewski, eds., *A Corpus of Drawings in Midwestern Collections: Sixteenth Century Italian Drawings*, vol. 2 (Turnhout, 2008) p. 473, cat. no. 374; Marco Ciampolini, *Pittori senesi del Seicento,* vol. 3, *Marcantonio Saracini–Stefano Volpi* (Siena, 2010) p. 987; Judith W. Mann, in Shelley Perlove and George Keyes, eds., *Drawings in Midwest Collections: The Age of Bernini, Rembrandt, Rubens, and Poussin* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2014) pp. 106–107, cat. no. 41.
2. Ciampolini, *Pittori senesi*, p. 987, where he associates it with the etching made by Francesco Leoncini in 1622. I wish to thank the anonymous reviewer who corrected an earlier mistake I had made since I was unaware of Ciampolini's association of this drawing with the Leoncini print. I also wish to thank Dr. Ciampolini who very kindly directed me to his opinion, and I look forward to discussing with him further the role of this drawing within Vanni's workshop.
3. On the question of his birthday, see John Marciari and Suzanne Boorsch, with contributions by Jamie Gabbarelli and Alexa A. Greist, *Francesco Vanni: Art in Late Renaissance Siena*, Yale University Art Gallery (New Haven and London, 2013) p. 47.
4. The commission was awarded as part of a series of altarpieces executed on slate to decorate the basilica in preparation for the Holy Year of 1600, although Vanni's painting was not completed until 1603. The choice of stone rather than canvas was due partly to the perceived imperviousness of the stone to moisture, which proved to be incorrect. The altarpiece quickly demonstrated distress along the joins in the stone and was eventually relegated to the Vatican deposit and replaced by a mosaic copy in the eighteenth century. See Miles L. Chappell and W. Chandler Kirwin, "A Petrine Triumph: The Decoration of the Navi Piccole in San Pietro under Clement VIII," *Storia dell'arte* 21 (1974) pp. 130–138. On drawings related to the altarpiece, see Marciari and Boorsch, *Francesco Vanni*, pp. 194–201, cat. nos. 70–73.
5. Charles Borromeo recorded her life in a book written in 1699. See Susan Wegner, "Francesco Vanni: The Emergence of a Counter-Reformation Painter," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1980, pp. 120–128.
6. On Baronius, see Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius, Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1975). For an excellent summary of the issues of the revival of the church through the refurbishment of early Christian sites, see Alexandra Herz, "Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesario de'Appia," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988) pp. 590–593.
7. Giulio Bianchi Bandinelli, "Catalogo delle opera del pittore Francesco Vanni," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 50 (1943) p. 151, note 2, lists six copies of the altarpiece.
8. Bonelli, "Francesco Vanni," p. 71, note 4.
9. On the Sacro Chiodo, see Franco Daniele Nardi, "Matteo Guerra e la Congregazione dei Sacri Chiodi (sec. XVI–XVII): Aspetti della religiosità senese nell'età della Controriforma," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 91 (1984) pp. 12–148.

10. An alternate version of the story held that Giulitta told the governor that his religion could not be accepted by a three-year-old child, whereupon Quirico testified to his faith, and mother and child were both tortured before being decapitated.

11. Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, chapter 20, as translated in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8 (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1951) p. 377.

12. Bonelli, "Francesco Vanni," p. 71, first noted these associations.

13. I have been able to track down approximately forty examples of this subject from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. None includes this particular detail.

14. On the Confraternity and its importance to Vanni, see Marciari and Boorsch, *Francesco Vanni*, pp. 11–12.

15. Wegner, *Images of the Madonna and Child*, p. 26.

16. *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, Isa Ragusa and Rosalie Green, eds. (Princeton, 1962) chap. 13, pp. 81–82.

17. For other earlier images of this meeting, see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Giovannino Battista: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," *The Art Bulletin* 37, no. 2 (June 1955) pp. 85–101, figs. 9, 18, 20, 26, and 27.

18. On Trent and its decrees on images, see John W. O'Malley, "Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses of the Sensuous," *The Sensuous in Counter-Reformation Art*, Marcia Hall and Tracy Cooper, eds. (New York, 2012) pp. 28–48.

19. John Marciari, "Francesco Vanni: Artistic Vision in an Age of Reform," in Marciari and Boorsch, *Francesco Vanni*, pp. 11–21, emphasized this aspect of Vanni's work.

20. Peter Anselm Riedl, *Disegni dei baroccheschi Senesi: Francesco Vanni e Ventura Salimbeni,* Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Florence, 1976) pp. 64–65, fig. 66.

21. On Vanni's drawing method, see Peter Anselm Riedl, "Francesco Vanni als Zeichner," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 30 (1979) pp. 81–107; and Marco Ciampolini, *Drawing in Renaissance and Baroque Siena: 16th- and 17th-Century Drawings from Sienese Collections*, Georgia Museum of Art (Athens, Georgia, 2002) pp. 104–123.

22. For an image of the painting in the Doria Pamphili collection in Rome, see *Catalogo Sommario della Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Roma* (Rome, 1981) no. 359. See Bonelli, "Francesco Vanni," p. 71, who suggested that Annibale's model may have inspired Vanni. On the evolution of the iconography for the Rest from a riding to a walking Virgin, see Emile Mâle, *L'arte religiosa nel '600* (Rome, 1984) pp. 205–206.

23. It is difficult to tell whether this figure was part of Vanni's thinking about the Santi Quirico e Giuditta altarpiece. It seems unlikely and may have been a study for a reclining female figure (perhaps undertaken as part of his designs for a later series of prints depicting the life of St. Catherine) or a drawing inspired by another work of art. It is unlikely that it is based on a life model and also that it was related to a nude figure in Vanni's oeuvre. Vanni, true to his strong religious beliefs, did not employ the female nude within his paintings. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, very few artists worked from female models. On this topic, see Bohn, "Drawing as Artistic Invention: Federico Barocci and the Art of Design," in Judith W. Mann and Babette Bohn with Carol Plazzotta, *Federico Barocci: Renaissance Master of Color and Line*, Saint Louis Art Museum (New Haven and London, 2012) pp. 41–45, for discussion of Barocci's use of the nude model, and the use of nude models in general.

24. The two remaining drawings include a study for a head (probably the Virgin) in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (GDSU inv. no. 4843), a badly abraded sheet that cannot be linked to the painting with complete certainty. There is also a charming wash and pen study for the Flight into Egypt, in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome (Inv. no. F.C. 127647, vol. 58 H I), where the Virgin rides on the donkey while Joseph walks

beside her carrying the infant Christ. The heads of both the Virgin and St. Joseph are nearly identical to those in the Missouri sheet. Particularly notable are the braided hairdo and the ribbons that adorn Mary's hair. Although some scholars have suggested that Vanni produced the sketch for an earlier Flight into Egypt and then incorporated those elements into the Santi Quirico e Giulitta painting, a more plausible explanation places this drawing after the Siena altarpiece, suggesting that the artist reused the heads from the altarpiece.

25. I wish to thank Renzo Pepi of the Biblioteca Comunale Intronati in Siena who with remarkable efficiency was able to provide a photograph of this drawing for me.

26 Bonelli, "Francesco Vanni," p. 71, was the first to associate this sheet with Vanni's altarpiece. She described it as a study for only three figures, however, not realizing that it also contained a sketch of St. John.

27 On the goldfinch as a symbol of the passion, see Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch: Its History and Significance in European Devotional Art* (New York, 1946) p. 9.

28. On the direction of the compositions for this story, see Gertrud Schiller, Janet Seligman, trans., *Iconography of Christian Art* vol. 1 (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1966) p. 124.

29.  With the exception of Ciampolini, scholars have noted that the purpose of the drawing was to serve as a guide for the execution of the altarpiece and for review by the patron. See Ostrow, "Some Italian Drawings," p. 23; and Overby, *Museum Handbook*, p. 100.

30. Ciampolini, *Drawing in Renaissance and Baroque Siena*, p. 104, noted that in some of Vanni's drawings, he used the combination of red and black chalk to achieve "chromatic softness" in the drapery and skin tones and also as a way to test contrasting tones as a means of evaluating possible colors.

31. Frits Lugt, *Les marques de collections: De dessins & d'estampes* (Amsterdam, 1921) online, http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/, no. 419 (accessed January 4, 2016).

# "Halfway between two shores . . . "
# Rolando Estévez's *La silla*

❧ ❧

## KIM LARSON

*La silla*, along with several one-of-a-kind assemblages in the collection at the University of Missouri's Museum of Art and Archaeology, is a complex, carefully designed work of literary art that invites viewers to look, read, touch, open, and unfold (Fig. 1 and front cover). *La silla*, translated as The chair, was handmade in the city of Matanzas, Cuba, in 2008. When first encountering the assemblage, a viewer sees only a bag with the title of the artwork hand painted in black ink (Fig. 2). The bag is made of collaged craft paper decorated with blue, green, red, and yellow paint. Handles of knotted cloth are strung through the top edge of the bag, creating a form similar to a paper shopping bag. Inside the bag is a handcrafted wooden box, also bearing the title of the assemblage (Fig. 3). The lid of the box is embellished with paper and dried foliage. Lifting the lid reveals five loose-leaf pages, all water colored and bearing hand-written inscriptions detailing information about the artwork such as the title, materials used in creation of the work, and publication date (Fig. 4). Also inside the box is a long, accordion-style folded banner measuring approximately two meters in length (Fig. 5). The banner features a hand written poem on



**Fig. 1.** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *La silla* (The chair), 2008, mixed media: paper, cloth, watercolors, ink, flowers, wood, and leaves. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63a–i). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

**Fig. 2** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *La silla* (The chair), detail, bag, 2008, paper and cloth, H. 16.2 cm, W. 25 cm, Th. 11.5 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63a). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 3.** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *La silla* (The chair), detail, box, 2008, flowers, wood, L. 19.8 cm, W. 10.9 cm, H. 9.0 cm (with flowers). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63b and c). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 4.** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *La silla* (The chair), detail, loose-leaf pages, 2008, paper, 16.9–17.1 x. 7.9–8.1 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63d and e, g–i). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.
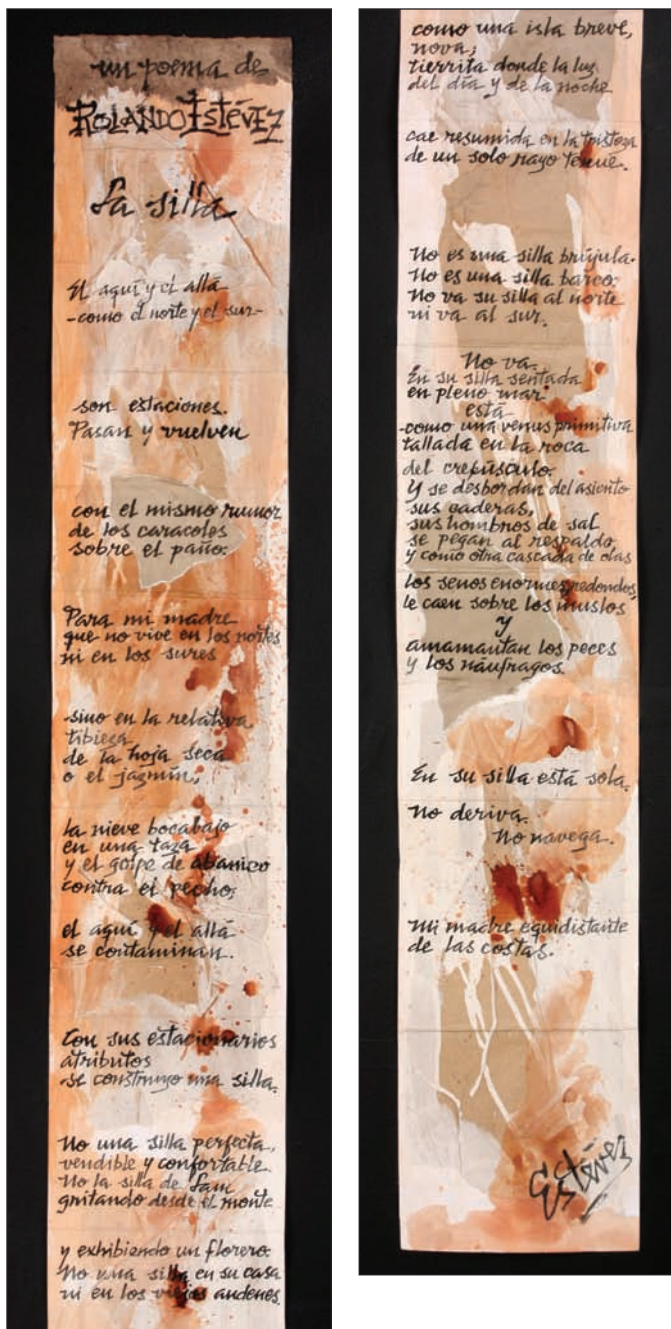
**Fig. 5.** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *La silla* (The chair), detail, poem on banner, 2008, paper, watercolors, ink, 192.5 x 16.2 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63f). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

one side and a series of paintings on the other. When seen together as a collection (Fig. 1), all eight components of *La silla* are a unique complement to each other.

 *La silla* was designed and created by Cuban artist and poet Rolando Estévez Jordán. It is a product of Ediciones Vigía, an independent publishing house founded by Estévez and Cuban poet Alfredo Zaldívar in April 1985, approximately twenty years after the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Since the foundation of the press, Estévez and a team of volunteer artisans have been working collaboratively to publish handmade works of literary art that feature the work of both Cuban authors and other internationally celebrated writers.[1] Within the Vigía canon are books featuring the poems of Emily Dickinson and Cuba's poet laureate Nancy Morejón, stories from Gabriel García Marquez and Cuban children's author René Fernández Santana, and various works about music, theater, cooking, philosophy, politics, history, and biography (Figs. 6–9). *La silla* differs from these books in that it features a poem written by Estévez himself. While Vigía publishes a wide variety of literature, one common thread found among most of the press's publications are the moments of interaction the books offer: scrolls that unravel, yarn strands that must be untied, fabric that lifts to reveal a poem or picture, and many other details that require physical engagement with the objects.



**Fig. 6.** Manuel Darío García. *Emily Dickinson (What mystery pervades a well!)* by Emily Dickinson, n.d., mixed media: photocopies on paper with watercolor accents, H. 24.2, W. 16.7 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.76). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 7.** Arneldy Cejas Herrera (Cuban, b. 1969). *Danilo y Dorotea otra historia de amor . . .* (Danilo and Dorotea, another love story. . .) by René Fernández Santana, 2005, mixed media: photocopies on paper with watercolor accents, H. 21.5 cm, W. 27 cm. (booklet). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.38a–d). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

**Fig. 8.** Laura Ruiz Montes (Cuban, b. 1966). *Los graduados de Kafka* (Kafka's graduates) by Jorge Angel Hernández Pérez, 2008, mixed media: photocopies on paper with watercolor accents, cloth, and yarn, H. 27.7 cm, W. 19.9 cm. (booklet including projecting elements). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.85a and b). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

**Fig. 9.** H. M. Niusha, Olga Samper, Driaxned Paz, Agustina Ponce (Cuban). *Recetas de cocina*, (Cooking recipes) 2007, mixed media: photocopies on paper with watercolor accents, H. 21.3 cm, W. 15.4 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.41). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

When I first viewed *La silla* and other Vigía books in the museum's collection, I was enamored by their interactivity and the challenge of discovering the objects' secrets. They are playful works of literary art. Upon translating some of the texts, however, I quickly came to realize that these books are not simply fun to explore. While the construction of these objects signals entertainment, the books and larger assemblages like *La silla* feature stories and poems that, when combined with the interactive nature of the objects, create intricate layers of meaning and iconography that reflect the complicated post-revolutionary social climate of Cuba in the 1980s and 1990s. The stories and poems published by the press are historical, religious, philosophical, and personal. They address subjects such as family, loss, loneliness, identity, and place. The writers question themselves and their worlds, they lament lost childhoods and broken dreams, and they celebrate family,

identity, and imagination. *La silla* offers a particularly unique view of the press and its place in the Cuban art and literary world since Estévez himself is writer, designer, and creator of the assemblage. *La silla* serves as a reflection of life in post-revolutionary Cuba on a both personal and national scale. With the text, image, and construction of *La silla*, Estévez offers viewers a deeper look into the challenges he and many others faced on the island following the Revolution of 1959. An in-depth analysis of *La silla* demonstrates how Estévez and the artisans at Vigía have grappled with the challenge of finding a personal and artistic identity within a country struggling to find its national identity.

Ediciones Vigía translates as Watchtower Editions and is named because of its location at the Plaza de la Vigía, or Watchtower Square, in the coastal city of Matanzas.[2] Estévez and Zaldívar initially founded the collective with the intention of providing Cuban writers and artists with a haven, a safe and supportive place in which to gather and discuss their work. Though not an overtly political press Vigía has, from its beginning, been greatly influenced by social and political events in the decades following the Revolution.[3]

Ediciones Vigía grew amid the challenging social and political circumstances of the 1980s and 1990s. The founders recognized that those local artists and writers in Matanzas who still believed in the value of art and literature needed a place to express themselves. Vigía's first foray into the publishing world came in the form of posters advertising poetry readings and group meetings for writers and creators. As the collective grew, Estévez and Zaldívar began publishing the work of their members, other Cuban authors, and internationally recognized non-Cuban writers. Zaldívar explains in a 1994 interview:

> Ediciones Vigía emerged out of the need of a group of artists of the city to see their work, which they valued as literature, in print. We did not have a preconceived idea about what the volumes would look like. Our resources were scarce: a mimeograph machine that someone from a press was able to lend us, and a typewriter—also borrowed—because we owned neither. These are the only two machines we have used in the history of Vigía. More than anything, we use our hands and our imagination.[4]

The press has since been given copy machines, which are used to produce much of the text and some imagery featured in the books.

Early Vigía books were more simply constructed and more traditional in their binding and layout than later editions, but since its inception Vigía artisans have found their artistic and publishing identity by creating books that do not conform to the typical twentieth-century definition of a professionally produced, printed, and circulated publication. Larger publishing houses can digitally print hundreds of copies of books on fresh new paper, while Vigía makes do with found materials, namely, repurposed items such as paper from the local butcher, yarn, fabric, leaves, and other items. The choice of materials is politically motivated as much as it is aesthetically motivated. Because Vigía publishes authors who address diverse and, in the eyes of the Cuban government, oftentimes controversial subjects (such as sexuality and revolution), Vigía has consistently been under the watchful eye of the Ministry of Culture (MINCULT). The MINCULT was established

in 1976 and functions as an umbrella institution that, according to its official website, "is responsible for directing, guiding, controlling and executing the implementation of the cultural politics of state and government."[5] In order to maintain their independence, Vigía does not rely on the MINCULT for materials and instead uses only donated and recycled materials. This practice grants Vigía a degree of artistic freedom since the government has no ownership over the materials used to create the books and, therefore, little influence over published content.[6]

As the first chief designer of the press,[7] Estévez must carefully consider what materials are available before beginning a design. Once he has settled on the overall look and construction of a book, he creates one copy. Volunteer artisans at the press then use Estévez's original as a model to craft a limited number of volumes, a maximum of 200 issues, for each book.[8] Because of their unique production method, the text and form of the issues are identical, but each object shows the hand of the individual maker. One book may feature yellow colored pencil while the next features red. If the artisans run out of one material, they substitute another. A book bound with yarn in Estévez's original design may be bound with twine for the last dozen copies. This creative ingenuity reflects the Cuban penchant for reclaiming and reusing.[9]

The work examined here, *La silla*, differs dramatically from the serialized Vigía books in that only one artist, Estévez, created it, and only one copy exists. In keeping with the principles of the press, however, Estévez used only found and repurposed materials in the construction of his assemblage. Text on the fourth loose-leaf sheet of paper (Fig. 10) translates as "In its construction, the artist has used a cedar box, craft paper, bristol cardboard, bark paper, hand-painted pages, left-over printer paper, croton leaves, sunflower petals, evergreens, the memory of his distant mother and the magic of this Matanzas house." The recycled nature of Vigía objects and *La silla* is a challenge welcomed for the sake of a greater degree of publishing freedom, but Estévez also insists that "Vigía's editorial aesthetic was not chosen in 1985 out of material need or because there existed no other possibilities. . . . Vigía emerges out of aesthetic necessities"[10]—the desire to create works that not only preserve the stories, histories, and poems of Cuban writers but are also beautiful.
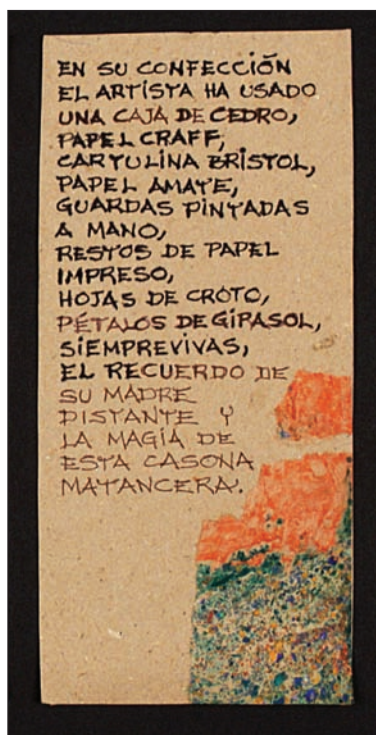


**Fig. 10.** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *La silla* (The chair), detail, loose-leaf page, 2008, paper, ink, 16.9 x 8.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63h). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

La silla is an ideal example of Vigía's goals as expressed in both Estévez's and Zaldívar's comments on the foundation of the press. First, the assemblage represents Vigía's desire to publish Cuban authors, in this case Estévez. Second, it displays the need for and value of artistic community. Estévez is named as the sole author and artist of *La silla* on multiple pieces of the assemblage, but it is not a work he claims for himself. He includes the community of Vigía by inscribing "Ediciones Vigía" and the "magic of this Matanzas house" prominently in various places, connecting *La silla* back to the press and his artistic community. Finally, as a large and complicated object that took considerable time and materials, *La silla* reflects Vigía's desire to elevate the work of Cuban authors to "literature," in Zaldíva's words, and not just as poems and stories written in private notebooks and tucked away.

The late 80s and early 90s were not an easy time to found an artistic organization in Cuba, especially one that centered on the goals that Estévez and Zaldívar had for Vigía. In the midst of paper shortages, political instability, and mass exile, the writers and authors of Vigía emerged with a passion to show the world that Cuban culture will prevail and flourish, regardless of the island's political, social, or economic circumstances. With their books, Vigía affirms that there is value in individual expression and communal collaboration, and that the work of Cuban authors and poets belongs next to the work of international writers who, in their own times of joy or trouble, have addressed many of the same subjects and expressed many of the same sentiments as the Cuban writers published by Vigía.

As an iconographic nod to the unyielding artistic spirit of the press, Estévez places a signature symbol, an oil lamp, on each object produced. The fifth loose-leaf page in *La silla* displays this decisive lamp accompanied by the inscription "Ediciones Vigía" and the publication date, "April of 2008" (Fig. 11). Text on the back of the page translates as "This oil lamp is part of the sole copy of the poem '*La silla*' by Rolando Estévez." Peggy Sue Dunigan states that the oil lamp "signifies its [Vigía's] mission to ignite creativity even when threatened by extreme circumstances . . . [and] reminds all cultures that artistic expression and individual creativity can too easily be extinguished."[11] This remains a fitting message from a



**Fig. 11.** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *La silla* (The chair), detail, loose-leaf page, 2008, paper, watercolors, ink, 17.1 x 8.1 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63i). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

publishing house that preserves and makes public the work of many Cuban authors and artists who would otherwise remain relatively unknown outside the island.

   With a contextual understanding of the history of the press, a closer look at *La silla* can give greater insight into the personal life of Estévez and many Cubans who chose to stay on their island following the Revolution. Once viewers open the paper bag and the wooden box, and after they read the publication and construction information on the loose-leaf pages discussed above, they arrive at the heart of the assemblage: the poem. The English translation of the poem *La silla*, composed in Spanish, reads:

> Here and there,
> like north and south,
> are two seasons.
> Coming and going
> with the rumbling
> of snails across the curtains.
>
> For my mother,
> who doesn't live in norths or souths
> but in the relative lukewarm of fallen leaves and jasmine,
> snowcones upturned into a cup,
> and the tapping of a fan against her breast,
> here and there contaminate each other.
>
> She's taken their seasonal attributes
> and built a chair.
>
> Not a perfect, marketable, comfortable chair.
> Not Lam's chair, screaming from the *monte*
> and displaying a flower vase.
> Not a chair from her house, or from an old railroad platform.
> Not in the middle of some constellating crowd.
>
> Not a chair sitting all by itself,
>                    But rather
> a chair in the sea halfway between two shores,
> like a miniscule newborn isle,
> a tiny land where the light of day and the light of night
> fall together in the sadness of one feeble ray.
>
> Her chair is not a compass.
> Her chair is not a boat.
> Her chair does not go north, does not go south.
>                    It does not go.

On her chair, set in the middle of the sea,
                    she sits
like a primitive Venus
carved into the rock of twilight.
Her hips hang over the edges of the seat,
her salt shoulders cling to the chairback,
and, like one more cascading wave,
her enormous round breasts spill onto her thighs
                  where they
suckle fish and shipwrecked sailors.

She's alone in her chair. She doesn't drift.
                Doesn't sail.
My mother, halfway between both shores.[12]

Estévez tells a personal story in this poem. His mother, father, and younger sister were among those who fled the island following the Revolution. Estévez, who was around fifteen or sixteen years of age at the time, was left in Cuba, perhaps because of required military commitments for young men. He was left under the care of his godparents with the hope that his family could come back for him. That hope was never realized.

Estévez's family and all those who fled Cuba had to leave the same way—over water. This has led many Cuban writers and artists of the latter half of the twentieth century to view the sea as a defining icon of their time, and they address that in their work. In her essay "Regarding Cuban Art," Nathalie Bondil writes, "The country's island status is a central theme in its art: the sea is both a boundless horizon and a boundary. While island dwellers are always aware of the vastness of the world, they also always have a sense of the physical limits of their own territory, surrounded on all sides by water."[13] For the thousands of Cubans who felt the pains of emigration, the sea became a symbol of both freedom and isolation.

The sea is a central subject of *La silla* in both Estévez's poem and in his painting adorning the facing side of the banner (Figs. 12–14). The painting features a watery blue, green, and grey color palette with splashes of the same orange found elsewhere in the assemblage. This consistency in color helps create cohesion among the various pieces. The cool colors and abundance of fish in the painting suggest the woman is underwater. If we interpret this painting as an illustration of the poem, we can identify the woman as Estévez's mother, who is twice referenced in his poem as "my mother."

Approaching Estévez's painting is less straightforward than approaching his poem. With the poem, viewers naturally begin reading at the top and work their way down the banner. If we follow this same path for the painting, we see at the top a crescent moon shape and directly below that, a woman sitting on a chair (Fig. 12). She appears anchored, her hair drifting slightly in front of her, perhaps grasping a plant with her right hand. Her

**Fig. 12**



**Fig. 13**



**Figs. 12–14.** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *La silla* (The chair), detail, painting on banner, 2008, paper, watercolors, ink, 192.5 x 16.2 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.63f). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

**Fig. 14**

body is incomplete and hidden behind two fish suckling at her breasts as described in the poem. She has reconciled herself to this place, becoming one with her environment as her body provides nourishment to the creatures of the sea. Transitioning to the bottom figure is a trail of fish that seem to be swimming upward (Fig. 13). In the bottom image, the chair is less crucial to the composition (Fig. 14). The woman is the central focus, her body clearer and more complete. She sits with her arms curved above her head, her hair flowing up and away, in a mermaid-like position.[14] She breastfeeds two individuals described in the poem as "shipwrecked sailors."

The two women present the story of Estévez's mother—and many Cuban mothers—who took to the sea and fled their island in the hopes of providing a better life elsewhere for their families. Leaving the island meant leaving loved ones, leaving home, and not knowing when they would return. The woman featured in *La silla* is alone, torn between two shores. Instead of choosing one or the other, she builds a chair, both here and there, and settles in the space between. She settles in the sea.

In addition to the figures in this painting, Estévez includes various symbols that reflect Vigía's penchant for creating complex and layered iconographies. This is a characteristic design trait found in most Vigía publications, and it invites various interpretations of the artwork and literature that viewers might uncover on their own based on their own knowledge or backgrounds. For example, Estévez added to his paintings of his mother the crescent moon shape at the top edge of the banner. This moon appears in many Vigía publications, and it could be an indicator of the lunar cycle, or it could lead viewers to a more symbolic conclusion. According to Patricia E. González, the moon is associated with the Santería orisha Yemayá. Orishas play a major role in Santería, a syncretic Afro-Cuban religion. As deities associated with the natural world, orishas rule the natural elements and phenomena in the areas where they live. The orisha Yemayá is "the symbol of maternity and womanhood," and she rules the sea, showing "tranquility but also mighty force."[15] Perhaps Estévez is including the Santería symbol for Yemayá as a way of reinforcing his mother's Cuban roots.

Another complicating image in Estévez's painting is the chair. In his poem, Estévez states his mother's chair is "Not Lam's chair, screaming from the *monte* and displaying a flower vase." Lam, or Wifredo Lam, is the most recognized modern artist from Cuba. He was born in 1902 in Sagua la Grande, a city that, like Matanzas, sits on the north central coast of Cuba. After completing studies at the Academy of San Alejandro, Lam traveled abroad extensively, living and working in both Europe and on occasion in his homeland.[16] Because of his itinerant lifestyle, Lam has been described as a "cultural outsider" who blurs the line between being simultaneously Cuban and not-Cuban, both geographically and ideologically. Lam placed physical and emotional distance between himself and his home-land, and as a result his relationships with other Cuban artists were sometimes troubled.[17] Edward Lucie-Smith argues in his essay "Wifredo Lam and the Caribbean" that he would place Lam more within the international narrative of Surrealism and American Abstract Expressionism than within the narrative of Cuban or Latin American art, a statement that

reflects Lam's international, displaced persona.[18] Regardless of the controversy surrounding the "Cuban-ness" of Lam, he is above all a native of Cuba, and upon returning to the island after more than twenty years' absence, he began to address native themes in his work, most notably Afro-Cuban themes and Santería.[19]

In 1943 Lam painted a work also titled *La silla* (Fig. 15). Stylistically, the painting displays the confluence of European cubism and Cuban iconography. In the center of Lam's composition is a chair enveloped by a dense landscape of leaves and plants in shades of muted greens, tans, reds, and greys. Lam's stylization of the foliage and the chair and his consistent color palette make the chair appear less out of place amid the thick vegetation. The same is true for Estévez's scroll painting with its consistent black line work and cohesive color palette. Juan Martínez offers an interpretation of Lam's painting that places the artwork within an Afro-Cuban context. Sitting on the chair is a vase with leaves or flowers. Martínez explains this somewhat out-of-place object by stating that the vase "evokes an offering to a deity or nature spirit,"



**Fig. 15.** Wifredo Lam (Cuban, 1902–1982). *La silla* (The chair), 1943, oil on panel, 111.6 x 81.5 cm. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Havana. Gift of Lilia Esteban and Alejo Carpentier, 1976, Inv. 07.296. https://theartstack.com/artist/wifredo-lam/la-silla-1943

an orisha.[20] Orishas, as mentioned above, are deities associated with the natural world, in this case, the forest. Lam's placement of the offering on a chair is particularly significant. In Yoruba tradition (the African culture that many Afro-Cubans hold ties to), the chair symbolizes the belief that altars are the "seats of the gods."[21]

Martínez's interpretation reveals Santería iconography within Lam's painting, and if the art historian's conclusions are applied to Estévez's scroll painting, we see similar references. By placing his mother on a chair, the seat of the gods, Estévez likens her to Lam's vase of leaves—an offering to an orisha. Estévez's offering, however, is not to the orisha of the forest but to the orisha of the sea. By depicting his mother in this way, perhaps Estévez is suggesting that in leaving behind her son and her homeland, his mother is sacrificing herself to the sea for what she believes is the good of her family. This comparison of Lam's painting with Estévez's painting builds upon the idea discussed above concerning Estévez's use of the crescent moon symbol. Estévez, like Lam, infuses his art with Afro-Cuban iconography. Lam draws upon his European cubist aesthetic with *La silla*, while Estévez draws upon his personal story and life experiences for his *La silla*. Both, however, hold fast to their Cuban roots. In titling his assemblage *La silla* and citing Lam in his

poem, Estévez is aligning his work with that of the internationally recognized modernist. Estévez's assemblage transcends his own time as a work that comments not only on his personal history but also on the history and culture of the island, integrating references to Cuba's deep-seeded African roots, the state of the island following 1959, and the accomplishments of a mid-twentieth century Cuban artist. Estévez merges all of these influences, these many facets of Cuban history and culture, into one artwork that reflects the complex, tangled history of the island. This layering of iconography and historical references is a key trait of Vigía publications, and it helps the press place itself within a larger artistic and cultural narrative that extends far beyond the boundaries of Matanzas.

After viewing all parts of Estévez's assemblage and looking more closely at the poem and painting that sit at the heart of *La silla*, a viewer comes to understand that engaging with this object is not about reaching a final destination, the poem. Rather, engaging with this object requires an appreciation for the journey of unpacking each piece of this assemblage, an experience that leads to the question: what does the object as a whole say? While the pieces that make up this object beg to be opened and touched, the design of the artwork is carefully and thoughtfully controlled. The bag, box, and folded banner all create a physical and visual struggle for a viewer. Physically, the banner is so long that as a viewer begins to lift the accordion folds, they spring open as the banner tumbles down to the floor. Visually, the fluid text, watercolor paintings, and free-form organic nature of the various collaged designs are in stark contrast to the rectangular, pointed, and sharp edges of the bag, box, and pages, which convey a sense of rigidity and stiffness. Finally, Estévez plays with a juxtaposition of warm and cool colors, grounding his work in earth tone shades of brown, green, and orange, but adding blue, green, and grey to the painting side of the banner as a contrasting element to other pieces of the assemblage. Estévez instills in his assemblage a tone of tension and fluidity, harmony and discord. With the design of this assemblage, Estévez complements the feelings of inbetweenness expressed in his poems.

Adding to the tone of liminality in this assemblage is the idea that all the components that make up this artwork can pack neatly into a bag which, if needed or desired, could easily be toted around or carried away. The poem and painting in *La silla* can be viewed as a scrapbook or tangible memory of Estévez's childhood, and the portability of the assemblage echoes that when he was a young teenager Estévez's entire life was picked up, packed away, and placed elsewhere. The themes of portability and movement can be found throughout the work of twentieth-century Cuban artists, and *La silla* is not the only Vigía work to address the subject. Another large assemblage created by Estévez, his 2008 work *Fui llevado a un cine de barrio mientras mi madre hacia su maleta* (I was taken to a neighborhood cinema while my mother packed her suitcase) reflects the artist's memories of the day his family left (Fig. 16).

Ruth Behar writes in her book *The Portable Island: Cubans at Home in the World* that in the decades following the Revolution, thousands of Cubans left the island, but in 1978 and 1979, 125,000 Cubans were brought back to Cuba under a family reunification program to visit relatives. She goes on to clarify,

**Fig. 16.** Rolando Estévez Jordán (Cuban, b. 1953). *Fui llevado a un cine de barrio mientras mi madre hacia su maleta* (I was taken to a neighborhood cinema while my mother packed her suitcase), 2008, mixed media: leather, metal, textile, wood, paper, paint, ceramic, lipstick, raffia, plastic, hemp rope, dried flowers, and straw, H. 55 cm (suitcase); L. 376 cm (scroll unrolled). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (2009.4). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

They weren't allowed to stay with their families and were forced to stay in hotels. Then, by a strange coincidence, the same number of Cubans who returned as visitors was matched by the exodus of 125,000 Cubans from the port of Mariel in 1980, which the island viewed as a purging of the "scum" of its revolution. Again the gap widened, making the ninety miles of ocean border between Cuba and the Florida coast the longest ninety miles in the world.[22]

This back-and-forth movement of Cubans and the confusion and heartache it caused would certainly have affected those who remained in Cuba, including Estévez, and served as a reminder of the instability of life and the portable nature of family, memories, and home. This sentiment is reflected in the construction of *La silla* and *Fui llevado a un cine de barrio mientras mi madre hacia su maleta* as both assemblages are built upon a portable foundation, a bag and a suitcase respectively.

The conscious decision to use a bag and a suitcase in the design of these two pieces evokes connotations associated with the word "baggage." While many people deal with painful memories and difficult experiences internally, Estévez manifests his externally in an artistic and physical form. The memories, preserved forever in his poems and drawings, will always remain a part of Estévez no matter what happens to his artworks. *La silla*, however, differs from *Fui llevado a un cine . . .* in that the first is constructed completely of organic materials. There is no metal fixture holding *La silla*'s box together, no wire

fastening the flowers to the box or the handle to the bag, and no plastic parts. As a physical object, *La silla* will not last. The paper will tear, the flowers petals will crumble, and the box will fall to pieces, but for now we are given a glimpse into Estévez's memory and the stories and struggles that have shaped his life and his country. Neither *La silla* nor *Fui llevada a un cine* . . . was created for a commercial market or to make a bold political or cultural statement, but rather, they were created with the simple message that life is fleeting, painful, confusing, uncertain, and beautiful.

Estévez communicates this idea and sets the tone for viewers of *La silla* by using a strict order of organization. Each component of this artwork has a specific place. First, the bag. Then, the box. A wooden lid. Inside the lid, two thin sheets of paper that must be unfolded in order to get to the stack of papers. Then comes separating the sheets of paper and the banner, arranged in a specific order. The whole process of viewing this object is one of uncovering layers. Once all of the pieces are unpacked, the order in which to view them can become unclear—the arrangement can become jumbled. A viewer who first sees the object with everything unpacked as seen in Figure 1 might wonder: Which side of the banner should I look at first? Is the bag part of the artwork or simply a means of transportation for all the pieces? This poses many difficulties for the museum in terms of displaying the assemblage since it raises the question: How can viewers see the entire piece while still experiencing and understanding the physical nature and unpacking process inherently crucial to the work's composition? When Figure 1 (the artwork unpacked) is viewed next to Figure 2 (the artwork with pieces stowed away), it is clear the assemblage can be either confusing or systematic, an artwork that allows viewers freedom to decipher meaning and order on their own or an artwork that is contained and methodical. The possible unending cycle of packing and repacking the pieces, of folding and unfolding the banner, of stacking and unstacking the papers, can be overwhelming.

This cyclical style of construction is a defining characteristic of Estévez's designs for Vigía, and it is a style informed by his work as a theatrical scenic designer. Theater is a passion for Estévez, who claims, "I consider myself a man of theater . . . [and] a man who tries to write poetry."[23] He continues in the same interview, saying:

> I cannot stop being a man of the theater because I think life has awarded me with the knowledge, understanding, and affection for people who are so complex and yet so simple. People who walk with a shell on their back, they sacrifice a lot, that they deliver to the public, leaving on the stage the best pieces of their heart. That is theater. When the function ends and you see the empty orchestra you have the conviction that at least one spectator left changed, and you cross the stage and touch the scenery placed there, alive, awake, even in its material sense, which a few minutes before had been awake in its magical sense.[24]

This cycle of coming alive, of feeling and sensing magic and being nudged back to reality, is evident in Estévez's work at Vigía. At the theater, the scenery comes alive once the actors take their places and the audience arrives. At Vigía, the literature comes alive

in the writing, designing, creating, and reading of the books and assemblages. The objects do not rely on the laughter or applause of the audience, but on the life Estévez and his team of volunteer artisans put into them. *La silla* becomes a stage that presents viewers with poetry and art in the privacy of their own homes, not surrounded by other members of an audience. Viewers have the freedom to engage with Vigía works on their own time, ruminate on the literature, see paintings and drawings from different viewpoints, pack and unpack the pieces, and find meaning that speaks to them individually. In this way, Vigía has found a place within Cuba's post-revolutionary culture as a medium that preserves history and stories for writers and recalls memories of an island facing many challenges. Perhaps the personal experiences, interpretations, and discoveries found by those engaging with the objects is the "magic of this Matanzas house" that Estévez names in his list of materials used to create *La silla*.

The construction, form, and content of *La silla* represent a tension in tone, one of imbalance and liminality, reflective of an unstable island and the hope of a better future kept alive by the unwavering artistic community of Vigía. While other Cuban publishing companies struggled with material shortages, government censorship, and broken spirits, Estévez insists that Vigía not only survived the late 80s and early 90s. It flourished "because independence has always been a priority. We always knew we wanted to do something that depended solely on us. We saw in self-management the spirit of artisanry, the spirit of art itself."[25] Similarly, Estévez's personal system of independence and self-management, created out of private struggles as much as government constraints, has allowed the artist to survive and to find his place in the whirlwind known as post-revolutionary Cuba. When he designs for the theater, Estévez hopes at least one viewer leaves the show changed. Perhaps, though, with *La silla,* the person who leaves most changed is the artist himself.

## NOTES

1. Peggy Sue Dunigan, "Latino Arts Inc. Shines Light on 'Cuban Artists' Books and Prints,'" *ExpressMilwaukee.com*, December 8, 2009, accessed June 27, 2016, http://www.expressmilwaukee.com/article-9118-latino-arts-inc-shines-light-on-lscuban-artistsrs-books-and-printsrs.html.

2. "Ediciones Vigía," British Library, accessed September 28, 2010, http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelplang/spanish/hispcoll/hispexhibl/edicionesvigoia/edex.html.

3. For more information regarding the social and political history surrounding the foundation of the Vigía press, see Kim Nochi, "The Birth of Vigía, Artist Books of Cuba's Ediciones Vigía." University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, accessed July 17, 2016, http://vigia.missouri.edu/intro-essays/birth.shtml.

4. María Eugenia Alegría, Rolando Estévez, and Alfredo Zaldívar, "Vigía: The Endless Publications of Matanzas," in *Michigan Quarterly Review*, Ruth Behar and Juan Leon, eds., vol. 33, no. 4 (Fall, 1994) p. 830.

5. Ministerio de Cultura de la República de Cuba, *El Ministerio*, accessed February 23, 2016, http://www.min.cult.cu/.

6. Linda S. Howe, *Cuban Artists' Books and Prints / Libros y grabados de Artistas Cubanos: 1985–2008* (Winston-Salem, N.C., Wake Forest University, 2009) p. 39.

7.  Estévez has left Ediciones Vigía and established his own press in Havana, Cuba, Ediciones El Fortín. The Museum of Art and Archaeology currently has one work produced by this publishing house, a booklet, *N.M.-R.B: Dos mujeres, una isla* (N.M-R.B.: Two women, one island), a bilingual anthology of poetry by Ruth Behar and Nancy Morejón, edition and introduction by Juanamaria Cordones-Cook (2014.195), gift of Professor Juanamaria Cordones-Cook.

8.  Richard Goodman, "Postcards from Havana: A Show of Cuban Artist Books Is No Message in a Bottle." *Fine Books & Collections*, July 2009. Accessed June 27, 2016. http://www.finebooks-magazine.com/issue/200907/cuban-1.phtml.

9.  While Vigía's creation methods are more uncommon today, they recall the handcrafted nature of medieval manuscripts and collaborative production techniques of Renaissance printmakers, a subject addressed in my master's thesis. See Kim Nochi, "Ediciones Vigía: Books in Art and Cultural History," M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, Columbia, 2012.

10. Alegría, Estévez, and Zaldívar, "Vigía: The Endless Publications of Matanzas," p. 831.

11. Dunigan, "Latino Arts Inc."

12. Translated by David Frye and published in Ruth Behar and Lucía M Suárez's book *The Portable Island: Cubans at Home in the World* (New York, 2008).

13. Nathalie Bondil, "Regarding Cuban Art," in *Cuba: Art and History from 1868 to Today* (New York, 2009) p. 18.

14. The mermaid is a common motif in works produced by Vigía

15. Patricia E. González, "Yoruba Vestiges in Nancy Morejón's Poetry," *Callaloo*, vol. 28, no. 4 (Autumn, 2005) p. 957.

16. "Biographical Notes," in *Cuba Art and History from 1868 to Today*, Nathalie Bondil, ed. (New York, 2009) p. 376; Edward Lucie-Smith, "Wifredo Lam and the Caribbean," in *Wifredo Lam in North America*, Paula Schulze, ed. (Milwaukee, Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University, 2008), p. 64.

17. Curtis L. Carter, "Wifredo Lam: Cultural Globalizer," in Lucie-Smith, *Wifredo Lam in North America*, p. 18.

18. Lucie-Smith, "Wifredo Lam and the Caribbean," p. 67.

19. Juan A. Martínez, *Cuban Art and National Identity: The Vanguardia Painters, 1927–1950* (Gainesville, 1994) p. 91.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Behar, *Portable Island*, p. 4.

23. Marilyn Garbey, "Entrevista a Rolando Estévez," November 27, 2008. http://www.atenas.cult.cu/?q=node/5276. Accessed October 4, 2010, but no longer available.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

# About the Authors

**Johanna Boyer** received her B.A. and M.A. from Washington University in St. Louis and her Ph.D. from the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. From 2014 to 2015, she worked on the Hidden Treasures of Rome Project as a Charles D. Folse Memorial Fellow.

**Kim Larson (Nochi)** graduated from the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri in 2012 with an M.A. Her thesis focused on contextualizing Ediciones Vigía publications within Cuban art and history, and within the larger art history narrative, drawing from scholarship on medieval manuscripts and Renaissance prints.

**Judith W. Mann,** curator of European Art to 1800 at the Saint Louis Art Museum, focuses her research on Italian art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her specific areas of expertise include the seventeenth-century female painter Artemisia Gentileschi and the sixteenth-century painter Federico Barocci. She regularly contributes essays to catalogues on early seventeenth-century Italian art and has published in *The Art Bulletin*, *Renaissance Studies*, *Apollo*, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, and *Studies in Iconography*.

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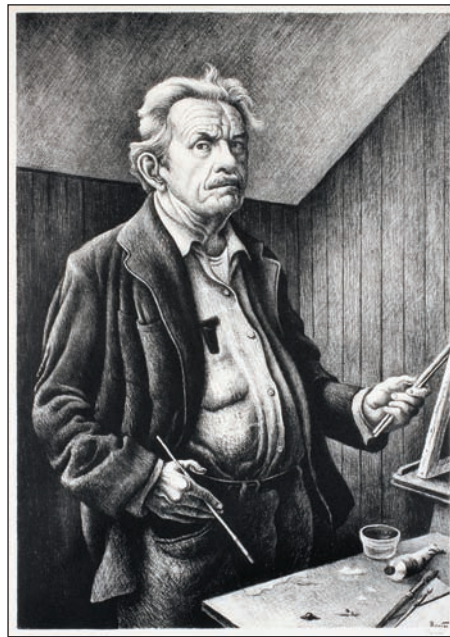
# Acquisitions 2015

## European and American Art
Graphics

Romare Bearden (American, 1911–1988), *Carolina Blue*, 1970, serigraph and collage (2015.16), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 1).

Thomas Hart Benton (American, 1889–1975), *Self-Portrait*, 1972, lithograph (2015.9), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 2).



**Fig. 1.** Romare Bearden, *Carolina Blue*, 60.5 x 45.5 cm (2015.16). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

**Fig. 2.** Thomas Hart Benton, *Self-Portrait*, 50 x 35 cm (2015.9). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Two prints by Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879), *Enfer et damnation!* . . . (Hell and damnation! . . .), 1844, from the series *Les bas-bleus* (The bluestockings), lithograph (2015.2); *Léocadie, de la haut 40 siècles trois quart nous contemplent* . . . (Léocadie, from the heights 40 and three-quarter centuries are looking down on us . . .), 1869, from the series *Actualités* (News of the day), lithograph (2015.3), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 3).

Adolf Dehn (American, 1895–1968), *A Fine Day on the Farm*, 1954, lithograph (2015.10), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Two prints by Gordon Gilkey (American, 1912–2000), *Supercilious Repair*, ca. 1938, soft ground etching (2015.11); *Parachute Jump, New York World's Fair*, 1939, etching (2015.12), gift of the estate of Frances Thompson Kyllonen.

James Gillray (British, 1756–1815), published by Hannah Humphrey (British, fl. 1745–1818), *Sandwich-Carrots! Dainty Sandwich-Carrots*, 1796, hand-colored etching (2015.1), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 4).



**Fig. 3.** Honoré Daumier, *Léocadie, de la haut 40 siècles trois quarts nous contemplent* . . . (Léocadie, from the heights 40 and three-quarter centuries are looking down on us . . .), 21 x 24.8 cm (2015.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



**Fig. 4.** James Gillray, *Sandwich-Carrots! Dainty Sandwich-Carrots*, 35.2 x 25.9 cm (2015.1). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Two prints by Paul César Helleu (French, 1859–1927), *Portrait of Madame Helleu*, ca. 1900, drypoint, etching, and roulette (printed in black ink); *Portrait of Madame Helleu*, ca. 1900, drypoint, etching, and roulette (printed in brown ink) (2015.5 and 6), gift of George C. Kenney II.

Käthe Kollwitz (German, 1867–1945), *Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait), 1921, etching (2015.15), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 5).



**Fig 5.** Käthe Kollwitz, *Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait), 21.7 x 26.6 cm (2015.15). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Jacob Lawrence (American, 1917–2000), *People in Other Rooms (Harlem Street Scene)*, 1975, serigraph (2015.17), acquired with funds from the estate of Holly Burgess (Fig. 17, p. 12).



## Paintings

Anonymous, Follower of Pieter Pourbus (Dutch/Flemish, 1523/1524–1583), *Portrait of a Lady*, mid-sixteenth century, oil on canvas (2015.8), gift of Museum Associates (Fig. 6).

**Fig. 6.** Anonymous, Follower of Pieter Pourbus, *Portrait of a Lady*, 67 x 53 cm (2015.8). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Attributed to Cornelis Mahu (Flemish, 1613–1689) after Willem Claesz Heda (Dutch, 1594–1680), *A Nautilus Cup, Peeled Lemon, and a Meat Pie with a Roemer and Other Wine Glasses on a Partially Draped Table*, seventeenth century, oil-on-wood panel (2015.7), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 7).

Attributed to Hans Mielich (German, 1516–1573), *Portrait of Martin Klostermair*, 1561, oil-on-wood panel (2015.14), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 15, p. 11).



**Fig. 7.** Attributed to Cornelis Mahu, *A Nautilus Cup, Peeled Lemon, and a Meat Pie with a Roemer and Other Wine Glasses on a Partially Draped Table*, 55 x 68 cm (2015.7). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Philip Reisman (American, b. Poland, 1904–1992), *The Negro in American History*, 1934, tempera on Masonite panel (2015.13), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 8).

Louis Leon Ribak (American, 1902–1979), *Nocturne*, ca. 1937, oil on canvas (2014.4), acquired with funds from Robin and Alex LaBrunerie and an anonymous donor (Fig. 16, p. 11).



**Fig. 8.** Philip Reisman, *The Negro in American History*, 45.5 x 155.5 cm (2015.13). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

# Exhibitions 2015

## *Holy Women–Holy Men: Christian Saints in European Prints*
**April 19–September 27, 2015**

Over the centuries Christian saints have served as a rich source of subject matter in the visual arts of the West. Their representations have formed the basis of countless paintings, sculptures, prints, and other art forms. With the selection of printed imagery in this exhibition—in woodcuts, engravings, and etchings—viewers were presented with some of the approaches artists chose to depict sainted women and men over a two-hundred-year period, from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century.



*Holy Women–Holy Men: Christian Saints in European Prints*
April 19–September 27, 2015
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## *Museum of Civilization*
### September 15–30, 2015

A one-case display reflecting the museum presented in the book *Station Eleven* by Emily St. John Mandel, the Daniel Boone Regional Library's annual One Read selection. The objects placed on view were obsolete items no longer used by our civilization and included a portable manual typewriter, movie film reels, a laser disc, a Polaroid camera, and a Walkman tape player.



Museum of Civilization
September 15–30, 2015
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## *Classical Convergence: Greek and Roman Myths in European Prints*
### September 29, 2015–January 24, 2016

The selection of prints in this exhibition ranging from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century and drawn entirely from the museum's own holdings, presented some of the familiar stories and events from the world of classical mythology, populated by gods and goddesses such as Mars, Venus, and Athena; heroes such as Hercules, Achilles, and Aeneas; and mortals such as Agamemnon, Hector, and Paris. Episodes and characters of the Trojan War figured prominently.



*Classical Convergence: Greek and Roman Myths in European Prints*
September 29, 2015–January 24, 2016
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## *Experiencing Landscapes in Japanese Prints*

### October 13, 2015–February 7, 2016

This exhibition featured color woodblock prints of landscapes that depict specific locations in Japan, such as different views of Mount Fuji, particular settings in the city of Edo (called Tokyo since 1868), and stops along the Tokaido, or "East Sea Road." Artists represented in the exhibition included Utagawa Hiroshige I, Utagawa Hiroshige II, Kawase Hausi, and Yoshida Hiroshi.



*Experiencing Landscapes in Japanese Prints*
October 13, 2015–February 7, 2016
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

## *Artful Bra*

### October 20–Nov. 1, 2015

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.



*Artful Bra*
October 20–Nov. 1, 2015
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

# Loans to Other Institutions 2015

To the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, June 6–September 7, 2015 (with subsequent venues at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri; The Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas; and the Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin), the painting *Portrait of a Musician*, 1949, casein, egg tempera, and oil varnish on canvas mounted on wood panel (67.136), by Thomas Hart Benton (American, 1889–1975) for the exhibition *American Epics: Thomas Hart Benton and Hollywood*.

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

# Museum Activities 2015

## Lectures

**January 30**
Riccardo Lattuada, associate professor, Department of Arts and Culture, Second University of Naples, Italy, "Framing Andrea Vaccaro's David."

**May 18**
Stephen Bunch, "Impressions of the Siege of Leningrad," organized by Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

**May 19**
Alex Barker, museum director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "Moving a Museum," organized by Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

**July 7**
Alisa Carlson, Ph.D. University of Texas at Austin, "The Apple Doesn't Fall Far: Portraits by Hans Holbein the Elder and His Son."

**July 13**
Breanne Robertson, Ph.D. University of Maryland, "Heritage, Hypocrisy, and Hope: Charles White's Double V(ision) of American Democracy."

**July 16**
Sandra Pauly, Ph.D. University of Georgia, "The Art of Reconciliation: The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans 1884."

**August 20**
Joan Stack, research consultant, The State Historical Society, "George Caleb Bingham's Divided America: Slavery, Civil War, and Civil Liberties?" organized by Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

**October 19**
Alex Barker, museum director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "How to Spoof an Art Museum— Lessons from forger Mark Landis," organized by Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

**November 19**
David Spear, artist, Columbia, Missouri, "After Benton . . .," demonstration and presentation organized by Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

## Gallery Talks/Presentations

**May 15**
Gallery Tour: Remy Wagner, museum docent, "The Museum of Art and Archaeology's Madonnas."

**May 26**
Gallery Talk: David Bedan and Valerie Hammons, museum docents, "Discussion on the Painting of Abraham and Isaac by the School of Rembrandt."

**August 11**
Gallery Talk: Remy Wagner, museum docent, "The Women in Bingham's Life," organized by Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

**November 8**
Themed Tour: Sue Gish, museum docent, "Jewelry."

**November 15**
Gallery Talk: Remy Wagner, museum docent, "Our Women Artists."

**December 13**
Themed Tour: Ross Duff, museum docent, "Biblical: From Abraham to Jesus."

## Special Events

**February 20**
Annual Music and Art Concert performed by Ars Nova Singers, School of Music, University of Missouri.

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

**April 10**
"Art after Dark," sponsored by the Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS).

**April 19**
Museum galleries open at Mizzou North with reception.

**April 19**
*Holy Women–Holy Men: Christian Saints in European Prints*, exhibition opening.

**April 24**
Recognition Pin Ceremony and reception honoring Museum Associates who have been members for ten years or more.

**May 4**
Brown Bag Panel on Healing Arts with Brick Johnstone and Cathy Callaway.

**May 8**
Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club discussion of Debra Dean's *Madonnas of Leningrad* (Option 1).

**May 11**
Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club discussion of Debra Dean's *Madonnas of Leningrad* (Option 2).

**July 26**
Museum Associates sponsored ice cream social.

**August 5**
Documentaries: *George Caleb Bingham–The Missouri Artist* and *Meet the Past–George Caleb Bingham Interview* in 2012, organized by Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

**September 18**
Museum Associates sponsored Crawfish Boil.

**September 29**
*Classical Convergence: Greek and Roman Myths in European Prints*, exhibition opening.

**October 16**
*Experiencing Landscapes in Japanese Prints*, exhibition opening.

**November 1**
Museum and Music Concert, Graduate String Quartet, University of Missouri School of Music.

**November 13**
Museum Associates annual meeting.

**November 24**
Documentary: "Art and Craft," a film surrounding Mark Landis, one of America's most prolific art forgers, event in collaboration with the award-winning PBS documentary series Point-of-View (POV), organized by Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

**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 2**
Museum Associates annual "Evening of Holiday Celebration."

### Family Educational Events

**February 12**
Art after School, "Stories in Quilts" for grades K–8, postponed.

**March 12**
Art after School, "Women Artists" for grades K–8.

**April 2**
Art after School, "Animals on the Loose" for grades K–8.

**May 7**
Art after School, "Monet" for grades K–8, postponed.

**June 18**
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Money, Money, Money," postponed.

**June 25**
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Artistic Books."

**July 9**
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Masks in the Museum."

**July 16**
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Pyramid Power."

**July 23**
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Heroes and Gods."

**July 27–31**
Art Summer Camp: "Showing and Telling: Stories in the Museum," for grades 3–5.

**July 30**
Kids' Series: World of Art, "The Way Things Go."

**August 6**
Kids' Series: World of Art, "Henri Matisse and the Fauves: Painting with Scissors."

**September 26**
National Museum Day, family event, in conjunction with the Smithsonian.

**October 17**
International Archaeology Day, family event, in conjunction with the Central Missouri Society of the Archaeological Institute of America.

**November 14**
Family event, "Hold Everything! Pots, Pans, and Vases in the Museum."

## Ad Hoc Film Series

**January 15**
*Z*, 1969.

**February 19**
*Do the Right Thing*, 1989.

**March 19**
*Mr. and Mrs. Bridge*, 1990.

**April 16**
*Russian Ark*, 2002, in conjunction with Museum Associates' Art of the Book Club.

**May 21**
*The Best Offer* (La migliore offerta), 2013.

**June 18**
*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, 1988.

**July 16**
*Jezebel*, 1938.

**August 20**
*The Graduate*, 1967.

**September 11**
*The Dresser*, 1983, in conjunction with the Daniel Boone Regional Library One Read program.

**September 17**
*Top Hat*, 1935.

**October 15**
*Alice in Wonderland*, 1951.

**November 19**
*Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, 1975.

**December 17**
*Help!* 1965.

# Museum Staff  2015

Alex Barker
*Director*

Bruce Cox
*Assistant Director, Museum Operations*

Carol Geisler
*Administrative Assistant*

Donna Dare
*Tour Coordinator*

Cassidy Shearrer
*Computer Graphic Artist*

Alisa Carlson (beginning 09/15)
*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*

Matt Smith (beginning 03/15)
*Preparator*

Travis Kroner (12/1/14–04/13/15)
George Szabo
*Assistant Preparators*

Ron Bates (beginning 04/15),
Pete Christus, Will Fish (beginning 04/15),
Leland Jones, and Nicholas Scolaro
(beginning 09/15)
*Security Guards*

Kenneth Kircher (through 05/15)
*Graduate Research Assistant, Ancient Art*

Lorinda Bradley (beginning 09/15)
*Graduate Research Assistant, European
and American Art*

Rebecca Ruppar (beginning 09/15)
*Graduate Research Assistant, Registrar*

Heather Smith (through 08/15)
*Graduate Research Assistant, Director*

Lisa Higgins
*Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program*

Deborah Bailey
*Folk Arts Specialist*

Dorothy Atuhura (beginning 09/15),
Jackson Medel
*Graduate Research Assistants, Folk Arts
Program*

# Museum Docents 2015

Andrea Allen
Luann Andrews
David Bedan
Patricia Cowden
Ross Duff
Barbara Fabacher
Sue Gish

Valerie Hammons
Dot Harrison
Amorette Haws
Ingrid Headley
Sue Hoevelman
Karen John
Linda Keown

Kathryn Lucas
Meg Milanick
Tamara Stam
Carol Stevenson
Remy Wagner
William Wise

**Emeritus status**

Gary Beahan
Nancy Cassidy
Averil Cooper
Caroline Davis

Dorinda Derow
Barbara Fabacher
Ann Gowans
Mary Beth Kletti

Michael Kraff †
Nancy Mebed
Alice Reese
Pam Springsteel

# Museum Store Volunteers 2015

Gary Anger
Will Evans
Sue Gish
Valerie Hammons
Pam Huffstutter
Pam Isaacson

Karen John
Linda Keown
Mary Beth Litofsky
Linda Lyle
Stephanie Peecher
Lindsay Picht

Andy Smith
Pam Springsteel

# Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS) 2015

**Officers**

Lorinda Roorda,
co-president

Lindsey Kolisch,
co-president

Ying Hu, treasurer

**Active Members**

Jessica Anders
Jackson Bollinger
Kaitlyn Garbarino
Laura Greeley
Kalina Irving
Sarah Jones

Katelyn Lanning
Hannah Noser
Sarah Williams

# Advisory Committee 2015

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 2015