

# MVSE

ANNUAL of the  
MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA



NUMBER ONE: 1967

## FOREWORD

When, on July 1, 1957, the Study Collections for Art History and Archaeology became an official project of the University of Missouri through the appropriation of the first small sum for its support, we had no idea that the infant born then would grow like a godling to become the Museum of Art and Archaeology in 1961. In that year the Kress Foundation Study Collection of fourteen paintings was received as a gift, and the first gallery was opened in the new Library building. A second gallery followed two years later, and in the fall of 1965 the first gallery was remodeled to provide four separate exhibition areas.

In less than ten years the collections of the Museum have grown so rapidly that the objects now on display are less than one-fourth of some two thousand in the Museum. About 450 of these were acquired in 1966 alone. Under present conditions, whole classes of objects cannot be displayed at all, and the flow of acquisitions has been so great that no adequate idea of them can be given through the reports that have been appearing regularly in the *Missouri Alumnus*. Clearly some more adequate means of presenting an account of annual acquisitions is needed, and this will be provided to some extent by the inauguration of this publication.

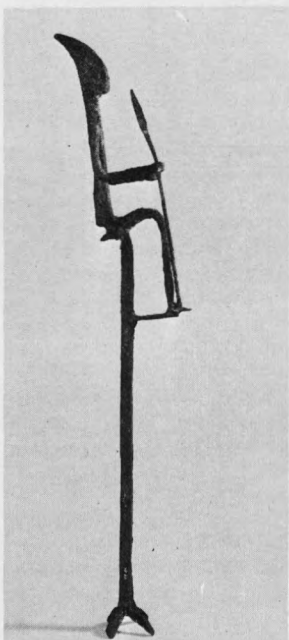
We shall attempt, in this first annual issue, to present the acquisitions of 1966 and to illustrate a representative selection. At the same time, we begin here what we hope will be a continuing series of studies of individual objects or groups of objects in the Museum. These will emphasize the part which the Museum collections play in research by both faculty and students in the Department of Art History and Archaeology, and in these studies every attempt will be made to present the scholarly work of the University in a form suitable for the much larger public to whom this publication is ad-

ressed. For though, as part of the University, the Museum's chief role is as an aid to the teaching programs—so many of which derive benefit from the collections—the part that the Museum should play in the community and in all of central Missouri, where it is the only museum of such scope, is of almost equal importance.

Thus, although the Museum exists thanks to the University, it does not exist only for the University. While support has come very largely from the University and its alumni, the Museum has from its inception enjoyed wide support from many friends who have no connection with the University. Most of these contributors live far from Missouri, and their generosity is even more to be appreciated since they have little or no opportunity to enjoy the Museum which they have helped to create.

The people of Columbia and of central Missouri, who derive the greatest benefit from the Museum, should, we believe, be given the opportunity to share in its support. We believe, further, that the importance of the Museum to the community is such as to warrant assistance on the part of industries and business firms in the region. To this end, both individual and institutional memberships will be established, but neither this nor the various activities connected with membership can be established and operated from the very crowded quarters and with the limited staff which the Museum now has. Betterment of the physical facilities of the Museum must precede any enlargement of its services, and all efforts must first be concentrated on acquiring adequate space in which to function. A strong Museum can be an important adjunct to the intellectual life of the University, the colleges of the region and the community. Your support is invited and urged.

SAUL S. WEINBERG  
Director



*Above, left to right:* iron figure, Dogon (356) H.62 cm., bronze bell, Benin (298) H.20 cm., terra-cotta Tlaloc censer, Mexico (121) H.71 cm.

*Right:* terra-cotta jaguar-priest, Mexico (125) H.51 cm.



# Acquisitions 1966



Celadon vase, China, Sung Dynasty (287) H.25 cm.

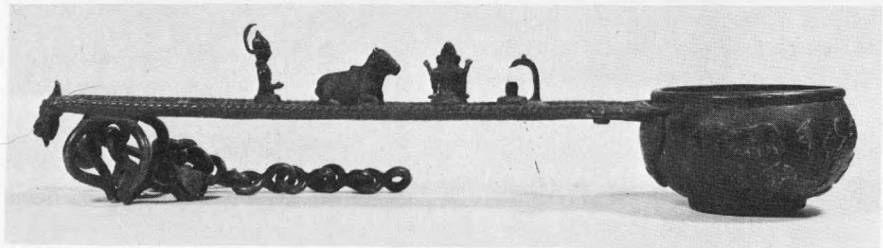


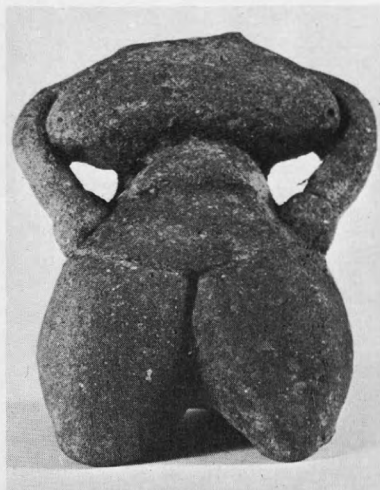
Basalt Buddha figure, India, 10th c. (118) H.70.6 cm.



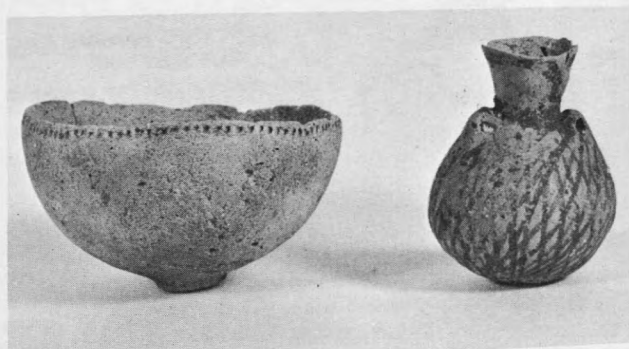
Bronze Durga figure, India, 12th c. (153) H.17.5 cm.

Bronze Desai spoon, India, ca. 1700 (174) L.49 cm.





Terracotta figurine, Greece, Neolithic (343)  
H.5.6 cm.



Pottery bowl and jug, Palestine, Early Bronze Age (323,324)  
H.5.4 cm., 6 cm.

Bronze sistrum, Egypt, XXth  
Dynasty (293) H.23.4 cm.

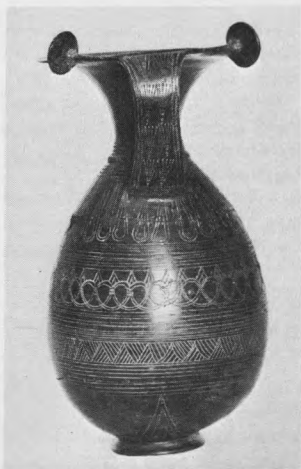


Terracotta silen mask, Greece, 2nd c. B.C.  
(120) H.20.3 cm.



Bronze handle, Greece,  
Hellenistic (349) H.20.5 cm.





Bucchero pitcher, Italy, ca. 600 B.C. (339) H.19.8 cm.



Red-figure kylix, Greece, 5th c. B.C. (2) D.23 cm.



Black-figure kylix, Greece, ca. 500 B.C. (11) D.17 cm.



Fifty-five candle-holders, all the gift of Dr. William D. Curtis, as follows:

Fifty brass candle-holders for use in temples or homes, of various shapes, some in sets of 2, 3 or 4 (12-23, 25-27, 31-43, 45-50), brass candle-holder with man holding monkey aloft (28), brass candle-holder with turtle supporting water bird (29), pair of folding brass candle-holders for traveling (24), iron candle-holder (44).

## INDIAN ART

Stone sculpture: Basalt relief, *Brahma Carried by Hamsa* (338), Pala, 10th c., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson; relief, *Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness* (118), Pala, 10th c.; relief stele depicting Parvati (117), North Bengal, 11th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse; black schist relief stele with representation of Vishnu (290), Sena, 11th-12th c., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Bronze sculpture: 161 objects presented by Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg, as follows:

Altar with seated Jain Thirtankara (158), from Rajasthan, Samvat, 1007-70; statuette of Durga-Mahisa-Asura (153), central India, ca. 12th c.; statuette of Vishnu (181), Punjab, ca. 1300; altar with Jain Thirtankara (160), from Rajasthan, Samvat, dated 1373; figure of standing Vishnu (163), south India, ca. 1500; repoussé relief of seated god (151), Nepal, ca. 16th c.; seated Buddha (152), from Laos, 16th c.; Krishna playing flute (155), south India, 16th c.; lotus with articulated petals having figures in relief on inside (168), from Nepal, ca. 1700; large Desai spoon (174), south India, ca. 1700; square Jain shrine (165), from Gujarat, dated 1534 (A.D. 1471); figure of Jain Thirtankara seated on cushion with niello work (164), from Rajasthan, dated 1774 (A.D. 1711); 28 figures (154, 156, 157, 159, 161, 162, 166, 167, 169-173, 175-180, 182-190), chiefly from central and south India 14th-18th c.; 27 medium-sized statuettes and altars with figures (191-217), undated; 68 smaller bronze figures and altars (218-245, 253, 254, 256, 262), undated; other objects of various forms—altars, containers, plaques etc.—(246-252, 255, 257-261, 263-272), undated.

Statue of Heavenly Beauty (291), south India, 16th-17th c., statue of seated Buddha (292), Nepal, 18th c., both the gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis; brass container (85), gift of Dr. William D. Curtis.

## NEAR EASTERN ART

### Mesopotamia

Lapis lazuli cylinder seal (296), Babylonian, Early Dynastic III, gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

### Egypt

Limestone shawabti (294), XIXth Dynasty; bronze sistrum handle with faces of Hathor (293), XXth Dynasty; bronze sphinx with head of pharaoh (297), New Kingdom; bronze standard with Bes standing on papyrus column (295), 600-400 B.C., all the gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis. Bronze mirror handle with palmette and crocodile head (1), Greco-Egyptian, gift of Dr. Theodore Steegmann.

## Palestine

Pottery: large conical bowl (320), handled jug (321), small bowl with perforated lip (323), all Early Bronze Age I; jar with ledge-handles (318), jug with ledge-handles (319), small jug with painted network (324), plate with ledge-handles (325), dipper with shoulder knob (326), all Early Bronze Age II-III; dipper with pointed bottom (322), handled jug with round bottom (330), handled jug with engraved decoration (335), wide-mouthed bowl with ring bottom (337), all Middle Bronze Age IIc; jug with red painted decoration (329), Late Bronze IIb; dipper with spout (327), carinated jug (331), juglet (332), black juglet (333), open lamp (334), all Late Iron Age II; handled jug (336), 3rd c. B.C.

## GREEK AND ROMAN ART

### Greek

Clay figurine of steatopygous seated woman (343), Neolithic.

Forty-three moulded blue glass beads (344), Mycenaean.

Attic black-figure kylix with dancing satyrs in interior (11), ca. 500 B.C.; fragment of trefoil oinochoe (309), 6th c. B.C., gift of Mrs. C. R. Fleece; red-figure kylix with two figures in tondo, boar hunt on exterior (2), 5th c. B.C., gift of Chorn Memorial Fund; red-glazed baby feeder (307), 4th c. B.C.

Terracotta figurine of nurse with baby (352), Hellenistic; mask of bearded Silen (120), 2nd c. B.C.

Bronze handle with heads of Pan and Herakles (349), Hellenistic; pair of gold earrings with bull's heads (301), Hellenistic.

Glass sand-core flask (351), 2nd c. B.C.

### Etruscan

Bucchero bowl with two handles (306), 7th-6th c. B.C.; bucchero plate (310), 5th c. B.C., gift of Mrs. C. R. Fleece; bucchero pitcher with engraved designs (339), ca. 600 B.C.

### Roman

Pottery: handled cup with grapevine in relief (305), cup with applied vine pattern (353), conical bowl (328), 1st c.; cooking pot (317), 4th c. Two-spouted lamp (304), 1st c.; lamp with Odysseus relief (347), 2nd c.

Set of gold jewelry: pair of earrings, finger ring and necklace, all set with garnets (300), 1st-2nd c.; silver finger ring with carnelian of Eros (302), 2nd c.; bronze crossbow fibula with gold inlay (350), 4th c. Silver coin of Antoninus Pius (311); bronze coin of Tyre (312).

## EARLY CHRISTIAN AND MEDIEVAL ART

Pottery lamp with relief of fish (299), 5th c.

Bronze pendant cross with glass insets (116), 5th c., gift of Mrs. Jesse Wrench; bronze horse fibula (7), South German, 5th-6th c., gift of Mr. Norbert Schimmel; lead seal with figure of saint (303), Byzantine, 12th c.; bronze seal of Baldwin, Archbishop of Trier, Count of Luxemburg, (342), 1307-1354.

Woodcut: *The Finding of Moses*, by Michael Wolgemuth (4), German, 1434-1519.



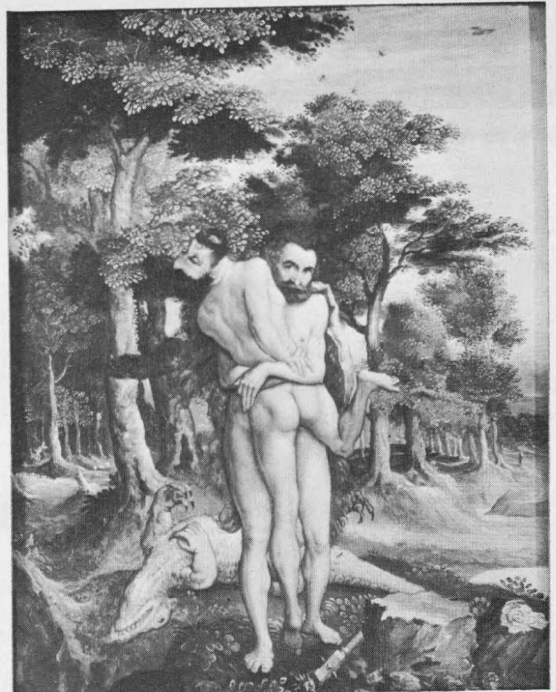
*King Solomon Worshipping Idols*, by Frans Francken II, Flemish, 1581-1642 (9) H.54 cm. W.74.5 cm.





Icon on wood, Greece, ca. 1600 (345) H.22.7 cm., W.17 cm.

*Sophonisbe*, by Matthaeus Merian II, Swiss, 1647 (348) H.96 cm., W.87 cm.



*Herakles and Antaios*, by Matthias Gerung, German, 1500-68/70 (354) H.26 cm., W.32 cm.

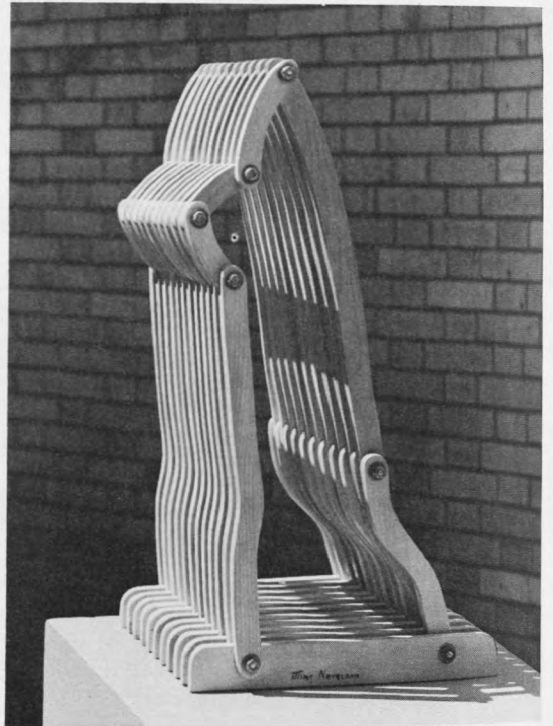


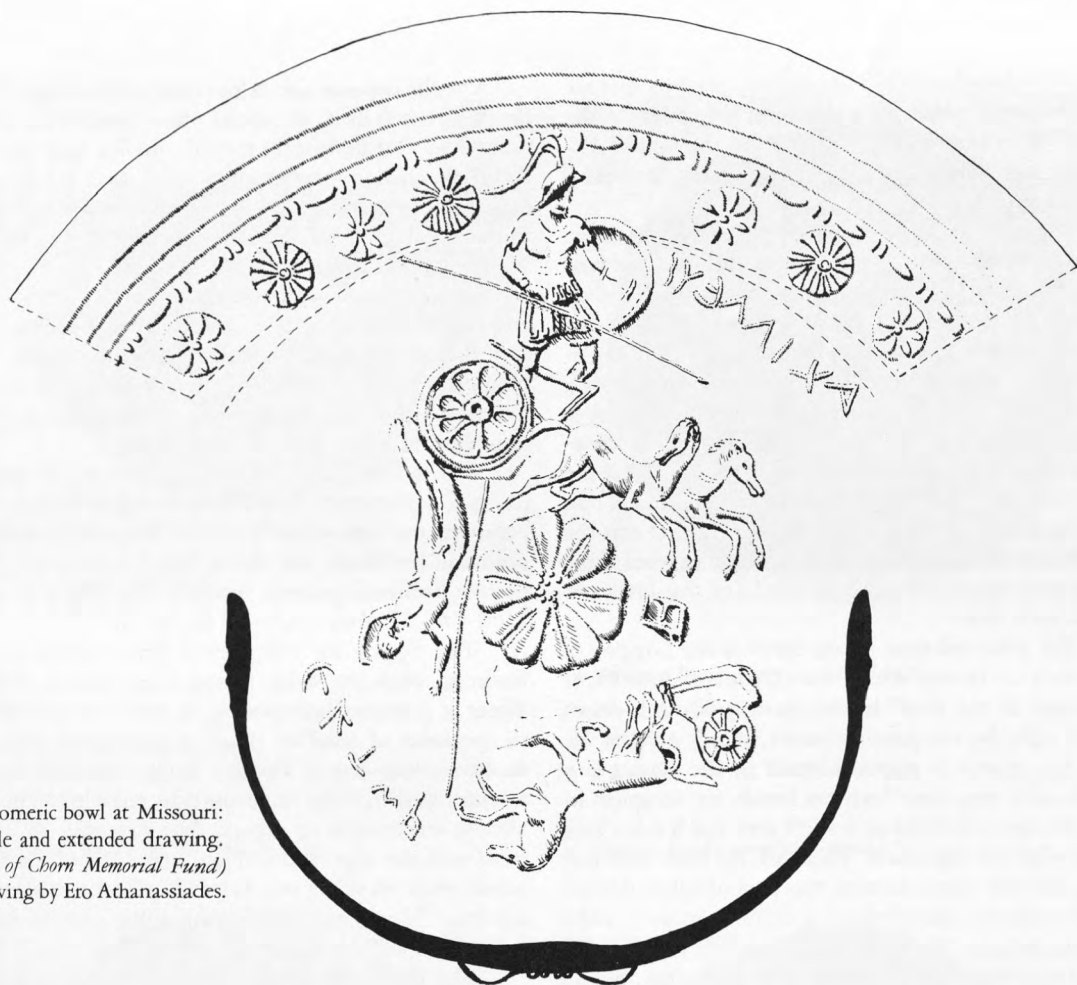
*Ruins*, by Aaron Bohrod, American, contemporary (355) H.49 cm., W.72.5 cm.

*Torso of wood*, by D. K. Jackson, American, contemporary (346) H.38.2 cm.



*Adjustable Torso*, by Mike Nevelson, American, contemporary (316) H.67 cm.





1. Homeric bowl at Missouri:  
profile and extended drawing.  
(Gift of Chorn Memorial Fund)  
Drawing by Ero Athanassiades.

## A New Homeric Illustration

The subject of Homeric illustration, although already treated by scholars in some detail, is always enhanced by the addition of new evidence. Here we present an unpublished example—a Hellenistic terracotta relief bowl in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri.<sup>1</sup>

The bowl (Figs. 1-5) is generally similar to the so-called "Homeric" bowls, but it is of special interest for two reasons. First, it is very likely of East Greek origin, while most of the Homeric bowls are thought to be

products of mainland workshops.<sup>2</sup> Second, it bears a representation of a subject which does not appear on any other Homeric bowl or fragment.

The bowl (Acc. No. 61.26) is hemispherical, 0.74 m. high and 0.126 m. in diameter at the lip. Part of the rim has been broken and mended. The shape is rather shallow, with almost vertical sides and slightly outplayed rim. The walls are thin, swelling slightly at the ridged band near the lip and tapering again at the lip itself. On the flattened bottom is an applied rosette on

which the bowl stands. The rosette, composed of six fleshy bipartite petals, has a cluster of tiny pellets at the center.<sup>3</sup> It is immediately encircled by the figured decoration, not surrounded by rings or leaves, as is common on such bowls.

The well levigated clay is pinkish-buff, the fabric is hard and fine. The glaze is rather dull and has fired light red, mottled with black, around the base and on most of the figured decoration. The top half of the exterior is mostly black, with the glaze worn away in spots. The interior is reddish around the bottom, with a wide black area near the rim. The mottled appearance of the surface may be due to variation of the atmosphere in the kiln, while the change from red at the base to a poor black near the rim, both inside and out, may be due to stacking in the kiln.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the rim area (which would have been most exposed if the vessel was stacked) is blackish, indicates that black was the desired color.

The principal scene on the bowl is the dragging of the body of Hector behind the chariot of Achilles, as described in the *Iliad*.<sup>5</sup> In the chariot, which is drawn to the right by two prancing horses, stands Achilles. He does not appear to support himself in the moving chariot in any way, since both his hands are occupied: he carries a circular shield on his left arm and levels a long spear with his right hand. There are no lines indicating reins, and the horses seem to run uncontrolled. Achilles wears a short, sleeved tunic, a cuirass, greaves and a plumed helmet. He stands so tall that his head projects into the rosettes bordering the scene at the top, and his helmet plume extends still farther, into the border of bead-and-reel. One (eight-spoked) wheel of the chariot is visible. The horses are absurdly small in relation to the size of Achilles. Both prance to the right but the nearer horse looks backward. From behind the chariot extends a thin relief line meant to indicate the ground; on this strip the body of Hector is being dragged. Because of the curvature of the bowl and the need to stretch the picture around the rosette, Hector could not be shown attached to the chariot. As an awkward substitute his feet are pushed up against the wheel, and from this point his legs are twisted down in an arc, with his body curving upward again from the hips. His left arm arches over his head, while his right arm extends along the ground line. Apart from the odd twisting of the legs, the body is shown in a frontal position.

On the opposite side is pictured another biga. This chariot, bereft of its occupant, has completely overturned so that its wheel, much smaller than that of Achilles' chariot, appears on a level with the horses' backs. The farther horse rears up and paws the air, while the nearer horse has fallen to its knees, its neck touching the ground. Its head and one front leg are not visible.

In the space between the hooves of Achilles' horses and the overturned chariot is the monogram EP, probably the potter's signature. To the right of Achilles, just beside his shield, appears his name retrograde in Greek letters. In the space before the rearing horse appears the name of Hector (also in retrograde).

In the field above the figured scene is a border of rosettes, eight-petaled flowers alternating with eighteen-petaled ones. Immediately above these is a border of bead-and-reel motif, and above this is a series of three narrow horizontal grooves, forming four ridges. A plain band (.01 m. wide) continues to the lip.

The figures are not well defined or sharply delineated, while the facial features are scarcely visible. There is a strange inconsistency in the attempt at detail in the folds of Achilles' tunic as contrasted with the summary treatment of Hector's body. The relief has an uneven quality, being quite high in some portions and almost nonexistent in others. For example, Achilles' head and the edge of his shield are in relatively high relief while his upper arm between elbow and sleeve is missing. The rosettes are in low relief and the bead-and-reel row above them is relatively high.

The bowl is, of course, a mould-made product. In the preparation of the mould the figured designs were impressed with stamps before the subsidiary ornament was added. This is certain, since the plume of Achilles' helmet occupies a space in the bead-and-reel border too small for the inclusion of a whole bead.<sup>6</sup> The dragging scene seems to have been stamped into the mould in three parts. The body of Hector is at such a peculiar angle to the chariot that it was probably stamped separately. Achilles' right knee overlaps the rim of the chariot, and thus was much more deeply cut into the mould than the chariot itself. In addition, his stance is somewhat tilted. Thus it would seem that the horses and chariot were stamped first as one unit, while the figures of Hector and Achilles were each stamped separately afterward. The overturned chariot and its horses give the appearance of having been stamped as a single unit.



2. Missouri bowl: side view.  
*(Gift of Chorn Memorial Fund)*



3. Missouri bowl: view of side and bottom.

4. Missouri bowl: view of opposite side.



5. Missouri bowl: view of bottom.





6. Homeric bowl from Rhodes: side view.



8. Bowl from Rhodes: view of bottom.

*Figs. 6-8: Photo Staatliche Museen, Berlin.*

7. Bowl from Rhodes: view of side and bottom.



We can see from the crooked application of the bead-and-reel row in several places that the stamp for this border consisted of only one bead flanked by a reel at either side; this small stamp is repeated all around.

The retrograde inscriptions on the bowl are the result of incising the letters in the mould freehand from left to right. Other retrograde inscriptions are known on Hellenistic relief bowls, although they are not the rule.<sup>7</sup> The monogram was probably impressed with a stamp—its relief is much higher than that of the inscriptions, its letters are thicker and it is not retrograde. The ground line on which Hector is dragged and Achilles' spear closely resemble the inscriptions in width and depth of line, and were undoubtedly added with the stylus at the same time.

With regard to the provenance of the Missouri bowl, we know only that it came from the Istanbul market. This fact alone suggests an East Greek origin. Interestingly enough, the closest parallel is a relief bowl from Rhodes, recently published by Greifenhagen (Figs. 6-8).<sup>8</sup> This bowl is decorated with three scenes repeated all around: Scylla pulling a comrade of Odysseus from the ship, Odysseus and an archer in a boat advancing to attack Scylla, and an unrelated scene—the rape of Cassandra. Greifenhagen has collected five other examples which have representations of Scylla and can be closely grouped with the Rhodian bowl.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, three of these were produced in the same workshop. Two of these three were found in Rhodes, a fact which certainly suggests the location of the workshop on this island, although, as Greifenhagen points out, relief bowls are rare in Rhodes.<sup>10</sup> The provenances of the other examples of the group (Thasos, Amisos and Parthenion in the Cimmerian Bosphorus) are strongly indicative of an East Greek origin for the whole group.

Although it is difficult to compare stylistically articles which were mass-produced, it may be instructive to point out the similarities and differences between the Scylla bowl from Rhodes and the Missouri bowl. Both are low in shape, with wide bases curving into straight sides. The rim, almost straight on the Missouri bowl, slants inward somewhat in the case of the Scylla bowl, but both have tapered, plain rims with no roll. Each has a bead-and-reel border above the figured decoration, with horizontal ridging above the border. The quality of the relief is very similar in the two, with the same incon-

sistency of height. Achilles and Odysseus are alike in dress and movement. It may be that the stamp used for the figure of Achilles was originally meant for a striding warrior like Odysseus but was cut at knee level to make it serve as a figure in a chariot.

In several respects the Missouri and Scylla bowls differ. The latter is broader in shape; it has neither inscriptions nor a potter's monogram; its basal motif is a gorgoneion ringed with leaves, not a rosette; its figures are arranged in a frieze. Most important, the fabrics of the two appear to be different. The Rhodian fabric is "schiefergrau und hat einen mattglänzenden, grauschwarzen Überzug."<sup>11</sup> The body of the Missouri bowl is pinkish-buff, its glaze a poor black heavily mottled with red. But the differences between the two bowls are less striking than those which appear when mainland Greek bowls are brought into the comparison. We may contrast the Missouri bowl especially with a Homeric bowl in Athens which pictures a battle with chariots (Figs. 9 and 10).<sup>12</sup> The figures on the Athens bowl are stocky and fairly well rounded, each presenting a smooth, compact surface. They are strictly confined within a narrow frieze which is defined at top and bottom by wide rows of simplified guilloche and egg-and-dart patterns. The relatively slender and sketchy figures of the Missouri and Scylla bowls, with their variable relief height and broken surfaces, are quite different. On both the Missouri and Scylla bowls the upper border is narrow and consists of bead-and-reel, a pattern unknown on the mainland Greek Homeric bowls. The mainland bowls are taller and have splaying rims with rolled lips.

Bringing non-figured bowls into the comparison, the vessels closest in shape to the Missouri bowl are the so-called "Megarian" bowls of Pergamon and Priene,<sup>13</sup> while the Scylla bowl is most like South Russian examples.<sup>14</sup> It seems clear that the Missouri and Scylla bowls are in a group quite separate from the mainland bowls in style, though of the same general intent. The characteristics of the Missouri bowl corroborate Greifenhagen's idea that there existed in East Greece at least one workshop producing Homeric bowls.

The EP monogram on the Missouri bowl does not help to indicate the place of origin because no other relief bowls with this monogram are known, although there are signatures on Megarian bowls from all the

centers that produced this ware.<sup>15</sup> A series of signatures in monogram is known from Delos, but none of these is of the same form as the Missouri monogram.<sup>16</sup>

The Missouri bowl sheds no light on the problem of dating the East Greek Homeric bowls. Greifenhagen believes that Hausmann's convincing dating of the mainland Homeric bowls, ca. 175-125 B.C., is also applicable to the East Greek bowls,<sup>17</sup> and for the present this is the closest dating obtainable.

The dragging of Hector in front of the walls of Troy and around the tumulus of Patroclus, a subject much used during the final phase of the black-figure period of Attic vase-painting,<sup>18</sup> seems to have been dropped in the fifth century B.C. The scene next appears in a rather softened form on two Apulian red-figured vases of the fourth century<sup>19</sup> and on a relief krater of the same period.<sup>20</sup> On black-figure vases the dragging scene is almost always a prominent element of the decoration. In various combinations there appear a charioteer who guides the quadriga while Achilles runs beside it, the tumulus of Patroclus and its accompanying serpent, the soul of Patroclus, the figure of Iris, the grieving Priam and Hekabe, and accessory warriors. On the fourth-century vases the scene is subsidiary to a larger composition, or in a less prominent part of the vase.

The Missouri bowl portrayal shows no stylistic and little iconographic similarity with any of the earlier representations. Lacking iconographic parallels among Hellenistic works, one must look instead to Roman Imperial monuments. In this period there was a great renewal of interest in the subject of the dragging of Hector, and representations in various media are found throughout the Roman world.<sup>21</sup> In the Roman scheme an oversized Achilles angrily drives a biga, often before the walls of Troy but seldom in connection with the tumulus of Patroclus. Hector's grieving family also appears at times. The fullest illustration of this scheme is on a silver jug from Bernay, dated to the mid-first century A.D.<sup>22</sup> On one side is engraved the dragging of Hector. At the center Achilles stands in his chariot, the rim of which reaches just to his knees. He is conspicuously larger than his charioteer and is even equal in size to his horses. In the background are the walls of Troy, upon which appear the grieving Priam and Hekabe. Warriors appear upon the walls and behind the chariot. Although Achilles is nude but for his cloak on the Ber-



9. Bowl with chariot scene: view of side and bottom. National Museum, Athens.

10. Bowl in Athens: view of bottom.





nay jug and fully clothed on the Missouri bowl, his attitude, his disproportionately large size and the three-quarter view, with the chariot up to knee level, is rather similar in both cases. On both vessels the body of Hector is turned from the legs into a frontal position, and the left arm is arched over the head. Hector's arched arms on the Missouri bowl are probably the remnants of a portrayal with bound wrists, as on the Bernay jug. If a second-century B.C. date is correct for this bowl, it is the earliest of the works with this type of representation.

Lehmann suggested that the scenes on the Bernay jug were copied from earlier silver vessels, which he believed were made by a craftsman working in Asia Minor under the influence of the Pergamene school, during the first century B.C. These vessels in turn he thought were dependent upon Pergamene-influenced paintings of the first half of the second century,<sup>23</sup> and he offered reconstructions of these paintings built up from the Bernay jug and other Roman works. It is tempting to relate the Missouri bowl to a monumental original, and, indeed, to use it as further evidence for the existence of such an original. From literary sources, we know that large-scale series of Homeric scenes did exist in the Hellenistic period.<sup>24</sup> But Lehmann's hypothesis is based purely on stylistic considerations, and the results of his method of reconstructing a monumental painting (of which there is no exact literary record) from minor works at least two centuries later in date must be considered highly conjectural.

Instead of seeking a source for the Missouri bowl illustration in monumental painting, we may perhaps hit closer to the mark if we attempt to relate it to manuscript illumination. The role of illustrated papyri in iconographic transmission is still being debated, but Weitzmann has presented convincing arguments for the existence in the Hellenistic period of illustrated papyrus rolls of epic poetry (among other subjects), and for the use of this rich source material by creators of monumental works.<sup>25</sup> To explain the resurgence of interest during the Roman period in the subject of the dragging of Hector, it is not necessary to point to a single Hellenistic monumental original; surely the increased use of the subject could have been due as well to the influence of Hellenistic illuminated manuscripts of the *Iliad*.<sup>26</sup> The dragging scene on the Missouri bowl can be related to the Iliac tablets of the first century A.D. and to

the mainland Greek Homeric bowls, both of which were clearly inspired by manuscripts. However, the relationship of East Greek Homeric bowls to illustrated papyri is not so clear as that of some mainland Greek bowls—for example, Berlin 3161n, with its long inscription and "dense sequence of phases of one and the same episode."<sup>27</sup> The two Missouri bowl scenes appear to be small extracts from more complex but not consecutive episodes. A remnant of an illustration of the funeral games of Patroclus may perhaps be seen in the overturned chariot opposite the dragging scene. During the course of the chariot race at the games, the chariot of Eumelos was upset by Athena and he was thrown clear.<sup>28</sup> Pictures of this race, although with all vehicles upright, appear just above the dragging of Hector on two Iliac tablets.<sup>29</sup> Chariots overturned in races, with stumbling horses, are known in later Roman art.<sup>30</sup> On the Scylla bowl, illustrations of the *Odyssey* and *Iliupersis* are irrationally mixed—the rape of Cassandra intrudes between the striding Odysseus and his target, Scylla. Influence from manuscripts has here become so garbled as to lose its meaning. Note also the constant repetition of just one group on Louvre CA2320.<sup>31</sup> But if the East Greek Homeric bowls were ultimately derived from manuscript illustrations, their immediate sources were metal vessels.

Hausmann has carefully summarized the evidence for the direct dependence of Homeric bowls upon metal prototypes, and describes in detail the preparation of moulds for the terracotta bowls.<sup>32</sup> The moulds were not mechanical reproductions of entire metal vessels, but were prepared with groups of single stamps, each one of which was mechanically derived from relief in metal.<sup>33</sup> By this method the pictorial narrative of the papyrus roll, even if carefully copied on the metal vessel, would be lost to the potter, who probably did not see the metal reliefs but only casts of portions of them, which he could select and mix at will.<sup>34</sup>

The Missouri bowl adds one more item to the repertory of extant Homeric illustrations and helps to show that the manufacture of bowls of Homeric type, previously thought to have been confined to mainland Greece, extended to East Greece as well.

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- <sup>1</sup>This article has been adapted from a thesis for the M.A. degree at the University of Missouri (June 1963). I wish to thank Professor Saul S. Weinberg and Professor G. Roger Edwards for helpful criticism and comments.
- <sup>2</sup>The Attic and Boeotian bowls known up to 1959 are collected in U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten* (Stuttgart 1959). An additional piece is listed in the review by H. A. Thompson, *AJA* 65 (1961) 321.
- <sup>3</sup>Cf. F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs* (Paris 1922) 353, fig. 74n.
- <sup>4</sup>F. F. Jones in H. Goldman, *Tarsus I* (Princeton 1950) 163; H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 454.
- <sup>5</sup>*Iliad* xxii. 395-405; 462-465; xxiv. 14-22. In accordance with Roman iconography, the dragging scene probably takes place before the walls of Troy, not around the tumulus of Patroclus. No background is shown.
- <sup>6</sup>For the opposite procedure see P.V.C. Baur, "Megarian Bowls . . . in Yale University," *AJA* 45 (1941) 246, with reference to bowl no. 197; also C. Robert, "Homerische Becher," *50.B.W.Pr.* (1890) 71.
- <sup>7</sup>M. B. Hobling, "Excavations at Sparta, 1924-25, pt. 5 . . .," *BSA* 26 (1923-25) 291 f. and n. 4—a retrograde inscription on a relief bowl of the first half of the second century B.C.
- <sup>8</sup>A. Greifenhagen, *Beiträge zur antiken Reliefkeramik (JdI, Ergänzungsbeft 21 [1963] 52-65)*. Photographs courtesy of Dr. Greifenhagen.
- <sup>9</sup>Listed and illustrated as follows in *op. cit.* 63f.: 1. Bowl from Rhodes now in South German private collection; 2. Fragment from Albergo del Sole, Rhodes, 1960; 3. Bowl formerly in University Collection, Kiel (now lost); 4. Fragment from Parthenion in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, now in the Hermitage; 5. Fragment from Thasos, *Etudes Thasiennes* 7 (Paris 1960) 133, no. 14; 6. Louvre CA2320, from Samsûn (Amisos).
- <sup>10</sup>Greifenhagen, *op. cit.* 60. see also *Praktika* 1960 (1966) 277 and pl. 219.
- <sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* 52. The fragment recently excavated at Albergo del Sole is of the same fabric, *ibid.* 60.
- <sup>12</sup>National Museum 2108 (Hausmann's no. HB7). Photographs courtesy of Dr. Hausmann.
- <sup>13</sup>A. Conze et al., *Altertümer von Pergamon I*, pt. 2 (Berlin 1913) *Beiblatt* 40 and 43, especially nos. 4, 10, 23; T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene* (Berlin 1904) 402, fig. 528. The Pergamene parallels do not, however, offer a clue to provenance, since no bowls of Homeric type have come to light in the extensive excavations at Pergamon (see Greifenhagen, *op. cit.* 60, n. 151). Also similar in shape is a second-century B.C. bowl from Thasos (*Etudes Thasiennes* 7, 132, no. 8 and pl. 59).
- <sup>14</sup>R. Zahn, "Hellenistische Reliefgefäße aus Südrussland," *JdI* 23 (1908) 58, fig. 18a, and 52, fig. 7a.
- <sup>15</sup>E.g., signatures from Athens (Thompson, *op. cit.* 451f., n. 3); South Russia (Zahn, *op. cit.* 72f.); Sparta (Hobling, *op. cit.* 291f.).
- <sup>16</sup>Courby, *op. cit.* 394, fig. 83. One of the monograms there illustrated contains *epsilon* and *rho* but appears to contain other letters as well. The form of the Missouri monogram makes it likely that *epsilon* and *rho* were the first two letters of the potter's name. It is not possible to connect it with the bowl from Dura signed ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (P.V.C. Baur and M. I. Rostovtzev, *Excavations at Dura Europos* 4, pt. 1, fasc. 2 (New Haven 1949) 12, no. 70), which was probably a product of the first century A.D. (Jones in *Tarsus I*, 178).
- <sup>17</sup>Greifenhagen, *op. cit.* 62.
- <sup>18</sup>To the vases showing the dragging of Hector listed in J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford 1956) and E. Haspels, *Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936) add: an unattributed krater (now lost?) formerly no. 98 of the Heyl Collection, E. Langlotz, *Sammlung von Antiquitäten . . . Max von Heyl* (Darmstadt 1930), pl. 32; an Antiope Group hydria in the Boston Museum, Emily T. Vermeule, "Three New Illustrations of the Trojan War," *AJA* 67 (1963) 218f.; an unpublished Leagros Group kalpis in Nîmes, which Mrs. Vermeule kindly called to my attention.
- <sup>19</sup>H. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* (Berlin 1872) nos. 3228 and 3254, M. Schmidt, *Der Dareiosmaler und sein Umkreis* (Münster 1960) 32-34.
- <sup>20</sup>A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin 1885) 989f., no. 388A.
- <sup>21</sup>These are listed in K. Bulas, *Les illustrations antiques de l'Iliade* (Lwow 1929) 92-96, and "New Illustrations to the Iliad," *AJA* 54 (1950) 112-114. See also K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Two Roman Silver Jugs," *AJA* 42 (1938) 92-96.
- <sup>22</sup>Lehmann-Hartleben, *op. cit.*, 82-105.
- <sup>23</sup>*Ibid.* especially 98, 104.
- <sup>24</sup>*Ibid.* 87, for a summary of the literary sources.
- <sup>25</sup>K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1959) especially Chap. 2. In reference to Hausmann's belief in the ultimate Alexandrian source of iconography transmitted through manuscripts (*op. cit.*, 40-45), there may be cited two lamp handle shields in the British Museum which are decorated with the dragging of Hector (H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum* (London 1914) nos. 876 and 877). The two handles, both from the same mould, were found separately in Egypt; it is probable that they are of Egyptian manufacture, late first century B.C. to early first A.D. Although small, the representation of the dragging is fairly elaborate, the walls and gates of Troy and Hector's parents being included.
- <sup>26</sup>Or perhaps an illustrated roll of an *Achilleis* (Weitzmann, *op. cit.* 54ff.) The dragging of Hector appears as part of the Achilles life cycle in the Tensa Capitolina and "Capitoline Peristomium." The dragging of Hector also appears in Euripides' *Andromache*, 105-108, and in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 258-268.
- <sup>27</sup>Weitzmann, *op. cit.* 39ff. For a discussion of the relation of mainland Greek Homeric bowls to manuscript illumination, see *ibid.* 38ff.; Weitzmann, *Illustration in Roll and Codex* 18ff.; Hausmann, *op. cit.* 42ff.
- <sup>28</sup>*Iliad* xxiii. 391-397.
- <sup>29</sup>K. Bulas, "New Illustrations to the Iliad," *AJA* 54 (1950) 112-114 and pl. 18; O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (Bonn 1873) pl. 1.
- <sup>30</sup>Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. Circus, 1192, fig. 1523—a Severan mosaic in the Musée de Lyon. G. Roger Edwards has suggested that the overturned chariot may be a symbol of Hector's defeat.
- <sup>31</sup>Greifenhagen, *op. cit.* 61, figs. 57-58.
- <sup>32</sup>Hausmann, *op. cit.* 32f. To his references add K. Friis Johansen, "New Evidence about the Hoby Silver Cups," *Acta Archaeologica* 31 (1960) 185-190.
- <sup>33</sup>They belong to Robert's "gestempelter" class, *op. cit.* 5f. and 69ff., elaborated by Hausmann, *op. cit.* 35ff.
- <sup>34</sup>Hausmann, *op. cit.* 32.

# Some Italian Drawings for Known Works

Since 1962, when it was decided to acquire drawings for a study collection, a modest number of examples useful for teaching has been assembled. Among them are drawings which are preparatory for known works of art and hence possess special interest. Four of these, all from Italy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are presented here.

While both the attribution and the relation of the drawing at Missouri (Fig. 1) to Agostino Carracci's painting, *The Last Communion of St. Francis* (Fig. 2), have been accepted since Michael Jaffé published it in 1956, there has been some question about the date.<sup>1</sup> Jaffé, who sees strongly Venetian qualities in the painting, places it early in the 1590's, after the artist's second sojourn in Venice.<sup>2</sup> Calvesi, on the other hand, cites it as evidence of Agostino's style before his first trip to northern Italy, claiming that its dependence on Bolognese Mannerism would not be in evidence after the early 1580's.<sup>3</sup> The style of the drawing can be compared to one of Agostino's studies for his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, a painting documented by Faberio's citation of it in his oration at Agostino's funeral, which probably dates in 1584.<sup>4</sup> The subcortical and hence automatic traits of the artist's handwriting are similar in both drawings: drapery is defined by meandering, angular outlines, facial structure built over a quickly sketched oval, ears and eyes indicated by the same shorthand symbols. However, the sketch for the *Adoration* is bolder and obviously done quickly and with some ease, in comparison to the timid and painstaking Missouri drawing. This is most likely due to the fact that the latter was made some years earlier.

Circumstantial evidence of an early date for our drawing is supplied by another *Last Communion of St. Francis* which was unknown to Jaffé and Calvesi at the time when they wrote (Fig. 3). Although it had been attributed to Cerano, it was associated with the name of Denis Calvaert when Griseri published it in 1958.<sup>5</sup> It does, in fact, coincide with Calvaert's stylistic de-

velopment in the latter half of the 1570's, just after he had returned to Bologna, leaving his master Lorenzo Sabbatini in Rome, where they had worked for several years.<sup>6</sup> It was during this first period of Calvaert's complete independence that he forged the Flemish, Bolognese and Roman elements of his background into a coherent personal style, a process which was completed by 1579.<sup>7</sup> The compositional scheme of the Turin *St. Francis* is related to his paintings from earlier in the decade, while the saint himself represents a type he used from about 1580 onward.<sup>8</sup> Much the same can be said of the handling: the harder and more acid areas of color are indicative of his earlier works, while the rich surface of some sections predicts his mature style. The Turin *St. Francis*, then, a product of Bolognese Mannerism, probably was made by Calvaert in Bologna between 1575 and 1579, that is, during the period of Agostino's early training in his native town, when he was primarily concerned with the older, Mannerist generation of artists, including Calvaert.<sup>9</sup>

Agostino, who had worked with various Bolognese masters until 1581, radically changed his style shortly afterward, owing to the influence of a journey through northern Italy.<sup>10</sup> This is reflected in his reproductive engravings, which, after depending on Mannerist works through 1581, suddenly switch to the "colore" tradition in 1582.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, his interest in Calvaert probably dates from shortly before his first journey northward, after the Flemish master had established himself in Bologna on a permanent basis. It is doubtful that the relationship between the Dulwich and Turin paintings is due to Calvaert's having copied Agostino, since in 1581 the latter was an unknown artist in his early twenties who had yet to receive a single public commission, while Calvaert, an established master, had already opened an "academy" in Bologna.<sup>12</sup>

It would seem, then, that Agostino based his painting on Calvaert's example shortly after it had been completed, which leads to a date of ca. 1580-81. In the



1. (Opposite page) *The Last Communion of St. Francis*, by Agostino Carracci (1557-1602). Pen and brown ink on off-white paper. Inscribed "(D)el Carracci" in pale brown ink in the lower center. H.23.7 cm., W.14.2 cm. Museum purchase, 65.20.

2. (Below) *The Last Communion of St. Francis*, by Agostino Carracci. Picture Gallery, Dulwich College (courtesy of the Governors of Dulwich College).

3. (Right) *The Last Communion of St. Francis*, by Denis Calvaert. Accademia Albertina, Turin (Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Piemonte).



process he imbued the image with greater simplicity and integration. By means of a series of minor yet significant changes the complicated surface patterns of the Turin example are transformed into a stable and balanced composition. Except for the central group, which remains relatively unchanged, the figures are transposed by means of color, value and positioning, in a manner which clarifies their function within the surface composition. In the main this consists of separating and isolating the central group, simplifying the architectural background and juxtaposing similar colors on either side of a central axis, so that a series of geometric units (rectangles, triangles) and bilateral symmetry become immediately perceptible.<sup>13</sup> However, since the Missouri drawing is not identical to either of the painted examples, its place in this process needs some definition.

The general disposition and the poses of the central group of figures are identical, for the most part, in the drawing and the two paintings (Figs. 1-3). This in itself is inconclusive, since rather than narrowing down the various possible relationships, it merely indicates that the drawing could be preparatory for or derived from either of the painted versions, as well as being a link between them. On the other hand, certain of the details in the drawing correspond to Calvaert's version alone (the four candlesticks on the altar, rather than two on a raised step at the back of the altar), while others, which depart from the Turin example, appear in Agostino's canvas (the simplified frame and picture behind the altar). The drawing, then, either was made after Calvaert's painting in preparation for Agostino's, or else was made with both examples in mind. The fact that some of the details in the drawing relate to neither painting (such as the position of the left arm of St. Francis and the pose of the monk standing to the right of the altar) suggests that the latter alternative is the more accurate.

Michael Jaffé has pointed out that Agostino's painting was cut down at the sides, since it is doubtful that the two monks holding tapers were meant to be bisected by the frame.<sup>14</sup> If one reconstructs the Dulwich painting in accordance with this suggestion, it is immediately evident that there is a more direct relation between the two canvases than there is between either of them and the Missouri drawing. The latter, then, most likely does not form one of the steps in Agostino's process of transforming Calvaert's example into

a less Mannerist entity, but rather seems to be an after-thought that goes beyond his painted solution. While it, as well, most likely was cut down (since the kneeling monk on the right is abruptly bisected), the position of the background curtains suggests that such cutting was relatively minimal. The drawing, then, advances one step beyond the second painted version, in reducing the number of figures, moving the center of interest from the physical center of the picture plane and establishing a spatial recession that moves on a diagonal from the lower right corner, rather than receding from both sides toward the middle. Therefore the drawing predicts the type of composition that Agostino would eventually use in his *Adoration*, which he painted after his return from northern Italy in 1584.<sup>15</sup> It is but another indication of his turn from central Italian Mannerism toward the more dynamic propensities of the north Italian "colore" tradition, which can be traced in his dated prints as well.<sup>16</sup>

A highly finished drawing now at Missouri<sup>17</sup> is closely related to Francesco Vanni's *Flight into Egypt*, painted for the church of SS. Quirico e Giulietta, Siena, shortly after his trip to Rome in 1603 (Figs. 4, 5).<sup>18</sup> In spite of its correspondence to the painting in both composition and details, there is clear evidence that the drawing is not a copy after the canvas. While this evidence, in part, consists of minor details,<sup>19</sup> it is the freer and more limbing conception and handling of the drawing, as compared to the stiff and frozen forms in the painting, which ultimately belie the copyist's hand. The relation of the drawing to the painting, then, runs counter to the exact, tightly drawn duplications or loosely handled, free interpretations that are usually manifest in copies.

There is no difficulty in relating both the figure style and handling of the Missouri sheet to Vanni's drawings from the 1590's on. The rhythmic patterns of both poses and drapery folds, insistent outlines tempered by parallel lines of hatching over a rubbed background, and indication of highlights by means of discrete, untouched areas of the original paper, can be found in such equally finished studies as the *Sieneſe Saints* for the upper section of the engraved *Map of Siena* (ca. 1595)<sup>20</sup> or the *modello* in Worcester for the painting *St. Ansano Baptizing the Sieneſe* (completed in 1596).<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, details of handling and physiog-

monic types in the Missouri *Flight* are extremely close to those in the Worcester *Baptism*; compare, for example, the heads of the Madonna, St. Joseph and the angel who leads them in the former, with the kneeling female and male saint in the center foreground and the Virgin toward the upper right corner in the latter.<sup>22</sup> Since this comparison is further supported by the general characteristics already mentioned, as well as the degree of finish and medium of the two sheets,<sup>23</sup> the Missouri drawing can be attributed to Vanni with a high degree of certainty.

In addition to offering stylistic evidence, the Worcester drawing serves to define the purpose of the Missouri sheet in Vanni's working process. The contract for the *Baptism* states that Vanni had given a drawing of the composition to the "Opera" of the church, which he was to improve and amplify further in the final canvas.<sup>24</sup> There can be no doubt that the Worcester drawing is that mentioned in the contract, since it is inscribed on the *verso* by Vanni himself, where he states that he is obligated to execute the design in oil.<sup>25</sup> The drawing, then, served as a *modello*, made explicitly for the commissioners of the painting so that they might have some idea of the appearance of the projected altarpiece. As Riedl has pointed out, it was neither the first nor the last step in his working process, since drawings survive which lead up to this phase of the composition as well as beyond it, to include sketches of individual figures which illustrate the way in which poses were reworked before being brought together in a compositional study.<sup>26</sup> Given the fact that such highly finished *modelli* were common in Vanni's *oeuvre*, and that, for example, the preparatory sheet for the *Plan of Siena* closely corresponds to the final engraving,<sup>27</sup> it is not impossible that a further *modello* was made by Vanni after he had reworked the composition represented by the Worcester drawing, and just before he began to execute the canvas. Most likely this is the stage of his working process represented by the Missouri *Flight into Egypt*: a highly finished *modello* on which the painting is based—the last in a series of such sheets, in their turn separated by studies for individual figures.

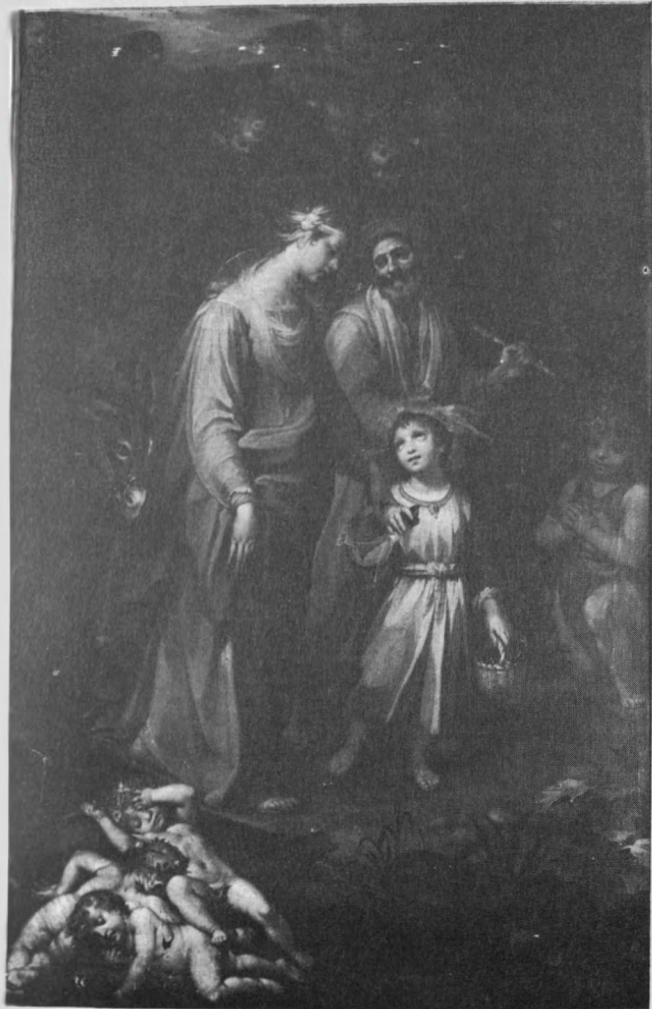
We now come to a drawing<sup>28</sup> which was published by Tancred Borenius and Rudolf Wittkower in 1937. At that time they pointed out that the figures on the *recto*

correspond to two etchings by Salvator Rosa and, furthermore, that they are reverse images of the prints, which depart from them in some details (Figs. 6, 8, 9).<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, their conclusion that the drawing may be preparatory for rather than a copy after the etchings was extremely tentative.

The pen studies are somewhat untypical of Rosa's drawing style, which in the main is extremely free and tends to suggest rather than describe the objects being represented. While the scene on the *verso* of the sheet, most likely a group of mythological figures, does conform to this image and can be related to other drawings by his hand (Fig. 7),<sup>30</sup> it is equally true that his preparatory studies, even if one considers only those for prints, are extremely heterogeneous in character. For example, they run from the refined and almost Mannerist elegance of a pen and wash sketch for *Apollo and the Cumean Sybil* to a bold drawing for one of the *Capricci*, where blotches of strong shadow overwhelm the line, to the bravura of a frenetic pen and wash study for the *St. Alberto* to the hesitant and, in places, unresolved pen drawing for the *Genio*.<sup>31</sup> Since the majority of his prints were made in the relatively limited period of ca. 1656-1664 (the former being the date of the etchings in question),<sup>32</sup> one can postulate that the differences which strike the eye when perusing the preparatory drawings for them are due to an inherent variety in Rosa's style and handling rather than to his internal chronological development. While other drawings by his hand that display the same finesse and hesitation in the line as the *recto* of the Missouri sheet are rare, they are by no means nonexistent, as can be seen in certain portions of the study for the *Genio*, mentioned above, and a sheet of miscellaneous figures in Leipzig which is preparatory for his *Battle Scene* in the Louvre (1652).<sup>33</sup> Therefore, although the *Studies of Soldiers* on the Missouri example may be unusual for Rosa, the fact that they are not unique in his production, in conjunction with their relationship to his signed etchings and the more typical sketch on the *verso*, strongly suggest that Borenius and Wittkower were correct in attributing the drawing to him. On the other hand there is room for hesitancy, for his prints and paintings were copied widely, and in the eighteenth century his style was so much a part of English taste that this process was accelerated.<sup>34</sup>







4. (Left) *The Flight into Egypt*, by Francesco Vanni (1563-1610). Black and red chalk on light, buff paper, pasted down. H.27.1 cm., W. 18.4 cm. Museum purchase, 64.88.

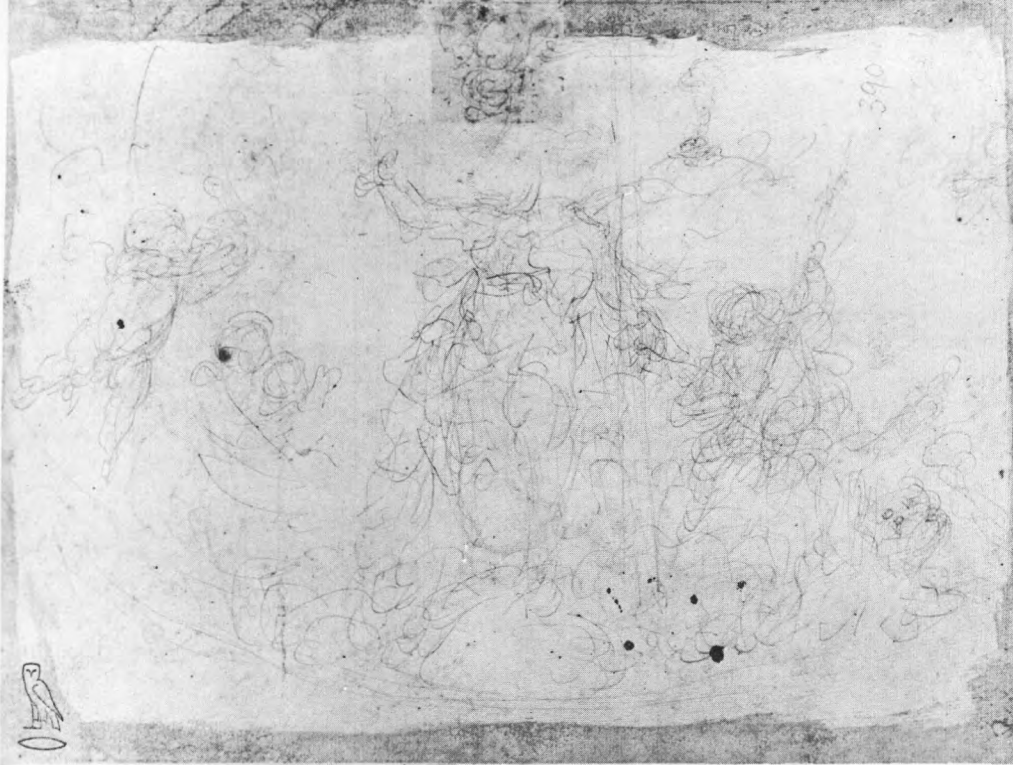
5. (Above) *The Flight into Egypt*, by Francesco Vanni. SS. Quirico e Giulietta, Siena (Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Siena).

Further difficulties arise when one seeks to define the relation of the drawing to the two etchings in question (Figs. 6, 8). While it is true that the drawn versions are not exact reproductions of the prints (nor would they be even if they were not reverse images), it is equally true that their dimensions are identical and, furthermore, their careful handling and complete lack of shading belie the rough, free and sketchy quality of the etchings. Since it is the finished product rather than the preparatory drawing which is more loosely handled, it is difficult at first to see just what purpose the drawing served. While it is tempting to suggest that they formed the bare outlines of the poses and compositional relationships of the figures, which Rosa then freely developed on the plate itself, this would overlook the fact that in the prints the figures are not defined by outlines in their entirety. For example, the profile of the weight-bearing leg of the standing soldier in the etching is delineated by a contrast of light and shadow, where sections of unworked plate meet a series of parallel lines that run at right angles to it, while in the drawing all that separates the mass of the leg from the bordering area is a thin contour (Figs. 6, 8). We are faced here with basically different approaches, the one (in the print) dealing with mass and space, the other (in the drawing) with line alone. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the etching of the two seated soldiers could be an amplified version of the stage represented by the drawing (Figs. 6, 9), this relationship cannot be claimed for the drawing and both of the related etchings in their entirety.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand, this dualism of conception does not only hold true when one compares the drawing to the prints, but also for different portions of the same etching: the pointing arm and weight-bearing leg of the standing soldier, for example (Fig. 8). Therefore it is not impossible that the drawing did serve as the starting point for the prints, since the original outlines still can be seen. This is equally evident in other prints from the series, where outline and value contrast are used in separate portions of the same figure.<sup>36</sup> To use the line in the drawing as a guide for the outer limits of the hatching in the print is a simple matter, as is the reverse process, reducing the edge created by the meeting of light and shade to a thinly drawn contour. The relation of the drawing to the print, then, could



6. *Figures of Men in Armor*, by Salvator Rosa (1615-1673). Pen and brown ink on white paper. H. 16.5 cm., W. 23.5 cm. David T. Owsley Purchase Fund, 65.189.



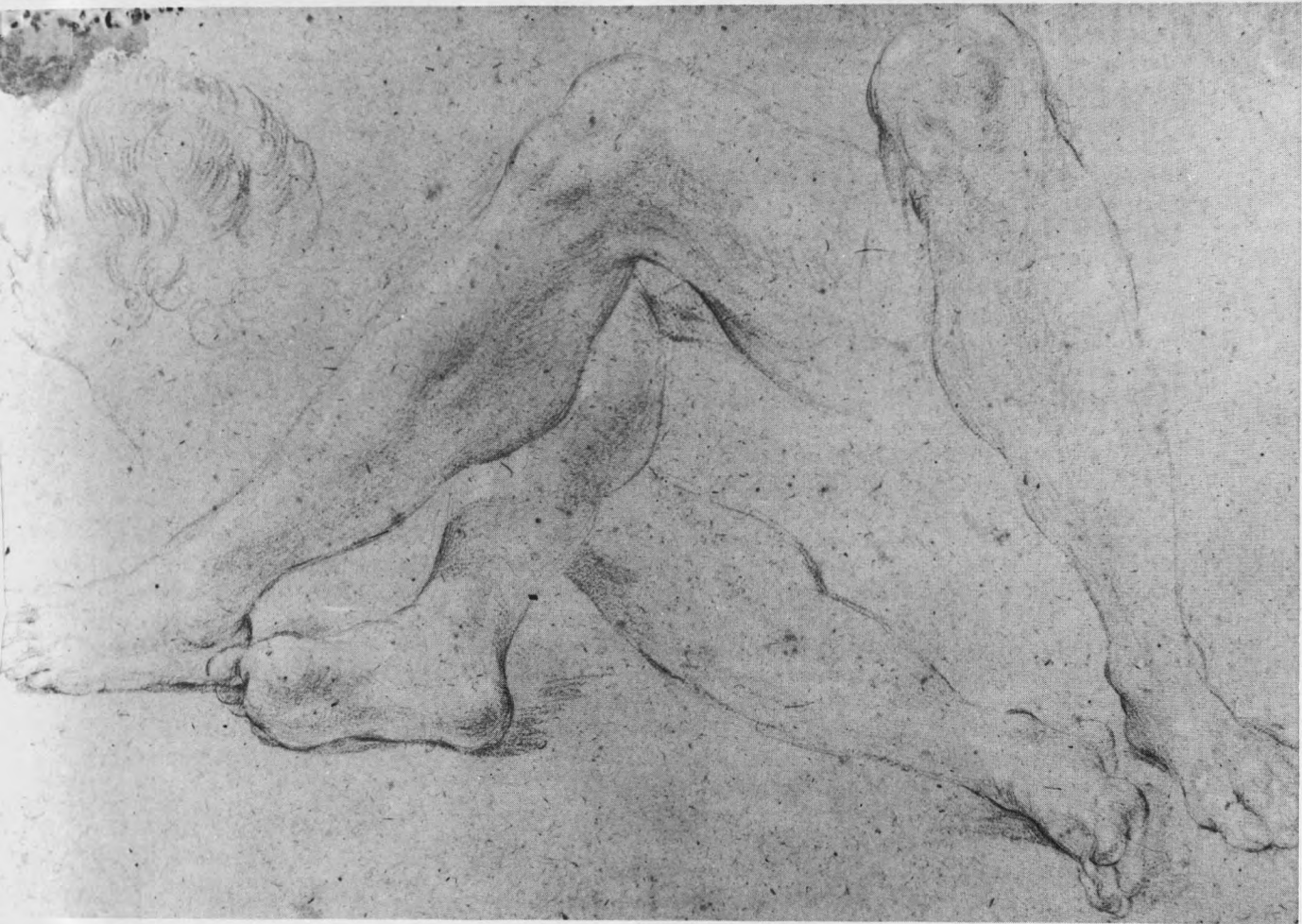
7. *A Mythological Scene*, by Salvator Rosa. Lead pencil on white paper. *Verso* of Fig. 6.

8, 9. *Soldiers*, by Salvator Rosa. Etchings (B.27, B.47), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest (courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art).





10. *The Head and Hand of a Turbaned Youth*, by Giovanni Battista Gaulli, called Baciccio (1639-1709). Red chalk with white heightening (in part oxidized) on light brown paper. H. 27.2 cm., W. 41 cm. David T. Owsley Purchase Fund, 65.147.



11. *Studies of Legs and a Head*, by Giovanni Battista Gaulli. *Verso* of Fig. 10.

be either that it was part of Rosa's working process, moving toward the print, or the work of a copyist, moving away from it. Therefore the reversal of the image is of primary importance, for such would not normally be the case if the drawing were a copy of the engraving, while it is the automatic result of working from a drawing to a plate, to the printed version. This, in conjunction with the fact that the dimensions of the figures in both the drawing and the prints are identical, leads to the conclusion that the drawing was transferred by Rosa to the plate, which was then freely enriched, using this minimal indication of pose, contour and composition as a guide.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, we present a sheet of sketches which once formed part of a sketchbook attributed to Gaulli (Figs. 10, 11).<sup>38</sup> Given the present fluid state of scholarship on this master's drawings, and the paucity of works by him in chalk, it would be difficult to attribute it to him on the basis of style alone.<sup>39</sup> To the best of my knowledge there are but two securely attributed examples (also in red chalk) which could serve as comparative material. A study in Oxford for the dead infant in the lower left corner of Gaulli's *Madonna and Child with St. Roch and St. Anthony Abbot* (mid-1660's) displays the same fluid contours and physiognomic type.<sup>40</sup> The handling, however, is much looser and by far more hesitant, possibly owing to the fact that it is an early work which pre-dates the Missouri sheet by some two decades. On the other hand a page of studies in a private collection in Rome, which are for the *Glory of St. Ignatius* (1685) and hence contemporary with the Missouri example, is extremely close to the *verso* of our sheet in terms of its handling as well as specific details.<sup>41</sup>

This scant evidence would tend to place the Missouri drawing in Gaulli's *oeuvre* with a date in the mid-1680's, which is confirmed by the fact that the *Turbaned Youth* on the *recto* is related to the figure which appears toward the left edge of Gaulli's *Sacrifice of Noah*, a painting datable ca. 1685-90 (Figs. 10, 12).<sup>42</sup> Although the study is identical to the painted version in all its details and takes into account the way in which the lower part is cut off by two female figures, it is doubtful that the sketch is a copy after the painting rather than preparatory to it. The drawing, in fact, is more complete and includes the left side of the turban



12. *The Sacrifice of Noah*, by Giovanni Battista Gaulli. The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia (courtesy High Museum).

and all of the hand, areas that are cut off in the canvas by the frame and by the figure of Noah respectively.<sup>43</sup>

On the basis of this evidence the Missouri sheet can be attributed to Gaulli and dated ca. 1685-90 with a high degree of certainty. Both it and the earlier Oxford drawing, and to a lesser extent the page for the Gesù frescoes, seem to be complete and relatively final studies for individual figures. While drawings in chalk lend themselves to exacting descriptions of details and modeling, this aspect of Gaulli's creative procedure is not illustrated by them alone. For example, a drawing in mixed media (chalk, pen and wash), in Berlin, for the St. Joseph in his *Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and the Infant St. John*, serves much the same purpose.<sup>44</sup> Nonetheless, his drawings in the chalk medium are relatively distinct from those in pen and wash, which for the most part seem to be quickly laid down and generalized studies of poses and compositions.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the position of the more detailed drawings within Gaulli's working process has been defined with considerable precision. He first made a series of free pen and wash compositional sketches, and then based his *bozzetto* on them, before turning to exacting studies for individual parts which he transcribed with great accuracy in the final painting.<sup>46</sup> The Missouri sheet, which illustrates the penultimate step in the artist's resultant movement from freedom to exactitude, bears the same relationship to the finished painting as the Berlin *St. Joseph*, mentioned above, does to its related canvas. Unfortunately one preliminary sketch, the *bozzetto* and a detailed study are all that are known of this latter series, since the completed painting either was lost or never was made.<sup>47</sup> However, by referring to our sheet and the *Atlanta Sacrifice* for which it is preparatory, both dating from approximately the same point in his career, the various steps of Gaulli's working process can be traced in their entirety.

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<sup>1</sup>For the literature on the drawing (which came from the Michael Jaffé Collection) see M. Jaffé, "Some Drawings by Annibale and by Agostino Carracci," *Paragone* 83 (1956) 16, n. 20; M. Calvesi, "Note ai Carracci," *Commentari* 7 (1956) 274, 276; A. Griseri, "Una revisione nella galleria dell' Accademia Albertina in Torino," *Bollettino d'arte* 43 (1958) 77; C.C. Van Hasselt, *Exhibition of 17th Century Italian Drawings*, Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge 1959) 10, no. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Jaffé, *op. cit.*, 15.

<sup>3</sup>Calvesi, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup>Windsor, Royal Collection, inv. 2286 (R. Wittkower, *The Drawings of the Carracci in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen at Windsor Castle* [London 1952] 111, no. 91, pl. 24). The attribution of this drawing to Agostino has been repeated by R. Bacou (*Dessins des Carrache*, XXVIIIe exposition du Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre [Paris 1961] 22, under no. 17); D. Mahon (*Mostra dei Carracci, disegni*, 2nd ed. [Bologna 1963] 46, no. 45); and C.C. Van Hasselt (*op. cit.* 8, under no. 14). For the date and secure attribution of the *Adoration* and the significance of Faberio's citation, see S. Ostrow, "Diana or Bacchus in the Palazzo Riario?," *Essays in Honor of Walter Friedlaender* (New York 1965) 127, n. 1, and 131, n. 21. For an illustration of the painting see *ibid.* fig. 5.

<sup>5</sup>N. Gabrielli attributed the work to Cerano, while Griseri placed it toward Denis Calvaert, seemingly on Longhi's suggestion (N. Gabrielli, *La Regia Galleria dell'Accademia Albertina in Torino* [Rome 1933] 10, no. 202; Griseri, *loc. cit.*). Quite obviously it has none of the characteristics of Cerano's massive, powerful and mannered figure style (see E. Arslan, *Le pitture del Duomo di Milano* [Milan n.d.] figs. 30-33, 73-76, 103-107).

<sup>6</sup>S. Bergmans, *Denis Calvaert* (Brussels 1934) 7-10.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.* 39-40.

<sup>8</sup>For the earlier works see the *Flagellation*, and for the later ones *The Madonna and Child in Glory with St. Francis*, both in the Pinacoteca, Bologna (L. Venturi, "Note sulla Galleria Borghese," *L'arte* 12 [1909] 45-48 and fig. 11; Bergmans, *op. cit.* 46-48 and pl. 8).

<sup>9</sup>See his engraving after Calvaert's *Jacob and Rachel by the Well* which is inscribed "... Dionisius Calvaert In. Bon. 1581." (A. Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur* 18 [Leipzig 1867] 36, no. 2).

<sup>10</sup>For this first journey in northern Italy see Ostrow, *op. cit.* 131, n. 20.

<sup>11</sup>For example, from 1579 through 1581 he engraved after Baldassare Peruzzi, Orazio Sammacchini, Cornelis Cort, Franco Francia, Raffaellino Motta da Reggio and Denis Calvaert, while in 1582 his sources are Barocci, Veronese and Tintoretto (A. Bartsch, *op. cit.* 42-43, no. 11; 37, no. 5; 83, no. 87; 84, no. 88; 36, nos. 2, 3; 57, no. 32; 90, no. 98; 70, no. 78; 93, no. 102; 69, no. 63).

<sup>12</sup>S. Bergmans *op. cit.* 5, 10-13.

<sup>13</sup>Since the bilateral symmetry is achieved by means of color, it is not so evident in a photograph as in the original painting.

<sup>14</sup>Jaffé, *op. cit.* 16, n. 20. He suggests that the canvas was cut down on the top as well.

<sup>15</sup>See n. 4 above.

<sup>16</sup>See n. 11, above.

<sup>17</sup>From the Benjamin West Collection. The stamp in the lower left corner was placed there by the executors of the estate after West's death in 1820 (F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes* [Amsterdam 1921] 71, no. 419).

<sup>18</sup>For the painting see A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* IX, 7 (Milan 1934). 1078, 1083 and fig. 602; B.C. Kreplin, "Francesco Vanni," in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* 34 (Leipzig 1940) 98; C. Brandi, "Francesco Vanni," *Art in America* 19 (1930-31) 81.

<sup>19</sup>For example, the drawing does not show the wreaths on the dead children in the lower left corner, or the cherub toward the middle of the upper edge, and it also changes the position of the middle fingers on the Madonna's right hand. See our Figs. 4 and 5.

<sup>20</sup>John Pope-Hennessy Collection. See J. Pope-Hennessy, "Some As-

- pects of the Cinquecento in Siena," *Art in America* 31 (1943) 75-77 and fig. 7.
- <sup>21</sup> Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, acc. no. 1951.54. See H. Vey, "Some European Drawings at Worcester," *Worcester Art Museum Annual* 6 (1958) 20-21 and fig. 11; P.A. Riedl, "A Few Drawings by Francesco Vanni," *The Connoisseur* (American edition) December 1960, 163-167.
- <sup>22</sup> Our Fig. 4 and Riedl, *ibid.* fig. 4.
- <sup>23</sup> Both are in black and red chalk (see Vey, *op. cit.* 20).
- <sup>24</sup> See Riedl, *op. cit.* 163.
- <sup>25</sup> I can only agree with Riedl's conclusion that the drawing is an authentic and original Vanni untouched by a later hand, which takes exception to Vey's tentative hypothesis that it might be worked over or a copy (Riedl, *ibid.* 165; Vey, *op. cit.* 21, n. 8). For a quotation of the inscription see Riedl, *op. cit.* 163, n. 4.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 163-167 and figs. 2-8.
- <sup>27</sup> See Riedl's remark on the frequency of these finished sheets (*ibid.* 165) and Pope-Hennessy, *op. cit.* 76.
- <sup>28</sup> Provenance: Comte J. von Ross Collection, Sir Robert Ludwig Mond Collection, Dr. Leo Steinberg Collection, New York. The stamp of Comte von Ross, a Berlin collector (1787-1848), most likely the one that appears in the upper right corner of the *recto*, is now almost completely illegible. However it is cited by Borenus and Wittkower without qualification (F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes* [Amsterdam 1921] 507, no. 2693; *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters, Formed by Sir Robert Mond*, by Tancred Borenus Assisted by Rudolf Wittkower [London 1937] 55, no. 226). The stamp of Sir Robert Mond of London (1867-1938) is on the lower left corner of the *verso* (F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes, supplément* [La Haye 1956] 403, no. 2813a).
- <sup>29</sup> *Catalogue of the Collection . . . formed by Sir Robert Mond, loc. cit.* Also see A. Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur* 20 (Würzburg 1920) 167-168, no. 27; 169, no. 47. I am grateful to Mr. Hyatt Mayor, former Curator of Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for information on and photographs of the two etchings in question (Joseph Pulitzer Bequest).
- <sup>30</sup> For example, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 24557 and 25371 *verso*, which, among the many free sketches by his hand, come relatively close to the example in question (A. Stix and A. Spitzmüller, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der staatlichen graphischen Sammlung Albertina* 6 [Vienna 1941] 54, nos. 589, 590r, and pls. 129, 130).
- <sup>31</sup> In the Louvre, Windsor Castle and Holkham Hall (See L. Salerno, *Salvator Rosa* [Milan 1963] 135, no. 83b, 137, no. 94d, 138, nos. 95, 98, and the respective plates).
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 149.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 95; H. W. Schmidt, "Drawings by Salvator Rosa in the Leipzig Stadtbibliothek," *Old Master Drawings* 6 (1931-32) 60-61 and pl. 53.
- <sup>34</sup> For copies after Salvator's paintings, drawings and etchings see the examples cited by T. Bodkin ("A Note on Salvator Rosa," *Burlington Magazine* 58 [1931] 91-92). For Rosa and English taste see E. Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England* (New York 1925).
- <sup>35</sup> Earlier states of prints in the same series do not seem to be either more or less committed to the use of outline (see Petrucci, *op. cit.* 33-34, and the two states of the etching illustrated on p. 28).
- <sup>36</sup> See Petrucci's comment on this type of handling, and the plates he cites as illustration (*ibid.* 35 and B. 37 and 59 on p. 29).
- <sup>37</sup> There is no indication on the drawing itself of any work with a stylus, which leaves the question of the process Rosa employed in transferring the image open to further investigation.
- <sup>38</sup> Dr. Leo Steinberg Collection. I am grateful to Dr. Steinberg, to Mrs. Trude Krauthheimer and to Dr. Robert Enggass for information about the Roman sketchbook.
- <sup>39</sup> For evidence of the state of scholarship on Gaulli's drawings see the critique in M.V. Brugnoli, "Inediti del Gaulli," *Paragone* 81 (1956) 31-32, n. 1. The predominance of pen drawings among those attributed to Gaulli is exemplified by the fact that all of the thirty drawings given to him in the catalogue of the Düsseldorf collection are in this medium (I. Budde, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der staatlichen Kunstakademie Düsseldorf* [Düsseldorf 1930] 41-45, nos. 297-326).
- <sup>40</sup> Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 850, published as Gaulli by Parker, Brugnoli and Enggass (K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum* 2 [Oxford 1956] 441, no. 850, pl. 184; Brugnoli, *op. cit.* 22, fig. 13; R. Enggass, *The Paintings of Bacicio* [Pennsylvania State University Press 1964] 72, fig. 101). The painting in San Rocco, Rome, most likely his first altarpiece, generally is dated in the mid-1660's (Enggass, *ibid.* 3-5, 147-148, fig. 2).
- <sup>41</sup> The profile head on the *verso* of our drawing is defined by the same outline as that in the uppermost of the two angels on the Roman example (see our Fig. 11 and N. C. Chioyenda, "Della 'Gloria di S. Ignazio' e altri lavori del Gaulli per il Gesuiti," *Commentari* 13 [1962] 290-291, pl. 101, fig. 7). *The Glory of St. Ignatius*, on the vault of the left transept of the Gesù in Rome, was completed in 1685 (Enggass, *op. cit.* 139-140 and fig. 97).
- <sup>42</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Robert Enggass for confirming this opinion, which he arrived at independently on the basis of a photograph of the Missouri drawing. The painting, which was in the Conte Contini Bonacossi Collection and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation Collection, before being given to the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, is datable in ca. 1685-90 (Enggass, *ibid.* 121, which includes a complete bibliography on the painting).
- <sup>43</sup> In the catalogue of a Gaulli exhibition at Oberlin, Ohio, published since this article went to press, it was indicated that the sketches on the *verso* of the Missouri sheet might be related to a group of figures in the lower right corner of a drawing representing *Joseph and His Brethren* (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, inv. 5548), a connection which is entirely plausible ("An Exhibition of Paintings, Bozzetti and Drawings by Giovanni Battista Gaulli called Il Baciccio," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 24 [1967] 93-94, no. 37; 97, no. 47, and figs. 37, 47).
- <sup>44</sup> Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. See Brugnoli, *op. cit.* 32, n. 1; R. Enggass, "Drawings Related to the Czernin 'Holy Family' by Gaulli," *Art Quarterly* 21 (1958) 284, fig. 2. No details as to inventory number, dimensions or medium are given in either of these articles.
- <sup>45</sup> See Enggass' remarks on this subject (*The Paintings of Baciccio*, 71-74).
- <sup>46</sup> See Enggass in *Art Quarterly*, *op. cit.* 283-284.
- <sup>47</sup> The project dates from ca. 1590. See the series of publications by Enggass ("Gaulli's Late Style, 1685-1709," *Art Quarterly* 20 [1957] 5-6; *Art Quarterly* 21 [1958] 283-284, figs. 1, 2; *The Paintings of Baciccio*, 160, fig. 128).



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GLADYS D. WEINBERG, editor

Cover: *River Scene with Castle*, by Jan van Goyen, signed "V.G. 1637" (65.180).  
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ivan B. Hart.



Exhibition of Far Eastern Art which opened December 4, 1966, in the Museum galleries.