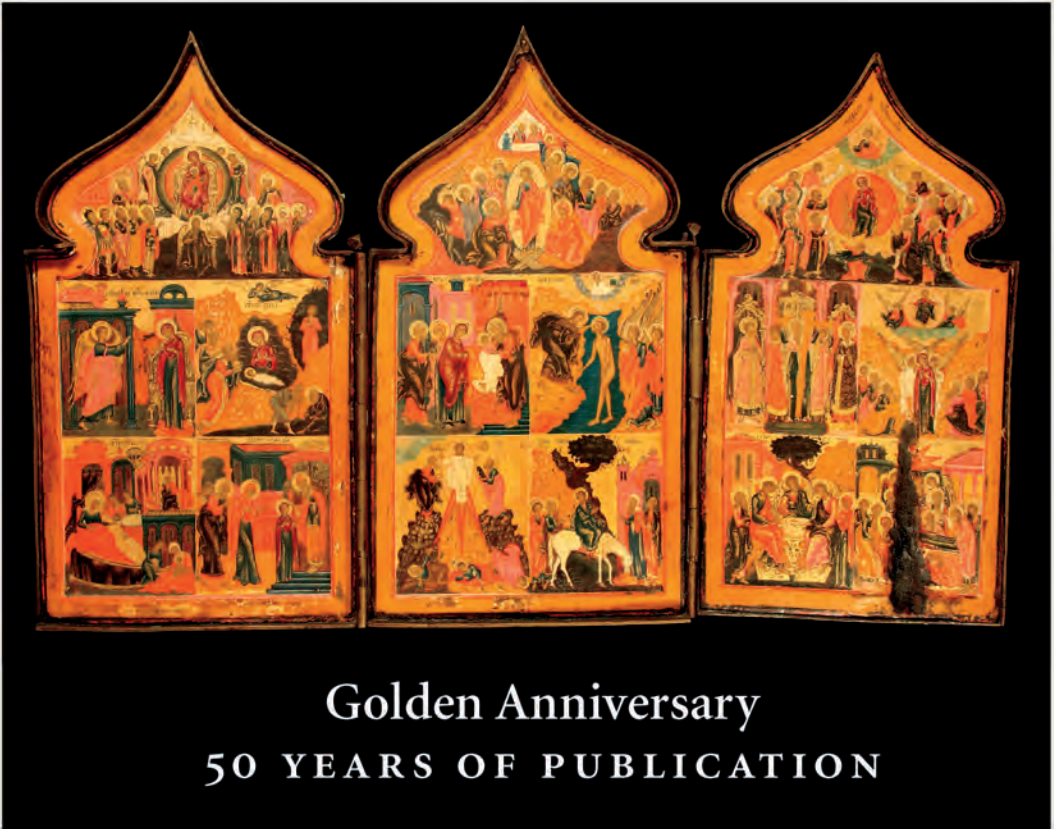


MVSE

VOLUME FIFTY

2016



Golden Anniversary

50 YEARS OF PUBLICATION

Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

MVSE

VOLUME FIFTY

2016

ANNUAL OF THE
MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

MVSE
VOLUME FIFTY
2016

Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology
University of Missouri
115 Business Loop 70 West, Mizzou North
Columbia, MO 65211-8310
Telephone: (573) 882-3591
Web site: <http://maa.missouri.edu>

Jane Biers
EDITOR

Cathy Callaway
ASSISTANT EDITOR

Kristie Lee
GRAPHIC DESIGN

© 2017 by the Curators of the University of Missouri

ISSN 0077-2194

ISBN 0-910501-47-5

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

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

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

All submitted manuscripts are reviewed.

Front cover:
Anonymous (Russian)

Triptych Illustrating the Twelve Great Festivals of the Orthodox Church, the Anastasis (Harrowing of Hell), and the Hymn to the Theotokos (Mother of God), seventeenth century
Tempera and gilt on wood with brass frame
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (64.30)
Gift of Mrs. Irene Taylor
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

Back cover:
Architectural Winged Figure from the Title Guaranty Building, St. Louis, 1898
Terracotta
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (84.109a-c)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Mark A. Turken and Mr. and Mrs. Paul L. Miller, Jr.
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

Table of Contents



Note from the Editor

1

Director's Report 2016

ALEX W. BARKER

3

An Old Nurse from Egypt

ELIZABETH G. WOLFSON

17

Roman Black-Gloss Pottery from the Capitoline Museums at the University of Missouri

A New 3D Scanning Project for Use-Wear Analysis

MARCELLO MOGETTA, LAURA BANDUCCI, AND RACHEL OPITZ

33

Markings on Silver

The Study of a Byzantine Silver Dish

AMY WELCH

45

Mysteries and Histories in an Orthodox Triptych

REBECCA HERTLING RUPPAR

59

Fallen Angel

A Case Study in Architectural Ornament

W. ARTHUR MEHRHOFF

75

About the Authors

90

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acquisitions 2016
93

Exhibitions 2016
99

Loans to Other Institutions 2016
104

Museum Activities 2016
105

Museum Staff 2016
109

Museum Docents 2016
110

Museum Store Volunteers 2016
110

Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS) 2016
111

Advisory Committee 2016
111

Museum Associates Board of Directors 2016
112

Note from the Editor



JANE BIERS

With this edition of *Muse*, the Museum of Art and Archaeology celebrates a golden anniversary, fifty years of publication. *Muse* began in 1967, the inspiration of Gladys D. Weinberg, who became the editor and was also curator of ancient art at the museum. The first issue was small, only thirty pages, and contained a foreword by Saul S. Weinberg, the director, ten pages of lists of acquisitions with images, and two articles. One of the articles was by Gloria S. Merker, an M.A. graduate student, and the other by Stephen E. Ostrow, at that time at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, and a former faculty member of the University of Missouri. Thus, began a trend that has held throughout fifty years of publication. The annual has continued to provide a venue for ambitious graduate students to publish articles on objects in the collection, while publications of articles by scholars from in and outside the university have been encouraged. This issue contains three articles by current graduate students.

The second issue introduced the practice of publishing brief excavation reports by museum staff and faculty in Art History and Archaeology. Volume 2 for 1968 included a one-page report on the 1964–1967 excavations at Jalame, Israel, which was a joint University of Missouri–Corning Museum of Glass expedition with co-directors Gladys Weinberg and Paul Perrot from the Corning Museum. Subsequent issues contained reports on excavations at Tel Anafa, Israel, Phlius, Greece, Naukratis, Egypt, Kalavassos-Kopetra and Kourion, Cyprus, Mirobriga, Portugal, and Pecica Sanțul Mare, Romania.

Muse was designed to appeal to scholars and to a general public. Just recently, all issues have become available online, but a print edition is still distributed widely free of charge to museums and universities in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere in exchange for their publications; through this exchange the museum has acquired an extensive library. The Weinbergs developed contacts with countries in Eastern Europe with the result that the museum receives journals from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia.

There have been some changes over the years. In the beginning articles were not sent out for review as they now are. The covers were designed with images in color for the first fifteen issues, but from volume 16 to volume 24 a plain, colored cover was used. Volume 25 used an image in color on the front, but beginning with volume 39 we have been using both back and front to show color images of at least two of the objects being published.

My own involvement with *Muse* began with volume 3, 1969, when I was asked to co-author an article on an agate bowl in the collection. I had joined the staff of the museum

NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

in the fall of 1968 as assistant curator of ancient art. From 1969 to 1971, Saul and Gladys Weinberg were in Israel, where Saul had been appointed to a two-year position at the Israel Museum. Since I was put in charge of the museum, I also worked with the graphic designer, while Gladys edited articles in Jerusalem. After that, I was not involved in production of *Muse* until I was appointed interim director in fall of 2004. *Muse* was running behind, but by bringing out three triple issues we caught up and, with the exception of the double issue for 2010 and 2011, have brought out an issue annually. I've continued to serve as editor, although I have not been on the staff since 2006.

Over the years, many people have been involved in the production of *Muse*, but I want to take this opportunity to give special thanks to Jeff Wilcox, who was officially appointed assistant editor in 2008. Before that time, however, he was enormously helpful not only to me but also to Marlene Perchinske, director and editor from 1996 to 2004. Thanks to his efforts, many volumes were published as scheduled. His knowledge of museum activities and his skill as a photographer helped me avoid many mistakes. I wish him well in his retirement.

Director's Report 2016



ALEX W. BARKER

The Museum of Art and Archaeology completed its first full year of public operations in the Mizzou North facility—a year that brought unexpected benefits and unexpected challenges. One of the unexpected benefits was an increase in overall visitation. Recorded attendance in 2016 topped 20,000 individually identified visitors, nearly 20 percent above the attendance recorded at the Pickard Hall facility.¹ But that increased attendance comes with an important caveat; at Pickard Hall, the museum consistently enjoyed a “three-legged stool” attendance model composed of equal segments of university students, K–12 audiences, and general public. This demographic mix allowed us to advance all parts of our mission simultaneously. Attendance by university students has plummeted, from roughly 30–35 percent of annual attendance to less than 8 percent, with the difference made up from general public and K–12 audiences. While we would certainly like to keep these increased non-university audiences, it is crucial to our mission that we remain an active and integral part of the academic life of the campus, and serving university students, faculty, and staff is a significant challenge in a facility two miles distant from campus. In part to address this challenge of distance we sought to replace our existing collections management system (CMS) with a new platform able to accommodate offsite access to all of our collections. In late 2015, we received federal support from the Institute of Museum and Library Services for the acquisition and configuration of a new CMS and migration of existing records.² In 2016 we began the conversion process in earnest.

One reason for the increased attendance was the number and character of exhibitions offered. *Classical Convergence: Greek and Roman Myths in European Prints* opened in 2015, continued in the north print gallery until late January, and was replaced in February with *Black American Artists: Envisioning Social Change*. In June, that exhibition was replaced by *Drawing Inspiration: Renaissance and Baroque Drawings from the Permanent Collection*, and in October we installed *Picturing Black American Families*, featuring works from the photographic collections *Fatherhood in Black America*, *Songs of My People*, and the university's School of Journalism's Missouri Photo Workshop. In the Passageway Gallery *Experiencing Landscapes in Japanese Prints*, the first of curator of European and American art Alisa Carlson's thematic exhibitions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Japanese woodblock prints, ran from October 2015 to February 2016. In July, it was followed by *Kabuki Performance and Expression in Japanese Prints*, on exhibit through the end of the year.



Fig. 1. Afro-Cuban Conference Reception attendees (left to right) Juanamaria Cordones-Cook, Cuban Artist “Choco,” Michael Cook, Julie Middleton, and Michael Middleton (then interim president, University of Missouri). Photo: Cathy Callaway.



Fig. 2. Team Smith at the Paintbrush Ball (Barb Smith and Matt Smith, unrelated). Photo: Tom Scharenborg.

Our main special exhibitions—each requiring deinstallation of parts of our permanent collections—were *Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance* (February–May) and *DISTINCTION: Five Centuries of Portraiture* (July–December). *Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance* was curated by Kristin Schwain of the Department of Art History and Archaeology and organized as part of a larger Afro-Cuban Artists initiative by Juanamaria Cordones-Cook of the Department of Romance Languages. Programming by the following organizations and departments complemented the exhibition: the Museum of Art and Archaeology, the George Caleb Bingham Gal-

lery, Ragtag Cinema, the Daniel Boone Regional Library, the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute, and the university’s Department of Theatre. The museum’s exhibition focused on two of the most celebrated Cuban artists working today, Manuel Mendive and Eduardo “Choco” Roca Salazar, and featured various programming and an appearance by “Choco” (Fig. 1). The hanging of Afro-Cuban works presented special challenges for the museum’s skilled preparation staff, Barb Smith and Matt Smith, but as usual they were up to the challenges, and the result was an exceptionally well-mounted show that drew appreciative comments from many visitors. The last names are coincidental, by the way, but future generations of museum staff will sit around the campfires telling of the exploits of Team Smith (Fig. 2).

DISTINCTION, organized by Alisa Carlson, featured thirty portraits including both loans and works from the museum’s permanent collections. Ranging from twenty-first-century portraits by Columbia artists to Melchior Lorck’s portraits of Albrecht Dürer and including several recent acqui-

sitions, the exhibition challenged the conventional understanding of portraits as depictions of how people appear and instead explored how selection of representational choices and strategies influence how subjects are perceived.

Curator of ancient art Benton Kidd organized the exhibition *Everyday Life in the Ancient Mediterranean* as part of a larger exploration of *Everyday Life and Letters in the Ancient Mediterranean* at Ellis Library, including styluses, strigils, drinking vessels, amphorae, small jars, and lamps. Also featured were contemporary replicas of hoplite armor from the collection of Gamal Castille and a Greek peplos by Pat Kelley of the University of Missouri's Department of Classical Studies, along with texts and objects from the Special Collections and Rare Books Department of the university libraries. Kidd also organized a display of works from the Capitoline Museums to interpret ongoing research on Roman black-gloss wares through the museum's *Hidden Treasures of Rome* collaboration (See p. 33, Fig. 1).

Another reason for increased attendance by the public was marketing—the museum increased its advertising efforts, initially through the work of graphic artist Cassidy Shearrer and, after her departure, of assistant director for operations Bruce Cox, who ably took up these responsibilities (Fig. 4).

The museum's docent corps remains active and launched a new series of monthly docent-led, docent-organized themed tours. Organized by a different docent each month, the tours focused on a specific theme and highlighted a small set of museum objects; they were designed to engage new audiences by offering programs targeted at special interests and passions. Tours for 2016 ranged from religion (with a special focus on India and South Asia) to the rise of modern pottery, from women in art to wine, and from clothing to regional artists. Over the course of 2016 the museum benefited from



Fig. 3. *Everyday Life in the Ancient Mediterranean*.

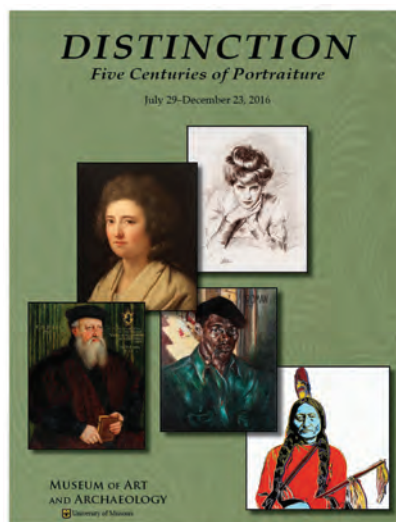


Fig. 4. Poster, designed by Bruce Cox, for the exhibition *DISTINCTION*.



Fig. 5. Visit by fourth and fifth graders in the Columbia Public Schools Gifted program (EEE); docent Brooke Cameron. Photo: Cathy Callaway.



Fig. 6. Attendees at Art after Dark. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

the efforts of twenty-three active docents (with more in training), as well as from thirteen docents with emeritus/a status who remain active but do not regularly offer tours. I never spend time with the museum's docents without coming away energized and having learned something in the process (Fig. 5).

The museum also sponsors a reading group, the Art of the Book Club. Members organize events relating to each title, and these events have grown steadily in number and impact. Books over the past year included *The House Girl*, *Ruins*, and *Pompeii* and were supported by fifteen events, films, and special programs, ranging from special curatorial tours of exhibitions to lectures on the geology of Plinian eruptions, and from a lecture on the ruins of capitalism in latter-day Cuba to a discussion of the lamps of Louis Comfort Tiffany.

The Museum Advisory Council of Students, led by Rachel Lewis, president, and Rachel Straughn-Navarro, vice-president, with Meg Milanick serving as treasurer, continued to organize Art After Dark, a student-organized, student-juried art show held at the museum each spring. The quality of the

submissions and the popularity of the event increase each year. This year, as an addition to the art show in the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts (Fig. 6), the organizers included enhanced activities to ensure visitors perused the museum's second floor galleries as well.

While we'll doubtless tweak the schedule in years to come, we've begun to establish an annual round of activities. Lectures this year included presentations on curation and collections building by Margaret Conrads, director of curatorial affairs at the Crystal

Bridges Museum; on provenance research by McKenzie Mallon, provenance specialist at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art; and on conservation by Barry Bauman, fellow

of the American Institute of Conservation. The museum also continued its collaborative exploration of visual and performing arts with the university's School of Music, offering both our annual Music and Art Concert with the Ars Nova Singers and in-gallery concerts including a classical guitar quartet, violin and cello duet, saxophone quartet, and a string quartet. The Missouri Folks Arts Program also organized a series of musical events in the galleries, ranging from African American gospel music (Fig. 7) to master fiddlers, and from an acoustic jam to the

Show-Me Folk Music School. In partnership with the Daniel Boone Regional Library, which selected George Hodgman's *Bettyville* for the Columbia One Read program for 2016, museum educator Cathy Callaway developed a small exhibition—in happy conjunction with the author—of actual mementos and memorabilia relating to Hodgman's mother, Betty (See p. 99).

The Museum Associates sponsored the return of Art in Bloom, our annual spring weekend festival that pairs works of visual art with the artistry and imagination of local florists and floral designers (Fig. 8). Coordinated (as always) by Bruce Cox, the event attracts our heaviest visitation of the year and is a community favorite. Also in the spring the Museum Associates holds its annual fundraising gala, the Paintbrush Ball, which not only raised funds for the Museum Associates and the Museum of Art and Archaeology but also funded acquisition of a sixteenth-century portrait for the museum's



Fig. 7. Master gospel pianist Doris Frazier and her apprentice Peyton Boyd perform in the museum's European Gallery. Photo: Alex W. Barker.



Fig. 8. Art in Bloom with docent Yolanda Ciolli. Photo Tom Scharenborg.

permanent collection.³ In the fall, the Museum Associates sponsored the annual Crawfish Boil (Fig. 9), as well as the Museum Associates Annual Meeting. Gary Anger, president of the Museum Associates, was elected for a second term, and outgoing board members were recognized: Larry Colgin (treasurer), Pam Huffstutter, Linda Keown (secretary), Randall Kilgore, and Mark Koch, along with members who had left the board previously, including Robin LaBrunerie (vice-president), Carrie Gartner, Alfredo Mubarah, and Joel Sager. Joining the board were former University of Missouri provost Brian Foster, Ken Greene, Jerry Murrell, Terri Rohlfling, and Karla Williams. Museum Associates is a separate 501(c)3 support organization for the museum, but, more than that, members serve as ambassadors for the museum and its programs to the wider community, and on behalf of all the staff I thank them for their support and commitment to the museum and its mission. It's a special pleasure to acknowledge new members of the Museum Associates' Herakles Guild in 2016, recognized for gifts of \$10,000 or more. They include longtime supporters Robin and Alex LaBrunerie, Pat and John Cowden, Alfredo Mubarah and Beau Aero, and Dennis Sentilles.

Museum Education staff (Cathy Callaway, Rachel Straughn-Navarro, and Arthur Mehrhoff) organized or coordinated twenty-six different family and general public events over the course of the year, ranging from "Stories in Quilts" to "Books, Tablets, Manuscripts and Scrolls" to "Masks" (Fig. 10). Straughn-Navarro organized a highly successful summer



Fig. 9. Crawfish Boil. From left to right, Pam Huffstutter, Charlotte Dean, and Terri Rohlfling. Photo: Alex W. Barker.



Fig. 10. Family event "Masks." Photo: Cathy Callaway.



Fig. 11. Summer camp paper experiment. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

camp program “Kids Dig Art!” (Fig. 11), and the museum offered special programs in conjunction with other campus entities including the Museum of Anthropology, the university’s Textile and Apparel Management Program, and other community partners to celebrate both National Museum Day (in conjunction with the Smithsonian Institution) and International Archaeology Day (in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America (Fig. 12). Each event has its own unique character; International Archaeology Day was especially memorable for me because I was buttonholed at the outset by an enthusiastic collector who wanted me to examine his assemblage, and I spent the entire event trying to convince him of the difference between tools and naturally occurring gravels.

In addition to these educational programs, Callaway also organized the twelve films in the museum’s Ad Hoc Film Series, which address themes explored in the museum’s exhibitions and programs—often with a twist. Many were obvious pairings (*Buena Vista Social Club* during the *Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance* exhibition, or the 1935 classic *The Last Days of Pompeii* during the Art of the Book Club’s reading of *Pompeii* by Robert Harris), but others were more playful, including screenings of Akira Kurosawa’s *Dreams* (with the spot-the-hat moments of identifying Kurosawa’s surrogate in each sequence) during *Kabuki Performance and Expression in Japanese Prints*.

Other events included six exhibition openings; a special event associated with the international conference “Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance”; and celebration of National Day Without Art, recognizing the disproportionate effect of AIDS/HIV on the arts community.



Fig. 13. Master old-time fiddler H. K. Silvey (left), with accompanists Jim Nelson and Travis Inman, plays for dancers on the lawn of Jefferson City’s historic Lohman Building. Photo: Dorothy Atuhura.



Fig. 12. International Archaeology Day: Hoplite Gamal Castile. Photo: Alex W. Barker.

The tempo of events for 2016 was impressive. In addition to ongoing tours and participation in larger campus events, the museum offered eighty-two special events and programs over the course of the year.

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, as well as graduate intern Tracy Anne Travis. MFAP hosted eight apprenticeships in 2016 in art forms ranging from three regional styles of old-time fiddling (Fig. 13), as well as old-time rhythm guitar; violin luthiery; gospel music;

western leather carving for custom saddles and tack; and hickory bark weaving. The eight master artists were particularly experienced, with nearly 400 years of combined experience practicing their traditions.

MFAP staff presented traditional artists in nearly a dozen events in Boonville, Cassville, Columbia, Jefferson City, St. Louis, and Van Buren, in partnership with Missouri State Parks, the National Park Service, University Extension, and local non-profits. The year also saw the launch of a new component *Then and Now: Apprentice Journeys*, a project that showcases apprentices who gained expertise and ultimately led apprenticeships themselves. In 2016, MFAP staff presented fiddler John P. Williams, storyteller Loretta Washington, and saddle maker Mike Massey in public programs and collected oral histories for the Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program (TAAP) archives. The Community Scholar Network continued to assist MFAP staff with site visits, panel reviews, and workshops.

While not entirely unexpected, another challenge was the retirement of longtime registrar Jeffrey Wilcox after more than forty years of service to the museum (Fig. 14). Both

a tireless worker and an indefatigable champion of the museum and its interests, Jeff served as our collective memory, and at times our conscience. Museums are not only just collections of things but also collections of people. Jeff had a lasting impact



Fig. 14. Jeffrey Wilcox. Photo: Alex W. Barker.



Fig. 15. Statue of St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, 1500–1520 C.E., Flemish, oak, H. 33.8 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of the Museum Associates in honor of Jeffrey B. Wilcox on the occasion of his retirement after forty years of service to the museum (2016.9). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

on both and will be deeply missed.⁴ He was honored at a retirement party held April 13th in the museum's Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts, attended by his many friends and colleagues. At that event, Museum Associates presented a statue of St. Anne with the Virgin and Child in his honor (Fig.15).

Despite hiring freezes and budget cuts we were able to conduct a national search for our new registrar, and in September Dr. Linda Endersby joined our staff in that role (Fig. 16). Linda comes to us from the Michigan History Center, where she served as director (2014–2016), and before that she served as director of the Missouri State Museum (2010–2014). She served two terms as president of the Missouri Association of Museums and Archives (2007–2009 and



Fig. 16. Dr. Linda Endersby. Photo: Cathy Callaway.

2012–2014), served as a member of several visiting teams for the Museum Assessment Program of the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), and was a member of the Advisory Board for the University of Missouri Institute for Instructional Technology. She holds a Ph.D. from MIT and has previous experience in migrating collections data from legacy versions of Argus to Argus.net.

A remarkable confluence of factors resulted in both significant enrollment declines and decreases in state funding for the University of Missouri. Negative public perception of the university following both mishandling of graduate student concerns and controversy surrounding protests by black students and a long-anticipated decline in the number of high-school graduates entering college resulted in the departure of central campus leadership and cuts to departments across the university. The museum absorbed significant budget cuts (which were to increase in severity in the subsequent year) but maintained its curatorial and educational programs and staffing; losses included vacant part-time positions, but no reductions in occupied positions. One of the vacant positions was that of tour coordinator, which was vacated by the retirement of Donna Dare. In April 2016, Callaway assumed the tasks of scheduling and coordinating tours.

One of those central campus departures was Mike O'Brien, dean of the College of Arts and Science, who also served as director of the University of Missouri Museum of Anthropology. In midsummer, I was asked to step in and assume administration of that museum as well. The exhibition galleries of the Museum of Anthropology have been shuttered since 2014, and my main tasks—until decisions had been made regarding the long-term leadership and status of the Museum of Anthropology—were to address issues of compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act and

to help ensure that renovations were completed, exhibitions designed, and the public galleries opened.

In early August, the final portions of our move from Pickard were concluded. Works that had remained until additional radiological testing had been completed were removed by art-handling and rigging crews from US Arts, under close supervision and monitoring by Environmental Health and Safety health physicists, and were moved to either Mizzou North or, in the case of nineteenth-century plaster casts long managed by the museum but the property of the Department of Art History and Archaeology, to Swallow Hall. David Ligare's *Dido in Resolve* (89.6)—a work commissioned for the museum—was removed from the Pickard Hall stairwell and hung in the Ellis Library second floor reading room; it is too tall to fit in any of the Mizzou North galleries.

Work continued throughout much of the year on the *Hidden Treasures of Rome* collaborative project, with Marcello Mogetta (Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri) and Laura Banducci (Department of Greek and Roman Studies, Carleton University) spearheading a project to study use-wear on the Capitoline objects. An article on this work appears in this issue of *Muse*. On January 29 and 30 we hosted a workshop on “Capturing the Life Cycle of Roman Pottery” organized by Mogetta and Banducci, along with Rachel Opitz from the Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies at the University of Arkansas. Presentations were given by Mogetta, Banducci, Opitz, University of Missouri student Johanna Boyer, Bimal Balakrishnan from the university's Department of Architectural Studies, Damien Vurpillot and Valérie Taillandier from the University of Franche-Comté (Besançon), and me. Vurpillot and Taillandier were performing high-precision blue-light fringe projection scanning of select works, while students from Arkansas scanned objects using a Breuckmann white-light scanner. By autumn the work was completed, and the first of the collaborative loans returned to Rome. In March, I was invited by Italian Ambassador to the United States Armando Varricchio and Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Evan Ryan to give a presentation at a ceremony marking the renewal of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) implementing US-based protections of Italian antiquities. At hearings in 2015 I had testified to the State Department's Cultural Property Advisory Committee regarding this extension—and our collaborative work with the Capitoline, which specifically advanced provisions of Article II of the MOU. Other presenters were Karol Wight, president and CEO of the Corning Museum of Glass, Raymond Villanueva of the Department of Homeland Security, Major Massimo Maresca of the Italian Carabinieri Command for the Safeguarding of Cultural Patrimony, Ann Benbow, executive director of the Archaeological Institute of America, and Donatella Cavezzali, director of the School of the Higher Institute for Conservation and Restoration of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage.⁵ I also continued ongoing discussions between a small group representing the Archaeological Institute of America, Society for American Archaeology, American Anthropological Association, and Association of Art Museum directors regarding acquisitions of archaeological objects and ancient art, hosted by Tom Campbell, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

As a teaching and research museum associated with, and integral to, a Research-1 doctoral, highest research activity, public university, we take all aspects of our mission seriously. Hence while teaching is not a required part of staff job descriptions, it is a commonplace activity for many professional staff. In different years staff have taught in the Department of Anthropology, the Department of Art History and Archaeology, the Department of Classical Studies, the Honors College, and the School of Architectural Studies, among others. In 2016, Rachel Straughn-Navarro taught as part of the Museum Studies/Museum Education course, Benton Kidd taught Classical Mythology to nearly 400 students for the Department of Classical Studies, and I taught the capstone Museum Studies seminar to a mix of students from multiple schools and programs, as well as teaching a readings course in Economic Anthropology. Alisa Carlson also took on an academic intern from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Constance Roberts, for the summer.⁶ Research assistantships in the museum are simultaneously an educational and professional training opportunity for graduate students in cognate departments and a means for the museum to increase its reach and capacity. In 2016 we were fortunate to have a series of excellent research assistants including Rebecca Ruppert (registration) and Lorinda Bradley and Andrea Miller (European and American art).

As we plan for a 2017 exhibition (*Rooted, Revived, Reinvented: Basketry in America*) we've involved a remarkably wide range of university students, staff, and faculty. Jo Stealey from the University of Missouri's Department of Art provided the initial impetus and is organizing the exhibition with Kristin Schwain from the Department of Art History and Archaeology as co-curator and with assistant curator Rachel Straughn-Navarro, who is also serving a crucial coordinating role between the many moving parts of the exhibition and the museum staff. By the time the exhibition opens in early 2017 more than 100 students and staff will have been involved in its creation, addressing everything from selection of objects to layout, from interpretive plan to technology, from intramural programming to venue recruitment and selection, and everything in between.

The museum and Missouri Folks Arts Program continued to be successful in seeking external grants to support our programs and research. In 2016, we received peer-reviewed grants totaling more than \$300,000, including support from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Institute for Museum and Library Services, and the Missouri Arts Council, among others. While the staff does an excellent job of soliciting grants and penning meritorious proposals, our ability to successfully attract external grants and complete the resulting projects successfully is largely due to the efforts of the museum's fiscal officer, Carol Geisler. She is engaged with every phase of projects, from initial proposal drafting and budgeting through pre-award administration and award acceptance, financial reporting, and final accounting.

Museum staff remained engaged in scholarship and expanding knowledge. Lisa Higgins, director of the Missouri Folk Arts Program, published "Missouri Folk Arts Program at the University of Missouri's Museum of Art and Archaeology in Partnership with the Missouri Arts Council" in *Journal of Folklore and Education (JFE)* and a review of *The Winding Stream: The Carters, The Cashes, and the Course of Country Music* in *Journal of American*



Fig. 17. Cover for *Public Folklore Programs and University Museums: Partnerships in Education at Indiana, Western Kentucky, Michigan State, Missouri, and South Carolina*, *Journal of Folklore and Education*, Lisa L., Higgins, Special Section editor, vol. 3 (2016).

Folklore. She also edited a special volume of *JFE* titled *Public Folklore Programs and University Museums: Partnerships in Education* (Fig. 17). She also presented “Banner Year: A Case Study for Teaching the Art of Cultural Interpretation” at the American Folklore Society Annual Meeting in Miami. Academic coordinator Arthur Mehrhoff published a review of Tracy Campbell’s *The Gateway Arch: A Biography* in *Winterthur Portfolio*. Cathy Callaway presented a paper on the museum’s *I Love My Master (Amo a mi amo/I love my master, 2012.8a–c, by Rolando Estévez Jordán)* at the University of Missouri’s *Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance* conference. I published “Sourcing Obsidian Artifacts from Archaeological Sites in Central and Western Romania by X-ray Fluorescence,” with several colleagues, in *Analele Banatului*. I also presented “The Knowledge Archive as Convergence: Challenges of Scale and Sustainability for Scholarly Publishers, Libraries, and Museums” at the University of Kansas Merrill Advanced Studies Center; “Producing, Preserving and Consuming Objects of Knowledge: Convergences between Museums, Libraries, and Academic Publishers” in an invited session at the Society for Applied Anthropology meetings in Vancouver, B.C.; and “Theoretical Implications and New Directions in Exhibitions of Mesoamerican Archaeology” in a special session on Exhibiting Mesoamerican Archaeology in the 21st Century at the Society for American Archaeology annual meeting in Orlando. In May I took part in an invited Presidential Symposium at the School for Advanced Research on iconography at Spiro Mounds, Oklahoma, and in September Ed Liebow and I presented “World on the Move: The Copper Age” at the Third Bolzano International Mummy Congress, hosted by Il Museo Archeologico dell’Alto Adige/Südtiroler Archäologiemuseum in Bolzano. I also presented two invited lectures at Northern Illinois University, “Iconography and Social Boundaries in Mississippian Art” and

“Opening University Museums to Unstudied Antiquities: A Pilot Project from Downtown Rome.” I also took part in strategic planning meetings for the Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA),⁷ along with leadership of the Archaeological Institute of America, the Society for American Archaeology, the Society for Historical Archaeology, and the American Anthropological Association (AAA); served as a Museum Assessment Program peer reviewer for the American Alliance of Museums; and chaired a working group of the AAA on Non-Tenure Track Faculty and Precarity in the Academic Workforce.

In February, I was part of an NSF-sponsored symposium at the Smithsonian aimed at increasing cultural collection participation in the Global Registry of Scientific Collections (GRSciColl) initiative: the Museum of Art and Archaeology is already one of the 7,452 collections participating worldwide; its global registry acronym is MAA. Through the generosity of MuseumsPartner, an art handling/exhibition design firm, I was able to visit several new archaeological exhibitions in Europe and serve as a consultant regarding design and development of exhibitions on Bronze Age salt mining, landscapes around Stonehenge, several iterations of exhibitions on the Vikings, and a planned exhibition on Ötzi (the Hauslabjoch mummy). The trip included meetings with colleagues at Museo Arqueológico de Alicante (MARQ)⁸ and with curatorial staff of the Nationalmuseet Denmark, as well as with Anton Kern, head of the Department of Prehistory at the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁹ The trip was also a valuable opportunity to discuss issues of archaeological display with a range of colleagues from the Denver Museum, the Franklin Institute, the Royal British Columbia Museum, LA County Museum of Art, the Field Museum, and the National Geographic Society. The capstone to the trip was the lecture Ed Liebow and I presented at the Third Bolzano International Mummy Congress. Before returning I traveled to Rome for some particularly productive meetings with our colleagues from the Capitoline Museums regarding our *Hidden Treasures of Rome* collaboration, helping resolve areas of disagreement and using experience with the pilot project to reshape future collaboration. I am particularly grateful to Antonella Magagnini, Carla Martini, Marco Carbonelli, and Pietro Masi for their kindness and collegiality.

Seventy-four works were added to the museum’s permanent collection in 2016, representing a wide range of cultures, periods, and media (a full listing, with donor credits and accession numbers, is provided later in this issue). In addition to adding new works, we also undertook projects to ensure the continued integrity of existing works. Through the generosity of the Nancy D. and James T. Cassidy Conservation Fund and the Pittsburgh Foundation Maura Cornman Fund, the museum undertook the conservation of numerous works, including a seventeenth-century breakfast painting attributed to Cornelis Mahu, *Still Life with a Meat Pie, Nautilus Goblet, Silver Plates, and Glassware* (2015.7), Wallace Herndon Smith’s 1947 *Cold Dawn* (2014.105), Arthur Schwieder’s 1942 *Summer Landscape* (1964.118) and *The Workbench* (67.149), Alexander Mohr’s *Penteus et Dionysus* (1995.4), and Nicolai Cikovsky’s 1946 *Missouri Botanical Garden* (2014.34). The museum continues to have a close and collegial relationship with Barry Bauman, elected fellow of the American Institute for Conservation, who for years has offered his services to museums like ours at minimal (materials) cost.

These efforts were not limited to direct object conservation; preventative conservation remains a high priority and pressing concern. Unsurprisingly we're still working out some wrinkles from our 2013–2014 move. We're still seeking to achieve nominal HVAC levels for proper collections preservation and chasing occasional leaks and building problems. Most were annoyances, but one leak did affect objects—water from leaks on the floor above entered one exhibition case along electrical lines supplying case lighting and affected a series of Near Eastern antiquities including a Mesopotamian ceramic decorated fruit stand. Following repair of the leak, the cases were cleaned and works returned to exhibition. Museum staff also worked to rehouse collections, improve the quality of imaging (collections specialist Kenyon Reed spent considerable time re-photographing parts of the museum's coin collection, for example), and clean database records in preparation for the data migration from Argus to Argus.net.

While 2016 was, by almost any measure, a successful one for the Museum of Art and Archaeology, clouds continue to gather on the horizon. Declining enrollments, erosion of state appropriations and support for the University of Missouri, and an increasingly bleak federal funding outlook all pose concerns going forward. Stay tuned.

NOTES

1. The museum uses very conservative means of recording attendance, counting only those visitors who are identified by guards at the second-floor guard desk and who provide basic demographic information. This does not capture visitors to the Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts on the first floor, nor do we count the many attendees and participants in offsite events, especially those served by the Missouri Folk Arts Program.
2. IMLS MA-30-15-0410-15, Alex W. Barker PI, \$309,159 including \$179,662 of in-kind matches.
3. Acquired in 2015 (2015.8) but funded the following year.
4. Jeff also served as an assistant editor of *Muse*, and I know he will be equally missed by editor Jane Biers and others working on the production and publication of this journal.
5. I was also privileged to be a guest at the last state luncheon of the Obama presidency, organized by Vice President Biden and Secretary of State Kerry for his Excellency Matteo Renzi, prime minister of Italy, during his October visit to the United States.
6. We're grateful to Laetitia LaFollette for the initial introductions and recommendations.
7. RPA enforces codes of conduct and unlike the other associations mentioned has the ability to adjudicate grievances and sanction members; I previously served on the Standards Board for the RPA.
8. Following an extensive renovation, MARQ was recognized as the Best European Museum of 2004. Both its exhibitions and its conservation laboratories were exceptional.
9. I must acknowledge Professor Kern for two very memorable experiences—one, a delightful evening climbing over the rooftop of the Naturhistorisches Museum, watching the lights of Vienna, and the other during a tour in the depths of the Bronze Age mine at Halstatt, when all power was lost for about fifteen minutes. It gave “dark” a new meaning.

An Old Nurse from Egypt*



ELIZABETH G. WOLFSON

Hellenistic and Roman terracotta figurines from Egypt depicted a variety of gods, mortals, and animals.¹ Among these are representations of old women holding a child. A figurine in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, probably from Egypt, is an unusual version of the subject (Figs. 1, 2). The Missouri terracotta holds a child close to her chest, like other nurse figurines, but she displays a wide grin and an exposed breast, an attribute of *young* caregivers (*kourotrophoi*) and nursing women. Although the figurine's



Fig. 1. Figurine of old nurse and child (front view). Graeco-Egyptian, third to first century B.C.E., terracotta. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (66.352). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



Fig. 2. Figurine of old nurse and child (back view). Graeco-Egyptian, third to first century B.C.E., terracotta. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (66.352). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

provenience is uncertain, it bears resemblances to Hellenistic terracotta figurines from Ptolemaic Egypt, which is why the museum dates the figurine from the third to the first century B.C.E.² When placed in this geographic and chronological context, the Missouri nurse's grotesque face, aged appearance, and exposed breast, as well as the obvious emotional attachment she shares with her charge, all suggest that she functioned as a protective, or apotropaic, emblem that once shielded its owner from harm.

The Missouri nurse is a mold-made, reddish-brown, hollow figurine with extensive remains of a greyish-white plasterlike coating, which was used by most makers of terracotta figurines, or coroplasts, as a base for paint.³ Measuring 13.8 cm high and 6.4 cm at the widest point, the terracotta consists of two separately molded pieces: a three-dimensional front, which extends to the edges of the woman's sides, and a flat but uneven back. The woman's feet (except for the toes of her left one), the base she once stood on, and a firing vent are all missing.⁴ In the modern era, sometime before the museum's acquisition of the figurine, the interior was filled with plaster in order to strengthen the joins of the numerous breaks on both back and front. The woman wears a himation wrapped around a chiton, which slips off her left shoulder, exposing her breast. Her hair is thick and straight, and may be pulled back and covered by a cap, or cut short.⁵ Her face, featuring a broad, flat nose, furrowed brow, large eyes, and an expressive open mouth, contrasts sharply with her realistic body. She holds a child wrapped in a blanket or cloth from the waist down. The child rests its head on the nurse's right shoulder and places a hand on her right breast. A ring of curls encircles its face, which is smooth and idealized, while its body is elongated, resembling a small human rather than a plump child.⁶ The woman's gentle manner, her jovial, albeit grotesque expression, and their loving embrace suggest the child is her charge.

Although the Missouri nurse is incomplete, a Greco-Egyptian terracotta, sold by Christie's London branch in 2001, supplies the missing details: nearly identical in appearance and size to the Missouri terracotta, the Christie's nurse stands on a high pedestal, with two tiny feet emerging from beneath her chiton.⁷ A long swatch of fabric hangs below the child seated on her right arm. This detail is not present on the Missouri terracotta, but a broken edge below the Missouri nurse's child suggests that it once was. The Christie's nurse, although similar to the Missouri terracotta, is not an exact parallel: the Christie's figurine features a visible cap with a ring of straight locks of hair emerging beneath. Moreover, the drapery is doughier and the nurse's neck is thinner. Terracotta molds were often reused, sometimes for as much as 100 years after their original manufacture.⁸ Since the Missouri and Christie's terracottas are the same size, it is possible that these two figurines came from the same mold.

Nurses in the ancient Mediterranean world were tasked with feeding (or nursing), fostering, and serving the children of wealthy families.⁹ In Athens, for example, nurses were usually young slave girls, acquired after giving birth, while a small percentage were salaried free women attempting to supplement their husbands' incomes.¹⁰ The child would remain in the nurse's care until he or she was between the ages of three and six, yet the nurse could be retained within the household as a maid or caretaker or both,

after her original task was completed.¹¹ Sometimes, when her charge married, the nurse would follow him or her to a new home, later caring for subsequent children.¹² In Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, the evidence suggests that there were two types of wet-nurses: freed women who were paid for their services and slaves owned by wealthy families. Approximately forty nursing contracts survive, mostly from Alexandria:¹³ a majority reveal that freed women were hired to care for the offspring of a slave or a child rescued from abandonment.¹⁴ The implication is that once their services were no longer needed, wet-nurses would leave their charges.¹⁵ Paying a wet-nurse for a child was less expensive than buying a slave. It is likely, however, in keeping with the Greek tradition, that wealthy Egyptian families used their own slaves as wet-nurses and caretakers.¹⁶

The Missouri figurine belongs to a group of terracottas called Tanagras after the Boeotian city where many were discovered. The concept, however, began in Athens, where manufacture began ca. 400 B.C.E.¹⁷ Tanagra nurse-type figurines were first studied in the mid-twentieth century by Dorothy Burr Thompson. She divided the old nurse and infant group into two categories, seated and standing, and proposed a date range of 375–300 B.C.E.¹⁸ More recently, Mary Louise Hart has dated a group of comedic Tanagra statuettes found in an Athenian grave; among them is an old crone, who could represent a procuress or elderly wife.¹⁹ Hart dates the grave group to between 400 and 348 B.C.E., which means manufacture of Tanagra figurines began earlier than Thompson proposed and also overlaps with the end of Old Comedy and the beginning of New.²⁰ Although the Missouri nurse slightly resembles terracotta figurines representing old women from Comedy, especially in the appearance of her “mask-like” face, comedic figurines of old women generally feature padded bellies and flat breasts covered by fabric; their chests are never visible.²¹ The Missouri nurse features iconographic elements that are both Greek and Egyptian, which indicates that she likely belongs to the complex, multicultural context of Ptolemaic Egypt, where examples of the nurse figurine type are numerous and appear in a variety of contexts; several feature women guiding, carrying, and cradling infants and small children, sometimes while they nurse them.²²

There are three types of Ptolemaic nurse figurines: standing old women, seated old women, and age-ambiguous women, all holding children or nursing them. Standing old women usually feature naturalistic, aged faces; hunched shoulders; and a thick chiton and himation.²³ Seated women are similar to the standing type: they are wholly covered in clothing and feature wrinkled faces; some wear shawls and sit on birthing stools.²⁴ Nursing women are usually younger: in most examples, they cradle the child as it suckles, sometimes holding their breast in place for easier access.²⁵ Though the nursing women featured in Ptolemaic terracottas are not elderly, they do appear to be middle-aged. Sarah Pomeroy, therefore, wonders whether female caretakers are younger than they seem, or if their aged appearance is symptomatic of a hard life.²⁶ Alternatively, there may be a religious explanation: according to Caitlin Barrett, “many Egyptian terracottas combine several gods’ attributes in one image to make a theological statement about the nature of divinity.”²⁷ Thus, it is possible that the Missouri terracotta references not only mortal nurses but also divine caretakers, particularly the motherly Isis and apotropaic Bes.

Divine caretakers, like Isis and Bes, were represented far more frequently in terracotta and other media than mortal caretakers. In Egyptian mythology, Isis was the sister-wife of the death-god Osiris and mother of the sky-god Horus; the pharaoh was frequently identified with both, with Horus during his lifetime, with Osiris after his death. Isis was the goddess of many things—healing, magic, life, death, and rebirth. In Ptolemaic Egypt, she retained some of her original functions, such as that of mother and sorceress, but she also obtained new associations with fertility (e.g., with fruit, corn, and grain) and wealth.²⁸ She and her son Harpocrates (the Greek name for Hor-pa-khered, or “Horus the Child”) became two of the most popular figures represented in terracotta in Ptolemaic Egypt and Greco-Roman centers elsewhere in the Mediterranean.²⁹

When Isis is depicted with Harpocrates, she sits with the child on her lap or stands with the child on her left arm (Fig. 3); her left breast is often exposed, while Harpocrates grasps or nurses from it.³⁰ Unless Harpocrates is nursing, both mother and son stare out at the viewer in an apotropaic manner.³¹ She is mostly portrayed as an ideal young woman wearing a shawl and/or crown, a chiton, and a peplos.³² Her exposed breast is an obvious sign of her fertility and her role as divine mother and kourotrophos. The Missouri nurse’s breast is exposed, but because of her age, she cannot be considered a wet-nurse. It, therefore, seems likely that she was based on similar Isis-Harpocrates figurines, rather than on Greek nurses, for despite her grotesque appearance and grimacing smile, like Isis, her exposed breast connotes fertility.

The Egyptian demon-god Bes features thick lips, an open mouth, sharp teeth, and a comically exposed tongue (Fig. 4). Like Isis, he is a kourotrophic divinity, but he is also apotropaic. He is often depicted with a short, stocky body; with a plumed headdress set atop a flat abacus (Fig. 5); with a lion skin over his shoulders; and wearing a loincloth and/or a wig. He often has large, sagging breasts. He is frequently accompanied by other figures, all of whom emphasize his kourotrophic nature:³³ his

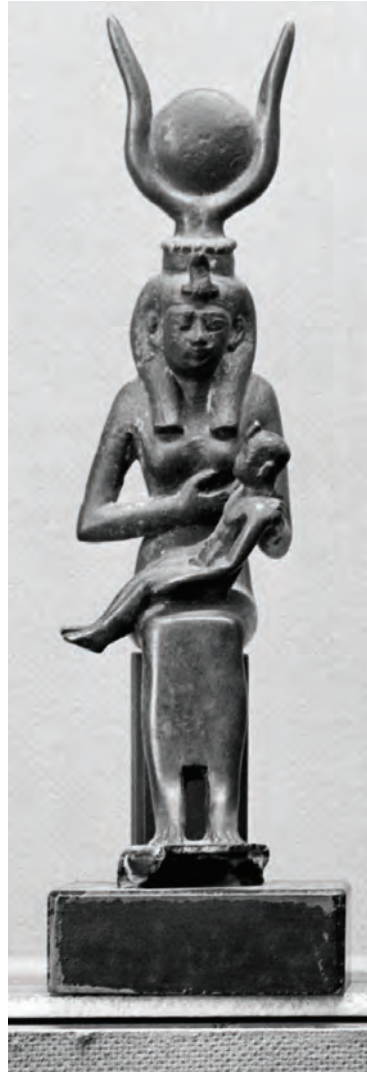


Fig. 3. Isis and Harpocrates. Egyptian, 760–150 B.C.E., bronze, H. 23.7 cm. Photo © 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gift of Arthur H. Phillips.



Fig. 4. Figurine of the Egyptian dwarf demon Bes. Greco-Egyptian, Ptolemaic, third to first century B.C.E., terracotta, H. without base 10.3 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (65.31), gift of Martin J. Gerson.



Fig. 5. Standard with Bes. Egyptian, Late Period, 664–332 B.C.E., bronze, H. 21.9 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (66.295), gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis. Photo: Erin Pruhs.

female counterpart Beset, who either stands beside him, holds him, or breastfeeds a child-like version of him; Taweret, an Egyptian hippopotamus demon with pendulous breasts; pregnant females or human children; and Horus as both an adult and child.

In Egypt, Bes first appears in the Middle Kingdom period (ca. 2055–1650 B.C.E.) as a slender, leonine man.³⁴ His portly build does not manifest itself until the New Kingdom

period (ca. 1550–1069 B.C.E.), when he is depicted alongside women and children. His grinning face first develops in the Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 B.C.E.).³⁵ Beginning in the eighth century B.C.E., the cult of Bes was imported into Greece, and in the second half of the sixth century B.C.E. locally inspired representations began to be made there.³⁶ In the Roman period, he was depicted as an armed general and was worshiped as an oracular and fertility divinity.³⁷ He was closely associated with the goddess Hathor, appearing in so-called *mammisis*, or birth-houses, attached to her temples.³⁸ His primary function, in both Egypt and Greece, was as an apotropaic mascot of women and children.³⁹ Egypt's extensive corpus of apotropaic fertility demons was used to mollify people's fears of unforeseen supernatural forces, such as death and deformity, as manifested in infants and children.⁴⁰ Based on her own grimacing features, it is possible that the Missouri nurse served a similar apotropaic function;⁴¹ her pendulous breast may even be a reference to the dwarf god himself, allowing her to function, as Bes sometimes does, as a pantheistic image with multiple powers and connotations.⁴²

We can trace the influence of different cultures, religions, and artistic styles in the Missouri nurse. It, therefore, seems likely that she embodies an amalgam of iconographic types, specifically, Isis as mother, the old caretaker, fertility demons, and grotesques. A number of iconographic aspects suggests this, the first being the nurse's stance and state of "undress." She stands facing forward, her left breast exposed, and she holds a child on her right arm, using her left hand to secure it in place (Fig. 1). This is very similar to the Ptolemaic Isis-Harpocrates figurines, with some differences. Although the Missouri nurse's left breast is exposed, she carries her charge on the opposite arm, not allowing the child to drink. Unlike Isis, she is old, and she holds the child with two hands, rather than one, perhaps emphasizing her old age by suggesting a lack of strength. Her age implies that she is no longer capable of nursing. Her exposed breast may, therefore, not refer to her function as a nurse.

The child featured in the Missouri terracotta is also different from typical Isis-Harpocrates pairings: while Harpocrates usually faces outward in an apotropaic manner, the Missouri child rests its head on his nurse's shoulder and places its hand on her right breast. As if reacting to this gesture, the nurse lovingly leans her head toward the child's. This level of emotional attachment is not evident in Isis-Harpocrates figurines, and while both Egyptian and Greek terracottas feature children touching their nurse's breast as they drink,⁴³ they do not display the same intense bond featured between the Missouri nurse and her charge. The closest parallel is a series of Greek nurses that affectionately kiss or look down upon their charges, but this tradition is restricted to mainland Greece.⁴⁴ Masegaglia notes that the varying "degrees of attentiveness" conveyed by nurses is based on the preferences of coroplasts and consumers, "some favouring images of the *function* of a nurse, others favouring images of the sentimental *relationship* between nurse and child."⁴⁵ In either case, she argues that nurse terracottas were popular for their protective implications, which suited them for burial contexts.⁴⁶ Thus, the strong connection between the Missouri nurse and child may imply that the figurine is apotropaic: the child is taking refuge in the nurse's arms, as if seeking comfort, support, and protection from harm.

The Missouri nurse's face, both grotesque and lifelike, is another apotropaic aspect with several possible explanations. Terracotta figurines of the Hellenistic period are diverse, some featuring ideal beauty, others believable naturalism, and still others grotesquerie. Naturalism and the grotesque intersect with comedy, specifically Middle and New Comedy. One explanation could, therefore, be that the nurse represents a comic figure, since terracottas of actors in the guise of old women are known. As caricatures, they feature non-ideal attributes, some of which carry over into the Tanagra tradition: swollen bellies, unbalanced proportions, bulging eyes, flat or protruding noses, large ears, warts, wrinkles, and gaping mouths. The infants they carry resemble inanimate objects with log-shaped bodies wrapped tightly and usually wholly swaddled.⁴⁷ The Missouri nurse does not, however, feature any comedic attributes, with the exception of exaggerated facial features. Rather than being a reference to comedy, a second possible explanation for the nurse's overstated features is that she is Nubian, a collective term that describes the African peoples living south of Egypt, an area which in the Ptolemaic period was under the control of the Meroitic kings. Their trade with the Hellenistic pharaohs often included exotic goods, such as wild animals and ivory, and also young boys.⁴⁸ Coroplasts living in Egypt represented their neighbors with heavy brow lines, wrinkled foreheads, and broad, flat noses.⁴⁹ One particular example, now in the collections of Tübingen University's Hohentübingen Castle, features the head of a young boy with a grinning countenance and wrinkled brow that strongly resembles the Missouri nurse's visage (Fig. 6).⁵⁰ It is,



Fig. 6. Head of a young Nubian boy. Graeco-Egyptian, ca. late third–early second century B.C.E., terracotta, H. 5.7 cm, W. 4.1 cm. Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Institut für Klassische Archäologie, inv. no. 2847. Photo: Thomas Zachmann.

therefore, possible that her exaggerated features indicate that she is a black woman from the Meroitic kingdom. An alternative origin includes Cyrenaica, a neighboring North African region from which Egypt regularly received an influx of immigrants.⁵¹

A third explanation for the nurse's exaggerated facial features could be that they derive from the "grotesque" tradition. In conjunction with the rising interest in realistic subject matters, like extreme age and youth, Hellenistic sculptors were fascinated by abnormal medical conditions and less than ideal physiques. Popular subjects included dwarfs and figures with severe physical deformities.⁵² Dwarfs, like the god Bes, are often short, stocky, and bow-legged, though their faces may look more human than their grimacing counterpart.⁵³ Figures with physical deformities, on the other hand, appear humpbacked (*hybos*), maimed (*empēros*), crooked (*kullos*), or disabled (*pēros*), and their faces are equally distorted.⁵⁴ The most logical purpose of such figurines was not as objects of medical study but, rather, as apotropaic and comedic emblems.⁵⁵ While the Missouri nurse's body is perfectly proportioned, if a bit short, her face is distorted, featuring a grimacing smile like Bes. Thus, it seems likely that with her exaggerated features and careful embrace of her charge, she functioned as a protective device against infant mortality or any of the supernatural evils that plagued Ptolemaic Egypt.

In conclusion, while it is difficult to discern the true meaning and purpose of the Missouri nurse, there are several inferences one can make based on subject and iconography. Kourotropic imagery was more popular in ancient Egypt and the Near East than in Greece, occurring there in the Bronze Age but earlier in the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁶ In later times, it was often—though not always—used to parody elderly caregivers in Middle and New Comedy. In Egypt, it acquired apotropaic connotations. Nurses as protectors, nourishers, and caretakers, like Bes and Isis, made believable apotropaic emblems for children, both in domestic settings and in tombs. Ancient Egypt, from the Pre-Dynastic era through to the Roman period, suffered from high infant mortality, the result of poor diet, unsanitary conditions, and waterborne and infectious diseases like hepatitis, dysentery, and tapeworms.⁵⁷ Poisonous snakes and insects, such as scorpions, were also a dangerous reality.⁵⁸ The first ten days of a child's life were considered to be tenuous,⁵⁹ which is why apotropaic images of fertility gods and demons often adorned objects used by both pregnant women and young children.⁶⁰ Nurse figurines may have been an added line of defense against the evils of the world. The Missouri terracotta in particular, with her grimacing face, may have been part of a tradition that took the divine concepts of Bes and Isis and also adopted some of the physical characteristics of these divinities, specifically Bes' grimacing face and pendulous breasts and Isis' motherly embrace. Perhaps infused with the iconographies of kourotropic divinities, the Missouri nurse may have functioned as an apotropaic object for her owner. Only in Ptolemaic Egypt—a diverse locale of differing artistic, cultural, social, and religious traditions that both clashed and came together—could this figurine have emerged.

NOTES

- * I would like to thank Caitlin Barrett, Jane Biers, Susan Langdon, Francesca Hickin, Kathleen Slane, and my supportive reviewers for their helpful comments during the researching and writing of this article. I would also like to thank Jeffrey Wilcox for providing high quality images of the terracotta in question, and Benton Kidd for giving me access to the Museum of Art and Archaeology's storage and photos. Finally, I would like to thank Tübingen University and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for allowing me to illustrate their images.
1. As affordable objects used by both elite and non-elite consumers, Greco-Egyptian terracottas were placed in tombs, domestic shrines, and sanctuaries as votive offerings, embodiments of the divine, and substitutes for worshipers or deceased persons. For a list of locations in Egypt where Greco-Egyptian terracottas have been found, see Sandra Sandri, "Terracottas," in C. Riggs, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012) pp. 631–632. For household ritual, see Caitlin Barrett, "Terracotta Figurines and the Archaeology of Ritual: Domestic Cult in Greco-Roman Egypt," in S. Huyssecom-Haxhi and A. Muller, eds., *Figurines grecques en contexte: Présence muette dans le sanctuaire, la tombe, et la maison* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2015) pp. 402 and 406. Terracotta finds from sanctuaries are less plentiful than those found in domestic settings, but numerous votive deposits found at Canopus, Magdola, Memphis, Mendes, and Karanis show that *ex-votos* were dedicated at temples in Greco-Roman Egypt. See Céline Boutantin, *Terres cuites et culte domestique: Bestiaire de l'Égypte gréco-romain* (Leiden, 2014) pp. 125–128.
 2. This date is accepted in this article. Since most Greco-Egyptian terracottas were not excavated properly or legally, many are difficult to date (Boutantin, *Terres cuites*, p. 125; and Sandri, "Terracottas," p. 631). Even those that originate from legitimate sites are not always properly documented. For example, the excavation records for the temple of Heron at Magdola do not specify whether the terracottas found there are *ex-votos* from the temple or finds from homes that occupied the site after the temple was abandoned. See Boutantin, *Terres cuites*, p. 124. There are some exceptions to this rule. Frank Rumscheid has documented Hellenistic and Roman terracottas excavated from houses, sanctuaries, and graves throughout the Mediterranean world (*Die figürlichen Terrakotten von Priene* [Wiesbaden, 2006] chap. 3). Additionally, and more pertinent to this discussion, Hanna Szymańska has published a series of terracotta figurines that were discovered at Athribis in Lower Egypt (*Terres cuites d'Athribis* [Turnhout, 2005]). She dates the group to three periods: late fourth century B.C.E. (reign of Ptolemy V), second half of the second century B.C.E. (reign of Ptolemy VI), and the first century B.C.E./C.E. See also the British Museum's recent publication of the Naukratis figurines https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_research_catalogues/ng/naukratis_greeks_in_egypt.aspx (accessed September 29, 2017). For a more complete bibliography on figurines from known contexts, see Barrett, "Terracotta Figurines," p. 405, n. 34; and Boutantin, *Terres cuites*, p. 125.
 3. Without performing a chemical analysis, it is difficult to tell whether the coating is made of lime or gypsum. See Caitlin Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos: A Study in Hellenistic Religion* (Leiden, 2011) p. 102, n. 322. The fabric falls between 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown) and 6/4 (light reddish brown) on the Munsell scale, with no visible inclusions. The coating resembles 10 YR or 5YR 8/1 (white) on the same scale, with no visible traces of paint except for a faded light-brown color on the nurse's neck, the child's stomach, the base of the nurse's chiton, and the nurse's back.

- Many terracottas from Egypt were kept in damp, crowded domestic areas, which were not conducive to paint preservation; conversely, ones found in sanctuaries, located in the dry desert, are better preserved. The same is true for terracottas found in graves, which were sealed many feet beneath the ground and sometimes contained within coffins for added protection against dampness. While most Greco-Egyptian terracotta figurines feature remnants of coating, the amount preserved on the Missouri terracotta implies that she came from a tomb. For more information on plaster coating, see Donald M. Bailey, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, vol. 4, *Ptolemaic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt*, British Museum (London, 2008) p. 6; and Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, pp. 102–103. For examples of nurse figurines found in grave contexts, see Harold Schultze, *Ammen und Pädagogen: Sklavinnen und Sklaven als Erzieher in der antiken Kunst und Gesellschaft* (Mainz am Rhein, 1998) pp. 54 and 125, no. A T81; Daniel Graepler, *Tonfiguren im Grab: Fundkontexte Hellenistischer Terrakotten aus der Nekropole von Tarent* (Munich, 1997) grave 64; and Stephanie A. Hagan, “Nysiac Devotions: Women-and-Child Figurines from Byzantine Burials at Beth Shean,” in Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller, eds., *Figurines grecques en contexte*, pp. 305–315, especially p. 312.
4. While Greek coroplasts regularly cut oval or rectangular vents into the backs of their figures, the Egyptians did this less frequently. Rather, open bases likely functioned as vents, although in rare circumstances, small holes appear in the center of some figurines’ backs. See Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, p. 100.
 5. Antipater of Sidon, in an epigram describing the image of an old woman named Bittis (*Greek Anthology* 7.423.2–4), argues that grey hair was considered unattractive in the Greek world because old women often covered theirs with scarves and caps. For the full quotation, see Jane Masseglija, *Body Language in Hellenistic Art and Society* (Oxford, 2015) p. 243, n. 263. In Greek art, slaves are often depicted with short hair that encircles their forehead like a cap. For an example, see Warren D. Anderson, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, 1994) pl. 6, which features a small crouching slave seated beside his or her master in a school setting.
 6. Classical babies are often oddly proportioned, with small heads and elongated limbs, like adults; later representations of infants, from the Hellenistic and Roman eras, tend to be more naturalistic, with small plump bodies and large heads. For examples, see Jenifer Neils and John H. Oakley, eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past* (London, 2003) pp. 226–227, figs. 24 and 25.
 7. According to the Christie’s auction catalog, the figurine measures 15.9 cm high; this makes it two centimeters taller than the Missouri nurse, which is missing its base. See Christie’s, *Antiquities*, Auction Catalog 9244 (South Kensington, 7 November 2001) lot no. 345. Unpublished. The figurine was sold as part of the Max Willborg collection. Christie’s dates the figurine between the second century B.C.E. and second century C.E.
 8. Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, “The Hellenistic Terracottas of Athens and the Tanagra Style,” in J. P. Uhlenbrock, ed., *The Coroplast’s Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World* (New York, 1990) p. 50; and Sandri, “Terracottas,” p. 632.
 9. See Victor Robinson, “Nurse of Greece,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 6 (1938) pp. 1002–1007.
 10. Sister Mary Rosaria Gorman, “The Nurse in Greek Life,” Ph.D. diss., College of the Catholic University of America, 1917, pp. 10–14; Valerie Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to Present* (Oxford, 1988) p. 5; Schultze, *Ammen*, pp. 13–19; Susanne Pfisterer-Haas, *Darstellungen alter Frauen in der griechischen Kunst* (Frankfurt, 1989) p. 45; Olympia Bobou, *Children in the Hellenistic World: Statues and Representations* (Oxford, 2015) p. 26, n. 80; and Neils and Oakley, *Coming of Age*, pp. 227–229. For a Greco-Egyptian example of a woman

who nursed for pay, see Jane Rowlandson, ed., *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, 1998) p. 117, no. 91.

11. Gorman, *Nurse*, p. 17.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 28. A great poetic example is Odysseus's wise nurse, Eurycleia, who nursed the king, accompanied him to his Ithacan palace, and later cared for his young son, Telemachos. In Homer's *Odyssey* 1.429–434, it is revealed that Eurycleia is Telemachos' nurse, for "No servant loved Telemachos as she did, she who had nursed him in his infancy" (Homer, *Odyssey*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald [New York, 1998]). Later, in Book 19, Homer reveals that Odysseus was her original charge, for she recognizes him, even in his disguised form, when she catches sight of a familiar scar on his leg. This causes Odysseus to exclaim: "Will you destroy me, nurse, who gave me milk at your own breast?" (Homer, *Od.*, 19.388–498). If some nurses were kept by their charges forever, it is possible that representations of old nurses embody women like the ever-loyal Eurycleia—retired wet-nurses who are nurses for the children of their original charges. In the case of the Missouri figurine, the woman's bare breast could signify the wet nursing role she once held in her youth. The fact that her charge touches her opposite breast is also symbolic of this, for it occurs in representations of nursing infants: the child drinks from the left breast while simultaneously clutching the right. Neils wonders if this commonality implies that the child is in danger or represents a specific figure, like Demeter who transformed herself into the nurse Doso as she searched for her daughter Persephone who had been kidnapped by Hades (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*). See Neils and Oakley, "Coming of Age," pp. 226–227, fig. 24.
13. Rowlandson, *Women and Society*, p. 275.
14. Unlike the Greeks, Egyptians did not abandon unwanted children; the practice was brought to Egypt with the influx of Greek peoples in the Hellenistic period. For an example, *ibid.*, p. 117, n. 91. Sarah Pomeroy notes that there was a strong correlation between slavery and exposure: in areas where there were fewer slaves, exposure was minimal (*Women in Hellenistic Egypt: From Alexander to Cleopatra* [New York, 1984] p. 128). For more on child populations in Egypt, see Bobou, *Children*, pp. 28, 31, and 37; and Willy Clarysse and Dorothy J. Thompson, *Counting People in Hellenistic Egypt*, vol. 2, *Historical Studies* (Cambridge, 2006) pp. 12 and 346.
15. Pomeroy (*Women in Hellenistic Egypt*, p. 162) notes that the normal duration of a wet nursing contract was two years.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
17. Violaine Jeammet, "The Origin and Diffusion of the Tanagra Figurines" in V. Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras. Figurines for Life and Eternity: The Musée du Louvre's Collection of Greek Figurines*, Musée du Louvre (Valencia, 2010) pp. 62–69. After Macedonia defeated Greece in 338 B.C.E., manufacture of Tanagra figurines was spread across the Mediterranean. For additional information on Tanagras, see Uhlenbrock, "Hellenistic Terracottas"; and John M. Fossey, "Tanagra during the Hellenistic and Roman Period: An International Artistic Center?" in V. Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras for Life*, pp. 28–29.

While the old nurse type was first manufactured in Greece in Attica, other Greek locales have yielded nurse and child figurines as well. For example, in Cyprus, representations of standing women holding children were popular, though they are rarely depicted in the act of nursing. See, for example, Lucile Burn and Reynold A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas in the British Museum*, vol. 3, British Museum (London, 2001) nos. 2888–2889. As in Egypt, however, divine kouroutrophi were more frequently represented than mortal nurses. See Burn and Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, p. 266. Additionally, South Italy has yielded numerous figurines of portly old women with two charges: a baby, whom they hold, and a toddler, whom

- they lead by the hand. For examples, see Neils and Oakley, *Coming of Age*, pl. 28; Raimund Wünsche, ed., *Stärke Frauen: Staatliche Antikensammlungen München*, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (Munich, 2008) fig. 2.10; and Graepler, *Tonfiguren im Grab*, pp. 229–230. A similar figurine (ca. 180–176 B.C.E.), which features a young woman with two children, was discovered in Athribis; she is thought to represent Cleopatra I in the guise of Isis. See Szymańska, *Terres cuites d'Athribis*, p. 178, no. 51.
18. Dorothy Burr Thompson, “The Origin of Tanagras,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 70.1 (1966) pp. 51–63. She dated the first generation to 375–350 B.C.E. This generation features caricatures of old nurses with swollen bellies, a wide stance, rounded backs, heavy drapery, and masked faces. The infants they care for resemble inanimate objects, with log-shaped bodies wrapped tightly in swaddling bands; the perverseness of their features could indicate that they are not real but, rather, props used to authenticate a role. The second stage, which Thompson dated from 325–300 B.C.E., features naturalistic nurses with sunken shoulders, curved backs, a broad wrinkled nose and/or chin, and active babies. For standing examples, see Simone Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains*, vol. 3, *Époques hellénistique et romaine, Grèce et Asie Mineure*, Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1971) pl. 1, no. g D5. For seated examples, see Juliette Becq, “New Themes, Theater Figurines,” in Jeammet, *Tanagras for Life*, p. 75, no. 38; Burn and Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, no. 2113; and Neils and Oakley, *Coming of Age*, p. 228, fig. 27.
 19. Mary Louise Hart, *The Art of Ancient Greek Theater* (Los Angeles, 2010) p. 125, no. 63. For a similar example of a comedic crone, see Alan Hughes, *Performing Greek Comedy* (Cambridge, 2012) pp. 134 and 160–161.
 20. Hart, *Ancient Greek Theater*, p. 122. Thompson (“Origin,” p. 57) relates comedic nurses to New Comedy plays, like Menander’s *Samia*, which involved characters associated with everyday life: fed-up housewives, lustful husbands, and aggressive old women. For a textual example, see Menander, *Fragments of Attic Comedy*, vol. 3, trans. John M. Edmonds (Leiden, 1961) no. 436 A.
 21. For an example, see Hart, *Ancient Greek Theater*, p. 125, fig. 63. Additionally, comedic babies are usually wholly swaddled. See Margaret Bieber, *The History of Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1961) no. 185, which comes from the same grave group.
 22. For a discussion on nurse body language, see Masegla, *Body Language*, pp. 256–261.
 23. See Bailey, *Ptolemaic and Roman*, no. 3519.
 24. *Ibid.*, no. 3529.
 25. *Ibid.*, no. 3518; and Carl M. Kaufmann, *Graeco-Ägyptische Koroplastik: Terrakotten der griechisch-römischen und koptischen Epoche aus der Faijûm-Oase und andren Fundstätten* (Leipzig, 1915) pl. 48, no. 424.
 26. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt*, p. 161. In a similar vein, Kelly Wrenhaven notes that beauty was not a requirement of domestic nurses. In fact, the less attractive she was, the more focused she would be on her duties. See *Reconstructing the Slave: The Image of the Slave in Ancient Greece* (London, 2013) p. 124.
 27. The depiction of elderly figures in youthful roles may be religiously significant. In an article discussing an aged representation of Harpocrates, Barrett notes that the child may be imitating the sun god Amun, whose solar journey through the underworld aged his body. The story, featured in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, claims that, at the end of this journey, the god meets with his corpse, fuses with it, and is reborn again as a child. See “Harpocrates on Rheneia: Two Egyptian Figurines from the Necropolis of Delos,” in A. Muller et al., eds., *Figurines de terre cuite en Méditerranée grecque et romaine*, vol. 2, *Iconographie et contextes* (Villeneuve-d’Ascq, 2015) pp. 195–208.

28. Birgitte Bøgh, "The Graeco-Roman Cult of Isis," in L. B. Christenson, O. Hammer, and D. A. Warburton, eds., *Handbook of Religions in Ancient Europe* (Durham, 2013) p. 229.
29. It is important to note that although Harpocrates was a popular subject in terracotta, he was not the only child-god represented: Somtus-pa-khered ("Somtus the Child"), Harsomtut-pa-khered ("Harsomtut the Child"), and Khonsu-pa-khered ("Khonsu the child") are among several other child gods represented during the Greco-Roman period in Egypt. Many feature similar iconographies, such as a "Horus Lock" (sidelock of hair); attributes, such as a round food pot; and gestures, like finger sucking. For more on child gods, see Sandri, "Terracottas," pp. 634–635; and Barrett, "Harpocrates on Rheneia," pp. 197–198.
30. See Daniel M. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1921) pl. XVII; Paul Graindor, *Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Antwerp, 1939) pl. X, no. 27; and Bailey, *Ptolemaic and Roman*, no. 3013.
31. In Classical and Hellenistic Greek art, the frontal face in mortal figures was used to convey "psychological intensity," like inebriation and death (see Hart, *Ancient Greek Theater*, p. 58). Frontal-facing deities, monsters, and animals, however, often had apotropaic connotations from the Archaic period onward. According to Bonna Wescoat, writing on Greek architectural sculpture, "The front face breaks the spatial boundary of the narrative plane to engage the viewer directly. Creatures such as the gorgon have frontal faces that shock and quite literally petrify the viewer; the visceral confrontation of monster and viewer completes the image and gives it power" (*The Temple of Athena at Assos* [Oxford, 2012] pp. 175–176). In Egyptian relief art, most mortal and divine figures were depicted in profile, with the exception of Bes and Hathor (often in cow form); frontality was reserved for the chthonic monsters of the underworld. According to Véronique Dasen, the "monstrous appearance" of these creatures "was often meant to be frightening; some demons have names referring to their fearful faces, such as 'combative of face', 'savage one of face', and 'black of face'" (*Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* [Oxford, 1993] p. 63). For an example of a grotesque Harpocrates, see Barrett, "Harpocrates on Rheneia," pp. 195–208.
32. A terracotta female figure from Egypt, Cairo Museum acc. no. 26894, may be an unusual example of Isis (François Dunand, *Religion populaire en Égypte romaine: Les terres cuites isiaques du Musée du Caire*, Cairo Museum [Leiden, 1979] pl. XI, no. 16; and Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, fig. C31). She is depicted with flattened, grotesque face and corkscrew curls and carries a grotesque figure of Harpocrates on her left arm. Since the figure does not wear the usual Isis crown, it may, however, equally well be a representation of one of Isis's human priestesses who are typically also shown with curls, or perhaps Beset, a companion of Bes, carrying baby Bes.
33. For Egyptian examples of Bes as a nurturing figure of humans and animals, see Jeanne Bulté, *Talismans égyptiens d'heureuse maternité* (Paris, 1991) pls. 1–15.
34. Bes appears with lion's mane, rounded ears, and tail. Unlike other Egyptian divinities, which are featured in profile in relief, Bes always faces outward. Moreover, in this early period, he is usually featured on "magic wands" or "amulets," stands upright, and holds snakes. For an example, see Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pl. 3.3.
- The ancient Egyptian chronology used here follows the *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2004).
35. Dasen, *Dwarfs*, p. 59; and James F. Romano, "The Bes-Image in Pharaonic Egypt," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1989, p. 141. For examples, see Brooklyn 37.544E and 37.921E.
36. Veronica Wilson ("The Iconography of Bes with Particular Reference to Cypriot Evidence," *Levant* 7.1 [1975] p. 85) argues that Bes was likely transmitted to Cyprus from Phoenicia (i.e., from Syria and the Levant), where the god appears on scarabs, cylinder seals, and faience

- amulets between the sixteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.E. For Greek examples, see Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pls. 78–80.
37. Dasen, *Dwarfs*, p. 81; and Tran Tam Tinh, “Bes,” in H. C. Ackermann and J. R. Gisler, eds., *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*: 3.1, *Atherion-Eros* (Zürich-Munich, 1986) p. 107. For Roman examples, see Bailey, *Ptolemaic and Roman*, pls. 16–18.
 38. For examples, see Dasen, *Dwarfs*, figs. 6.3 and 6.4. On birth-houses, see F. Dumas, *Les mam-misis des temples égyptiens* (Paris, 1958); and Dieter Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs* (New York, 1999) pp. 285–288.
 39. In addition to Bes, female fertility demons were also used as apotropaic emblems in contexts related to women and children. They are often nude with voluptuous figures, large breasts, and elaborate headdresses. They stand or crouch and sometimes point to their genitalia or hold their large stomachs. For examples, see Bailey, *Ptolemaic and Roman*, nos. 3130–3143. For a reconsideration of these figurines, see Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines*, section 4.3.3.
 40. Dasen, *Dwarfs*, p. 68. For a discussion of child graves and necropoli from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see François Dunand, “Les enfants et la mort en Égypte,” in V. Dasen, ed., *Naissance et petite enfance dans l’antiquité: Actes du colloque de Fribourg, 28 novembre–1^{er} décembre 2001* (Fribourg, 2004) pp. 21–30. See also n. 46 below.
 41. Old age and ugliness were familiar images of terror, but they were closely related to laughter and obscenity, which frightened off unwanted demons, for, as Aristotle states, “laughter is a part of ugly” (*Poetics* 5.1449a). For a larger discussion of grotesque figurines, see Maurice Olender, “Aspects of Baubo: Ancient Texts and Contexts,” in D. M. Halperin et al., eds., *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton, 1990) p. 102.
 42. Bes often features a combination of attributes that belong to other gods, including extra wings, limbs, and cult items; when in this altered form, he is called Bes Pantheos, an ancient solar god from which all other gods originate. See Barrett, “Harpocrates on Rheneia,” p. 200.
 43. For examples, see Neils and Oakley, *Coming of Age*, pp. 26–27, figs. 24 and 25.
 44. For a nurse kissing her charge, see Masegla, *Body Language*, fig. 4.54. For a nurse smiling down upon her charge, see Burn and Higgins, *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas*, no. 2113.
 45. Masegla, *Body Language*, p. 260.
 46. For toddler and infant burials that contained nurse figurines, see Graepler, *Tonfiguren im Grab*, grave 64; and Hagan, “Nysiac Devotions,” pp. 305–315, especially p. 312.
 47. See Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné*, pl. 1, no. g D5; Becq, “New Themes, Theater Figurines,” p. 75, no. 38; Burn and Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, no. 2113; Hart, *Ancient Greek Theatre*, p. 125, fig. 63; Hughes, *Performing Greek Comedy*, pp. 134 and 160–161; and Neils and Oakley, *Coming of Age*, p. 228, fig. 27. For a wholly swaddled baby, see Bieber, *History*, p. 125, fig. 63.
 48. László Török, *Hellenizing Art in Ancient Nubia, 300 BC–AD 250* (Boston, 2011) pp. 3–4, 99–100.
 49. For a full discussion of Hellenistic representations of Africans, see Masegla, *Body Language*, pp. 159–184.
 50. Acc. no. S/12 2847. Published: Jutta Fischer, *Griechische-römische Terrakotten aus Ägypten* (*Tübingen Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 14, 1994) no. 428.
 51. According to Csaba La’da, Cyrenaica’s close proximity to Egypt is likely what makes it the largest origin of female immigrants with ethnic titles. See “Immigrant Women in Hellenistic Egypt: The Evidence of Ethnic Designations,” in H. Melaerts and L. Mooren, eds., *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine, et byzantine: Actes du colloque international Bruxelles—Leuven 27–29 novembre 1997* (Leuven, 2002) p. 173.

52. Masegla, *Body Language*, p. 279.
53. For examples, and a complete discussion of human dwarfs in Egypt, Greece, and its colonies, see *ibid.*, pp. 150–164 and 267–279; and Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pp. 214–242, pls. 41–55.
54. Masegla, *Body Language*, p. 280. These words describe “cripples” in ancient Greek. For examples, see Masegla, *Body Language*, pp. 279–294.
55. See Lisa Trentin, *The Hunchback in Hellenistic and Roman Art* (London, 2015) pp. 29, 295–296; James Elliot, *Beware the Evil Eye: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World*, vol. 2, *Greece and Rome* (Eugene, Oregon, 2016) pp. 35, 43, 52, 163, and 249; D. Levi, “The Evil Eye and the Lucky Hunchback,” in R. Stillwell, ed., *Antioch on the Orontes*, vol. 3, *The Excavations 1937–1939* (Princeton, 1941) pp. 220–232; Kathleen M. D. Dunbabin and Matthew W. Dickie, “Invidia rumpantur pectora: The Iconography of Phthonos/Invidia in Graeco-Roman Art,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband* 18 (1991) pp. 26–35; and John Clarke, “Three Uses of the Pygmy and the Aethiops at Pompeii: Decorating, ‘Othering,’ and Warding Off Demons,” in L. Bricault, M. J. Versluys, and P. G. P. Meyboom, eds., *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World* (Leiden, 2007) pp. 153–169.
- While many scholars are quick to dismiss grotesques as “low” or “inferior” art, many of these objects feature high technical and decorative quality.
56. Stephanie L. Budin, *Images of Women and Child from the Bronze Age* (Cambridge, 2011) p. 35.
57. Walter Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (Leiden, 2001) especially chap. 2, pp. 51–104.
58. This is why Bes and his more human counterpart, Ptah-Pataikos, are often featured wrestling snakes. See Henry Fischer, “The Ancient Egyptian Attitude towards Monsters,” in A. E. Farkas, P. O. Harper, and E. B. Harrison, eds., *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987) p. 18. For an example, see Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pl. 12, no. 2.
59. In ancient Greece, if a child survived the first five days after birth, it was accepted into the family and city through a series of rituals, such as the *Amphidromia* (“running around”) ceremony. In this ceremony, the newborn was carried around the home’s hearth at a run, and on the tenth day (*dekate*), the child was named. See Bobou, *Children*, pp. 31–32; and Neils and Oakley, *Coming of Age*, p. 144. In Ptolemaic Egypt, parents waited longer to ensure the health of their newborn: according to the third century C.E. Roman grammarian Censorinus (*De die natalie* 11.7) “the babies, particularly fragile through those days, do not smile and are not free from danger. This is the reason why, past that day, the custom is to hold a feast day, which occasion is called ‘the fortieth day.’ Now, before that day the new mother does not enter a shrine.” For the full quotation, see Maryline Parca, “Children in Ptolemaic Egypt: What the Papyri Say,” in J. E. Grubbs, T. Parkin, and R. Bell, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (Oxford, 2013) p. 473. According to Parca, the fortieth day may have marked a child’s social birth, since, before that moment, the parents could not be certain it would survive.
60. For examples, see Fischer, “Ancient Egyptian Attitude,” pl. III, no. 11; and Dasen, *Dwarfs*, p. 69, fig. 6.1.

Roman Black-Gloss Pottery from the Capitoline Museums at the University of Missouri

*A New 3D Scanning Project for Use Wear Analysis**



MARCELLO MOGETTA, LAURA BANDUCCI,
AND RACHEL OPITZ

In the summer of 2014, archaeologists at the University of Missouri began documenting a collection of antiquities from the Antiquarium, a little-known storehouse of the Capitoline Museums in Rome. Their loan to the University of Missouri was the result of an agreement unprecedented in the United States, the *Hidden Treasures of Rome* project, which was facilitated by the Sovrintendente Capitolino Claudio Parisi Presicce and funded by Enel Green Power, an Italian-American energy company. The Capitoline Museums lent 249 Roman black-gloss and other vessels, many of which are nearly whole, for morphological and chemical analysis (Fig. 1). The vessels arrived in August 2014 and for a period



Fig. 1. An assemblage of pottery on exhibit in the Gallery of Ancient and Byzantine Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, selected from the 249 vessels on loan to the museum from the Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale. Photo: Kenyon Reed.

of two years underwent morphological analysis by Dr. Johanna Boyer, then a graduate student in Art History and Archaeology, and chemical analysis by Dr. Michael Glascock, at the University of Missouri Research Reactor's Archaeometry Laboratory (MURR).¹

Dr. Marcello Mogetta, who joined the Department of Art History and Archaeology in July 2015, brought on two colleagues, Dr. Rachel Opitz of the University of South Florida, and Dr. Laura Banducci of Carleton University in Canada, to undertake a program of 3D scanning of these vessels. This expanded on previous efforts to capture the 2D surface texture of decorated (stamped) items using RTI, or reflectance transformation imaging, a technique that improves our ability to see an object's surface shape and color through its interactive re-lighting from any direction. RTI is commonly used in archaeology and cultural heritage projects to enhance small details on the surfaces of objects, bringing out traces that are almost invisible to the naked eye.

The specific aim of the new initiative was to both study in detail minute traces of production and use of these vessels and produce a digital record of their form before they returned to storage in Rome in September 2016. The pilot project, titled *Hidden Treasures of Rome: Capturing the Life Cycle of Roman Pottery*, began in January 2016 and also involved the collaboration of several researchers from the University of Arkansas and the Université Bourgogne Franche-Comté, in France. The results have been used to lay the groundwork for a larger proposal, titled *CaLC-Rome: Capturing the Life Cycle of Ceramics in Rome*, which is currently being funded by the University of Missouri System Research Board in connection with the second iteration of the loan agreement.

Origins of the Artifacts

After the unification of Italy in 1871, downtown Rome underwent rapid development with the construction of new government buildings. In an 1888 guide of Rome for American students, Rodolfo Lanciani wrote: "between January 1, 1872, and December 31, 1885, 82 miles of new streets have been opened, paved, drained, and built; new quarters have sprung up which cover an area of 1,158 acres; 3,094 houses have been built or enlarged, with an addition of 95,260 rooms . . . and the population, which fourteen years ago numbered 244,000 souls, exceeds now the considerable figure of 379,000."² Rescue excavations for this building program during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries recovered a large quantity of archaeological material that was quickly excavated.

Initially, the bulk of the finds was stored in temporary depositories across the city. A new exhibition wing was built in the early 1870s in the Palazzo dei Conservatori for artifacts that could be displayed, but then more materials were unearthed. To solve the lack of storage space, construction of an ad hoc Magazzino Archaeologico Comunale, located on the Caelian Hill, was planned in 1884 and completed in 1890. It was originally conceived as an urban museum where the archaeological material would have been organized both chronologically and topographically to provide a picture of the development of the city of Rome from its earliest times. Renamed the Antiquarium in 1900, the complex was reorganized in 1925–1928 and transformed into a museum for the

display of the “minor arts” of ancient Rome. Materials were arranged according to major media, such as glass, bronze, or pottery. Where possible, objects that could be associated with a specific monument or defined area were kept together, particularly in the case of votive deposits and funerary assemblages.³ Ceramic vessels were on display by class in the Sala V, together with anatomical votives.⁴

Structural damage to the Antiquarium during construction of the subway linking Rome’s main train station with the new neighborhood caused the sudden abandonment of the complex in 1939. With the exception of inscriptions, architectural elements, sarcophagi, and mosaics, which remained in the gardens of the neighboring Orto Botanico, the rest of the artifacts were transferred over the years to temporary storage facilities.⁵

While we have no documentation of specific excavation context for any of the 249 objects that were lent to Missouri, at least three pots came with small scraps of paper indicating that they came from the Esquiline. These paper scraps are probably the remnants of the original inventory mapping carried out by the Archeological Commission that was assigned the task of cataloguing the finds from the Esquiline necropolis in 1877.⁶ For example, one note with a jug indicates that the vessel came from a specific tomb, likely on the Esquiline Hill, and that it was excavated in July of 1875 (Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 44325).⁷

It is not clear whether the objects from the Esquiline cemetery were kept together during the lifespan of the Antiquarium, but it is reasonable to assume that many of the pots from Sala V were excavated from the Esquiline. Items that are demonstrably from contexts other than the Esquiline necropolis, however, were also included among the 249 vessels. For example, one vessel (Antiquarium Comunale Inv. 44328) has a square of white paper glued to the wall near the base with the note that it was excavated in the Via della Consolazione in 1939.

Materials and Aims

Black-gloss pottery was made in central and southern Italy from the late fourth century B.C.E. through to the middle of the first century B.C.E. These are table wares, primarily plates and bowls, which played a role in Roman eating and drinking, and in ritual activities like pouring libations, and making dedications and offerings at sanctuaries and tombs.⁸ The locations and manufacturing methods of these vessels are increasingly understood because of the application of a series of archaeometric techniques like Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) and X-Ray fluorescence (XRF).⁹

The shapes and shiny iridescent black surface of these vessels suggest that they were produced, at least originally, to be a more affordable alternative to vessels made of silver or bronze. The quality of the ceramic vessels varies significantly, probably due to the different locations of production, the clay used, and the skill of the potters. Some vessels are better constructed, with finer walls and smoother clay, or have shinier or more consistent slip than other vessels in the collection. This indicates that even within black-gloss pottery there were different qualities of goods, perhaps acquired by customers of differing wealth.¹⁰

The study of use wear on artifacts is a developing field of archaeology. The analysis of ceramic vessels is, however, unusual. Assessing wear on complete or largely complete vessels is ideal, since we can understand the wear in the context of the whole object, and we can be confident that the object has undergone minimal post-depositional disturbance after it was discarded. That is, the wear we observe is likely a result of human use rather than natural processes of fragmentation or erosion after burial.¹¹ Unfortunately, the circumstances in which archaeologists excavate whole vessels are limited primarily to tomb and ritual contexts. Typically, settlement contexts reveal very fragmentary ceramics rather than complete vessels.

The minimal observations of use wear on ceramics have noted that vessels of different shapes have different patterns of wear—different abrasion patches or scratches from different types of contact with tools for stirring and scooping. For example, black-gloss bowls excavated in Musarna, Italy, display concentric scratches from stirring, while plates at the same site tend to have straighter scratches, likely from cutting.¹² Use wear studies have also been completed on Roman cutlery. The analysis of 339 silver, pewter, and bone spoons from Roman Britain and the Western Roman provinces demonstrated that certain spoon shapes were prone to certain types of wear and that some wear patterns showed that there was a tendency for users to be right-handed.¹³

The set of vessels from the Capitoline provides an unparalleled opportunity to study a large sample of black-gloss vessels, many of which are complete or nearly complete. Although we do not know the exact provenance of all the vessels, beyond those that can be linked to the Esquiline necropolis (forty vessels from our sample were previously published in the 1973 *Roma medio repubblicana* exhibition catalogue),¹⁴ their complete condition strongly suggests that the remainder also were either deposited as grave goods in tombs or given as offerings at a religious site. Thus, the Capitoline collection also allows for the detailed study of an unusually large number of vessels from these types of contexts.

The research questions are twofold, touching on both historical and methodological concerns. From a methodological perspective, we are interested in further refining how best to observe, record, and analyze use wear—in particular, abrasion on vessels.

We hope to determine:

Whether 3D scanning and/or RTI allow us to note surface wear or to study elements of indicators of wear that are not visible to the naked eye;

What the benefits or limitations are of 3D scanning imaging versus RTI in the study and recording of use wear;

Whether it is possible to see scratches that overlap and determine which scratch came first;

Whether it is possible to disentangle a palimpsest of abrasion, and thus, multiple instances of use or vessel multifunctionality;

Whether there are patterns of use discernable from the comparison of the depth of scratches and the profile of scratches;

Whether it is possible to quantify the extent of the wear using digital imaging and analysis.

From a historical and archaeological perspective, our research questions center around issues of vessel function, use, and reuse. Since these artifacts are probably from funerary and sanctuary contexts, we are specifically interested in how better information about their use can contribute to our understanding of how the purchasing and deposition of artifacts worked in the Roman world in these ritual circumstances. The frequency and longevity of vessel use also affects our broader understanding of pottery consumption practices in the Roman economy. For example:

Did vessels deposited in these ritual circumstances likely have a use-life before they were deposited or were they purchased new for use in these special contexts?

What kinds of wear do vessels deposited in tombs or sanctuaries have? Does this wear suggest a consistent use of these vessels?

Are there patterns in the type or extent of wear that correlate with different vessel shapes?

Are there patterns in the type or extent of wear that correlate with different vessel quality (e.g., thick or shinier slip), which might suggest that higher quality vessels were used differently?

How does the use, reuse, and deposition of these vessels affect our understanding of the economy of ritual and the consumption patterns of pottery in Rome?

Methods and Observations

We carried out a campaign of high-resolution, high-precision 3D data capture on a subset of sixty-three vessels (twelve of which had previously been tested for NAA at MURR). The sample consisted predominantly of open forms with visible traces of use on their interior floors. In particular, we selected bowls and plates with relatively simple geometry, so as to make the scanning operations easier and faster. We used two different 3D scanners, which allowed us to experiment with four different resolutions in order to capture patterns of wear. The equipment included a Breuckman Smartscan-HE white-light scanner, which is commonly used for archaeological applications, and a GOM Atos triple-scan scanner. There are many scanners on the market today that are used to document archaeological objects. For our project, we chose to work with the Atos GOM scanner because it uses blue light, which makes it well suited for capturing data on dark and shiny surfaces, like those of black-gloss vessels. Laser and traditional fringe projection scanners are not as effective.¹⁵ Since many of the objects in the collection we are studying have black and shiny surfaces, the ability to capture them in detail with ease was important. We partnered with a team from the Université de Bourgogne-Franche

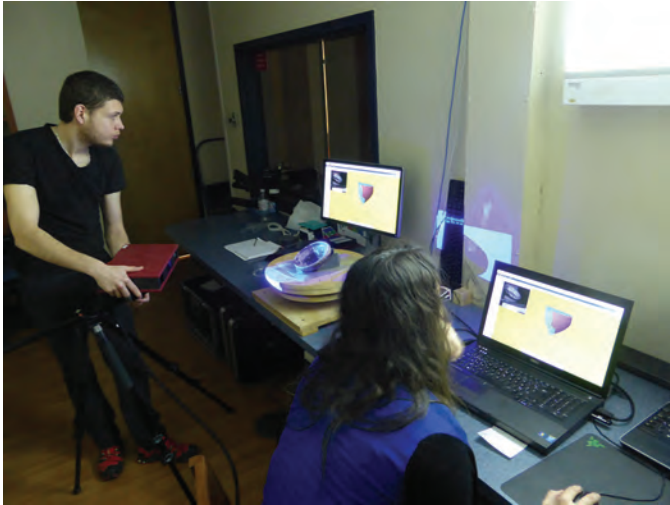


Fig. 2. Using the GOM Atos Triple scan blue light scanner, Damien Vurpillot and Valérie Taillandier from the Université Bourgogne Franche-Comté scan a black-gloss bowl (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 10062).



Fig. 3. Snapshot of the 3D model of a black-gloss bowl (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 8627) created with the GOM scanner (right, with pink shading for visibility; left, with color texture).



Fig. 4. GOM scan of a black-gloss bowl (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 6438) showing stamped decoration on interior floor.

Comté, longtime collaborators of one of us (Opitz) and experienced in operating this type of scanner to collect data to support archaeological research (Fig. 2).

In terms of both clarity and measurability, the quality of images of the black-gloss vessels that the GOM produced has proved its utility (Figs. 3, 4).¹⁶ The high-resolution is demonstrated when we compare a still of the 3D image at 70 μm with a high-resolution 2D color photograph. In the photograph (Fig. 5, right), we can see the four letters (an abbreviated name M. HAR) painted in white slip on the surface of the black vessel. In the 3D scan (Fig. 5, left) (with light shading here for visibility), you can make out the elevation of these letters, despite the fact that they have only been applied with slip. Scans also produce a high-quality permanent record of potters' fingerprints remaining in both the clay and the black gloss slip (Fig. 6). In contrast, the Breuckman scanner was adequate



Fig. 5. Painted inscription (right) on a black-gloss bowl (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 5055) compared to the inscription's visibility after scanning at a resolution of 70 μm (left).

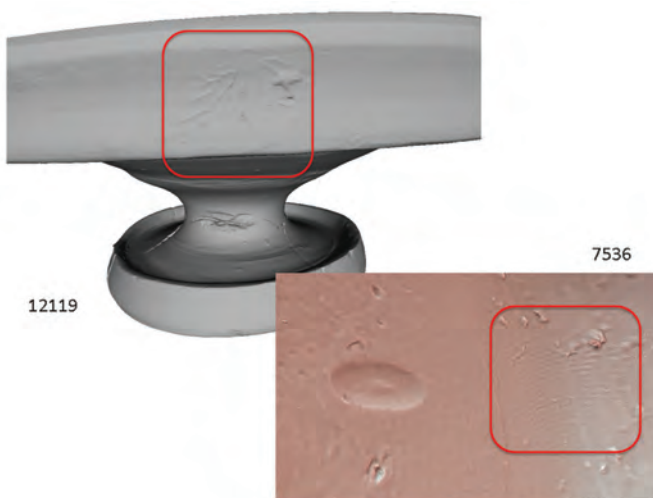


Fig. 6. Scans of fingerprints on the exterior base of a black-gloss bowl (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 7536; bottom right) and on the exterior rim of a black-gloss plate (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 12119; top left).

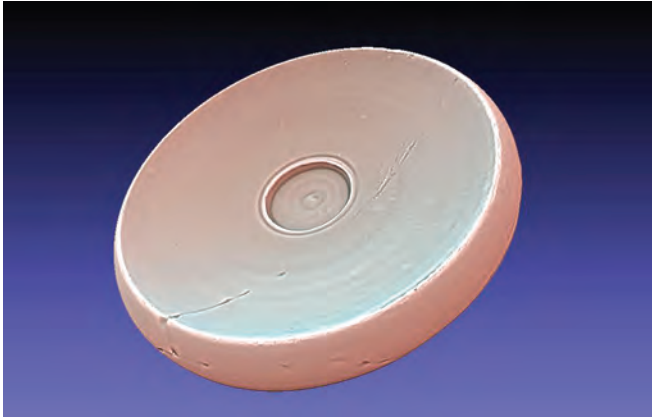


Fig. 7. 3D model of a black-gloss plate (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 12115) created using the Breuckman scanner.

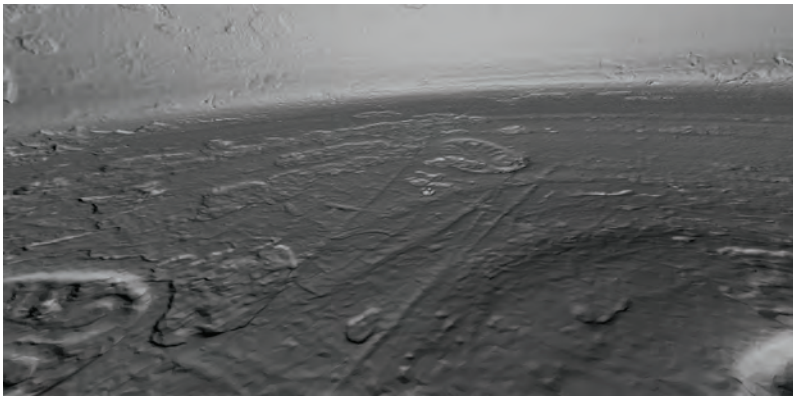


Fig. 8. Enlargement showing several overlapping scratches on the interior of a black-gloss bowl (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 8626).

for creating accurate 3D images of the vessels for digital museum display¹⁷ and more generalized studies of the objects' shapes, but the precision of the images is not quite high enough for use wear analysis (Fig. 7).

Thus far, we have examined use wear on these vessels with the naked eye and from the scans. The benefit of studying ceramic wear from 3D scans is in the zooming and metrical possibilities. Zooming in to the surface of the vessel allows us to examine individual traces of wear greatly magnified (Fig. 8). We can measure the length and depth of these scratches to a high level of accuracy and also characterize the shape of their profiles. Similar close examination of cut profiles has been undertaken by zooarchaeologists examining animal bones and trying to understand what types of tools were used by ancient butchers and cooks.¹⁸

It is also possible to see overlap in the scratches and to determine which scratch came first. This can be important when determining both natural behaviors and gestures, e.g., do Romans cut with knives on black-gloss vessels? It is also useful for distinguishing the difference between wear marks from use during the life of the vessel and those occurring while buried or, indeed, while being excavated.

The next phase of research will be to explore further the possibilities for doing high-precision measurements and description of these traces of abrasion. Since we have produced digital models of the black-gloss vessels, we can use various extant software packages to analyze their surface morphology in detail. Currently we are developing metrics (meaningful measurements and calculations) to characterize quantitatively different types of wear, a crucial step toward differentiating clearly between production, use, and post-depositional abrasion. The metrics under development are based primarily on a detailed assessment of the form and structure (morphology) of individual traces of wear, e.g., the profile curvature at inflection points, the openness of the scratches' interior, and the consistency of tangential curvature. In addition to developing metrics targeted at individual traces of wear, we are also investigating the validity and utility of zonal metrics, e.g., location on the rim vs. the interior vs. the exterior, in order to establish dominant types of wear on different parts of the vessel. The surface metrics analyses are, at present, implemented using SAGA GIS (System for Automated Scientific Analyses, Geographic Information System), scientific software traditionally used for detailed landscape studies. One of our basic questions is how to distinguish between similar scratches or types of wear. Each scratch, seen in microscopic detail, has a complicated and irregular shape, so we cannot simply categorize them as V-shaped vs. U-shaped or scratches with square bottoms vs. scratches with rounded bottoms. In order to compare these irregular 3D shapes and reliably understand the differences between them, we are using algorithms developed for image processing and machine learning. These are the same techniques used to spot human faces in Facebook photos and to drive Google's "search by image." The development of both the metrics to characterize the morphology of the traces of different types of wear and the similarity metrics necessary to distinguish among them are a key part of our ongoing research.

While many of our vessels have wear that seems to stem from use, some show no signs of this at all. A further important consideration for future research is to examine how the use of vessels corresponds or correlates to particular shapes or particular production locations, as determined by NAA.

We hope to show that the use of advanced imaging technologies can help us address new research questions in artifact analysis and can deliver and communicate our results to a broader community. Since reuse of the digital data produced through this research project has great potential, the development of a publicly accessible archive for use by other scholars carrying out their own investigations of this otherwise difficult to access material has been a priority. With the goal of extending the 3D data beyond the life cycle of our project, a partnership with University of South Florida's Library's Academic Resources and Digital Scholarship Services has been established in order to create a digital

collection of the 3D content and augment it with metadata compliant with the main international standards for cultural heritage. The collection is available at <http://digital.lib.usf.edu/htr/all>. Basic descriptive data of the vessels is available to everyone, and interested persons may apply to the library for permission to view the complete collection, including the 3D models and RTI images (Figs. 9, 10). The digital publication of a previously unstudied collection, held by a national museum in a source country that rarely offers such broad opportunities for access and study, provides one solution to the challenges

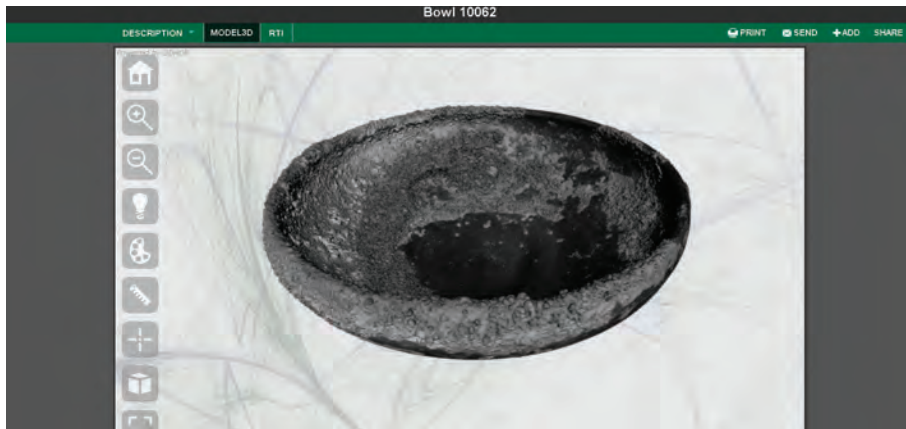


Fig. 9. 3D model of a black-gloss bowl (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 10062) permanently stored in the *Hidden Treasures of Rome* digital collection of the University of South Florida Libraries.

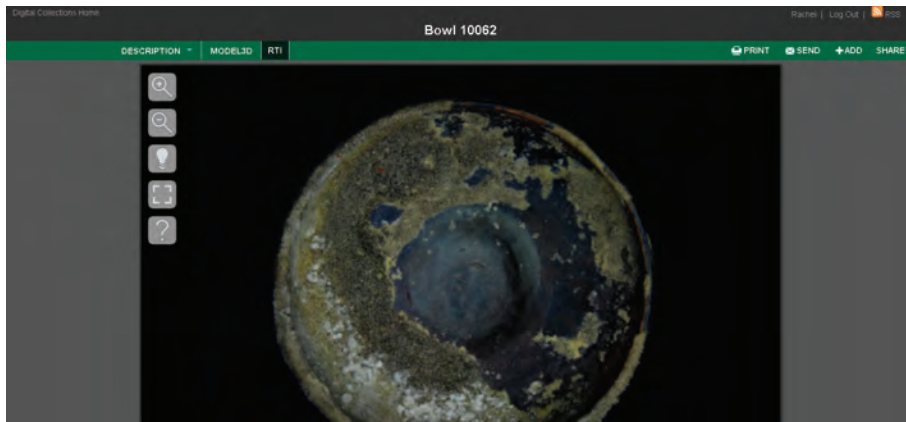


Fig. 10. RTI view of the interior floor of a black-gloss bowl (Capitoline Museums, Antiquarium Comunale, Inv. no. 10062) permanently stored in the *Hidden Treasures of Rome* digital collection of the University of South Florida's libraries.

faced by museums and archives holding collections much larger than they can display. Our project will ultimately illustrate not only the value of making these collections available to interested researchers and the general public but also the importance of international exchange and collaboration in support of the application of advanced technologies to study of collections of high cultural heritage value.

NOTES

- * We are grateful to Dr. Alex Barker (director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri), Antonella Magagnini, Carla Martini, and Marco Polizzi Carbonelli (Sovrintendenza Capitolina, Direzione Musei) for their enthusiastic support of the pilot project. Kyle Urquhart (University of Arkansas) and Stephanie Kimmey (Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri) acted as graduate research assistants throughout this phase of the project. We also thank Dr. Michael Glascock (Group Leader of the Archaeometry Lab) and Dr. Johanna Boyer for sharing their unpublished work with us, as well as the attendees at the *Hidden Treasures of Rome Workshop* in January 2016, for their suggestions about the development of this project. The project was supported by seed grants from the Mizzou Advantage initiative and the University of Missouri Research Council.
1. Alex W. Barker, "Director's Report 2014," *Muse* 48 (2014) pp. 18–20; and Johanna M. Boyer, "The Hidden Treasures of Rome: Tracing the Context of Isolated Artifacts," *Muse* 49 (2015) pp. 39–53.
 2. Rodolfo Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Boston, 1888) p. ix.
 3. Antonio Muñoz, "Antiquarium," *Capitolium* 11 (1929) p. 566.
 4. Antonio Maria Colini, "Descrizione delle collezioni," in Antonio Muñoz and Antonio Maria Colini, *Antiquarium: Descrizione delle collezioni dell'Antiquarium comunale ampliato e riordinato* (Rome, 1929) pp. 37–42.
 5. On the afterlife of the collection, see Anna Mura Sommella, "L'Antiquarium Comunale e le raccolte Capitoline da 'Roma Capitale' ai progetti per la loro sistemazione 1870/1992," in *Invisibilia: Rivedere i capolavori, vedere i progetti* (Rome, 1992) pp. 145–150; and Francesco Paolo Arata and Nicoletta Balistreri, "L'Antiquarium Comunale del Celio," in Daniele Manacorda and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, eds., *Il primo miglio della Via Appia a Roma: Atti della Giornata di studio. Roma, Museo nazionale romano, 16 giugno 2009* (Rome, 2011) pp. 275–279.
 6. Mirella Taloni, "La necropoli dell'Esquilino," in *Roma medio repubblicana: Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nel IV e III sec. a.C.* (Rome, 1977) p. 188.
 7. On this vessel and its possible provenience, see Boyer, "Hidden Treasures of Rome," pp. 42–45 (with fig. 3).
 8. Enrico A. Stanco, "La seriazione cronologica della ceramica a vernice nera etrusco-laziale nell'ambito del III secolo a.C.," in Vincent Jolivet, Carlo Pavolini, and Maria Antonietta Tomei, eds., *Suburbium*, vol. 2, *Il suburbium di Roma dalla fine dell'età monarchica alla nascita del sistema delle ville (V–II secolo a.C.)* (Rome, 2009) pp. 157–193.
 9. Piero Mirti and Patrizia Davit, "Technological Characterization of Campanian Pottery of Type A, B and C and of Regional Products from Ancient Calabria (Southern Italy)," *Archaeometry* 43.1 (2001) pp. 19–33.

- Piero Mirti, Maurizio Aceto, and Maria Cristina Preacco Ancona, "Campanian Pottery from Ancient Bruttium (Southern Italy): Scientific Analysis of Local and Imported Products," *Archaeometry* 40.2 (1998) pp. 311–329; Gloria Olcese, ed., *Immensa aequora, Workshop, Ricerche archeologiche, archeometriche e informatiche per la ricostruzione dell'economia e dei commerci nel bacino occidentale del Mediterraneo (metà IV sec. a.C.–I sec. d.C.)*, *Atti del convegno, Roma 24–26 gennaio 2011* (Rome, 2013); and J. Theodore Peña and Scott Gallimore, "Black-Gloss Ware, North Etrurian Red-Slip Ware, and Italian Terra Sigillata from Cetamura Del Chianti: Composition, Provenance, Supply, and Consumption," *Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture* 3.1 (2014) pp. 71–244.
10. Roman E. Roth, *Styling Romanisation: Pottery and Society in Central Italy* (Cambridge, 2007).
 11. Alicia Bray, "Mimbres Black-on-White, Melamine or Wedgewood? A Ceramic Use-Wear Analysis," *Kiva* 43.2 (1982) pp. 133–149; and James M. Skibo, *Pottery Function: A Use-Alteration Perspective; Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology* (New York, 1982) p. 45, and *Understanding Pottery Function* (New York, 2013).
 12. Laura M. Banducci, "Function and Use of Roman Pottery: A Quantitative Method for Assessing Use Wear," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 27 (2014) pp. 187–210, especially fig. 5.
 13. Ellen Swift, "Design, Function and Use-Wear in Spoons: Reconstructing Everyday Roman Social Practice," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 27 (2014) pp. 203–237.
 14. Boyer, "Hidden Treasures of Rome," pp. 45 and 52, n. 31.
 15. Fringe projection scanners project a pattern of stripes of light onto the surface of the object being documented. These stripes are distorted by the shape of the object. High resolution images of the surface of the object, with the distorted stripes overlaid, are captured by two cameras fixed at known positions. The distortion between the projected pattern of stripes, which is straight, and the pattern of stripes captured by the two cameras is used to help calculate the 3D shape of the surface, resulting in a more precise model.
 16. Of the sixty-three vessels that were scanned, thirty-one were scanned using GOM Atos.
 17. A digital museum display presents interactive 3D models, which stand in for the objects themselves, and through a website provides descriptive information much like that found on a museum label or information panel. This is hosted by the University of South Florida, <http://digital.lib.usf.edu/htc>.
 18. Silvia M. Bello, "New Results from the Examination of Cut-Marks Using Three-Dimensional Imaging," *Developments in Quaternary Science* 14 (2011) pp. 249–262; and Silvia M. Bello and Cristophe Soligo, "A New Method for the Quantitative Analysis of Cutmark Micromorphology," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35.6 (2008) pp. 1542–1552.

Markings on Silver: The Study of a Byzantine Silver Dish*



AMY WELCH

In the study of ancient artifacts, a question that constantly plagues researchers concerns the establishment of provenance. While many works of art have documents listing their history of ownership, such written evidence rarely accompanies ancient objects. In these instances, the scholar must determine provenance from the evidence left on the artifact itself. One such object, a small silver dish with a cruciform monogram, sits on display in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, but very little is known about the date and place of its creation or its original function. The following article is an attempt to understand this beautiful piece better. It begins with a description of the object, including manufacturing techniques, current condition, and decoration. Then, a stylistic comparison to other artifacts and a brief consideration of the sociohistorical environment in Late Antiquity suggest a more precise date, region of origin, and function for the Missouri dish.

Although this round silver dish (Fig. 1) is fairly small with a diameter of 13.0 cm, height of 2.4 cm, and foot diameter of 5.7 cm, it is unusually thick and heavy, weighing



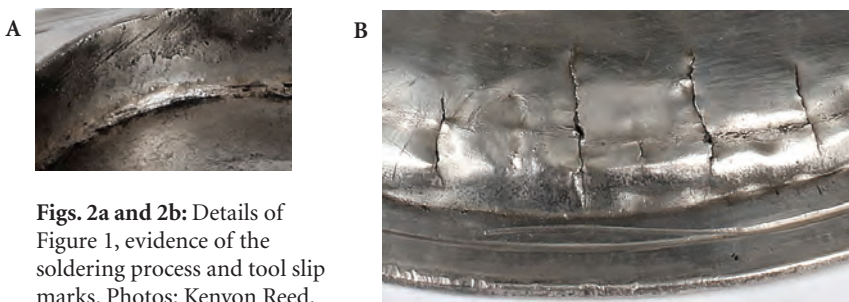
Fig. 1. Dish. Byzantine, seventh century C.E., silver and niello, H. 2.4 cm, D. 13.0 cm, D. foot 5.7 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Weinberg Fund (84.56). Photo: Kenyon Reed.

149.7 g.¹ Its written provenance is brief. It was acquired as part of the Weinberg Fund in 1984 when it was purchased from Dr. Dan Barag in Israel as part of a group of forty-two items. Forty-one of these objects were from his parents' collection, but Dr. Barag had obtained this dish from the antiquities dealer Lenny Alexander Wolfe, before adding it to the set of objects he sold to the museum. The museum records this as a Byzantine item and dates it to the seventh century C.E.

Fabrication

The dish appears to have been made in two pieces, the body and the foot, which were separately hammered into shape and then soldered together. There is clear evidence of dents from the hammering process across the entire piece. The foot is not perfectly round, indicating it was hammered by a tool with a flat head. Although the soldering process effectively attached the foot to the body of this vessel, it was done with an excess of metal, so that where the foot meets the body there is no smooth curve or right angle, but rather some small uneven lumps of silver at the joint (Fig. 2a). It appears that the individual or individuals who made the dish attempted to smooth out these lumps, but some of them still remain.

It is unclear whether the decoration was added before or after the foot and body were joined. The fluting that covers the interior was added by chasing, most likely with a tool that had a small, rounded head to give the flutes a smooth curve. The rest of the decoration was incised. The grooves made by this process have right angles and a flat bottom, indicating they were made with a tool that had a flat rectangular head. In addition, niello, an oxidized black silver, was added to the monogram. The vessel was then polished to remove some surface imperfections. Most of the decoration on the dish is somewhat crudely executed, with clear marks where the tool slipped or a circle did not properly meet (Fig. 2b). This, along with the rough treatment of the shape of the vessel, especially its uneven thickness, suggests that it was not made by a master silversmith.



Figs. 2a and 2b: Details of Figure 1, evidence of the soldering process and tool slip marks. Photos: Kenyon Reed.

In order to understand the composition of the silver, a scientific analysis must be performed, which is beyond the scope of this project. Silver alloys from the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, however, consistently contain 92–98 percent silver, with no significant exceptions in the archaeological record. Silver alloys of this purity are fairly pliable, so these vessels are easily damaged, sometimes even before leaving the workshop. When making vessels, silversmiths would prefer to use a silver of less purity that can be much harder and better retain its shape. The constantly high purity in silver alloys across the empire, despite the needs of silversmiths, suggests that the quality of silver was strictly controlled.² It is likely then, that this silver dish is also made of a silver alloy of 92–98 percent purity.

Condition

Although the dish is complete, it has suffered some damage. Across the entire body there are superficial scratches, as well as a few more significant scratches on the bottom of the lip. Much of the metal is dented or cracked, especially in the thinner, fluted areas (Fig. 3). There is some evidence of repair, in which someone attempted to hammer the metal back into shape around a few cracks. Although the entire surface of the dish has sustained damage, there is a concentration of dents and waves on the bottom left side of the vessel's body when it is viewed with the monogram upright (Fig. 1). It appears that the dish was folded at one point and later unfolded and repaired.



Fig. 3: Detail of Figure, 1, view of the underside. Photo: Kenyon Reed.

Quite a few examples of folded or cut silver vessels have been discovered in hoards. The Traprain Law Treasure, for instance, is an early-fifth century C.E. hoard that contains primarily broken or crushed pieces of silver plate, most likely valued for their silver content over their vessel forms and intended to be melted down.³ Since silver is an inherently valuable material, and silver vessels from this period are made from consistently high-purity silver alloys, silver vessels were often prized or traded only for their metal content. This dish probably was discovered in this poor condition, then was unfolded and repaired before being sold, which would explain why there is no indication of this in the museum's conservation reports.

As previously mentioned, the dish has a somewhat uneven shape, particularly noticeable in the profile view of the rim and foot (Fig. 4). It is difficult to say whether this was



Fig. 4: Detail of Figure 1, profile view. Photo: Kenyon Reed.

part of the original construction of the dish, or whether this unevenness is entirely the result of the damage sustained when it was folded. Certainly, the damage is a factor in the current shape of the vessel, but the thickness of the foot, which could not be easily crumpled, suggests that the original construction was not perfectly round either, especially in consideration of the somewhat hasty execution of the decoration.

Decoration and Vessel Form

The decoration is fairly simple. Perhaps the most notable feature is the monogram placed in a central medallion in the interior (Fig. 5). The monogram is in the shape of a cross, with Greek capital letters attached to the ends of each arm: an *alpha* to the left, *pi* to the right, an *omicron-epsilon* combination on top, and a *delta* on the bottom. Around the cruciform monogram are two sets of simple incised circles. Outside these circles, the interior of the dish is covered in fluting that ends in a scalloped border. On the exterior of the dish, the only decoration is a single incised circle just below the lip and an incised circle near the base of the foot.

Silver dishes with this type of decoration are fairly common in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods. In the third century C.E., one of the most popular types of dishes is a flat vessel with a beaded rim and a nielloed central medallion decorated with a swastika, rosette, or more elaborate, sometimes figural, pattern.⁴ In the fourth and fifth centuries, this design remained more or less the same, but the beading disappears in favor of nielloed geometric or vegetal designs. Dishes from this period were sometimes decorated with the monogram of the name of the owner in the central medallion.⁵ In the reign of Justinian (527–565 C.E.), the monograms on these dishes began to adopt a cruciform shape, perhaps reflective of an increasingly Christianized culture.⁶

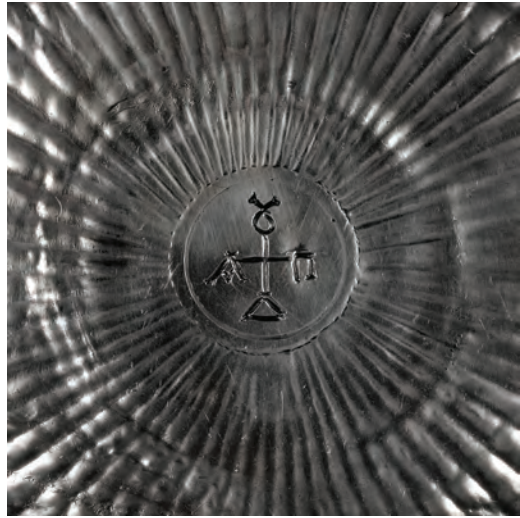


Fig. 5: Detail of Figure 1, monogram. Photo: Kenyon Reed.

This type of cruciform monogram with Greek letters attached to the ends of a cross's arms is found on numerous types of objects, typically of precious metal, including belt buckles, rings, spoons, bowls, and candelabra. The monograms are notoriously difficult to read, since they are not necessarily read in a certain order, and letters could be missing or those present could be read more than once. A suggested reading for the monogram on the Missouri dish is ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΥ, (PALLADIOY), which translates as “of Palladios.”⁷ In this interpretation, the name is read *pi* on the right, *alpha* on the left, then twice as a *lambda* on the bottom, *alpha* on the left again, then on the bottom as a *delta*, and finally *omicron-upsilon* on top. In this interpretation, a *lambda* is superimposed on the *delta*.

The fluting on the dish is a more unusual form of decoration. Although fluting is fairly common through the end of the fourth century C.E., it is not a popular type of decoration in the following centuries.⁸ It is also more common on bowls than on plates or dishes. A number of fluted bowls with the central medallion decoration survive from the fourth and fifth centuries.⁹ Three basic types of fluting occurred in Late Antiquity: straight fluting, which is thought to be an imitation of earlier shell-shaped bowls; an alternating pattern of fluted and flat segments; and spiral fluting.¹⁰ To my knowledge, only three other early Byzantine plates with straight fluting and a central decorated medallion are known, all of which were discovered in southern Russia and are currently in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.¹¹

The first of these three plates, Hermitage Museum no. 283 (Fig. 6a) is larger than the Missouri one, with a diameter of 27 cm, where the Missouri dish is only 13 cm in diameter. Both dishes have straight fluting with a scalloped edge, a similar rim, soldered

A



B



C



Figs. 6a–c: Three Dishes from the State Hermitage Museum, all with cross within wreath and fluting: (a) Byzantine, 610–629/30 C.E., silver and niello, D. 27 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, Stroganov collection (W-283); (b) Byzantine, 629–641 C.E., silver and niello, D. 30.9 cm. The State Hermitage Museum (W-824); (c) Byzantine, 610–629/30 C.E., silver and niello, D. 14.2 cm. The State Hermitage Museum (W-217). Photos: Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps: With an Excursus on the Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* by J. P. C. Kent (Washington, D.C., 1961) pp. 172, 196, 208, nos. 55, 67, 73. <https://archive.org/details/byzantin00dodd>.

foot, and two concentric circles around the central medallion. The only significant difference between the two is the decoration in the medallion. While the Missouri dish has a cruciform monogram, plate no. 283 is decorated with a simple niello cross with flaring arms surrounded by an ivy wreath. It also has nine control stamps inside the foot on the bottom, which definitively date it to 613–629/30 C.E.¹²

Control stamps are stamp impressions made on the bottom of some silver vessels from the early fourth to mid-seventh centuries C.E. They typically bear the name of an emperor or government official and can consequently be dated precisely. Their exact purpose is unknown but is thought to show some sort of imperial control on the purity or weight of silver objects. Silver without control stamps, like the Missouri dish, is fairly common and was probably made by private artisans rather than state-controlled workshops.¹³

The second dish from the Hermitage Museum, no. 824 (Fig. 6b), closely resembles the previous one. It is the largest dish of the three, with a diameter of 30.9 cm. It has a similar ivy wreath and cross with flaring arms in the center. The only difference in decoration from the previous dish is an extra concentric circle around the medallion and an additional one outside the scalloping at the edge of the fluting. Plate no. 824 has the more typical five control stamps inside the foot, which date it to 629/30–641 C.E.¹⁴

The third plate, Hermitage Museum no. 217 (Fig. 6c), is closer in size to the Missouri dish, with a diameter of 14.2 cm, although it is significantly heavier, weighing 295 grams, almost twice the weight of the Missouri dish. The medallion is nearly identical to that of the previous two dishes, although the cross is much smaller in relation to the ivy wreath, and the medallion is surrounded by four concentric circles. Plate no. 217 also has five control stamps on its bottom, which date it to 613–629/30 C.E.¹⁵

Although similar in shape and decoration, none of these plates has a cruciform monogram, but quite a few vessels from this period have the monogram without the fluting. For example, three dishes with identical decoration were found in Cyprus. Most likely, these dishes were part of the same set, with the name of the same owner. The first dish, currently in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection is 13.5 cm in diameter (Fig. 7a), a second with a diameter of 13.3 cm is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 7b), and a third from the Walters Art Gallery has a diameter of 25.5 cm (Fig. 7c). All three of the dishes have an identical cruciform monogram surrounded by an ivy wreath. The largest dish has a central medallion that is much smaller relative to the size of the plate but actually slightly larger than the medallions of the two smaller plates. Control stamps date the dishes to 610–613 C.E.¹⁶

As just discussed, there are three known plates from this period with straight fluting and a central medallion, a good number with a cruciform monogram in the center, but no other examples with the fluting and the monogram as seen in the Missouri dish. It has been suggested that the medallion with a small cross and the cruciform monogram were interchangeable in the same period. While the monogram had to be commissioned to show a specific name, dishes with the small cross could be bought ready-made.¹⁷

Another notable feature of the Missouri dish is its relatively high ring foot, which accounts for 1.0 cm of the 2.3 cm height of the vessel. This feature cannot be compared

A



Figs. 7a–c: Three dishes from Cyprus: (a) Dish, Byzantine, 610–613 C.E., silver and niello, D. 13.5 cm, D. foot 6 cm. The Dumbarton Oaks Museum (BZ. 1960.60). Image © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, D.C. (Bz. 1960.60); (b) Plate with monogram, Byzantine, 610–613 C.E., silver and niello, D. 13.4 cm, D. foot 5.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1952 (52.25.2), <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/468387>; (c) Dish, Byzantine, 610–613 C.E., silver and niello, D. 25.5 cm. The Walters Art Museum (57.652), <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/21703/dish-2/>.

B



C

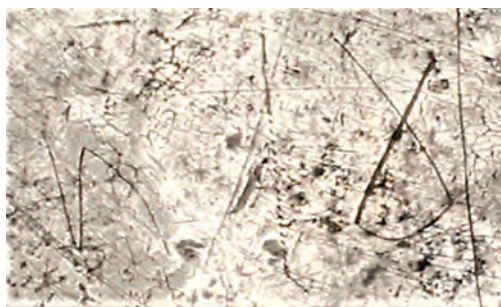


with the examples above because standard descriptions of these plates list diameter and weight, with no indication of height. Pictures are likewise problematic, since they almost always feature the top design of the dish and occasionally the bottom stamps or inscriptions, but profile views are rare. Although many scholars gloss over this feature of silver plates, more comprehensive studies of silver vessel forms from this period by Donald Strong and Marlia Mundell-Mango show that the high foot is a common feature on plates, bowls, and cups from the fourth to seventh centuries C.E.¹⁸

These similarities in form confirm a Late Antique date for the Missouri dish. More specifically, it most closely resembles the three dishes from the Hermitage Museum and the three from Cyprus in its form and monogram decoration. All six of these plates date to 610–641 C.E., which suggests that the Missouri dish likewise belongs to this date range. The date for this dish should therefore be revised to the first half of the seventh century C.E.

Weight Inscription

Additional support for this dating comes from the weight inscription on the bottom of the dish. Initial descriptions of the object mention the more obvious *kappa-pi* scratched on the bottom of the vessel inside the ring foot (Fig. 8a).¹⁹ This could have been added at any point in the life of the dish. Most likely, these are the initials of an individual who owned the dish at some point, and they are too generic to be very informative. A closer inspection of the surface, however, revealed a few marks in the midst of the scratches that did not appear to be marks from use (Fig. 8b). In comparing these to other Greek inscriptions on silver, the mark on the right appears to be an *omicron-epsilon*, similar to the one at the top of the monogram on the inside of the dish, and the mark on a left is a *sigma*. In Greek weight inscriptions, the *omicron-epsilon* designates an *ouggia*, or ounce, and the *sigma* is the number six.²⁰ Six Greek ounces converts roughly to 152–165 g.,



Figs. 8a and b: Details of Figure 1, inscriptions on underside of dish. Museum of Art and Archaeology (84.56). Photos: Kenyon Reed.

which is extraordinarily close to the observed 149.7 g. weight of the dish. Considering probable mass loss due to oxidation and scratching and a margin of error in weighing the object, this difference in weight corresponds well with other weight inscriptions on silver vessels from this period. It is likely, then, that this second inscription indicates the original weight of the vessel as 6 oz.

Greek weight inscriptions of this type are found scratched or dotted on silver objects from the third to seventh centuries C.E. and are typically crudely marked on the bottom of the vessel. Since silver plate was often prized for its metal content, these weight inscriptions would allow for easy identification of the value of the object. Late Antique Greek inscriptions are more often dotted, not scratched, into the surface of the vessel. Dotted would suggest the inscription was applied carefully at the time of manufacture. The scratching on the Missouri dish, then, could indicate the weight was marked on this dish by its owner. Greek weight inscriptions from the third to seventh centuries C.E. also have very specific symbols to identify the unit of measurement, such as *lambda-iota* for “pound,” *gamma-rho* for “scruple,” and *omicron-epsilon*, as seen on this dish, for “ounce.”²¹ Although not as precise as the stylistic comparison to other dishes of this type, the weight inscription does confirm a dating of no later than the seventh century C.E.

Region of Manufacture

It is much more difficult to pinpoint a place of manufacture for the Missouri dish. Some silver vessels have inscriptions indicating their workshop, and some have control stamps that likewise attribute them to a certain city.²² There are no such inscriptions or stamps on the Missouri dish. Even if the find spot of this plate was known, silver circulated easily in this period or stayed in circulation for centuries and could have come to its burial place from anywhere in the empire. Dishes from Constantinople, for instance, are found in Russia, Asia Minor, Britain, and Cyprus. Without a workshop stamp or inscription, the only indication of a region of manufacture comes from stylistic similarities and the condition of the dish. All of the plates that possessed stylistic similarities to the Missouri dish come from the eastern half of the empire, and the Greek letters in the monogram and graffiti are also indicative of an eastern origin, but little can be said beyond that without a scientific analysis of the silver composition.²³

Function

The stylistic comparison to other silver plate discussed previously also helps inform the function of the Missouri dish. One suggestion for this type of flat dish is that it could have been used in a liturgical context as a paten, associating the cross or cruciform monogram with Christian use. Patens from this period, however, almost always have a flat interior with a straight, raised edge. In addition, they are decorated with large or medium-sized crosses, not a small medallion, and often bear a dedicatory inscription.²⁴ In contrast, the Missouri dish, like others of its type, has a smoothly curved interior, a

small central medallion, and no dedicatory inscription. Instead, the Missouri dish was probably a domestic object, a piece from a set of silver dining ware. Domestic silver plate was typically sold in a set, called a *ministerium*, of up to 100 objects, divided into *argentum escarium*, vessels for food, and *argentum pitorium*, silver for drinking. Owning a *ministerium* was a sign of wealth and culture, to be displayed in the context of a banquet, an important event for the exhibition of social status. Although it was a display of status, silver was not necessarily reserved for the elite.²⁵ There are literary descriptions of silver owned by a sailor and his wife in the sixth century and a prostitute in the seventh century C.E.²⁶ The original owner of the Missouri dish was not necessarily a member of an elite class, but at least was wealthy enough to commission a personalized monogram on a set of silver dining ware.

A number of examples of identical plates like the dishes from Cyprus (Fig. 7) have been found in multiples and in different sizes that would have been part of an *argentum escarium*. In the fourth to seventh centuries C.E., these plates generally came in four standard diameters of approximately 50 cm, 35 cm, 26 cm, and 15 cm. Some of the plates are inscribed with the weight of the set rather than the individual vessel, and these inscriptions indicate that sets typically included four dishes of each size.²⁷ The variation in size, sets of four, and presence of the monogram of an owner, all suggest that these plates were sold for dinner service, rather than for the liturgical use that is sometimes hypothesized for dishes bearing a cross or cruciform monogram. The Missouri dish clearly belongs to the domestic set of vessels. With a 13 cm diameter, it would have been the smallest of the plates. The Missouri dish consequently was part of a set of silver dining ware, most likely with matching monograms commissioned for the owner.

It is possible, however, that the function of this dish changed over time. Domestic silver plate was often donated to a church or the poor when its owner converted to Christianity.²⁸ Additionally, as discussed above, silver vessels were often traded, acting as silver bullion with a value connected to its weight. The presence of a weight inscription that was probably added to the bottom of the dish after manufacture indicates that the Missouri dish could have been weighed and traded at some point. That it was never cut or melted, however, proves that the plate was buried before it was reduced to simple silver bullion.

The burial of the Missouri dish in a hoard, indicated by its previously folded condition, is also suggestive of its function at the end of its circulation. Hoards are collections of silver plate and other valuable objects that were buried or hidden. They have traditionally been thought of as groups of treasure that were hidden in a time of crisis, such as a barbarian invasion. This would prevent anyone from stealing valuables, so that the original owners could return for the collection when the threat has past. More recent scholarship has suggested that the reasons hoards are buried are more nuanced than this. No hoards have been found in villas throughout the Roman Empire, and only one hoard, that from Vienne, has been discovered near a house. This Vienne hoard, however, was also in the vicinity of a temple or sanctuary, so it is difficult to attribute it to either structure.²⁹ If domestic silver plate was hastily buried, one would expect to find it near or in a home, especially around villas of individuals who almost certainly would own domestic silver.

The absence of silver hoards in the area around houses indicates that hoards might have been buried under different circumstances than is commonly assumed.

Hoardings have been found in religious structures, perhaps signifying that these could have been a type of offering. Some found in rivers, pools, or bogs might have served a similar purpose. Other hoards were carefully packed, so they could not have been buried hastily, although this does not exclude the possibility of taking precautions in a time of crisis. These more carefully packed hoards, or hoards that include cut silver plate, could have served as a type of savings buried for safe keeping. In addition, although silver is not as easily misplaced as other materials, hoards could be lost, especially during transportation on land or over water. Silver hoards consequently require a more careful analysis of their provenience to determine the reasons for their burial.³⁰

The circumstances surrounding the burial of the Missouri dish are not known. Since it was never reduced to silver bullion, it was probably buried within a few centuries of its manufacture. Certainly, significant numbers of finds of silver plate from the East were buried in the seventh century. The eastern half of the late Roman Empire had remained fairly stable and prosperous until the early seventh century, when Sassanian attacks plagued the region, reaching as far as Constantinople. Sassanian attacks were quickly followed by the Arab conquest, which overran the Levant and Egypt by 651 C.E., effectively ending the Sassanian Empire and Byzantine hold of the East. Through all this turmoil, silver plate was the primary method of funding armies, and was one of the first items taken by invaders. The Persians, for instance, confiscated 112,000 lbs. of silver plate in the 620s C.E. when they conquered Edessa.³¹ It is likely that the Missouri dish was one of the items buried in the midst of the turmoil of the seventh century C.E. Never melted or cut up, it could have still been in use as a piece of dining silver, although it had probably changed hands at some point. Most likely it was buried as a type of savings or to protect it from an advancing army, of which there was no shortage in the seventh century.

Conclusion

With nothing known of its provenience, the silver Byzantine dish in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri presents significant issues with its identification. Based on stylistic similarities to other silver plate, it probably dates to the first half of the seventh century and was part of a set of dining silver. The absence of control stamps on the bottom suggest that it was manufactured in a private, not imperial workshop, although the region of that workshop cannot be determined without a scientific analysis of the silver alloy composition of the dish.³² The new identification of a weight inscription on the bottom of the vessel suggests that it was traded at some point before being buried, possibly in the chaotic eastern Byzantine Empire in the seventh century C.E. Although the exact provenance of the Missouri dish is lost to history, it continues to reveal traces of its story through the markings on its silver.

NOTES

- * I would like to thank Benton Kidd and Kenyon Reed for facilitating my work with this silver dish at the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, and for Kenyon Reed's wonderful photographs of the object. Additionally, I would like to thank James van Dyke, Marcus Rautman, and Marcello Mogetta for their guidance throughout this project.
- 1 Acc. no. 84.56. Published: Marcus Rautman in Jane Biers and James Terry, eds., *Testament of Time: Selected Objects from the Collection of Palestinian Antiquities in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia* (Madison, 2004) pp. 194–195, cat. no. 168.
 2. Kenneth Painter, "Roman Silver Hoards: Ownership and Status," in François Baratte, ed., *Argentierie romaine et byzantine: Actes de la Table Ronde Paris 11–13 octobre 1983* (Paris, 1988) pp. 98–101; Marlia Mundell-Mango, "Byzantine Silver," in David Buckton, ed., *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994) p. 13.
 3. Alexander O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain: A Scottish Hoard of Roman Silver Plate* (Glasgow, 1923) pp. 11–12, 28–30; Kenneth Painter, "Silver Hoards from Britain in their Late-Roman Context," *Antiquité tardive* 5 (1997) p. 93.
 4. Donald Emrys Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, 1966) p. 174.
 5. Marlia Mundell-Mango, "Continuity of Fourth/Fifth Century Silver Plate in the Sixth/Seventh Centuries in the Eastern Empire," *Antiquité tardive* 5 (1997) pp. 91–92; Strong, *Gold and Silver Plate*, p. 194.
 6. David Buckton, ed., *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994) p. 93; Mundell-Mango, "Continuity of Silver Plate," p. 89.
 7. Rautman, *Testament of Time*, p. 195.
 8. John P. C. Kent and Kenneth S. Painter, eds., *Wealth of the Roman World: AD 300–700* (London, 1977) p. 131, no. 237.
 9. Strong, *Gold and Silver Plate*, p. 201.
 10. Buckton, *Byzantium*, pp. 82–83, no. 74.
 11. Marlia Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore, 1986) no. 83.
 12. Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps: With an Excursus on the Comes Sacrarum Largitionum by J. P. C. Kent* (Washington, 1961) pp. 172–173, no. 55.
 13. Buckton, *Byzantium*, p. 13; Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, pp. 14–15.
 14. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, pp. 208–209, no. 73.
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 196–197, no. 67.
 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 137–141, nos. 37–39.
 17. Buckton, *Byzantium*, p. 93.
 18. Mundell-Mango, "Continuity of Silver Plate," p. 89; Strong, *Gold and Silver Plate*, pp. 187–188.
 19. Rautman, *Testament of Time*, pp. 194–195.
 20. Marlia Mundell-Mango, "The Inscriptions, Weights, and Dimensions," in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *The Sevso Treasure: Part 1* (Ann Arbor, 1994) p. 44.
 21. Mundell-Mango, "Continuity of Silver Plate," p. 85.
 22. Painter, "Roman Silver Hoards," pp. 97–98.
 23. Mundell-Mango, "Byzantine Silver," pp. 13–14.
 24. Buckton, *Byzantium*, p. 93.
 25. Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge, 2003) pp. 65–66; Strong, *Gold and Silver Plate*, pp. 124–128.

26. Mundell-Mango, "Continuity of Silver Plate," p. 87.
27. Mavin C. Ross, ed., *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: 1, Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting* (Washington, 1962) pp. 22–23, no. 17; Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, no. 105; Mundell-Mango, "Continuity of Silver Plate," p. 89.
28. Mundell-Mango, "Continuity of Silver Plate," pp. 87–89; Painter, "Silver Hoards from Britain," pp. 102–105.
29. Painter, "Silver Hoards from Britain," pp. 95–105; Strong, *Gold and Silver Plate*, pp. 125–126.
30. Painter, "Silver Hoards from Britain," pp. 95–105.
31. Stephen Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284–641: The Transformation of the Ancient World* (Malden, 2007) pp. 330–334, 401–422.
32. Strong, *Gold and Silver Plate*, p. 20.

Mysteries and Histories in an Orthodox Triptych*



REBECCA HERTLING RUPPAR

For a Western viewer, even one familiar with the Christian faith, icons of the Orthodox Christian traditions are often shrouded in the enigmatic mystery of faith, folklore, and history. Sometimes related to as the “accessible face of Orthodoxy,”¹ these stylized paintings are filled with saints and stories that are unique to or emphasized only in the Orthodox practice. Yet many non-Orthodox are drawn to the art of icons: the mysterious depth in a saint’s eyes or the stylized bodies acting out scenes that are vaguely familiar like a half-remembered dream. Icons are devotional objects, not designed for museum viewing. Their purpose is meditation and veneration; and their complexity allows the viewer to lose all sense of time and mundane reality as he or she traverses spiritual pathways along with the saint.

The triptych in the Museum of Art and Archaeology (Fig. 1 and front cover) was formerly titled *Triptych with Fifteen Festivals of the Orthodox Church*, and earlier *Triptych with Scenes from the Gospel*. A more precise title was applied in 2015, however, when study of the triptych determined that it reflects not only the Twelve Great Feasts of the Orthodox calendar but also the “Akathist Hymn to the Theotokos” and the Anastasis (Harrowing of Hell), which are distinct liturgical celebrations. A gift of Mrs. Irene S. Taylor, the triptych is a seventeenth-century Russian work of the Stroganov School of icon writing, based in Moscow from the late sixteenth to the seventeenth century. Iconographers of this group mainly produced small works for private devotion. Gilded highlights, architectural detail, numerous figures, and miniaturization are hallmarks of this workshop.² The individual scenes of the triptych range from approximately five to eight centimeters in width by six centimeters in height with virtually microscopic detail. Measuring a total of only 52.50 by 32.50 centimeters, the triptych’s diminutive scale belies the scope of its content.

This triptych is an example of the artistic construct of the Twelve Great Feasts, commonly called a *dodecaorton* (Greek: Δωδεκάορθον, twelve festivals). In the Orthodox Christian’s liturgical calendar, the Great Feasts celebrate the history of the incarnation, the theological belief that Jesus of Nazareth was both human and divine. These holy days are framed by feasts that commemorate Jesus’ mother Mary, considered the human collaborator of the incarnation. They begin with her birth (or sometimes even the Annunciation of Mary’s birth to her parents, traditionally named Joachim and Anne) and conclude with the end of Mary’s earthly life. Between these Marian feasts lay a series of episodes from Jesus’ timeline: The Nativity, Jesus’ Presentation in the Temple, his Baptism and Transfiguration, the

Raising of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, the Ascension, and Pentecost. The orthodox calendar of feasts provides a framework of liturgical celebrations that encourages recognition of the creative and redemptive power of God in an annual rhythmic pattern.³ Scenes are added or deleted at times, but twelve is the typical number of episodes included in artwork depicting the Great Feasts. Depictions of the feasts typically decorate the iconostasis, the screen that divides the nave of the church from the sanctuary in Orthodox ritual spaces. Small versions of the *dodecaorton*, such as the museum's work, could be used in the home or folded for easy transportation.

The triptych is not merely a collection of religious stories. And while it does serve as a calendar of liturgical holy days, it is not simply a chronological guide through the year. For the Orthodox Christian, these three panels would have provided the means to a transcendental experience that begins at the dawn of time and sweeps up the viewer in a wave of salvation history that flows to the end of days. Along with this visual and visceral experience, a chorus of hymns and prayers would have resounded through the believer's experience: echoing scripture, reflecting tradition, and lifting the soul. In this article, I will closely examine the scenes that make up this triptych and also present examples of the liturgical texts, songs, and beliefs that give the work its underlying meaning.



Fig. 1. Anonymous (Russian). *Triptych Illustrating the Twelve Great Festivals of the Orthodox Church, the Anastasis (Harrowing of Hell), and the Hymn to the Theotokos (Mother of God)*, seventeenth century, tempera and gilt on wood with brass frame. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (64.30), gift of Mrs. Irene S. Taylor.

The basic format for this triptych is a rectangular double register with an onion-dome-shaped pinnacle crowning each of the three panels (Fig. 1). The order of the twelve lower scenes progresses chronologically for the most part, beginning with the lower left-hand scene. The three pinnacles may be considered separately, as they represent events believed to be outside earthly time. The name of the feast is given in the label at the top of each scene in Church Slavonic, a Cyrillic script. Important figures are labeled with their names written across their halos. Upon close inspection, it becomes clear that the wood of the exterior edges is worn and damaged, indicating that the brass covering was a later addition to protect what must have been a cherished and well-used religious object.

The liturgical calendar of the Orthodox Church begins in September with the nativity of Mary, shown on the lower left-hand panel (Fig. 2).⁴ The canonical Christian scripture does not offer an account of her birth, but the tradition was passed down from the second century C.E. apocryphal Book of James (also called The Protevangelion). In this story, Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, are materially prosperous yet feel a sense of impoverishment because they have not conceived a child. Joachim retreats to the desert to pray and fast for forty days, while Anna prays in her garden for a child, promising to dedicate any offspring to God. Linking this account to that of Sarah and Abraham from the book of Genesis, and other patriarchs and matriarchs of the Old Testament, their hope and faith are fulfilled with the birth of Mary. Juxtaposed thematically and physically with the nativity of Jesus (at the top right corner of this panel), Anna's birthing chamber is filled with lavish Byzantine architecture and midwives and maids assisting Anna. Mary receives her first bath in the lower right corner, while her mother rests in bed and Joachim looks on proudly from a distance.

The liturgical text of the day reads, in part: "O ye faithful, let us come, glorifying the Maiden. For from a barren mother has she been born, renewing our nature that had grown barren" (small vespers).⁵



Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1, *Nativity of Mary*.

The next panel to the right on the bottom row (Fig. 3) depicts the feast of the Entry into the Temple of the Most Holy Theotokos (the Orthodox title for Mary, meaning God-Bearer), celebrated in November. The Book of James is again the source for this tradition, stating that at the age of three Mary was sent by her parents to be raised in the Temple precincts in Jerusalem. Upon her presentation at the Temple, and to the astonishment of all present, Mary entered the Holy of Holies, normally accessed only once each year by the high priest. Mary's childhood was spent in the company of other maidens who prayed in community and served the Temple with their handiwork.⁶ In this image, Mary stands on the third step of the Temple, as described in the liturgy of the feast. Zacharias, the high priest, greets her with a gesture of blessing. The hymn exults: "A child in the flesh but perfect in soul, the holy Ark enters into the house of God, there to feed upon divine grace."⁷

Reading from left to right, the two upper scenes on the left-hand wing of the triptych are more familiar to Western Christians. The feast of the Annunciation (Fig. 4) is celebrated on March 25, nine months before the celebration of Christmas, which is depicted to its right (Fig. 5). The Annunciation occurs in a mode often repeated throughout medieval and Renaissance art. The archangel Gabriel approaches Mary from the left, announcing the design of the incarnation. Mary stands with her hands open, in cautious but gracious agreement to the plan. The setting is an interior room with an ornate chair behind Mary. Missing, however, is Mary's spinning handiwork, a detail often shown in icons of the Annunciation. Throughout the triptych, Mary wears a blue robe, a color symbolizing the heavens, with a mantle and veil of red, the color of suffering. The liturgy for this



Fig. 3. Detail of Figure 1, *Entry of the Most Holy Theotokos*.



Fig. 4. Detail of Figure 1, *The Annunciation*.

feast praises Mary using numerous titles from scripture: “Daniel called thee a spiritual mountain; Isaiah, the mother of God; Gideon saw thee as a fleece and David called thee sanctuary; another called thee gate” (matins).⁸

Christmas is depicted in a stylized manner that includes symbolism that, for the Orthodox viewer, leads theologically to Jesus’ ultimate role of securing salvation (Fig. 5). The child’s swaddling clothes remind the believer also of burial cloths. The cave calls to mind the tomb. The characters of the shepherds and Magi are simultaneously present, along with Mary who holds a prayerful pose above the rather large infant. An angel flies horizontally at the top of the scene, casting the light of a star it holds at its breast. A detail neglected in Western artwork: Joseph is confronted by a ragged old man at the lower right corner of the scene. Some traditions hold this encounter to be the devil attempting to plant doubts in the mind of Joseph about the miraculous nature of Jesus’ birth; other stories teach that an Old Testament prophet visited Joseph in order to offer assurance and explain the situation more fully.⁹

In the liturgy celebrating Christmas, the chanted hymn proclaims: “Thou wast born secretly in the cave, but heaven spoke through a star and proclaimed Thee to all” (vespers).¹⁰ Coloring the entire triptych is the theme that the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled in the nativity of Jesus. The words of the prophet Habakkuk are recounted in the nativity liturgy, naming Jesus the “Deliverer” who calls “back Adam from his exile” (compline of the forefeast of the Nativity).¹¹

In the upper left scene of the central panel (Fig. 6), the Temple in Jerusalem is again the setting. The Presentation of Jesus, also called the Meeting of Our Lord, is celebrated forty



Fig. 5. Detail of Figure 1, *The Nativity of the Christ*.



Fig. 6. Detail of Figure 1, *The Meeting of Our Lord*.

days after Christmas. The Gospel of Luke (2: 22–38) recounts the story of the infant Jesus being ceremonially brought to the Temple, as was the custom. Two elderly temple residents, Anna and Simeon, who have waited their entire lives for the coming of the Messiah, greet Mary and Joseph with the infant. Joseph, holding two doves in a cage, approaches Anna from the left; the birds are to be sacrificed according to the Jewish tradition of atonement. Behind Simeon on the right are depicted the sacrificial altar and the Holy of Holies (behind the curtain).

George of Nicomedia, a ninth-century homilist, describes the baby's enthusiasm to reach the Temple. The elderly holy man Simeon meets the family with joy. The affinity of the child and the elder is reflected in both the triptych and the traditional text: "When [Mary] saw the divine baby leaping in her arms and striving to jump out into his hands, she more quickly recognized the force of the mystery, and gave over the child to the outstretched hands of the old man."¹²

Scripture recalling the dedication of the Hebrew prophet Samuel (1 Samuel 1:24–28) and Malachi's prophecy of the Lord entering his Temple (Malachi 3:1–2) are also reflected during the Orthodox celebration of this feast. The theological thrust of the associated texts is the incarnation, and the believer also ponders the paradox that the One who gave the Law of the Old Testament has submitted to place himself under its yoke.¹³ Another reflection is on the elderly Simeon's words of departure, for now that he has witnessed the Christ Child, he knows he will soon die. This calls the believer to reflect on the Easter resurrection as Simeon departs the earthly world to announce the incarnation to Adam and Eve and others waiting for the gates of Heaven to open. The hymn for the day sings: "Take Thy servant, who is weary of the shadow, and make him a new preacher of the mystery of grace" (matins).¹⁴

In the Orthodox Church, a description of the next feast's theological significance is used: The Holy Theophany (Manifestation of God) of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ (Fig. 7). A more familiar term in Western Christianity is the Baptism of Jesus. It is celebrated on January 6, while on that date the Western church celebrates the Epiphany (the Visitation of the Magi).

When John the Baptist (John the Forerunner in Eastern custom) baptizes Jesus in the Jordan River,



Fig. 7. Detail of Figure 1, *The Theophany*.

a voice from Heaven announces to the crowd, “This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased” (see Matthew 3:13–17; Mark 1:9–11; Luke 3:21–23). In Christian tradition, it is this event that signals the first time Jesus’ divinity was recognized by humankind.¹⁵ This feast also celebrates the first time the Holy Trinity is revealed, seen in the triptych by the dove positioned over Jesus representing the Holy Spirit, and God the Father painted at the top in a half circle of clouds. The Father, depicted as an older bearded man, holds a globe in his left hand as a symbol of the Earth, while his right hand is extended in a gesture of blessing. Earlier icons of this scene portray God the Father symbolically, with only a disembodied hand, or as a brightly painted almond or circle shape. Here God takes the form of the Ancient of Days as described in the Book of Daniel: “The Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame...” (Daniel 7:9).

John wears a whirling dark blue robe over a hair shirt. Archangels stand in attendance to the right with their hands covered by their cloaks, a traditional sign of reverence. Jesus stands naked in the river, his humanity apparent even while participating in the divine Trinity.

The hymns for the feast of the Theophany emphasize the paradox of a god becoming a servant to the creatures he made: “Today the Master hastens towards baptism that He may lift man up to the heights. . . . The Jordan turned back, seeing the Invisible made visible, the Creator made flesh, the Master in the form of the servant” (blessing of the waters).¹⁶ “Thou hast emptied Thine own self, even unto the form of a servant. And now as a servant Thou dost bow down thy head beneath the hand of the servant, granting me restoration and cleansing” (compline of the forefeast).¹⁷

The Transfiguration of Jesus (Sometimes called the Metamorphosis in the Orthodox Church) comes next in the lower left of the central panel (Fig. 8) and is commemorated on August 6. The icon shows a glorified Christ dressed in white flanked by the prophets Elijah (viewer’s left) and Moses, who holds a stone tablet of the Commandments. Lying below on the ground of Mount Tabor are the apostles Peter, John (typically considered the youngest of the followers), and James, son of Zebedee (left to right). They are touched by three rays of light



Fig. 8. Detail of Figure 1, *The Transfiguration*.

emanating from Jesus, reminding the believer of the presence of the Trinity. The apostles appear disoriented and overwhelmed by the revelation, even as Peter offers to set up booths for the holy figures (described in Matthew 17:1–9, Mark 9:2–8, Luke 9:28–36).

The liturgy for this feast emphasizes the eventual divinization of nature, the final unity of creation with its Creator.¹⁸ The hymn sings: “He showed them the nature of man, arrayed in the original beauty of the Image” (great vespers).¹⁹ “Thou wast transfigured upon Mount Tabor, showing the exchange mortal men will make with Thy glory at Thy second and fearful coming, O Savior.”²⁰

The Entrance into Jerusalem (Fig. 9) is recounted in the four canonical gospels (Matthew 21:1–9, Mark 11:1–11, Luke 19:28–40, John 12:1–18). It is celebrated on the feast known as Palm Sunday in the week before Easter. The Orthodox liturgy for the feast describes the triumphal procession that took place when Jesus traveled to the Holy City, leading up to the events of his passion and crucifixion.

The paradox of humility and triumph that Jesus embodied is emphasized in the hymn for vespers: “Thy King has come in righteousness, seated on a foal. . . . The Saviour has come today to the city of Jerusalem, to fulfil the Scriptures; and all have taken palms into their hands and spread their garments before Him.”²¹

The triptych presents the image of Jesus, riding what appears to be a horse rather than the usual donkey. He is situated between two standing couples: his disciples represented by Peter and John on the left, and on the right, a man and woman representing the crowd coming from Jerusalem to honor Jesus. Jesus has just left the mountain of the Transfigu-



Fig. 9. Detail of Figure 1, *The Entrance into Jerusalem.*



Fig 10. Detail of Figure 1, *The Exaltation of the Cross.*

ration (shown on the left) while his approaching agony in the garden of Mount Olive is foreshadowed by the tree that looms over him, jutting out from the mountain.

From the Entrance into Jerusalem, the triptych jumps to the upper left scene of the right wing. While chronologically, the Exaltation of the Cross (Fig. 10) occurs after the events of all the other icons, thematically, it represents (and in this *dodecaorton* replaces) the crucifixion of Christ. The Exaltation of the Cross is celebrated on September 14 in the church calendar. The scene presents Emperor Constantine (who legalized the practice of Christianity in the fourth century C.E.) and his mother, Helena, who traveled to Jerusalem and there found the cross of Jesus in the Holy Sepulchre. At the center, Bishop Markarius of Jerusalem, who had led the empress to the traditional site of Jesus' burial, holds the cross along with two deacons. In the background is a representation of the Church of the Resurrection, which was built over the tomb of Jesus.

The belief in the universal saving power of Jesus through his sacrifice on the cross is expressed through the song of this feast: "The Tree of true life was planted in the place of the skull, and upon it has Thou, the eternal King, worked salvation in the midst of the earth. Exalted today, it sanctifies the ends of the world" (great vespers).²²

Although Mary takes a prominent position in the next scene to the right, the Ascension of Christ (celebrated forty days after Easter) is actually the subject of this illustration (Fig. 11). Jesus rises above his followers beyond a line of clouds, similar to the manner in which God the Father was depicted in the panel of Jesus' baptism. Angels flank Jesus, whose entire body is shown as a reminder of the son's incarnation. An angel stands on either side of Mary. They are described in scripture simply as "two men in white robes" (Acts of the Apostles 1:10). The apostles kneel on either side of Mary. The labels found within the halos are very difficult to decipher, due to the abbreviated forms used in Church Slavonic as well as the deteriorated state of the paint. Easily identified based on their previous appearance in the triptych are John and Peter on the left. Andrew, named the first-called, is the left-most figure of the grouping on the right. Traditionally, Paul is included in the iconography, despite not being present in scripture. In this case the gathering of apostles represents the new Church rather than specific people.²³

The imagery and the hymn used to celebrate this feast symbolically represent both the consummation of the incarnation in which Jesus returns physically to Heaven and the



Fig 11. Detail of Figure 1, *The Ascension*.

development of the new community of believers. From the great vespers of the feast: “God is gone up in jubilation, the Lord with the voice of the trumpet, to raise the fallen image of Adam, and to send the Comforting Spirit to sanctify our souls.”²⁴ The image of Jesus at the Ascension is conflated with that of his Second Coming in which he is surrounded by angels (Matthew 25:31). The hymn for the day also connects both the departure and the return: “The Angels came and cried unto Thy disciples, O Christ: In like manner as ye see Christ going up, so shall He, the righteous Judge of all, come in the flesh” (matins).²⁵

In the Acts of the Apostles, the coming of the Holy Spirit occurs on the day of the Jewish celebration of Pentecost. This ancient feast commemorated the first fruits of the harvest being dedicated to God. The Jewish holy day evolved to celebrate the giving of the law to Moses fifty days after Passover.²⁶ The Christian commemoration of Pentecost concludes the Paschal (Easter) feasts, and the Western conception of the celebration focuses on the apostles and Mary gathered in a room with tongues of fire over their heads or a descending dove representing the arrival of the Holy Spirit. In Orthodox imagery, however, the primary representation of Pentecost is instead the icon of the Holy Trinity (Fig. 12). The scene depicts an illustration of Genesis 18, in which Abraham and Sarah provide hospitality to three strangers, considered to represent the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. It is during this event that Abraham is assured of his continued lineage. Thus, the event connects the Old Testament family with the new Church, considered to be founded on the feast of Pentecost.

The liturgical texts for the day speak of the complex theological meaning behind the imagery: “Let us proclaim with Divine authority the undivided Essence: God the begin-



Fig 12. Detail of Figure 1, *The Trinity*.



Fig 13. Detail of Figure 1, *The Dormition*.

ningless Father, and the Word, and the Spirit, Who are of equal authority, and let us cry: Blessed art Thou, the God of our Fathers.”²⁷

The feast of the Dormition (Falling Asleep) of the Theotokos marks the Church’s celebration of the conclusion of Mary’s life on earth (Figs. 13 and 14). The account of the Dormition is told in apocryphal literature and has been passed down through Christian tradition. In the Western church, the feast is celebrated as the Assumption in August. The Orthodox tradition tells of the apostles being mystically transported to the bedside of Mary from their respective missionary locations. In the triptych, a large crowd of disciples gathers; some can only be seen by their labeled halos. Peter swings a flaming censor on the left. The bishops represented in their episcopal vestments are James son of Alphaeus (also known as James the Less, the first bishop of Jerusalem) and Timothy. Bald-headed Paul also makes an appearance at the foot of the Virgin’s bed. On the far right, John, still shown with youthful face, raises a covered hand to his eyes in sorrow. It was he who took Mary into his care according to Jesus’ instructions from the cross. While Roman Catholic tradition holds that Mary was immediately assumed into Heaven both spiritually and physically, in the Orthodox account her body was buried. When Thomas, who was characteristically late to the event, went to visit her tomb, he found it empty.²⁸ Angels stand at the top of the gathering, with a six-winged seraph at the center.

At some point in the triptych’s history, candles were set too closely to the heavily varnished wood, scorching the central section. It is very likely that the scorched section of the icon deleted the figure of Jesus holding the miniaturized soul of Mary in his hands and bearing her to Heaven (Fig. 14). This arrangement would match other icons of the feast and spatially fits within the remaining image. A faded glimpse of Mary’s face can still be seen at the center of the icon to the right of the burnt area.

In some depictions of the Dormition, a sword-wielding archangel is shown retaliating against a man named Athonios who attempted to topple the funeral bier as the apostles

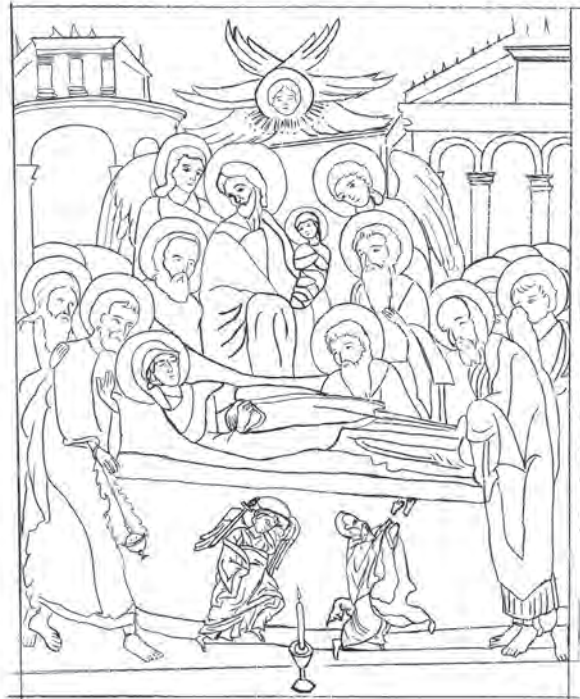


Fig. 14. *The Dormition.* Author’s proposed composition.

carried Mary's body in procession to the tomb. The angel mystically struck off the man's hands, but the man was healed when he repented and joined the crowd of adorers.²⁹ Barely visible in front of the bed is what may be a flowing cloak and floating hands, suggesting this same composition in the museum's triptych as illustrated in Figure 14.

The hymns for the feast of the Dormition focus on Mary's superlative role in the incarnation of Jesus. She is named the "Palace of the King" and the "Ark of holiness."³⁰ Also highlighted in the lyrics is the promise of resurrection: "The source of life is laid in the tomb, and the tomb itself becomes a ladder to heaven."³¹ Ironically, considering the burnt section, another hymn for this feast sings: "Thy Son, O Virgin, has truly made thee dwell in the holy of Holies as a bright candlestick, flaming with immaterial fire, as a golden censer burning with divine coal" (matins).³²

The three additional scenes that stand at the top of the triptych are distinct from the Twelve Great Feasts. While these icons may be read in a linear fashion punctuating the feasts of the panels beneath, the scenes are better understood when considered to run parallel to the chronological timeline. Eternal salvation (achieved through Jesus' incarnation, ministry, death, and resurrection) is already believed by the Orthodox worshiper. Every scene of the triptych is viewed in light of this faith, from the birth of Mary, as the unmatched representative of the human race, to her eventual place in Heaven. The point of the narrative is not simply revealed at the end of the story arc, it percolates throughout the entire narrative.³³

At the center of the triptych is the Anastasis (Greek: Resurrection) (Fig. 15). It is an image of the Harrowing of Hell, the main Orthodox icon for the feast of Easter. Easter is not considered to be part of the calendar of church festivals, as it stands alone as the



Fig 15. Detail of Figure 1, *The Anastasis*.

feast above all others. Through the celebration of Easter, the meaning of all the other holy days is revealed.³⁴ In this icon, Jesus stands on the broken gates of Hades, a place of waiting rather than punishment. He takes the hand of the aging Adam in his right hand and blesses Eve with his left. These figures represent the entirety of humanity juxtaposed to Jesus who redeems the race.³⁵ The righteous dead stand conversing on either side. A personification of Hades slinks off on the left-hand side of the scene, ushered away by an angel. Eve's son Abel stands on the left next to the two kings, David and Solomon. The people on the right include the shirtless penitent thief from the crucifixion with his hands held up in supplication. John the Baptist and possibly Moses, Isaiah, and Abraham complete the group. At the top, Elijah (left) and Enoch (right), both having already been admitted into Heaven, appear separate from the other prophets in a small flaming vignette (See 2 Kings 2:11 and Genesis 5:21–24). The liturgical hymns and homilies for this highest feast focus on the salvation of humanity. One reads, "Christ is risen from the dead, by death hath He trampled down death, and on those in the graves hath he bestowed life" (the paschal troparion).³⁶

The two pinnacles on left and right present icons in honor of Mary. In the one on the left is an icon entitled *Theotokos Enthroned* (Fig. 16). It is based on the feast of the Synaxis of the Most Holy Mother of God. This feast day (called a *synaxis*, from the Greek word meaning "assembly") commemorates a gathering of all the faithful to glorify Mary. Celebrated on December 26, it is considered to be the most ancient holy day in honor of Mary.³⁷ The icon illustrating this feast is often named *About You Rejoices*. In this scene, Mary is seated on a throne that hovers in front of the heavenly Jerusalem holding the child Jesus on her lap. Angels, Old Testament figures, apostles, male and female saints,



Fig 16. Detail of Figure 1, *Theotokos Enthroned*.

and church fathers surround the mother and child. A winged John the Baptist kneels at the center holding the attribute of his own severed head. The hymns for the feast focus on Mary's historical and physical role in Jesus' incarnation, by which Mary gave honor to God through her "*fiat*."³⁸ The assembly sings, echoing Mary's words in scripture: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior. For He hath regarded the low estate of His handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed."³⁹

The pinnacle on the right is an icon titled *The Prophets Foretold You* (Fig. 17).⁴⁰ It is an illustration of the "Akathist Hymn to the Theotokos," a poem composed in sixth-century Constantinople that continues to be sung in the Orthodox liturgy during Lent, the forty days of fasting and penance leading up to Easter. The icon depicts Old Testament prophets gathered around Mary, who is enthroned in an orange globe. Her hands are held in a gesture of prayer, addressing the child Jesus who resides in a semicircle of clouds above her. The hands of Jesus are positioned in a gesture of teaching and blessing, a posture mirrored by the prophets. Ezekiel, Jacob, Gideon, Daniel, Isaiah, Moses, Aaron, Jeremiah, Baruch, and Habakkuk are typically included in icons of this type. Each prophet holds a scroll with portions of his scripture foretelling Mary's role in the incarnation. The prophets offer praises to Mary, repeated by the litany of the Orthodox faithful, with hundreds of elaborate phrases such as "Hail, O branch of a Tree ever green . . ." "Hail, O Lady, fiery chariot of the Word . . ." and "Hail, O unstilled voice of the Apostles . . ."⁴¹ The twenty-four stanzas of the hymn relate the expanse of Old Testament scripture to the New Testament account of Jesus' incarnation and the tradition of the Christian church. Thus,



Fig 17. Detail of Figure 1, *The Prophets Foretold You*.

The Prophets Foretold You not only references but also completes the panels of the Twelve Great Feasts illustrated in the triptych.

Only a small fraction of the rich Orthodox tradition that provides explanation for the icons could be presented in this article. Yet it becomes clear that the entire Orthodox Christian liturgical, scriptural, and theological milieu underpins the triptych's narrative. The story of the incarnation of Jesus is presented for the believer to contemplate from the annunciation of his birth to his ascension. These episodes are framed by the events of his mother's earthly life from her birth to her deathbed. Crowning the triptych are illustrations of Mary being praised in the heavenly kingdom and Jesus fulfilling his prophesied role of salvation. For the Orthodox worshiper, the detailed artistry of this work is secondary to the prayerful encounter it has evoked throughout its history. The mysteries of this triptych are revealed by its miniature images and the vast devotion of the believers who prayed with it.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Jeffrey Wilcox, Cathy Callaway, and Alisa Carlson of the Museum of Art and Archaeology for providing the opportunity to research this triptych, and my anonymous reviewer for help with bibliography.

1. John Baggley, *Festival Icons for the Christian Year* (Crestwood, NY, 2000) p. 6.
2. In museum records the triptych was previously attributed to the Moscow School, a workshop that flourished from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. On both dating and stylistic grounds, however, the author instead places the work in the Stroganov School, which immediately followed the Moscow workshop. Museum records were emended to reflect this reattribution. On the Stroganov School, see Engelina Smirnova, *Moscow Icons: 14th–17th Centuries* (Leningrad, 1989) pp. 10 and 42.
3. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 9.
4. Dates vary in accordance with whether the Julian Calendar or the Gregorian Calendar is in use by a certain congregation.
5. Orthodox Eastern Church, *The Festal Menaion*, trans. Mother Mary of the Orthodox Monastery of the Veil of the Mother of God and Kallistos Ware (London, 1969) p. 100.
6. “The Entry of the Most Holy Mother of God into the Temple,” <https://oca.org/saints/lives/2010/11/21/103357-the-entry-of-the-most-holy-mother-of-god-into-the-temple> (accessed May 18, 2016).
7. Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 184.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 458.
9. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 38.
10. Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 256.
11. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 33; Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 205.
12. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 42.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 43–44.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 45; Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 426.
15. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 48.
16. Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 355.
17. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 52; Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 297.
18. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, pp. 58, 59.

19. Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 476.
20. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 67; Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 478.
21. Orthodox Eastern Church, *The Lenten Triodion*, trans. Mother Mary of the Orthodox Monastery of the Veil of the Mother of God and Kallistos Ware, The Service Books of the Orthodox Church (London, Boston, 1978) p. 505.
22. Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 137.
23. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 137.
24. *Pentecostarion* (Boston, Mass., 2014) p. 327.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
26. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 140.
27. *Pentecostarion*, p. 413.
28. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 163.
29. John Sanidopoulos, “Mystagogy Resource Center,” <http://www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2012/08/a-strange-scene-in-icon-of-dormition.html> (accessed August 14, 2016).
30. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 163; Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 504.
31. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 163.
32. Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 519.
33. Baggley, *Festival Icons*, p. 13.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
36. *Pentecostarion*, p. 27.
37. “Synaxis of the Most Holy Mother of God,” *Orthodox Church in America*, <https://oca.org/saints/lives/2012/12/26/103648-synaxis-of-the-most-holy-mother-of-god> (accessed July 13, 2016).
38. *Ibid.*
39. Orthodox Eastern Church, *Festal Menaion*, p. 294.
40. David Coomler, *The Icon Handbook: A Guide to Understanding Icons and the Liturgy, Symbols and Practices of the Russian Orthodox Church* (Springfield, Ill., 1995) p. 230.
41. “‘The Akathist Hymn in Honor of the Mother of God’ from My Faithful Guide to The Byzantine Melkite Liturgy,” Eternal World Television Network (EWTN), <http://www.ewtn.com/library/PRAYER/AKATHIS2.TXT> (accessed June 23, 2016).

Fallen Angel

A Case Study in Architectural Ornamentation



W. ARTHUR MEHRHOFF

According to the late anthropologist James Deetz, we can decode cultural meanings from the past most fully by studying “small things often overlooked and even forgotten.”¹ While architectural historians often train their scholarly lenses on landmark buildings and structures, vernacular objects such as doorways, gravestones, and even discarded architectural ornaments offer students of culture a kind of intellectual “mortar” that can help them fit larger structures together into a conceptual whole.² The Museum of Art and Archaeology’s winged terracotta figure, a splendid example of architectural ornament and a survivor of urban redevelopment, was one of a series of similar figures that originally graced the elaborate frieze of the 1898 twelve-story Title Guaranty Building, one of the earliest tall office buildings in downtown St. Louis. The building, known at its construction as the Lincoln Trust Building, was destroyed in 1983.

The Fallen Angel

The figure stands facing to the front with arms crossed at her waist (Fig. 1 and back cover).³ Constructed in three parts—base and lower part of a plinth, upper half of plinth, and upper body—she



Fig. 1. Architectural winged figure in high relief, 1898, terracotta. H. 2.140 m. From the Title Guaranty Building (originally the Lincoln Trust Building), St. Louis, Missouri. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (84.109a–c), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Mark A. Turken and Mr. and Mrs. Paul L. Miller, Jr. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



Fig. 2. Detail of winged terracotta figure. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (84.109a). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

displays a heavy lidded downward gaze, straight nose, and full-lipped mouth (Fig. 2). Long straight hair falls to her shoulders from a central part, and wings spring up on either side. A wide ribbon crosses over her chest and under her upper arms, partly concealing her breasts. The plinth tapers down to a molded base. Its upper molding bears a lion's head holding a ring in its mouth from which falls a ridged stem that ends in leaves and fruits. Two swags of laurel leaves loop gracefully from the ring around to the sides of the plinth, which ends below in a molding set slightly above the molded base. The whole sculpture is coated in a lustrous violet-brown slip, and the background behind is roughly striated. The downward gaze was deliberately crafted to meet the eyes of downtown pedestrians gazing high above them, but encountering the figure at eye level on display in the museum afforded interested viewers a unique perspective as well as a dramatically different context for considering both architectural ornament and the American built environment itself.

The nomination of the building for the National Register of Historic Places in 1981 described the figures in the frieze as "angels."⁴ Other observers of the frieze have, however, challenged the identity of the figures as angels, as well as the cultural meanings of similar architectural ornamentation from that time period.⁵ Yet, from its original setting on a premier Gilded Age St. Louis architectural achievement to its current situation in museum storage, the winged figure, or angel, bears silent witness to dramatic changes that have

taken place in traditional architectural ornamentation and in its meaning to modern American urban society.

Salvaged from the rubble of the Title Guaranty Building after its demolition, the fallen angel offers an interesting example of what has come to be known as historical archaeology. Historical archaeology is a subfield of archaeology that considers the material remains of past societies in conjunction with other forms of historical evidence, such as letters, newspapers, and archival materials; historical archaeological sites have contributed significantly to the study of colonial America, to the subsequent American frontier experience, as well as to understanding key stages of American urbanization and industrialization like the Gilded Age. By examining the physical and documentary record afforded by such sites, historical archaeologists attempt to discover information and insight from the past in order to illuminate the broader historical development of their own and other societies.⁶ Considered from that perspective, the museum's figure signifies a valuable example of historical archaeology for understanding post-Civil War American industrialization and urbanization, a small tessera in a much larger cultural mosaic.

The Winkle Terra Cotta Company

An anonymous artisan or artisans from the Winkle Terra Cotta Company of Saint Louis, for many decades the leading American producer of terracotta architectural ornament, fashioned the winged figure. The factory was located on Manchester Avenue in the western St. Louis suburb then known as Cheltenham, near the major thoroughfare of Kingshighway. The company flourished in St. Louis' prominent brick-working industry because of its ready access to natural resources such as deep clay deposits near its Glencoe farm and to major railroad lines such as the Missouri Pacific. In 1860 Joseph Winkle had produced the first terracotta ever manufactured in St. Louis.⁷ Louis Sullivan's 1891 Wainwright Building in St. Louis represented the first major commission for the company; the collaboration of architect Sullivan and manufacturer Winkle "demonstrated the possibilities of large-scale, elaborate use of custom-designed terra-cotta ornament in commercial and high-rise buildings."⁸ By the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (World's Fair) in St. Louis' Forest Park, the Winkle Terra Cotta Company had become the third largest terracotta manufacturer in the United States. Its ornaments now appeared prominently on buildings all across the country.⁹

The museum's figure clearly illustrates the highly regarded architectural ornament produced by the Winkle Company. Although the company possessed an extensive inventory of stock forms,¹⁰ it was also renowned and retained by clients for its ability to create original works for specific architectural settings like that of the Title Guaranty Building. The Winkle modeling department was known nationally as "the best talent money can secure."¹¹ The architectural firm of Eames and Young, which designed the building, created detailed architectural drawings of the winged figures, but the Winkle Company contributed its own expertise to the final design.¹² For example, Winkle Company artisans specifically designed the distinctive violet-brown color of the winged

figures, then slip-glazed the ornamental figures in a clay wash that not only enhanced their unique color but also increased resistance to the extreme weather conditions often found in downtown St. Louis at twelve stories above street level. Each of the ornamental figures, although cast from the same mold, show hand modeling of the hair and eyes by a skilled master craftsman in order to make them more visible to onlookers from a dozen stories below.¹³ A company brochure describes this process:

The very interesting stage of the work begins with the drafting room and continues through plaster shop, mold department, and modeling roost, where experienced artists shape the clay's destiny. . . . The whirl, jar and jolt of the ordinary clayworking plant is absent. Here there is no sound save that of the slapping and punching of the . . . clay which endures this purgatorial process . . . that it may subsequently receive the crown of an honored position in an important public structure.¹⁴

As architectural historian Debbie Sheals concluded, "the museum's winged terracotta figure represents not only an interesting individual piece of architectural ornament from a demolished St. Louis building but is an example of a major art form, produced by a leader in the field."¹⁵ The frame for this major art form extended far beyond that of its highly regarded building to the emerging structure of urban America itself.

American Architecture and Urbanism

William S. Eames and Thomas Crane Young, partners in the noted Saint Louis architectural firm that designed the Title Guaranty Building, both studied architecture at Washington University in Saint Louis. Young then studied at the École des Beaux Arts during his two years of European travels, while Eames also toured Europe during the 1880s. The American Institute of Architects (AIA) elected both Eames and Young as Fellows, while Eames later became deputy commissioner of public buildings for the City of St. Louis. He was also elected the first president of the St. Louis Chapter of the AIA, as well as president of the national organization in 1904.¹⁶

The Title Guaranty Building comprised an integral part of St. Louis' celebrated Seventh Street Commercial Row of major downtown office buildings. The building had, in turn, been designed and developed in response and in relation to the 1891 Wainwright Building, located across Chestnut Street. The masterwork of the celebrated Chicago architect Louis Sullivan, it was widely acknowledged as a landmark in modern architectural history and acted as a catalyst for Saint Louis' intense competition with Chicago, its bitter commercial and cultural rival.¹⁷ The museum's winged terracotta figure thus played an important cameo role in a much larger drama of national and even international significance.

The Title Guaranty Building was apparently the first skyscraper that Eames and Young designed, but the firm quickly captured the spirit of this exciting new architectural enterprise in what many considered the best of their tall office buildings.¹⁸ The National Register nomination described the building:

[It] is H-shaped in plan with the main entrance on Chestnut announced by two, highly polished rose granite columns that rise from unpolished granite bases to support a projecting portion of the Doric frieze. Panels of ornamental terra cotta by Winkle Terra Cotta Company of St. Louis complete with putti and quasi-modest damsels set amidst vegetal patterns laced with cornucopieas [sic], urns overflowing with fruit, scales, horns, lamps and eagles adorn the entrance and continue around the base of the Chestnut and Seventh Street elevations. Above the molded string course which sets off the base from the shaft, alternating wide and narrow pilasters soar to a projecting molding above the twelfth story. At the attic, the richly decorated terra cotta frieze is pierced by small rectangular openings flanked by solemn angels.¹⁹

The building represented an outstanding example of American urban design as well as architecture (Fig. 3). The structure reflects the dynamic verticality of the Wainwright Building across the street by echoing Sullivan's tripartite classical form that separated building functions into a lower base, vertical columns, and highly ornamented frieze and cornice. The horizontal ribbons across the winged figures of the Title Guaranty Building integrally linked them to each other (Fig. 4), but the H-shaped plan of the building with



Fig. 3. The Title Guaranty Building in downtown St. Louis. <http://www.builtstlouis.net/opos/downtown.html>.



Fig. 4. The Title Guaranty Building, detail of the cornice. <http://www.builtstlouis.net/opos/downtown.html>.

its alternating wide and narrow pilasters distinguished it from the Wainwright Building by allowing sunlight to enter both the building and the street below while relieving an oppressive sense of over-enclosure in an urban “canyon.”

Construction of the building in 1898 solidified Seventh Street in downtown St. Louis as the district’s major commercial corridor. The railroad and its cargoes, facilitated by the construction in 1874 of James B. Eads’ landmark bridge spanning the Mississippi River at St. Louis, provided the motive and power for the intense influx of capital needed to stimulate the emergence of the tall office buildings. Following completion of the Eads Bridge and the tunnel connecting the bridge to railway yards on the edge of downtown St. Louis, entrepreneurs Samuel Cupples and Robert S. Brookings envisioned warehouses with easy access to the railyards. Their innovative warehouse, as designed by Eames and Young, expedited freight handling and transformed a drained and formerly polluted recreational lake into highly productive new land use. They horizontally connected the warehouses by a system of tunnels and bridges, while a system of hydraulic elevators provided vertical access.²⁰ The twenty massive brick buildings of Cupples Station galvanized downtown office development.²¹ Even today, they remain integral to downtown revitalization around the baseball stadium.

As stated above, construction of the Wainwright Building in 1891 on the northwest corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets provided the specific impetus for the Seventh Street Commercial Row, a stunning collection of office buildings on the block bounded by Seventh and Eighth Streets on the east and west as well as Market and Chestnut Streets on the south and north. The visionary Sullivan proclaimed the Wainwright Building “the tall office building, artistically considered.”²² His prototype for the American skyscraper was soon joined by his Union Trust Building (1892–1893) and by architect Isaac Taylor’s Demenil Building just north of the Wainwright Building on the same block. The Title Guaranty Building by Eames and Young on the southwest corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets extended the Commercial Row further southward, followed in 1902 by Albert Swasey’s Missouri Pacific Building (later called the Buder Building). Eames and Young’s new office building strategically connected the Cupples Station warehouse complex located between Seventh and Eleventh Streets to the core of the central business district on Olive Street, anchored there by the U.S. (Old) Post Office and Customs House located on Olive Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets.

This impressive ensemble of tall office buildings demonstrated both architectural and urban design excellence in the development of downtown St. Louis commercial architecture at the turn of the twentieth century. These buildings interrelated closely through their building form, window treatment, colors, and materials “to form a harmonious and picturesque district of great office buildings.”²³ Because of the agglomeration of related businesses around the Real Estate Exchange in the Wainwright Building, Chestnut Street between Seventh and Ninth Street became known as Real Estate Row and received considerable public recognition (Fig. 5). The Missouri Department of Natural Resources certified the Wainwright Building for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places as St. Louis’ and Missouri’s first skyscrapers.²⁴ *New York Times* architectural critic Paul Goldberger concluded that although “these buildings [on Seventh



Fig. 5. Old postcard depicting the celebrated Real Estate Row ca. 1908. S0791, Downtown St. Louis Partnership. Oversized Art, Graphics, and Photos, Number 7.

Street] do not have the Wainwright Building’s importance to architectural history . . . they are among the Wainwright’s most appealing descendants.”²⁵ The excellence of the Title Guaranty Building’s architectural and urban design makes the museum’s winged terracotta architectural ornament especially significant in terms of American architectural history.

Decline and Fall

The Title Guaranty Building was once called “one of the most extravagant buildings in the West.”²⁶ Its National Register nomination called it an effective variation of Sullivan’s Wainwright Building with its H-shaped design, Renaissance Revival style, and rich terracotta ornamentation.²⁷ The building reflected Eames and Young’s Beaux Arts architectural education at Washington University in St. Louis and in Europe, as well as typical late nineteenth-century American architectural eclecticism in its use of traditional historical imagery to embellish a new structure. “The impressive terracotta frieze of the cornice featured winged female figures which were a more classical, Renaissance Revival variant of the type of figures employed by Sullivan in the cornice of his 1897 Bayard Building in New York City” (Fig. 6).²⁸ Ironically, the owner of the Bayard



Fig. 6. Cornice detail from Louis Sullivan’s Bayard Building. <http://www.newyorkitecture.com/bayard-conduct-building/>

Building had to coerce the reluctant Louis Sullivan to add winged female figures to his building design. Sullivan had rebelled strenuously against the Renaissance Revival style sweeping across the American urban landscape.²⁹

Ever since the epochal Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893 proclaimed an American Renaissance to the world, with the new American Republic as rightful legatee of classical Greece and Rome, angels and/or winged figures like those on the Title Guaranty Building proliferated across the rapidly developing American urban landscape.³⁰ As Haggans noted, “They were simply ubiquitous, sufficiently stripped of religious meaning to be associated with so secular an enterprise as a bank, while retaining a degree of unworldliness.”³¹ This ubiquitous American motif seemed to answer the search for meaningful cultural symbols during the American Renaissance. “The woman as a repository for higher virtues had a long history in nineteenth-century American culture . . . but in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the female form in art was revitalized [and could] be found at all levels of American culture,” including the frieze atop the Title Guaranty Building.³²

On a more mundane level, Renaissance Revival also seemed an especially appropriate stylistic choice to reflect the mercantile interests of the building’s original occupants. That list included merchant princes of the Gilded Age such as railroad magnates Jay Gould (Wabash Railroad); William K. Bixby (American Car Company); Robert Brookings (owner of the Cupples railroad complex); and also Eames and Young’s own prospering architectural firm, and various real estate firms. As an ironic counterpoint, the Title Guaranty Building also housed numerous law offices, as well as the editor of the National Anti-Trust League, a Progressive reform organization. Joseph W. Folk, one of those resident lawyers, was elected St. Louis Circuit Attorney in 1901 and began crusading against municipal corruption; journalist Lincoln Steffens celebrated Folk’s adventures in *The Shame of the Cities*. One of Folk’s cases involved \$75,000 in bribe money being held in a safe deposit box in the basement vault of the Title Guaranty Building, pending delivery of a streetcar line franchise.³³ It seems as though the 1890s echoed the Renaissance in more than just its architectural style.

After the Lincoln Trust Company merged with Missouri Bank during St. Louis’ 1904 zenith, the lease for the building finally transferred in 1909 to the Title Guaranty Trust. Although ownership of the building changed hands many times during the following decades, St. Louisans continued to refer to it as the Title Guaranty Building until its demolition in 1983. Downtown office construction virtually halted, however, between the Great Depression and the early 1960s as suburbanization lured population and corporations away from traditional urban centers like St. Louis.³⁴ The museum’s winged figure would have frequently observed early downtown skyscrapers like its own dwelling falling to the wrecker’s ball. Their sites typically became surface parking lots to accommodate the rising tide of automobiles flowing into downtown on the new Interstate highways, or they gave their place to shiny new glass-and-steel corporate headquarters fashioned in the ascendant International Style of modern architecture. As urbanist Witold Rybczynski noted, “What seemed exciting in one decade looks gaudy, if not outright embarrassing in the next, or simply boring. When old buildings are torn

down, the motive may be expediency or crass commercialism, but it may also be a desire for something new.”³⁵ Perhaps modern architecture itself represented Rybczynski’s “something new,” a rejection of that “great and ever-growing burden of the past, which weighs him down and distorts him, obstructing his movements like a dark, invisible load,” in the words of Friedrich Nietzsche.³⁶

In his *Autobiography of an Idea*, Sullivan boldly proclaimed that “the steel frame form of construction was given first authentic recognition and expression in the exterior treatment of the Wainwright Building.”³⁷ Although architectural historians a century later continue to debate Sullivan’s claim, few disclaim Sullivan’s seminal influence on the evolution of modern architecture. The Wainwright, Sullivan’s first steel-frame building, indeed expresses “the force and power of altitude” as its unbroken piers announce the soaring, vertical lines of the structure. Just as the Wainwright Building helped galvanize and give form to the Title Guaranty Building and surrounding Real Estate Row, at another level, however, it also galvanized and gave form to the new, modernist architecture that rejected traditional architectural ornamentation in search of new meanings.³⁸ Despite Sullivan’s obvious interest in and mastery of architectural ornamentation, for much of the twentieth century modern architecture fixated on Sullivan’s design credo “form follows function” as it increasingly rationalized and stylized the sleek new steel-frame form of construction into a Modernist icon.³⁹

By the early 1980s, the museum’s winged figure found itself in the cross-hairs of a fierce urban design conflict between downtown St. Louis’ corporate business leaders and historic preservationists about the long-standing plan for a proposed Gateway Mall in an open space along Market Street and more generally about “Progress.”⁴⁰ Although the Title Guaranty Building was successfully nominated in 1982 for the National Register of Historic Places, the building was unceremoniously torn down in the spring of 1983, and its companions along Real Estate Row were destroyed the following year. The City of Saint Louis could not, however, afford to complete the expensive Gateway Mall project, so a new International Style office building arose on the former Title Guaranty site (Fig. 7).⁴¹



Fig. 7. Modern office building (on the mall) constructed on the site of the former Title Guaranty Building (Louis Sullivan’s Wainwright Building beyond). <http://www.builtstlouis.net/opus/downtown.html>. Photograph by Flickr user *kocojim*, 2008.

Conclusion

The late Osmund (Ozzie) Overby, a Yale-trained architectural historian, regarded buildings as important historical documents. For decades, hundreds of University of Missouri students listened eagerly as Professor Overby enthusiastically explained the importance of architectural history and historic preservation. In October 1987, he led a museum tour group to the Saint Louis Art Museum to explore the now-famous Chicago Historical Society exhibition about Louis Sullivan's architectural ornamentation.⁴² For many years until the end of his life Professor Overby championed historic preservation and a humanistic approach to architecture at the museum, the university, and throughout Missouri.⁴³ He guided the renovation of Pickard Hall as the new home of the Museum of Art and Archaeology and also served as its director from 1977 through 1983. Carolyn Toft, former director of the Landmarks Association of Saint Louis, recalled in memoriam:

A man of considerable national prestige, Ozzie was nevertheless eager to collaborate in myriad volunteer projects—even with novices such as yours truly. The earliest example I recall was the politically volatile, first-ever architectural survey of downtown St. Louis for which Ozzie actually rented an apartment. During the summer of 1975, huge sections of the map drafted by Pat Hays Baer formed a room-size carpet at the then-shabby Ford Apartment Building as other volunteer architects doing field work traipsed in and out. The completed survey would become the basis for Landmarks' groundbreaking but infamous Multiple Property Nomination for the Central Business District.⁴⁴

After the Title Guaranty Building was demolished in April 1983, Professor Overby took the lead in acquiring the winged figure for the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Although National Register designation proved insufficient to prevent demolition of the Title Guaranty Building and surrounding Real Estate Row, their loss did help promote a



Fig. 8. Terracotta winged figure in a Central West End community fountain, St. Louis. <http://www.builtstlouis.net/opus/downtown.html>.

powerful wave of historic preservation that rippled through Saint Louis and continues to this day.⁴⁵ Officials of the City of St. Louis itself stated that “historic preservation has been the catalyst for city housing development, as developers take advantage of historic tax credits and extract new use from older buildings. More than 20,000 units have been rehabbed since 2000.”⁴⁶ Architectural ornamentation like the museum’s figure has proven extremely valuable in fostering this renaissance.⁴⁷ A winged figure from the Title Guaranty Building, now installed as a fountain in the Central West End in St. Louis, provides one small example of historic preservation (Fig. 8).⁴⁸

Professor Overby played vital roles as educator and activist in revitalizing architectural history and historic preservation, especially in Missouri, so perhaps it is fitting to conclude with remarks by his own teacher and mentor, distinguished American architectural historian Vincent Scully, Jr., of Yale University:

What has happened in the last thirty years has been a liberation which has led to the revival of vernacular and classical traditions of architecture and their reintegration into the mainstream of modern architecture. . . . That liberation has in turn led to a revival of traditional urbanism and finally to a revival of the architect’s traditional role which had almost been forgotten—the architect as shaper of community of the human settlement. . . . This human order is beginning to reappear in the creation of new towns, and the rebuilding according to proper principles of the destroyed centers of our old cities. This rebuilding has been supported and helped in every way by the most important mass movement that I know of in modern history to affect architecture: historic preservation.⁴⁹

At the onset of the twentieth century the poet Rainer Maria Rilke reinterpreted traditional symbols in search of new meanings. In the first elegy of *The Duino Elegies*, he rebelled passionately against increasingly secular modern life. “Who, if I cried out, would hear me among the angel hierarchies?” His poem describes the loss and reclamation of cultural meaning of a traditional symbol like the museum’s winged figure, but he does not assign his “angels” traditional symbolism. Instead they represent the higher power of poetic vision, including the poetics of architecture, to give life meaning.⁵⁰ The Museum of Art and Archaeology, by giving a place to “small things forgotten,” encourages present and future generations to use and enjoy them while evolving their own meanings of the built environment.⁵¹ The winged figure now sits in storage at the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Perhaps the role of the museum’s fallen angel, rescued from oblivion by Professor Overby over three decades ago, is simply to bear witness to hidden, perhaps higher, possibilities of being still available to those willing to “cry out” and wrestle with them.

NOTES

1. James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*, revised edition (New York, 2010).
2. With his anthropological emphasis upon socially organized and transmitted rules of behavior in conjunction with ways of thinking about and doing things, James Deetz helped shape the growing field of material culture studies. Other foundational works in material culture studies include *Material Culture and the Study of American Life*, Ian M. Quimby, ed., Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum (New York, ca. 1978); *Material Culture Studies in America*, Thomas Schlereth, ed. (Nashville, Tenn., 1982); and Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17:1 (1982) pp. 17–26. Two excellent recent additions to the field include *The Cognitive Life of Things: Recasting the Boundaries of the Mind* (Cambridge, UK, 2010); and *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford, UK, 2010). Interested readers might also appreciate related articles in the *Journal of Material Culture*.
3. Acc. no. 84.109.a–c. H. 2.14 m.; max. W. 0.81 m. Published: Michael Haggans, "Recent Acquisition: Architectural Sculpture from 1898 St. Louis Building," *The News, The Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia* 8 (Summer 1987) pp. 4–5. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Mark A. Turken and Mr. and Mrs. Paul L. Miller, Jr., the last owners of the building before its destruction in 1983. See <http://www.builtstlouis.net/opos/downtown/html>.
4. United States Department of the Interior Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination, "Lincoln Trust Building," Landmarks Association of St. Louis Inc., 1981, section 7, <https://dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/82004736.pdf> (accessed August 26, 2017).
5. Haggans, "Recent Acquisition," p. 5.
6. Society for Historical Archaeology, <https://sha.org/about-us/what-is-historical-archaeology/> (accessed August 30, 2017). See also *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz*, Anne Elizabeth Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry, eds. (Boca Raton, La., 1992), a festschrift honoring the pioneering work of James Deetz in the development of this important subfield of archaeology.
7. William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1899) p. 2241.
8. Larry Giles, "Appraisal Report: Prepared by Larry Giles," St. Louis Architectural Art Company, 10 November 1984, p. 3.
9. Charles Van Ravenswaay, "Missouri Potters and Their Wares," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 7 (1950–1951) p. 471.
10. Winkle Terra Cotta Company, *Stock Designs in Architectural Terra Cotta*, Pamphlet and Price List, 1886.
11. D. G. Jones, *Commercial and Architectural St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1891) p. 187.
12. Haggans, "Recent Acquisition," p. 4.
13. Giles, "Appraisal Report," p. 3.
14. Winkle Terra Cotta Company. "From The Clayworking Plants of St. Louis," in *Brick: Special Issues on St. Louis* (May and June 1904) p. 230.
15. Debbie Sheals, "Terra Cotta Treasure: Winged Figure from the Title Guaranty Building and the Winkle Terra Cotta Company," Unpublished class paper, University of Missouri, 14 December 1990, p. 7.
16. John Albury Bryan, ed., *Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture* (St. Louis, 1928) p. 80.

17. Frank Peters and George McCue, *A Guide to the Architecture of St. Louis* (Columbia Mo., 1989) pp. xxii–xxiv.
18. Giles, “Appraisal Report,” p. 3.
19. National Register nomination, section 7, description.
20. United States Department of the Interior Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination, “Cupples Warehouse district,” Washington University in St. Louis, 1981. <https://dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/85003615.pdf>http://stlc.in.missouri.org/history/structdetail.cfm?Master_ID=1394 (accessed August 24, 2017).
21. National Register nomination, section 7.
22. Louis H. Sullivan, “The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered,” *Lippincott’s Magazine* 57 (March 1896) pp. 403–409, reprinted in *Inland Architect and News Record* 27 (1896) pp. 32–34; *Western Architect* 31 (January 1922) pp. 3–11; also published as “Form and Function Artistically Considered,” *The Craftsman* 8 (July 1905) pp. 453–458.
23. Michael R. Allen, “We Lose More Than the Century Building,” <http://preservationresearch.com/2004/12>, p. 4 (accessed May 16, 2016). Michael Allen is a former director of the City of St. Louis Preservation Research Office and was a leading urban designer for the City of St. Louis.
24. James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764–1980*, 3rd edition (St. Louis, 1998) p. 507
25. Paul Goldberger, “St. Louis Divided by an Unbuilt Mall: An Appraisal,” *New York Times*, 9 February 1983, p. 1.
26. Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, p. 507.
27. National Register nomination, “Lincoln Trust Building,” section 8.
28. Giles, “Appraisal Report,” p. 2.
29. Norval White and Elliot Willensky, *American Institute of Archaeology Guide to New York City*, 4th edition (New York, 2000) p. 159.
30. Richard Guy Wilson, “The Great Civilization,” foreword for *The American Renaissance 1876–1917*, exhibition catalogue, The Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, 1979–1980). See also Howard Mumford Jones, “The Renaissance and American Origins,” *Ideas in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).
31. Haggans, “Recent Acquisition,” p. 5.
32. See especially Bailey Van Hook. *Angels of Art: Women and Art in American Society, 1876-1914* (University Park, 1996). Van Hook depicts female gender as a cultural construct in which women remain above the world of business. She shows how the idealization of women as guides for life peaked between the mid-1880s and World War I.
33. Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904) p. 29.
34. See W. Arthur Mehrhoff, *Gateway Arch: Fact and Symbol* (Bowling Green, 1992) chap 3, “The Image of the City,” pp. 49–63, for an extended analysis of the political economy of downtown Saint Louis during this time period.
35. Witold Rybczynski, *The Look of Architecture* (New York, 2001) p. 50. In his revolutionary 1908 essay Ornament and Crime, influential Austrian architect and critic Adolf Loos (cited in Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* [New York, 1980] p. 339) declared architectural ornament like the winged terracotta figure a “crime” and scornfully compared it to the characteristic tattoos of the criminal class. Inauthentic and wasteful architectural frills, argued Loos, slowed the progressive evolution of modern society, distracting it from the ultimate aim of usefulness.
36. Friedrich Nietzsche, in *Unmodern Observations*, William Arrowsmith, ed. (New Haven, 1990)

- p. 89. In his classic fin de siècle work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, German sociologist Max Weber (London, 1905) examined how goal-oriented rationality increasingly dominated human behavior in modern society. Weber believed that this economic and bureaucratic rationality trapped people and institutions in what he termed “an iron cage” of economic efficiency that undermined and eroded all traditional values and meanings.
37. Louis H. Sullivan, *Autobiography of an Idea* (Mineola, N.Y., 1956) p. 298.
 38. See James Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective* (Seattle, 2003) for a thoughtful, comprehensive cultural history of architectural ornament up to and including the present. See also Brent Bolin, *Architectural Ornament: Banishment and Return* (New York, 2000) and Eleni Bastea, ed., *Memory and Architecture* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2004). In addition, Carol Gregory produced a short documentary film entitled *America’s Hometown: Terra Cotta*, Brian Moratti, director, and Chris Martin, ed., which was presented at the 2013 Vancouver International Film Festival. Through interviews, archival images, and film, the documentary looks at the lives of the mostly unknown men who decorated America’s high rises with terracotta ornament such as the museum’s winged figure. The documentary encourages greater viewer understanding and appreciation of the workers’ unique artistic contributions and strongly advocates preserving their work for the use and enjoyment of future generations.
 39. Modernist architecture stripped away “excess” material (including traditional ornamentation), leaving only a basic structure of plain geometric forms. Compared to traditional architecture like that of the Title Guaranty Building, an International Style building emphasizes streamlined construction and minimalist, unornamented surfaces. Or, put more negatively, a tall glass box. This cosmopolitan modern aesthetic became known as International Style architecture because of its rapid global diffusion, especially following World War II. Not scholarly but witty and erudite, cultural critic Tom Wolfe in *From Bauhaus to Our House* (New York, 1981) examines how modernism rose from avant-garde Europe and the ashes of World War I to become the dominant style of American corporate architecture during the mid-twentieth century, Mad Men ironically enclosed in German worker housing.
 40. Joe Hoelleman, “Spotlight: Building Interrupting the Gateway Mall Is a Mayor’s Regret,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 15 November 2015. See also Mehrhoff, *Gateway Arch*, pp. 49–63, for discussion of the ideology of “Progress” associated with the urban design icon, the Gateway Arch. The Gateway Mall recalls in some key respects the Plan Voisin of famous Modernist architect Le Corbusier who sought to replace two square miles of the historic Right Bank of Paris with International Style skyscrapers sited in grassy malls. See Marybeth Shaw, “Promoting an Urban Vision: Le Corbusier and the Plan Voisin,” M.A. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1991.
 41. Michael Allen observed, “In the early 1980s, St. Louis civic leaders led by H. Edwin Trusheim promoted one of the worst designs ever to hit downtown: that of the half-mall completion of the Gateway Mall, that band of parkland stretching west between Market and Chestnut Streets from the Arch grounds to 22nd Street. This half-mall plan resulted not only in the destruction of Real Estate Row, one of the key blocks in the Seventh Street district, but also in the construction of the horribly ugly Gateway One building right where older, more dignified buildings sat.” Allen, “We Lose More,” p. 3.
 42. “Trip to St. Louis for ‘Louis Sullivan: The Function of Ornament,’” *The News 8* (Summer 1987) p. 8. See also the celebrated exhibition catalogue entitled *Louis Sullivan: The Function of Ornament*, Wim de Wit, ed., text by David van Zanten, William Jordy, Wim de Wit, and Rochelle Berger Elstein, with a contribution by Robert Twombly, Chicago Historical Society and St. Louis Art Museum (New York and London, 1986), as well as Michael J. Lewis, “Louis

- Sullivan after Functionalism,” *The New Criterion*, 20, no. 1 (September 2001) pp. 50–57.
43. Professor Emeritus Who Helped Preserve MU Architecture Dies,” *Mizzou Weekly*, vol. 35, no. 32 (26 June 2014) p. 1.
 44. Carolyn Toft, *Landmarks Association of St. Louis, The Society of Architectural Historians, Missouri Valley Chapter*, vol. 20, no. 3 (Fall, 2014) p. 7, www.stlouisarchitecture.org (accessed May 16, 2016).
 45. For example, the *Huffington Post* selected St. Louis as the first city for its new *Cities in Focus* series on historic preservation. See “Like Preservation? You’ll Love St. Louis,” *Huffington Post* Blog, 16 January 2014, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/national-trust-for-historic-preservation/like-preservation-youll-love-st-louis/> (accessed May 16, 2016). See also Jacob Rosenbaum, “Residential Infusion Sparks Transformation of Downtown St. Louis’ Character,” *St. Louis Beacon*, Monday, 24 June 2013, https://www.stlbeacon.org#!/content/31267/downtown_residential_development (accessed May 16, 2016).
 46. City of Saint Louis: Office of the Mayor, <https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/mayor/initiatives/sustainability/land.cfm> (accessed May 16, 2016).
 47. See especially Stephanie Meeks and Kevin C. Murphy, *The Past and Future City* (Washington, D.C., 2016) for a national overview of this phenomenon. When Meeks, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and journalist Murphy interviewed people and asked why they were moving to the city, people typically talked about their desire to live somewhere distinctive, to be *some place* rather than *no place*. Often these places are exciting urban neighborhoods such as Miami’s Art Deco district, the French Quarter in New Orleans, or the Washington Avenue Loft District in St. Louis, whose distinguishing features are essentially the urban fabric itself such as architectural ornamentation.
 48. Other figures also survived the destruction of the building and are located in the City Museum and the Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, the Art Institute, Chicago, and the library of the Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville.
 49. Vincent Scully, “The Architecture of Community,” *The Raoul Wallenberg Lecture: The University of Michigan College of Architecture and Urban Planning*, Annette W. LeGuyer, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996) p. 10.
 50. Rainer Maria Rilke, *Possibility of Being: A Selection of Poems by Rainer Maria Rilke*, trans. J. B. Leishman (New York, 1977) p. 79. See also *The Cambridge Companion to Rilke*, Karen Leeder and Robert Vilain, eds. (Cambridge, UK, 2010). See also “Angels and Enchantment” in psychotherapist Thomas Moore’s book *The Re-enchantment of Everyday Life* (New York, 1996) pp. 345–350, for his rich, archetypal interpretation of Rilke’s angels in *The Duino Elegies*.
 51. My own experience of remembering such long-forgotten meanings provided the genesis of this article. Like countless others entering the Museum of Art and Archaeology, I would regularly walk past the winged terracotta figure in the foyer of the museum on my way across campus. Only after a long time had passed did I remember that nearly sixty years ago my image of St. Louis had been shaped by the Title Guaranty Building and its companions during my visits to my aunt and uncle’s little jewelry store on Seventh Street in downtown St. Louis, and that decades later as a city planner for the City of St. Louis I had advocated for preserving the historic building adorned by the terracotta figures. In 1983, the year the terracotta angel lost its pride of place on the building, I met Ozzie Overby and learned that he had strongly advocated for preservation of the historic buildings along Seventh Street. Thus, we began a long and highly valued working relationship in historic preservation that still continues to add meaning to “small things forgotten.”

About the Authors

Laura Banducci is assistant professor of Greek and Roman studies at Carleton University, Canada. Her research centers on the archaeology of pre-Roman and Roman Italy, particularly with regards to foodways, domestic technology, and material economy. She specializes in artefact analysis: examining how everyday objects were made, used, and repurposed. In addition to codirecting the *Capturing the Life Cycle of Roman Pottery* project, which examines materials from the Capitoline Museums, she is also the director of finds at the excavations of the city of Gabii, overseeing the study and publication of the artefacts from this vast site.

W. Arthur Mehrhoff currently serves as the academic coordinator for the Museum of Art and Archaeology. He received his Ph.D. in American Studies with an emphasis in Material Culture from St. Louis University in 1986. His research interests focus on historic preservation, urban design, and material culture in general.

Marcello Mogetta (Ph.D., University of Michigan) is assistant professor of Roman Art and Archaeology in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. His research focuses on the archaeology, material, and visual culture of pre-Roman and Roman Italy. Among the main threads are the study of urbanization and state formation in central Italy using both settlement and funerary data; the origins of Roman concrete architecture and processes of technological change in the period of Rome's early expansion in Italy; and the use of digital tools for the collection, quantitative analysis, visualization, and dissemination of archaeological data (stratigraphy and pottery). He codirects field projects at Gabii, Pompeii, and with the Capitoline Museums in Rome.

Rachel Opitz is a lecturer in archaeology at the University of Glasgow. Her research focuses on rural western Mediterranean societies and landscapes in the first millennium B.C.E. The foundations of this work are in remote sensing and survey, human perception of the built and natural environment as studied through formal exercises in 3D modeling and analysis of visual attention, and the material culture of rural communities and the towns emerging within them. Her recognized methodological expertise includes photogrammetric modeling in the context of excavations, in LIDAR-based analysis of sites and landscapes, and in developing information metrics to ask new archaeological questions using 3D data. She is a codirector of projects at Gabii and at the Capitoline Museums. She collaborates on a variety of archaeological projects as a technical specialist.

Rebecca Hertling Rupp is a doctoral student in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri–Columbia, from which she received her master’s degree. She also holds a master’s degree in religious studies from the University of Leuven, Belgium. Her research focuses on devotional images, heresy, and cross-cultural art of the medieval East and West.

Amy Welch is a second-year master’s student in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri–Columbia. She has excavated at Huqoq, Israel, and Gabii, Italy. Her primary research interests include the art and archaeology of Late Antiquity in the eastern Mediterranean.

Elizabeth Wolfson received her B.A. from Knox College and her M.A. from Washington University–St. Louis. She is currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri–Columbia. Her research interests include Greek pottery, iconography, and mythology, with an emphasis on monsters, demons, apotropaic emblems, and East-Greek relations. She is currently writing her dissertation as a Charles D. Folse Memorial Fellow.

Acquisitions 2016

European and American Art

Drawings

Matthew G. Ballou (American, b. 1976), *An Historic Day on Carnahan Quad—November 9th, 2015*, 2015, pastels on paper mounted on Masonite (2016.1), gift of the artist in honor of the work of Concerned Student 1950.

Graphics

Three prints, gift of Julie Bondeson:

Richard Joseph Anuszkiewicz (American, b. 1930), *January*, serigraph on paper (2016.27);

Enrico Baj (Italian, 1924–2003), *Femme bien décorée* (Well-decorated woman), 1970, color etching and collage on brocade (2016.28);

Max Bill (Swiss, 1908–1994), *System of Four Equal Color Groups*, 1968, color screen-print on paper (2016.29).

Félix Hilaire Buhot (French, 1847–1898), *Un débarquement en Angleterre* (Landing in England), 1879, etching, drypoint, aquatint, roulette, and spirit ground on paper (2017.8), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Eduardo Chillida (Spanish, 1924–2002), *Levitation*, 1964, lithograph on paper (2016.30), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Willie Cole (American, b. 1955) five prints: *Calpurnia* from *The Beauties*, 2012, intaglio in black, relief in gray, on paper (2016.18); *Lula Bell* from *The Beauties*, 2012, intaglio in black, relief in gray, on paper (2016.19); *Mammy* from *The Beauties*, 2012, intaglio in black, relief in gray, on paper (2016.20); *Pearl* from *The Beauties*, 2012, intaglio in black, relief in gray, on paper (2016.21); and *Ruth* from *The Beauties*, 2012, intaglio in black, relief in gray, on paper (2016.22), all Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 1).

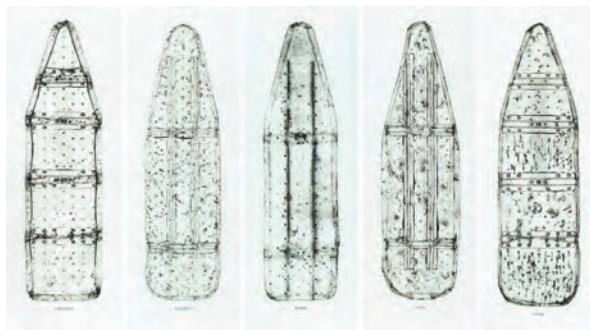


Fig. 1. Willie Cole, *Calpurnia*, *Lula Bell*, *Mammy*, *Pearl*, and *Ruth*, from the series *The Beauties*, each 162.6 x 58.4 cm (2016.18, 2016.19, 2016.20, 2016.21, 2016.22). Photo: Erin Pruhs.

Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528), *The Harrowing of Hell*, 1512, engraving on paper (2016.6), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 2).

Eighteen prints, gift of Julie Bondeson:

Max Ernst (German, 1891–1976), *Ein Mond ist guter Dinge* (A moon is in good spirits), 1970, viscosity print on paper (2016.31) (Fig. 3);

Luis Feito López (Spanish, b. 1929), *Círculo* (Circle), ca. 1970 serigraph/lithograph on paper (2016.32);

Hans Hartung (German, 1904–1989), untitled, ca. 1970, intaglio (etching) on paper (2016.33);

Gordon House (British, 1932–2004), *Cornered Circuit*, 1970, etching and aquatint on paper (2016.34);

Nicholas Krushenick (American, 1929–1999), *Untitled III*, 1971, serigraph on paper (2016.35);

Heinz Mack (German, b. 1931), untitled, 1973, serigraph on paper (2016.36);

Man Ray (American, 1890–1976), *Les anatomies*, ca. 1970, etching and aquatint in colors on paper (2016.37);

Robert Motherwell (American, 1915–1991), unknown, 1971, lithograph on paper (2016.38);

Gabor F. Peterdi (American, 1915–2001), *Thoughts on Looking into a Thicket*, 1967, etching and engraving on paper (2016.39);

Georg Karl Pfahler (German, 1926–2002), *Gemini*, ca. 1970, serigraph on paper (2016.40);



Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 11.7 x 7.5 cm (2016.6). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



Fig. 3. Max Ernst, *Ein Mond ist guter Dinge* (A moon is in good spirits) 82.7 x 61.8 cm (2016.31). Photo: Kenyon Reed.

Roger Raveel (Belgian, 1921–2013),
untitled, 1970, serigraph on paper
(2016.41);

Omar Rayo (Colombian, 1928–2010),
Towel, 1970, embossed print on
watercolor paper (2016.42);

Guiseppe Santomasso (Italian,
1907–1990), untitled 1966, colored
lithograph on paper (2016.43);

Pierre Jean Louis Soulages (French,
b. 1919), *Composition rouille et noir*,
1974, etching on paper (2016.44);

Unknown artist, unknown title, 1971,
engraving on paper (2016.48);

Victor Vasarely (Hungarian, 1906–
1997), two serigraphs on paper, *ZETT
ZS (bleu-vert)*, 1965 (2016.45) and
untitled, 1967 (2016.46);

Anne Youkeles (Austrian, b. 1920),
Four by Four, 1971, 3D color serigraph
collage (2016.47).

James Abbott McNeill Whistler
(American, 1834–1903), *Soupe à trois
sous* (Soup for three cents), 1859,
etching on paper (2016.7), Gilbreath-
McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 4).

Paintings

Jörg Breu (German, 1475–1537), *The
Miracle of Saint Leonard of Limoges*, ca.
1502, oil and gold on wood (2016.23),
Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund
(Fig. 5).



Fig. 4. James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Soupe à trois sous* (Soup for three cents), 19.3 x 26.6 cm (2016.7). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.



Fig. 5. Jörg Breu, *The Miracle of Saint Leonard of Limoges*, 58.4 x 40.6 cm (2016.23). Photo: Kenyon Reed.

Brian Mahieu (American, b. 1964) five paintings: *Snowfall at Dusk—Cottonwood Grove*, 2016, oil on canvas (2016.10), gift of the artist; *Snowy Sunset—Cottonwoods—Flooded Swale III*, 2016, oil on canvas (2016.11), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 6); *Fourteen Degree Sunset—Flooded Swale IV*, 2016, oil on canvas (2016.12), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund; *Soft Evening Light—Henbit Fields*, 2015, oil on canvas (2016.13), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund; and *Opalescent Dusk—Cottonwood Grove*, 2016, oil on canvas (2016.14), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Fig. 6. Brian Mahieu, *Snowy Sunset—Cottonwoods—Flooded Swale III*, 60.96 x 91.44 cm (2016.11). Photo: Kenyon Reed.

Ken Akiva Segan (American, b. 1950), *Halt! Stój! Auschwitz—The Dead Will Be Avenged*, 1978, tempera on paper including wet and dry drawing media (charcoal, pastels, pencil) (2016.15), gift of the artist.

Sculpture

Statue of St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, 1500–1520, Flemish, oak, (2016.9), gift of the Museum Associates in honor of Jeffrey B. Wilcox on the occasion of his retirement after forty years of service to the museum (Fig. 15, p. 10).

Joseph Falsetti (American, 1934–2016), untitled, 1960s, wood and iron (2016.16), gift of Andrée and Rod Gelatt.

Walter Kirtland Hancock (American, 1901–1998), *Mother and Child*, 1938, bronze (2016.16), gift of the Museum Associates and the Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Walter Kirtland Hancock, *Mother and Child*, H. 61 cm (2016.16). Photo: Kenyon Reed.

Roman Art

Bust of Zeus Serapis, Roman, second century, alabaster (2016.25), Weinberg Fund (Fig. 8).

East Asian Art Japanese Art

Ceramics

Tall floral pattern vase, Japanese, ca. 1800, porcelain (2016.52), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Prints

Kawase Hasui (Japanese, 1883–1957), Shingawa, 1946, woodblock print on paper (2016.2), gift of Professor Jerry Berneche and his wife, Joanne Zucco Berneche.

Tsuchiya Koitsu (Japanese, 1870–1949), *Ushigome Kagurazaka*, 1939, woodblock print on paper (2016.3), gift of Professor Jerry Berneche and his wife, Joanne Zucco Berneche (Fig. 9).

Chinese Art

Ceramics

Five-piece tea service with basket, China, ca. 1880, pigment on porcelain with wood and metal (2016.24), gift of Dr. James and Anne Campbell.

Five vases, China: pair of hour-glass shaped vases, 1893–1922, bronze, enamel, and pigment (2016.49.1 & 2); oval-shaped vase with red scroll and floral designs, eighteenth–nineteenth century, ceramic and pigment (2016.50), oval black and floral vase, late nineteenth century, porcelain (2016.53), Sang de Boeuf vase and lid, 1875–1960, stoneware and wood (2016.54), gift of Julie Bondeson.



Fig. 8. Bust of Zeus Serapis, H. 21 cm (2016.25). Photo: Alex Barker.



Fig. 9. Tsuchiya Koitsu, *Ushigome Kagurazaka*, 43.3 x 28.8 cm (2016.3). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

Five bowls, China: fish bowl, 1863–1894, porcelain (2016.51); Imari ware bowl, 1910–1920, porcelain (2016.58); blue floral pattern bowl, twentieth century, porcelain (2016.59); Sang de Boeuf shallow bowl, 1735–1795, porcelain (2016.61), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Two plates, China: large shallow plate, nineteenth–twentieth century, porcelain (2016.62); shallow wide-mouth plate, early twentieth century, porcelain (2016.69), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Metalwork

Temple bell, China, nineteenth–twentieth century, bronze (2016.55), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Betel nut box, China, twentieth century, bronze (2016.57), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Hammered bowl, China, late nineteenth–early twentieth century, bronze (2016.60), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Shallow plate, China, early twentieth century, bronze and enamel (2016.70), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Painting

Anonymous (Chinese), *Are They Falling Down? No! Is the Revolution Over? No!* 1984, pigment on paper (2016.26), gift of Michael D. Mueller.

Six Snuff Bottles

China: globular Sang de Boeuf snuff bottle, stopper, and seal, first half twentieth century, glass and rubber (2016.63); round snuff bottle, twentieth century, ceramic (2016.64); circular snuff bottle with stopper, twentieth century, jadeite and glass (2016.65); rectangular snuff bottle with stopper, 1920s, ceramic and bone (2016.66); snuff bottle and stopper, twentieth century, jadeite and plastic (2016.67); ovoid Sang de Boeuf bottle, twentieth century, porcelain (2016.68), all the gift of Julie Bondeson.

Korean Art

Two hair ornaments (Korea), one jade and gold (2016.4) and one silver and coral (2016.5), both late nineteenth century–early twentieth century, gift of Professor Jerry Berneche and his wife, Joanne Zucco Berneche.

South Asian Art

Metal

Bowl, India, twentieth century, nickel and zinc (2016.56), gift of Julie Bondeson.

Exhibitions 2016

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 centuries 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 from the Trojan War figured prominently.

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.

Portrait of Betty

September 2016

A one-case display reflecting the book *Bettyville* by George Hodgman, the Daniel Boone Regional Library's annual One Read selection. The case displayed many objects of particular significance to the world of Betty Hodgman and the book.

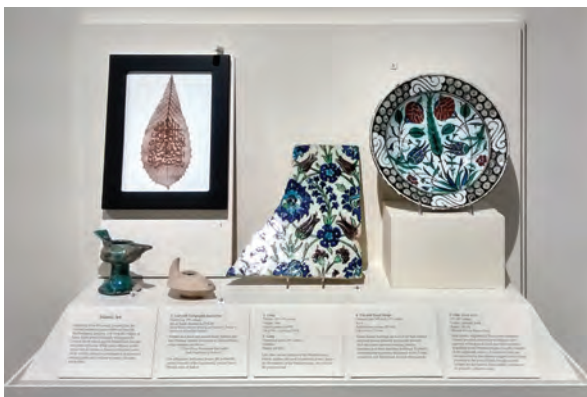


Portrait of Betty
September 2016
Photo: Kenyon Reed

Islamic Art

Fall 2016

A display for Professor Rautman's Islamic Art class. While Graeco-Roman artistic styles were an influence, Islamic art became known for its colorful abstract representations of plants and animals, particularly evident in pottery, tilework, and textiles.



Islamic Art

Fall 2016

Photo: Kenyon Reed

Black American Artists: Envisioning Social Change

February 2–May 15, 2016

This focus exhibition presented photographs of African American families drawn from three collections preserved in Columbia, Missouri. Dating to the latter half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the images captured both continuity and change in local communities.



Black American Artists: Envisioning Social Change

February 2–May 15, 2016

Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance

February 23–May 1, 2016

This exhibition displayed works by Manuel Hoya and Eduardo “Choco” Roca Salazar, two of the most celebrated Cuban artists working today. Both men benefited from the educational and cultural initiatives instituted by Fidel Castro following the 1959 Cuban

Revolution and drew inspiration from their Afro-Cuban heritage. Although members of the same generation, Mendive and Choco responded differently to the revolution and their Afro-Cuban heritage. The exhibition included a selection of Mendive's mature works that integrate the visual and material cultures of Afro-Cuban religions. The exhibit also showcased Choco's collagraphs from the past decade, which presented abstract figures composed from the detritus of Cuba's consumer culture. They express universal human themes through the lens of the artist's personal experience and everyday Cuban life.



Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance
February 23–May 1, 2016
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

Drawing Inspiration: Renaissance and Baroque Drawings from the Permanent Collection

May 24–October 9, 2016

In the early modern period, drawings assumed a new status among works of art as unimpeded expressions of artistic creativity, although most of them continued to serve as tools of artists' and workshops' processes. Rather than view art and utility as mutually exclusive, this exhibition examined different types of drawings, the functions they served, the creative processes behind them, and the masterful artistic achievements they embody.



Circle of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (Flemish, ca. 1525–1569)
Towers and Gate of a Moated Town, ca. 1550–1590
Pen and bister ink, 13.2 x 20.2 cm
Gift of the Student Fee Capital Improvement Committee, University of Missouri (77.5)
Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox

Kabuki Performance and Expression in Japanese Prints

July 8–December 23, 2016

Continuing the museum's series on Japanese color woodblock prints, this exhibition explored the popular art of Kabuki theater in the nineteenth century. Now considered classical Japanese drama, Kabuki was an avant-garde and subversive form of theater that challenged social customs and governmental authority. The prints in this exhibition depicted famous actors and scenes from plays beloved by Japanese audiences.

Ancient Roman Pottery from the Capitoline Museums

July 12–August 28, 2016

This exhibit featured in one case an assemblage of pottery from a collection of 249 vessels on loan to the Museum of Art and Archaeology from the Antiquarium Comunale, a little-known storehouse of the Capitoline Museums in Rome. Exhibited in the case were black-gloss vases and a red-figure dish. The pottery dates from the fourth century to the first century B.C.E. (See page 33, Fig. 1).



Kabuki Performance and Expression in Japanese Prints

July 8–December 23, 2016

Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1864)

Actors in a Kabuki play, 1860

Woodblock print on paper

37 x 25.4 cm (65.371)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hamilton

Photo: Kenyon Reed

DISTINCTION: Five Centuries of Portraiture

July 29–December 23, 2016

This exhibition challenged the basic definition of a portrait as a likeness, by considering the meaning behind the image—how physical form and individual identity are conveyed in various poses, attitudes, emblems,



DISTINCTION: Five Centuries of Portraiture

July 29–December 23, 2016

Photo: Kenyon Reed

and artistic styles. Exploring the history of early modern, modern, and contemporary portraiture, *DISTINCTION* featured approximately thirty European and American artworks, mainly from the permanent collection, and included several recent acquisitions and works that had never been previously displayed.

***Picturing Black
American Families***

October 18, 2016

February 26, 2017

This focus exhibition presented photographs of African American families drawn from three collections preserved in Columbia, Missouri. Spanning the latter half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the images portrayed the intimate setting of daily family life.



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

Loans to Other Institutions 2016

To the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, October 10, 2015–January 3, 2016; The Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas, February 6–May 1, 2016; and the Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 9–September 5, 2016, 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 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, April 18–July 17, 2016, “sandwich-glass” bowl, third to second century B.C.E., glass and gold (77.198) for the exhibition *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World*.

To 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*.

To Ellis Library, University of Missouri, September 1–October 31, 2016, twelve pieces of ancient art, including, Broneer Type XXI lamp, first century C.E., terracotta (58.15.2); red-figured “owl” skyphos, mid-fifth century B.C.E., pottery (60.24); aryballos, first to second century C.E., glass (62.4); lamp, late first century B.C.E.–mid-first century C.E., terracotta (65.70); strigil, late fourth century–late first century B.C.E., bronze (68.284); inkwell, first–second century C.E., pottery (68.295); zoomorphic hanging lamp, third century C.E., terracotta (70.120); stylus, late first century B.C.E.–early fourth century C.E., bronze (76.331); ovoid unguentarium, first century C.E., glass (81.128); lamp in the shape of a sandaled foot, first–second century C.E., terracotta (82.264); amphora handle, late first century B.C.E.–early fourth century C.E., pottery (83.263.1); Saint-Valentin class sessile kantharos, 450–425 B.C.E., pottery (94.18) for the exhibition *Life and Letters in the Ancient Mediterranean*.

Museum Activities 2016

Lectures

February 11

Margaret Conrads, director of curatorial affairs, Crystal Bridges, “Curating: Not Just a Pinterest Pastime.”
Sponsored by Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS).

April 4

McKenzie Mallon, provenance specialist, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, “Provenance: Exploring the ‘Other’ Art History.”

May 5

Barry Bauman, art conservator and elected fellow, The American Institute of Conservation, “The Conservation of Paintings: Historical and Technical Discoveries.”

Art of the Book Club Events

February 9

Exhibition tour with the curator Alisa Carlson, *Black American Artists: Envisioning Social Change*.

February 13

Art of the Book Club discussion group, *The House Girl*.

February 16

Art of the Book Club Brown Bag lunch and discussion, *The House Girl*.

February 17

Art of the Book Club presentation, Daniel Domingues, assistant professor of African History, Department of History, University of Missouri, “Slavery and the Underground Railroad.”

May 3

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

May 8

Art of the Book Club gallery tour of glass by museum docent Valerie Hammons.

May 11

Art of the Book Club Brown Bag lunch and presentation, George Washburn, “Louis Comfort Tiffany: His Life, Art, and Lamps.”

May 17

Art of the Book Club presentation, Robert Smale, associate professor, Department of History, University of Missouri, “The Ruins of Capitalism in Twentieth Century Cuba.”

August 2

Art of the Book Club gallery talk with curator Alisa Carlson, “Artemisia and Caravaggisti.”

August 12

Art of the Book Club documentary, *A Woman Like That*, with introduction by Meg Milanick and Laura Pintel.

August 20

Art of the Book Club slide presentation, “Art That Inspired Artemisia” and book discussion, *Artemisia*.

August 23

Art of the Book Club film: *Artemisia*, 1997.

November 1

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

November 17

Art of the Book Club documentary screening and discussion, BBC production of *Pompeii, The Last Day*, with curator Benton Kidd.

November 29

Art of the Book Club presentation, Alan Whittington, University of Missouri Geological Sciences Department, “Pumice, Pliny, and Paroxysms: The Volcanic History of Vesuvius.”

Special Events

February 2

Black American Artists: Envisioning Social Change, exhibition opening.

February 15

Museum Associates Herakles Guild reception and induction of new members.

February 20

Missouri Folk Arts Program, African American Gospel Music concert.

February 21

Museum Gallery Concert, Guitar Quartet performance, School of Music, University of Missouri.

February 25

Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance, exhibition opening and reception.

February 26

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

March 13

Museum Gallery Concert, violin and cello duo performance, School of Music, University of Missouri.

March 18–20

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

April 13

Retirement reception for Jeffrey Wilcox, registrar and curator of collections.

April 14

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

April 16

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

April 22

Missouri Folk Arts Program, John Williams, Jr., “Then & Now Master Fiddler Performance.”

April 24

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

April 27

International Conference, *Afro-Cuban Artists: A Renaissance*, exhibition opening and reception.

May 24

Drawing Inspiration: Renaissance and Baroque Drawings from the Permanent Collection, exhibition opening.

June 11

Missouri Folk Arts Program, Acoustic Jam concert.

July 8

Kabuki Performance and Expression in Japanese Prints, exhibition opening.

July 29

DISTINCTION: Five Centuries of Portraiture, exhibition opening.

September 23

Exhibitions reception for *Kabuki Performance and Expression in Japanese Prints* and *DISTINCTION: Five Centuries of Portraiture*.

October 14

Museum Associates Crawfish Boil.

October 18

Picturing Black American Families, exhibition opening.

November 4

Museum Associates Annual Meeting.

November 5

Missouri Folk Arts Program, Show-Me Folk School: Music.

November 13

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

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 7

Museum Associates' annual "Evening of Holiday Celebration."

Family and Educational Events

January 10

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Art of Religion: An Emphasis on India."

February 13

Family Event, "Experimenting with Color."

February 14

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Love in the Museum."

March 13

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Women in Art."

March 19

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

April 9

Family Event, "Artists' Visions."

April 10

Docent-Led Theme tour, "African American Art: Themes and Influences."

May 8

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Glass: A World History."

May 14

Family Event, "Landscapes."

June 12

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Animals in the Museum."

June 16

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

June 20–24

Art Summer Camp, "Kids Dig Art!"

July 7

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

July 10

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Regionalist Art."

July 14

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Books, Tablets, Manuscripts, and Scrolls."

July 21

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Stories in Quilts."

July 28

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

August 4

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

August 14

Docent-Led Theme tour, "The Rise of Modern Pottery from Antiquity."

September 11

Docent-Led Theme tour, "The Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts."

September 21

Exhibition tour with curator Alisa Carlson, *DISTINCTION: Five Centuries of Portraiture*.

September 24

"Museum Day," in conjunction with the Smithsonian.

October 9

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Clothing in Art."

October 15

"International Archaeology Day," in conjunction with the American Institute of Archaeology.

November 6

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Wine in Art."

December 11

Docent-Led Theme tour, "Mythology."

Ad Hoc Film Series

January 21

The Untouchables, 2011.

February 17

The Help, 2011.

March 17

Being There, 1979.

April 21

Buena Vista Social Club, 1999.

May 19

Amarcord, 1973.

June 16

The Secret of the Grain or Couscous, 2007.

July 21

McCabe and Mrs. Miller, 1971

August 25

My Dinner with Andre, 1981.

September 9

Away From Her, 2006.

October 7

Picture of Dorian Gray, 1945.

November 11

Last Days of Pompeii, 1935.

December 9

Akira Kurosawa's Dreams, 1990.

Museum Staff 2016

Alex Barker

Director

Bruce Cox

Assistant Director, Museum Operations

Carol Geisler

Administrative Assistant

Donna Dare (through 02/16)

Tour Coordinator

Cassidy Shearrer (through 4/16)

Computer Graphic Artist

Alisa Carlson

*Curator of European
and American Art*

Benton Kidd

Curator of Ancient Art

Cathy Callaway

Museum Educator

Rachel Navarro

Assistant Museum Educator

Arthur Mehrhoff

Academic Coordinator

Jeffrey Wilcox (through 6/16)

Curator of Collections/Registrar

Linda Endersby (beginning 9/16)

Registrar/Collections Manager

Kenyon Reed

Collections Specialist

Barbara Smith

Chief Preparator

Matt Smith

Preparator

George Szabo (through 3/16)

Assistant Preparator

Ron Bates, Pete Christus, Will Fish,

Leland Jones, and Nicholas Scolaro

Security Guards

Lorinda Bradley (through 06/16),

Andrea Miller (beginning 08/16)

*Graduate Research Assistant,
European and American Art*

Rebecca Rupp (through 07/16)

Graduate Research Assistant, Registrar

Lisa Higgins

Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program

Deborah Bailey

Folk Arts Specialist

Dorothy Atuhura (through 08/16),

Jackson Mendel (through 12/16)

*Graduate Research Assistants,
Folk Arts Program*

Museum Docents 2016

Andrea Allen
Luann Andrews
David Bedan
Robin Blake
Brooke Cameron
Yolanda Ciolli
Patricia Cowden
Ross Duff

Sue Gish
Valerie Hammons
Amorette Haws
Ingrid Headley
Sue Hoevelman
Lisa Jerry
Karen John
Linda Keown

Mary Beth Litofsky
Kathryn Lucas
Meg Milanick
Carol Stevenson
Chuck Swaney
Remy Wagner
William Wise

Emeritus status

Gary Beahan
Nancy Cassidy
Averil Cooper
Caroline Davis
Dorinda Derow

Barbara Fabacher
Ann Gowans
Dot Harrison
Mary Beth Kletti
Nancy Mebed

Alice Reese
Pam Springsteel
Tamara Stam

Museum Store Volunteers 2016

Erica Anderson
Rick Crow
Sam Dillon
Valerie Hammons
Karen John

Linda Keown
Mary Beth Litofsky
Linda Lyle
Stephanie Peecher
Nick Seelinger

Andy Smith
Pam Springsteel
Alexandra Zuzula

Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS) 2016

Rachel Lewis, **president**
Rachel Straughn-Navarro,
vice-president
Meg Milanick, treasurer

Active Members
Jackson Bollinger
Hannah Fountain
Mary Franco
Ying Hu
Katelyn Lanning

Jay Monnig
Amy Ruopp
Rebecca Rupparr
Delyn Stephenson
Brianna Veal
Sarah Williams

Advisory Committee 2016

Alex Barker
*Director, Museum of Art
and Archaeology*

Scott Southwick
*President, Museum
Associates*

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

Brooke Cameron
Professor Emerita, Art

Susan Langdon
*Professor, Art History and
Archaeology*

Nancy West
Director, Honors College

Signe Cohen
*Associate Professor,
Religious Studies*

Meg Milanick
*Graduate Student, Art
History and Archaeology*

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

Tammy McNiel
Webmaster

Anatole Mori
*Associate Professor,
Classical Studies*

Laurel Wilson
*Professor Emerita, Textile
and Apparel Management*

Ingrid Headley
*Docent, Museum of Art
and Archaeology*

Museum Associates Board of Directors 2016

Officers

Gary Anger
President

Robin LaBrunerie (resigned 03/16),
Diana Groshong (beginning 03/16)
Vice-President

Alex Barker
Executive Vice-President

Larry Colgin (through 11/16)
Treasurer

Linda Keown (through 11/16)
Secretary

Board Members

Gary Anger (beginning 11/16
second term)

Tracey Atwood

David Bedan

Kristy Bryant

Larry Colgin (through 11/16)

Lisa Eimers

Brian Foster (beginning 11/16)

Carrie Gartner (resigned 10/16)

Ken Greene (beginning 11/16)

Linda Harlan

Pam Huffstutter (through 11/16)

Darlene Johnson

Linda Keown (through 11/16)

Randall Kilgore (resigned 09/16)

Mark Koch (through 11/16)

Robin LaBrunerie (resigned 03/16)

Alfredo Mubarah (resigned 01/16)

Jerry Murrell (beginning 11/16)

Christiane Quinn (beginning 11/16
second term)

Terri Rohlfling (beginning 11/16)

Joel Sager (resigned 02/16)

Charles Swaney

Stacey Thompson

Kathy Unrath

Karla Williams (beginning 11/16)

Ex Officio Members

Bruce Cox

Assistant Director, Museum Operations

Remy Wagner

Docent Liaison

Benton Kidd

Associate Curator of Ancient Art

Susan Langdon

*Chair, Department of Art History
and Archaeology*

Rebecca Rupp (beginning 09/16)

Student Liaison

Honorary Members

Patricia Atwater

Libby Gill

