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COVER: Gray schist relief, Gandhara School, West Pakistan, 4th-5th c. The Buddha preaching, seated on the lotus throne beneath the Bodhi tree. He is flanked by two standing Bodhisattvas—Avalokitesvara on his left, Maitreya on his right. The bearded figure above, right, is Vajrapani, who carries a thunderbolt. The small standing figures at the corners represent the donors.

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leland Hazard in memory of Governor James T. Blair and Mrs. Blair.

Activities 1967

The Museum marked its tenth year with a wide variety of activities. Several thousand visitors came in a steady stream throughout the year, while the attendance at exhibition openings and the many school groups guided through the Museum by our staff taxed the very limited gallery space. Increased awareness of the Museum in Columbia and mid-Missouri was matched by a growing appreciation of the quality of the collections throughout the United States, as was indicated by the demand for loans of objects to special exhibitions. Five pieces were included in an exhibit of "Master Bronzes from the Classical World" which opened at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in December, and went on to the City Art Museum of St. Louis and then to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, where it was scheduled to remain until the end of June 1968. Our unique Egyptian mummy shroud formed one of the main attractions in the exhibition of "Mummy Portraits from Ancient Egypt" held in March and April at the Detroit Institute of Art. A Baciccio drawing was loaned to the exhibit of that artist's work shown at the Allen Memorial Museum of Oberlin College from January through April, while the collage *Le Bijou*, by Bruce Conner, was exhibited at the Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania, from October through January 1968.

The continued generosity of our many donors and the purchase funds made available by the University brought over two hundred new acquisitions; they are described in the following pages. Almost half of these were gifts.

With the growth of the Museum's holdings more than matched by the increase in undergraduate majors and graduate students in the Department of Art History and Archaeology, the role of the Museum as an adjunct to the teaching program has become increasingly important. The larger and more diversified collections have proved more useful than ever: all undergraduate courses include study of museum material, while graduate students are engaged in original research based on various objects. One of the many papers written during

the year is that by Alan McNairn, published in this issue. Faculty research on material in the Museum continues; the result of one such study is the article by Professor Benjamin, formerly on the University staff. Many of the visiting scholars who come to the Museum are attracted to one or another object from the collections which falls within their area of special interest, and several are now engaged in studying such objects; Professor Feaver's article in this issue is the result of his visit to the Columbia campus two years ago.

Since both the Director and the Curator of Ancient Art spent a year in Israel, beginning in July 1967, the archaeological program sponsored by the Museum was especially active. While in Greece, Mrs. Weinberg was invited to publish the material from a Hellenistic glass bead factory that had recently been excavated on the island of Rhodes. More than a month was occupied in studying and photographing over eleven thousand beads, the materials from which they were made, and the tools and implements from this unique factory.

In the autumn of 1967 the fourth and final campaign of excavation was undertaken at the Late Roman glass factory at the site of Jalame, near Haifa, where the Museum has been digging annually since 1964, in conjunction with the Corning Museum of Glass. Miss Barbara Johnson, a graduate student at the University, was able to spend the year in Israel, where she participated in the excavations and studied some of the finds for her dissertation and for eventual publication.

The work at Jalame was not quite finished when a bulldozer preparing a recreation area near Shavei Zion, at the northern end of Israel's Mediterranean coast, uncovered a mass of red brick and glass fragments that indicated the possible presence of another glass factory. The Corning-Missouri Expedition, on the invitation of the Israel Department of Antiquities, began to excavate the site in the fall of 1967. A furnace for making glass vessels was found in a relatively good state of preservation. In the spring of 1968 it was excavated completely and removed to the Palestine Archaeological Museum (commonly called the Rockefeller Museum) in Jerusalem, where it is now on exhibit along with glass fragments and other material found at the site. The furnace, probably to be dated in the thirteenth century of our



Wooden ceremonial axe, Maori, New Zealand (176) L. 35 cm.



Wooden mask, Bajokwe, Angola (4) H. 20 cm.

ACQUISITIONS 1967



Anthropomorphic pottery vessel and painted pottery jars, Chancay, Peru, A.D. 1200-1400 (156, 157, 158) H. 43.7 cm., 18.1 cm., 20.5 cm.

era, when it would have served an adjacent Crusader establishment, is the only well preserved ancient glass furnace known thus far in the east Mediterranean area. Excavation at a new site was undertaken by the University of Missouri in 1968; this will be reported in our 1969 Annual.

The excavations sponsored by the Museum have resulted in a very considerable enrichment of its collections with the kind of material that is most important for research projects, both by faculty and students. But the copious influx of excavated remains has at the same time aggravated the already acute space problem, upon which we dwelt in our last issue. The critical situation was somewhat improved by the addition in mid-year of a new gallery, which not only affords exhibition space for the graphic arts but unifies the Museum by providing a single entrance to the complex of six galleries

now open to the public, and to the offices and work-storage areas. However, most of the Museum's activities must come to a halt unless proper physical facilities are furnished. The University must now give top priority in its building program to a museum building, in the financing of which the Alumni will, it is hoped, take a leading part, helped by our many friends in Columbia, in mid-Missouri communities and farther afield. Without this the growth of the Museum is impossible, and without growth it can only stagnate and die. We are confident that a project into which the University has already put a great deal of effort and financial support will not be allowed to suffer such a fate for want of a proper home.

SAUL S. WEINBERG
Director

OCEANIC ART

Australia

Two carved wooden throwing sticks (25, 26*), wooden spear thrower (27), two wooden spear deflectors with carved handles (28, 29), all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Rennau H. Ross.

New Zealand

Wooden axe with handle terminating in stylized head with abalone shell eyes (176), Maori, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Renato Almansi.

AFRICAN ART

Carved wooden Bajokwe mask (4) from Angola, gift of Dr. Martin J. Gerson. Wooden Kioko mace head (174), Kioko musical instrument of wood and iron (175), both from the Congo, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Renato Almansi.

PRECOLUMBIAN ART

Mexico

Pottery head of smiling type (54) from Vera Cruz, gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Peru

Twenty-five objects dating ca. A.D. 1200-1400 were presented by Mr. and Mrs. Ralph A. Hovey, as follows:

Ceramics: two ovoid jars with two handles, decorated with painted geometric designs (154, 157), three globular jars with two handles and painted geometric designs (158, 159, 160), two large storage jars (150), jug with painted and plastic decoration (155), globular jug with relief decoration (164a), anthropomorphic jar with painted details (156), zoomorphic vessel in shape of a dog, painted details (152), footed beaker (161), three shallow bowls with painted geometric designs on interior (162, 165, 166), shallow bowl with burnished interior (168), standing male figurine with painted details (153), all from Chancay.

Textiles: two fragments of woollen tapestry (164a, 167), two wooden spindles with whorls, one with a large amount of thread wound on it (151), all from Chancay; four pieces of loosely woven fabric (172), two ropes of braided fibers (171), all from Canta.

Bone whistle (170) and remains of human skeleton (163) from Canta.

FAR EASTERN ART

Bali

Oval silver tray (45), 18th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Martin Goodman.

*The numbers in parentheses are museum accession numbers and normally are given in full, as 67.25.



Porcelain vases, China, 18th c. (31) H. 15.4 cm.



Ceramic figurine, China, Sung Dynasty (55) H. 9.7 cm.



Bronze Ganesha figure, Chola, India, 12th-13th c. (173) H. 37.5 cm.



Limestone lintel, North Syria, 5th-6th c. (177) H. 33 cm.

Relief pithos fragment, Crete, 7th c. B.C. (49) H. 47 cm.



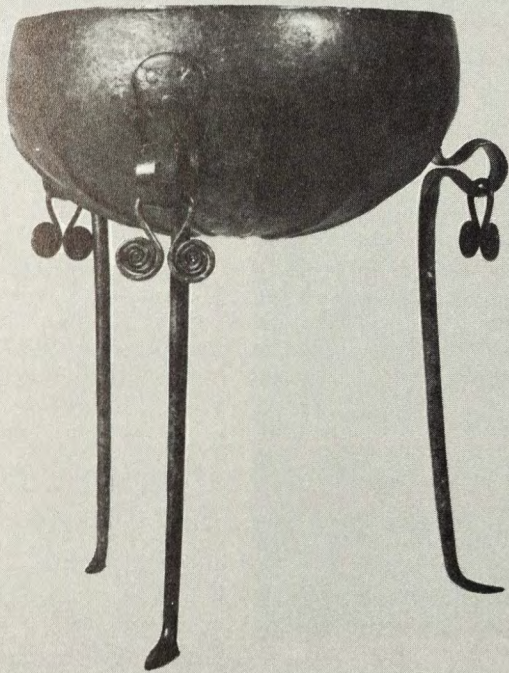
Black-figure lekythos by Edinburgh Painter, ca. 510 B.C. (47) H. 31.8 cm.



Painted pottery skyphos, Gnathian, 3rd c. B.C. (1) H. 6.7 cm.



Bronze lion, Alexandrian, ca. 200 B.C. (71) H. 18.6 cm.



Bronze tripod, Villanovan, 8th c. B.C. (138) H. 24.5 cm.



Glass flask with Christian symbols, 5th c. (24) H. 24.2 cm.



Vision of St. Bernard, by Luca Giordano, Italian, 1632-1705 (68) H. 1.06 m., W. 72 cm.



The Duel, by Eugene Isabey, French, 1803-86 (69) H. 24 cm., W. 18 cm.

China

Pair of porcelain vases in gourd form (31), 18th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir. Green porcelain vase (51) 19th c.; ceramic female figurine (55), Sung Dynasty; miniature porcelain vase of double gourd shape (56), K'ang Hsi, all the gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Seal of reddish stone in form of crouching lion (58), gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Japan

Porcelain bowl of Satsuma ware with polychrome figures and patterns (50), porcelain "beehive" vase with incised scrolls (52), both the gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Twelve tsukas (sword guards) of bronze and steel (32-44) of various types, some inlaid with silver and gold, others with openwork patterns, 15th-17th c., all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir.

Korea

Porcelain bowl with olive-green glaze (30), gift of Mr. Roger K. Davis. Cloisonné brass vase with elaborate pattern (57), gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ART

Iran

Bronze figure of horned female (53), Luristan, ca. 1000 B.C., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

India

Bronze sculpture: large statuette of Ganesha on podium (173), from Chola, 12th-13th c., gift of Mr. Michael De Havenon. Figures of Krishna Gopala (5), standing Bhairava (6), squatting Durga (7), seated Khadiravani (8), standing Vishnu (9), standing Bharata (10), standing Hanuman (11), standing Garuda (12), kneeling Garuda (13), standing Kubera (14), head of Shiva (15), seated Ganesha (16), seated Nandi (17), Nandilinga in form of Brahma bull (18), lingam figure of cobra's head (19), standing lingam yoni figure (20), open box containing figures of Shiva, Ganesha, Lingam, etc. (21), 19th c., all the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

Stone sculpture: Schist relief of seated Buddha and two Bodhisattvas (137), Gandhara School, West Pakistan, 4th-5th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leland Hazard in memory of Governor and Mrs. James T. Blair (illustrated on the cover).

NEAR EASTERN ART

Cyprus

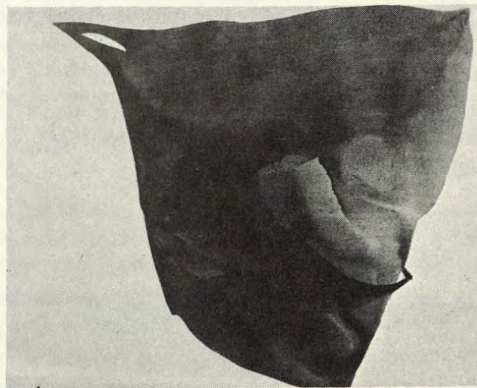
Cup with horizontal handle (62), ca. 2000 B.C., terracotta female figurine (63), 6th c. B.C., both the gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.



Portrait of a Musician, by Thomas Hart Benton, American contemporary (1936) H. 1.22 m., W. 81.5 cm.



The Workbench, by Arthur Schwieder, American, dated 1942 (149)
H. 1.31 m., W. 1.05 m.



Phenomena Chinese Calendar, by Paul Jenkins, American contemporary (70) H. 65 cm., W. 80.5 cm.



Torso of Armored Child and its Toys,
by Joanna Beall, American contemporary (139) H. 71 cm.



Monsterpiece, by Aaron Bohrod, American contemporary (142) H. 40 cm., W. 30.5 cm.

Syria

Limestone lintel (fragmentary) with relief of rampant animals within rinceaux (177), 5th-6th c.

GREEK AND ROMAN ART

Greek

Large pottery jar (pithos) with relief decoration of sphinxes and griffins (49) from Crete, 7th c. B.C.; Early Corinthian alabastron with panther and owl motif (48), ca. 600 B.C.; black-figure amphora with warrior, satyrs and maenad (60), 6th c. B.C., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis; black-figure lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter (47), ca. 510 B.C.; faience aryballos (46) from Cervetri, 6th c. B.C.; black-glazed askos (61), 4th-3rd c. B.C., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis; three skyphoi of Gnathian ware (1, 2, 3), 3rd c. B.C.

Bronze statuette of walking lion (71), Alexandrian, ca. 200 B.C.

Villanovan and Etruscan

Bronze tripod (138) from Vulci (?), 8th c. B.C. Bronze oinochoe (65), 4th-3rd c. B.C., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Roman

Marble stele with relief of rider and dedicatory inscription (23), from Istanbul, probably 3rd c.

Terracotta "pilgrim flask" with relief decoration and inscription (64), gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis. Terracotta lamp with satyr in relief (66), 2nd c.

Glass spindle and whorl (178), 1st or 2nd c.

Fifty-eight coins, fourteen of silver, forty-five of bronze (72-129), Republican and Imperial; one Indo-Parthian bronze coin (130).

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND MEDIEVAL ART

Octagonal glass flask with mold-blown Christian symbols (24), 5th c., gift of William and Anna Weinberg Purchase Fund.

Ivory diptych with relief depicting *Entry of Christ into Jeru-*

salem (59), from Italy, 15th c., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis (see article in this issue).

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ART

Renaissance to 1800

Paintings: Matthias Gerung, *Herakles Slaying the Nemean Lion* (67), German, 1500-68/70; Luca Giordano, *Vision of Saint Bernard*, bozzetto for S. Maria della Pace, Florence (68), Italian, 1632-1705.

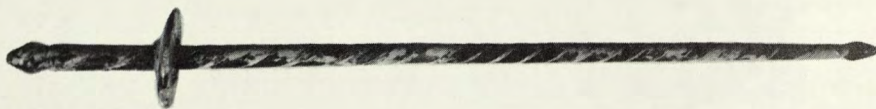
Graphics: Cornelius Cort, *Male nude carrying lifeless boy*, etching (134), Dutch, ca. 1530-76; Paul Vredeman de Vries, 25 etchings depicting furniture (135), Flemish, 1567-ca. 1630; Daniel Chodowiecki, four etchings (131, 132, 133), German, 1726-1801.

1800 to the Present

Paintings: Eugene Isabey, *The Duel* (69), French, 1803-86; Arthur Schwieder, *The Workbench* (149), American contemporary, gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever; Thomas Hart Benton, *Portrait of a Musician* (136), American contemporary, anonymous gift; Aaron Bohrod, *Monsterepiece* (142), American contemporary, gift of the artist; Paul Jenkins, *Phenomena Chinese Calendar* (70), American contemporary, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Werner Muensterberger.

Sculpture: Joanna Beall (Westermann), *Torso of an Armored Child and its Toys*, wood (139), American contemporary; Paul Frazier, *Dyadic Split*, copper and wood (140), American contemporary; both the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Lipman.

Graphics: Jacques Villon, *Destinée*, watercolor (141), French, 1875-1963, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Werner Muensterberger; Charles Le Corbusier, *Composition, Unit 1*, Lithograph (144), French, 1887-1965; Jean Arp, woodcut from the *Soleil du Recherche* suite (143), French, 1888-1966; Joan Miro, *La Traverse du Miroir*, lithograph (147), Spanish contemporary, Adolph Gottlieb, *Magenta Disc*, serigraph (145), American contemporary; Pierre Soulages, *Jaune et Noir*, lithograph (146), French contemporary; Bob Stanley, *Hedy Lamar*, serigraph (148), American contemporary; Marcelo Bonevardi, *Facade*, etching (22), Argentinian contemporary, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Stephen Ostrow.



Glass spindle and whorl, Roman (178) L. 31.6 cm.



EXCAVATIONS AT JALAME 1964-1967

The 1967 excavation campaign by the University of Missouri - Corning Museum of Glass Expedition was the last of four at the site of a glass factory of the fourth century A.D. in Western Galilee. While the major work is now finished, small investigatory probes and the preparation for publication of the vast amount of material revealed will continue to occupy the staff for some time. It is now possible only to summarize briefly the achievements of the four successive campaigns.

Reconnaissance was carried out in the fall of 1963 by Dr. G. D. Weinberg of the staff of this museum and Mr. Paul N. Perrot, Director of the Corning Museum of Glass. Their survey of possible glass factory sites resulted in the selection of a hill known as Jalame el-'Asafna (some ten miles southeast of Haifa, just off the Haifa-Nazareth road) as a promising prospect for the investigation of the ancient glass industry of the Syro-Palestinian coast. The first campaign, in the summer of 1964, quickly showed the wisdom of this choice, for a large complex of buildings began to appear, and in one area great quantities of glass were found: vessel fragments, large chunks of glass for use in manufacture, and all kinds of debris resulting from the manufacturing process.

In each successive season more of the building complex was uncovered, until an entire establishment, with all its ramifications, was cleared. This proved to consist of a large residence with adjacent installations for various industrial activities, the most important of which was glassmaking. While the residence itself, at the very top of the rocky knoll, had been largely eroded

away, some basement rooms were partly preserved. In much better condition was the nymphaeum, a room cooled by running water, such as is known to have been popular in Roman mansions of the third and fourth centuries of our era.

Down the slope toward the west lay a large complex of rooms, a number of which were connected with glassmaking. In all of these were found great amounts of broken glass vessels, cullet, drops and threads, as well as portions of furnace floors (not *in situ*), and all the debris one would expect to find in an abandoned glass factory. One room filled with earth burned to a bright red color and surrounded by calcined blocks has been tentatively identified as the furnace area, but owing to the re-use of the walls bounding it and the relatively slight depth of fill, it will probably be impossible to determine the original form of the furnace and the exact method by which it worked. Despite this, results of great value for the understanding of ancient glassmaking methods were obtained. One of the most important facts disclosed is the use of rectangular tank-like containers for melting the glass—a type which was previously thought to have been introduced at a much later date. Equally important is the enormous quantity of glass vessel fragments found on the actual site where they were made. The hundreds of coins found in association with these will make possible the exact dating of these vessel types.

Besides the information about glass production which was extracted there were interesting by-products of research—the dating of many pottery vessel types which had been rather vaguely placed in “Early Byzantine” times. The time limits of the glass factory’s period of operation can be fairly well established within the third quarter of the fourth century. The occupation of the site appears to have begun perhaps a half-century earlier and to have continued another twenty-five years after the glass production ceased. This close dating of both pottery and glass specimens alone justifies the excavation of the site. Many of the finds are now in the Museum at the University of Missouri, where a special exhibition has been arranged in the second-floor corridor of Jesse Hall, until such time as the Museum is housed in its own building.

Musical Scenes on a Greek Vase



The handsome Greek vase in the collection of the Museum of the University of Missouri¹ has already been noticed in a major publication by J. V. Noble,² but he cites only a minor blemish—the misfiring of parts of its black glaze. It is only fair that the score be rectified by a more comprehensive study to bring out both the high interest of the subject matter of its painting and its intrinsic beauty.³

The vase is an amphora of the special sub-category known as a *pelike* (though it is now clear that the Greek term refers to a different vase form).⁴ The normal function of such a vessel was the storage of wine; for this purpose its shape is simple and functional. The low center of gravity of its ovoid shape makes it more stable than the usual Greek amphora, since its widest diameter is lower than the mid-point. It is perhaps not so aesthetically attractive as the amphora, but the two handles grow organically out of the contours of the vase, and are set at the neck in a way which is both convenient and pleasing.

It is decorated in the black-figure style characteristic of Archaic Greek vases of the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. In this style the pottery is covered with black glaze, with panels or bands decorated with figure drawings done in black glaze silhouette against the natural red of the clay fabric. Interior details are indicated by incision and touched up with white or purple. This style was popular all over Archaic Greece, but its finest examples come from Attica, the ultimate source of this vase, I do not doubt. The provenance is unknown (it was acquired in Switzerland), but I suspect that it was found in an Etruscan tomb in Italy, where most of the undamaged specimens of Attic pottery have survived. Several considerations make it clear that the vase dates from the late black-figure period, in

the first decades of the fifth century, just before the Persian invasions.⁵

The decoration consists of two large panels on opposite sides of the vase, which I shall call sides A and B. Each panel takes up almost the entire available space from the middle of the neck to a point just below the widest diameter of the vase. The remaining surface is covered with black glaze, varied only by a reserved red band around the edge of the base. The panels themselves are framed by a ground line on the bottom, double vertical lines on the sides and a band of lotus leaves with spiral O's done in the manner of old-fashioned penmanship exercises.

Each panel contains a scene with three figures, two human and one animal. The panels are obviously related since a bearded male figure is repeated in both, and the other figure is in each case a musician. Side A has a male (beardless) lyre-player with a goat at his side; side B has a female piper accompanied (not musically!) by a dog or wolf.⁶

The bearded figure is nearly identical in both panels. So close is the resemblance that it is hard to believe that one was repeated from memory, even in so short an interval as there would be in turning from one side to the other. Surely both must have been copied from a preliminary sketch.⁷ Nonetheless there are differences between the figures which become apparent on close inspection. We can see differences in the treatment of the hair over the forehead and in the eyes. The nostril is indicated in A but not in B. In the drapery both have inscribed fold lines, but the lowest line in B does not reach up as far as the arm. Of the vertical drape, A has two, B three fold lines. Though the general outlines are similar, one is not a carbon

copy of the other. The fact that the misfiring has affected each figure differently is, of course, of no significance.

The repeated figure is a person of some importance, or so it seems. This is emphasized by some curious features: out of his hair project two long reeds, or long thin leaves. Reeds or tendrils hang from the figure in front and back.

The male lyre-player of side A stands facing the bearded figure. Two tendrils hang from his back. He is in the act of playing, not merely holding, his lyre, but it is not quite clear whether he is singing as well. He grasps the *plectron* (a device for striking the strings) in his right fist, while the retaining cord dangles below. The right hand is held out beyond the lyre, slanted in such a fashion as to make it clear that it is about to be drawn back over the strings. A new passage of music is about to begin! The left hand is held against the strings in an unusual though not unprecedented fashion. The knuckles rather than the usual outstretched fingers are dampening some of the strings. The arms of the lyre are picked out in white paint. At the lyre-player's side stands a he-goat, done in marvellously vivid naturalism. Its horns, face and belly are picked out in white paint.

The female musician on side B is playing the *auloi*, or double pipes (almost invariably, but erroneously, called "flutes"). She is not using the *phorbeia* (cheek straps) which are often worn by pipers. She has a fillet, but no reeds projecting from her hair, and two tendrils hanging behind. Her face, arms and feet are done in white, in keeping with the black-figure convention for females. At her side is a canine creature—either a dog or a wolf. Her eye is painted in the typical full front almond shape of Archaic drawing, in contrast to the inscribed eyes of the male figures, which are more like little circles. The difference no doubt reflects the natural tendencies of the two different drawing instruments involved, the scribe and the hairline brush. The peculiar pattern of the misfiring provides a clue as to the order in which the parts were painted. The animal was first filled in as a whole but with a glaze that unfortunately proved too thin and fired red instead of black. The rest of the piper's body was covered with a thicker glaze, which fired properly. Though this is not a logical order, perhaps, it is clear that such was the case.

The aesthetic composition of both panels is of a

high order, though side A is distinctly better. The balance is fairly formal, as one would expect of Archaic art. On side A the two male figures not only face each other, their poses are complementary. Both stand with feet in profile but with the upper body in three-quarter view: the lyre-player shows his chest, the bearded figure his back. Both feet of the lyre-player are flat on the ground, one behind the other in the Archaic convention. The right heel of the bearded man is lifted, imparting both variety and subtle animation to the figure. The tendrils trailed by both figures are varied in direction.

The two figures are not merely juxtaposed, they are artistically related to one another, visually and psychologically. The slight forward inclination of the bearded man's head suggests his intense interest in the music, and it is formally answered by the corresponding tilt of the lyre. His gaze is fixed on the plectron of the lyre-player, a point which serves as the focus of the whole design. This point is on the middle line of the panel about two thirds of the vertical dimension of the panel, and almost the precise center of the whole vase. To this point the eye of the viewer is directed by many of the lines of composition such as the echelon of fold lines over the bearded man's arm, the line of the top of the lyre's sound chamber and the curve of the retaining cord.

The incised lines are not only done with precision and grace, they serve to tie the composition together visually. For example, the lines of the lyre strings are continued in the lyre-player's robe. The curve of the goat's back is echoed in the curved bottom of the lyre. The varied rhythm of the lines of the bearded figure's robe is magnificently fluid. The tendrils in front of the figure tend to mark out the goat's horns, face and hooves in such a way as to include him in the sphere of interest of the man.

On the other hand, the composition of side B, though utilizing many of the same devices, comes off less successfully. Its relative failures illuminate the successes of side A. For example, here the musician is in profile throughout, destroying the balance with the three-quarter stance of the male figure. He seems to be turning away from her, listening only over his shoul-



Black-figure pelike by the Theseus Painter. *Left*: Side A; *right*, Side B. Photo Dietrich Widmer, Basel.



der, as it were. Though the piper stands much closer to the listener than does the lyre-player, she seems less related to him. The pipes are too close to the listener's face for him to focus his gaze upon them; he looks past them. Nor do the lines of composition tie things together. Even the lines of the robe are less effective; the bottom line is crowded out and ends meaninglessly beneath the armpit. Having said all this, I hasten to add that the effect of side B is by no means totally unsatisfactory.

What are the scenes about? Can we identify the subject matter? In a general way, there is no problem: both panels show scenes of music being played for an interested auditor. It may be no more than that: simply a genre scene from contemporary life.

But there are good reasons for believing that the bearded figure, at least, represents a divine or heroic person, and we ought to look for a myth which would account for all the elements of the pictures: the repeated male figure, the young male lyre-player with a goat, a female piper with a dog or wolf. Perhaps some of the elements are not significant: the animals, for example, may simply be pets or a background of some sort. Even so, I confess at the outset that I have failed to turn up any myth which accounts for all elements at once. Let us look briefly at the possibilities, however.⁸

One's first instinct is to identify the young lyre-player with Apollo, with the goat suggesting his role as shepherd (more precisely, as goatherd). This would, in turn, seem to entail identifying the female figure as Artemis, who might naturally have a dog or wolf as companion.⁹ But at this point the identifications begin to break down. Both scenes are clearly musical; though this fits Apollo, there are no references I know of to Artemis as a piper. Furthermore, the bearded male is left unexplained, and because of his importance it would seem that identification should begin with him. In a letter to me (dated November 1966) Professor Suhr made a suggestion which I find convincing. He conjectures from the tendrils, and particularly the projecting reeds on the head, that the bearded man is Dionysos. We must now ask: are there any mythological connections between Dionysos and the divine siblings,

particularly in a musical context? Though they occasionally appear together it seems that this happens only in general concourses of the gods. A fragment of Pindar, for example, alludes to Artemis "yoking up the lions for the bacchic orgies of Bromios (Dionysos),"¹⁰ but then there is no musical element.

Side B, with Dionysos, a woman and a dog, immediately suggests the story of Erigone, daughter of Ikaros, king of Athens. The latter had accepted from Dionysos the gift of the vine. But when his subjects tasted the wine he offered them, they thought they had been poisoned and in rage put him to death. Erigone, who had been seduced by Dionysos disguised as a cluster of grapes (!) set out to find Ikaros with the help of her dog Maira. On finding his body, she hung herself from a tree in grief, but Dionysos turned her and her dog into stars. Charming as the story is, there is no musical element in any version of it, and it is unlikely that we can see Ikaros in the lyre-player.¹¹

Most likely what we have here is not any particular myth, but another of the frequent depictions of Dionysos attended by devotees, a nymph on one side and a male reveller on the other. Though the normal instrument of Dionysiac music is the aulos, there are many representations of Dionysos serenaded by one or other of the various lyre-type instruments.¹² We might be a little surprised that the tone is so subdued and formal—so un-bacchic. But one can sense in these scenes, with their Archaic directness already tempered slightly with Classical reserve and dignity, some of the concealed and sinister tension of this most dangerous of the gods.

We turn now to the musical instruments. There is little to be said about the pipes, which are typical of thousands represented on Greek vases.¹³ The pipes are double, equal in size, divergent (that is, not bound together in the manner of modern Egyptian double pipes) and fingered by both hands at roughly the same point on each pipe; that is, halfway between the mouthpiece and the exit. In this they follow the normal pattern of Greek pipes.¹⁴ The articulations often seen on the pipes, and the bulbs (*olmoi*) at the mouthpiece end are not distinguished. We may assume, accepting

Becker's criterion, that the absence of the cheek straps indicates that the reeds used are of the single reed, beating tongue type, and not the double reed of the primitive oboe.¹⁵ In any case a reed mouthpiece of one type or the other is to be assumed; the pipes cannot be flutes.

I see no way of deciding whether the costumes of the musicians are to be considered formal or not. I doubt that they are.

The lyre is more interesting.¹⁶ The arms, painted white, are probably meant to be of horn or ivory. But the material of the sound box is a little harder to identify. The simplest assumption is that it is wood. In that case the lyre is not the *lyra*, which used a tortoise shell resonator covered by a skin membrane. Even when an actual tortoise shell is not used, the wooden or metal replica usually retains the characteristic round shape of the tortoise shell.¹⁷ As far as shape is concerned, this lyre seems to fit into the line of U-shaped lyres which we can trace for centuries from the four-stringed lyre of Geometric vases to the seven-stringed lyres of the Melian vases to the so-called "cradle kitharas" played by women in the fifth century. The U-shape distinguishes this lyre from the *lyra* on the one hand, with its round resonator, and the classic *kithara* with its flat bottom and intricate arms, on the other. Wegner wishes to call this U-shaped lyre the *phorminx* in view of its Homeric connections, but I do not think we can be certain what its name was.¹⁸

It just may be that the material is not wood. The artist has not been very precise, but the appearance of the resonator is such that one could easily believe that it consisted of a hide stretched between the arms of the U. This is a perfectly feasible construction, but I know of no sure parallels and no literary references. The nearest parallel is that of a Geometric bronze figurine in the Herakleion (Crete) Museum. Here one can see a continuous U-frame covered at the lower end by what seems to be shrunken hide.¹⁹

The number of strings is the canonical seven. This is normal for all lyres after the seventh century in art, though there are references in literature to experiments with greater numbers of strings, and a few representations in art (which may be due to carelessness). Pyth-

agoras, for example, was said to have added the eighth a generation before this vase was painted.²⁰ The use of uncured leather (*kollopēs*) for maintaining the tension of the strings is clear; tuning pegs are a later invention.²¹ The cross-bar is set in a stub crotch on the arms, without the handles on the ends sometimes found.

The technique of playing Greek lyre-type instruments has not yet been adequately studied. Our vase provides a few clues. First of all, let us look at the right hand, which holds a plectron. This, according to the doxographers, was invented by Sappho,²² though it is attested earlier, in the seventh century. It is a thick piece of wood, metal or bone, often in a phallic shape. Because of its thickness and the roundness of its playing end it is misleading to translate it by "pick," since it could not be used to pick the strings. All that is possible is a striking or stroking action (which is in fact the primary meaning of the Greek term *krouein*, used to designate this action). The particular angle at which the right fist is held makes it probable that the motion is across the strings from the outside toward the player. A vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows three satyrs in successive stages of this motion.²³ The opposite motion would be awkward as long as the plectron was held pointing forward, but it cannot be ruled out since there are representations of other lyre-players with the necessary bent wrist.

The technique of the left hand is interesting. Normally the fingers of this hand are stretched out on the strings, sometimes with the thumb bent under. Here, however, it is the knuckles which are against the string. From my own experiments with reconstructed Greek lyres I offer a conjecture as to the significance of the knuckles. It will be noted that they touch the strings at roughly the half point. If this is done exactly one can easily obtain the first or octave partial of the string clearly and with some volume when it is struck by a plectron. This "magadizing" makes another octave available for the lyre's range. It may at times be obtained by the crossed-over thumb, for the first few strings.²⁴ Other aspects of the left-hand techniques are confused by the carelessness of the artist. Though there are seven strings at the top, by the half point where the knuckles touch only six are visible. It is thus im-

possible to assign a finger to a string. Only three fingers are clearly visible, with a fourth perhaps indicated. The thumb is not shown. Normally we would expect all strings but one to be damped, leaving one to sound; if the musician is attempting to sound the octave partial, this would not apply.

Finally we must ask whether we can identify the potter and the painter. Neither left a signature, but the latter may be identified by his style. Professor Weinberg informed me that it was Sir John Beazley's opinion that the painter was the one known as the Theseus Painter. His style is described in Professor Haspels' monumental study of Attic black-figured lekythoi. I offer excerpts from the chapter devoted to this artist:²⁵

"In his figures the incisions are characteristic: he makes the most of long flowing lines . . . he combines in bearded faces, the outline of the face with the lip: so only one little extra incision, forking from the main one at the end, is needed to indicate the mouth . . . His uncovered heads often have a prominent tuft on the forehead . . . with incision for the ends of the hair in front . . . The Theseus painter likes finishing off the lower hem of chitons with a row of close staccato zig-zags falling backwards . . . There are a good many animals . . . He has a mania for goats, with long incised hair and beards; of course he can find place for a lot of them on his numerous skyphoi with Dionysiac scenes . . ." Enough has been quoted to show the many parallels with our vase. Although the Theseus Painter is not usually associated with pelikai, Beazley lists one pelike painted by him.²⁶

I finish by calling attention to two parallels. First, a lekythos attributed to the Theseus Painter.²⁷ Again we have two scenes, a youthful beardless lyre player and a piper playing before Dionysos. There are differences: in one case Dionysos is nude, in the other he is clothed. Unlike the Missouri pelike, there are no animals and the piper is male. But the similarities are so striking as to suggest a connection. The Missouri pelike is certainly more artistically effective; we can see in it perhaps a later and more successful treatment of an earlier experiment.

The second parallel is a pelike recently on the

market.²⁸ It too contains a musical scene in a Dionysiac context. There are two ithyphallic satyrs, both playing the pipes and accompanied by goats. The satyrs and the goats alike have vine stems on their heads; those of the satyrs are remarkably similar to the reed projections on our Dionysos. Both the satyrs are wearing the phorbeia and carry a pipe case over their arms. In execution and composition this vase is not so fine as the Missouri vase, but it would not surprise me if it turned out to come from the same circle, if not the same hand.

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¹Acc. No. 61.3. Gift of Chorn Memorial Fund. Height 0.338 m.; diameter of rim 0.144 m.; diameter of base 0.162 m.

²The *Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York 1965) 80-81, fig. 246.

³I wish to thank Professor Weinberg for permission to publish the vase and for subsequent encouragement and assistance. Many people have given me suggestions, but I wish to thank in particular Professor Elmer Suhr, Professor D. Weeks and Professor H. R. W. Smith, who have taken the trouble to write me their comments in letters. It will be seen that I have profited by their help immensely.

⁴See G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York 1955) 4-5. Also R. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 1960) 224.

⁵The style of the chitons, the techniques of the drawing of the eyes, the use of three-quarter view and so on. On the other hand, the almond eye of the woman is somewhat early in style. It is probable that the artist is the "Theseus Painter," whose activity falls after 500 B.C. (see page 19). The pelike shape first appears about 520 B.C. See Cook, *op. cit.* 224.

⁶I tend to favor the identification as a wolf, because the dogs of the period, common on current vases, are usually considerably smaller and thinner.

⁷See Noble, *op. cit.* 50 ff.

⁸The fact that the figure is repeated in both panels and alone has the curious reeds projecting from his head seems to indicate his importance. The combination of bearded lyre player, bearded listener, tendrils and animals (a fawn and a dog) is also found on an oenochoe in the Vatican. See Beazley, "Amasea," *JHS* 51 (1931) 264, pl. 9; he attributes it to the Amasis Painter.

⁹Representations of Apollo with various lyre-type instruments are so common in all periods as not to need illustration. On the other hand I do not know of any case of Artemis playing the pipes. Stories of

Athena playing or refusing to play the pipes are known. I cannot see the bearded male figure as Marsyas, though a case might be made for seeing side B as Athena playing the pipes before Marsyas, and Apollo playing the lyre on side A. This, however, leaves the animals, tendrils and reed projections unexplained.

¹⁰Pindar, *Dithyrambi* 86, 16 ff. (ed. Turyn).

¹¹The story of Erigone is told in Hyginus, *Fabulae* 130 (ed. Rose), and in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6, 125 and 10, 541 (ed. Merkel). I owe this suggestion to Professor Weeks.

¹²It is perhaps impossible to distinguish between nymph and maenad in this case. Lyre-players associated with Dionysos are usually satyrs (see the Polion vase cited note 23), but this figure is clearly human. *Kithara*, *lyra*, *barbiton* and other forms of lyres are all attested.

¹³A recent book by H. Becker, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der antiken und mittelalterlichen Rohrblattinstrumente* (Hamburg 1966), subsumes and supersedes all previous discussions of this instrument. K. Schlesinger's *The Greek Aulos* (Oxford 1939) is a huge, badly organized book, full of priceless information about aulos, but largely concerned with a presentation of her controversial theories about Greek scales. Other discussions are reviewed in Becker.

¹⁴Becker, *op. cit.* 80-98.

¹⁵*Ibid.* 120-125.

¹⁶Unlike the aulos, the stringed instruments of Greece have not received a book-length study. The various lyre-type instruments (*lyra*, *chelys*, *barbiton*, *kithara*, *phorminx*, etc.) are best described in M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin 1949) 28-51.

¹⁷Wegner, *op. cit.* 37-38.

¹⁸*Ibid.* 29-30. This is the instrument of the Geometric vases of Attica and some other mainland sites. It could be, then, the instrument that Homer himself used. But it is considerably different from the instrument used in late Mycenaean times, which has also turned up in seventh-century Ionia. See *JHS* 71 (1951) fig. 8. *Phorminx* became the word in poetic diction for all lyres.

¹⁹See Wegner, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern II 4 Griechenland* (Leipzig, no date) fig. 1.

²⁰According to Nikomachos, *Enchiridion* 5, in *Musici Scriptores Graeci* 244 (ed. Jan.).

²¹Wegner, *Musikleben* 33.

²²See Suidas, *Lexicon* s.v. Sappho (first notice).

²³Late Attic red-figured bell krater by Polion. Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.66. Illustrated in Wegner, *Musikgeschichte* fig. 37.

²⁴See Ingemar Duering, "Studies in Musical Terminology in 5th Century Literature," *Eranos* 43 (1945) 176-197, particularly 196.

²⁵C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936) 142-143.

²⁶J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black Figured Vase Painters* (Oxford 1956) 519, no. 10.

²⁷Athens 9686—Haspels, *op. cit.* App. XIV, no. 62, pl. 44.2.

²⁸*Catalogue of Egyptian, West Asiatic, Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Byzantine and Viking Antiquities*, Sotheby's, London. Sale of June 12th, 1967, Item 139 (illustrated). Unfortunately it has not been possible to obtain permission from the owner of this vase to reproduce an illustration of it here.



1. Bimetallic medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, obverse and reverse (Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri).

A Medallion of Two Roman Emperors

A rare bimetallic medallion in the possession of the University of Missouri commemorates the *adventus*, or arrival, presumably in Rome, of the emperors C. Vibius Afinius Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, Gallus' son. This medallion (Fig. 1)¹ has a dark bronze center handsomely offset by a rim of much lighter colored metal. The materials in the rim and the center have not been analyzed, but two qualities of bronze appear to have been used. Striking a medallion on a disk made of two types of bronze (or sometimes of copper and bronze) was a device intended, perhaps, to enhance the beauty of the medallion. Such a large piece is clear-

ly differentiated from regular currency by its size—larger and thicker than even the sestertius, the largest of the ordinary bronze coins—and by its structure, which adds the rim to frame the central design struck in very high relief. To judge from the rarity of medallions and from their unsuitability for use as currency, it appears that medallions were struck to serve as gifts to special individuals, but we have few specific details to shed light on their use.² In the case of the Missouri medallion, we can associate it with an *adventus* of Gallus and Volusian, but we do not know to whom the medallion was presented or why.

Miss Toynbee³ reports six bimetallic medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, presumably the six listed in the corpus of Roman medallions:⁴

1. Gneccchi, page 103, 1, in Paris (not illustrated by Gneccchi, our Fig. 2). The scene on the reverse is a *decursio adventus* type with the two *augusti* galloping side by side.
2. Gneccchi, page 103, 2, in Florence (not illustrated by Gneccchi). It is stated that only its central portion is preserved. The reverse apparently bears the same *adventus* scene as a Paris example (Gneccchi, page 103, 2) which is not bimetallic and is reported to have been remade. This is illustrated here in Figure 3.
3. Gneccchi, page 103, 3, in Paris, pl. 111 no. 9. See our Figure 4.
4. Gneccchi, page 103, 4, in London, pl. 111 no. 10.
5. Gneccchi, pages 103-104, 6, in Florence (not illustrated by Gneccchi).
6. Gneccchi, pages 103-104, 6, in Paris, pl. 112 no. 2.

The Missouri medallion is now the seventh bimetallic medallion known from the joint reign of these emperors (A.D. 251-253) and is the only medallion from their reign with this particular representation of the *adventus* scene.

Obverse: Laureate busts of Gallus and Volusian facing each other. Gallus is at the right, Volusian at the left. Both are bearded and wear the *paludamentum* and cuirass. The portraits are set in a border of dots. The inscription: IMPVOLVSIANVS AVGIMPGALLVSAVG

Reverse: Winged Victory strides left, holding a wreath in her extended right hand. She leads the two *augusti*, who are mounted on horses and have their right hands raised. The *augustus* in the foreground holds an *hasta* in his left hand. A praetorian guard with helmet and round shield walks behind, a spear over his right shoulder. On the plane behind the emperors are a standard (*vexillum*), a legionary eagle (*aquila*) and two *insignia*.

The scene is bounded by a ground line set in a circle of dots. The exergue is empty. The inscription which describes the scene reads: AD VENTVSAVGG

The weight of the medallion and the die positions conform to the normal standards for this period as summarized by Miss Toynbee.⁵ The *adventus* motif, which celebrates an imperial arrival with Victory herself leading the triumphant emperors became, during the second half of the third century, a numismatic cliché.⁶ It is tempting to connect the distribution of this medallion with a return to Rome after Gallus' settlement with the Goths. There was, in fact, little that could be called "triumphant" in the hasty settlement Gallus had to make with the Goths after the disaster in June of A.D. 251 at the Battle of Abrittus (near modern Razgrad, Bulgaria), for the Roman expeditionary force, along with the Emperor Decius and his son Herennius Etruscus, had been wiped out and Thrace depopulated. Gallus' precise movements after the battle are difficult to follow, so that the specific arrival or anticipated arrival which prompted the distribution of this particular issue has not been determined with certainty.⁷ The inscription on this medallion shows that it was struck at the mint of Rome after Volusian was raised by his father to the rank of *augustus*. The event which led to Volusian's accession was the death of the young *augustus* Hostilian, the younger son of the previous emperor, Decius. Hostilian died of the plague at the end of the summer of 251. In the maneuvers to secure his throne, Gallus had adopted Hostilian as co-emperor and had given his own son, Volusian, the lower rank of Caesar. Volusian became co-emperor as soon as Hostilian died. The medallion, then, was struck after the summer of 251, probably early in their brief reign (which ended in 253), soon after the settlement Gallus made with the Goths.

This rare medallion assumes added importance because of the insights, through die links, which it affords into the use of dies in the mint of Rome. The obverse die with its fine portraits was used also for the issue represented by the Paris bimetallic medallion (Fig. 4) with the *Fortuna Redux* reverse-type. The motif of *Fortuna Redux* commemorates the return of the em-



2. Medallion of Volusian and Gallus (Gnechi II, 103,1).



3. Medallion of Volusian and Gallus (Gnechi II, 103,2), not bimetallic but apparently bearing the same *adventus* scene as a bimetallic example in Florence (not illustrated).



4. Medallion of Volusian and Gallus (Gnechi II, 103,3); its obverse illustrates the die link with the obverse of the Missouri medallion.



5. Medallion of Valerian and Gallienus (Gnechi II, 105,2); the reverse provides a die link with the Missouri medallion.



6. Medallion of Valerian and Gallienus (Gnechi II, 105,3); the reverse provides a die link with the reverse of the Missouri medallion.



7. Medallion of Valerian and Gallienus (Gnechi II, 106,5).

Figs. 2-6 are photographs of casts provided by courtesy of the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Fig. 7 is reproduced courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

peror after the goddess Fortuna has led him forth and brought him back safely. In this case, the *adventus*-type and the *Fortuna Redux*-type may well commemorate different aspects of the same event, *i.e.* the return of the emperors from the war with the Goths. As Miss Toynbee points out,⁸ the *Fortuna Redux* medallions of Gallus and Volusian display a type unknown to regular coinage: the two emperors accompanied by attendants and soldiers sacrifice together at an altar in front of a temple. In contrast, the *adventus* motif of the Missouri medallion does appear in the regular coinage.

The reverse die of the Missouri medallion was used again in the joint reign of the next emperors, Valerian and Gallienus. The same *adventus* reverse die was used to strike the following medallions:

1. Gneccchi, page 105, 2, in Paris, pl. 113 no. 2 (see our Fig. 5). The obverse with the portraits of Valerian and Gallienus is inscribed CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM.
2. Gneccchi, page 105, 3, in Paris, pl. 113 no. 3 (see our Fig. 6). Here the obverse bears the confronted busts of the emperors with the inscription PIETAS AVGVSTORVM.
3. Gneccchi, page 106, 5, in Vienna, pl. 113 no. 7 (see our Fig. 7). The obverse shows the portrait of Gallienus alone with the inscription IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG. Miss Toynbee dates this medallion to early in 253,⁹ a date which is even more probable in view of this die link.

In summary, in the short period between Gallus' and Volusian's accession and arrival in Rome and the year 253, the same reverse die was used at the mint in four issues: one celebrating the arrival of Gallus and Volusian, the second and third commemorating the arrival of Valerian and Gallienus in two issues which stressed the emperors' *Concordia* and *Pietas*, the fourth commemorating the arrival of both Valerian and Gallienus but allowing Gallienus, the younger *augustus*, sole honor on the obverse. The re-use of these handsomely cut dies conforms with the well known phe-

nomenon which demonstrates, among other things, the bureaucratic continuity at the imperial mint. Emperors changed with frequency, but the administrative offices maintained the continuity of the machinery of government.¹⁰ The number of specimens struck from the same die could never have been great since the high and elaborate relief could be easily broken. Yet this *adventus* reverse die, too valuable to be discarded while in good condition, survived to be re-used several times in the early part of the reign of the succeeding emperors.

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¹Museum of Art and Archaeology, Acc. No. 59.18. The medallion, of unknown provenience, is the gift of Cornelius Ruxton Love, Jr. Diam. 0.038-0.039 m.; thickness 0.0075 m.; weight 57.025 grams. Die position: ↑ ↑

²For the definition and classification of medallions see Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (New York 1944) 15-27.

³*Op. cit.* 18, note 4.

⁴F. Gneccchi, *I medaglioni romani* (Milan 1912) Vol. II.

⁵*Op. cit.* 150-151.

⁶The scene depicting Victory as *praecursor* preceding the emperors and announcing a victory appeared first in Roman *adventus* scenes in A.D. 247 (see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Flavian Reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome* [London 1957 (Charleston Lectures in Art)] 10, note 2.) It seems to have been derived from the *profectio* or departure medallion-type of Alexander Severus issued in A.D. 231. The bibliography on this important and complex imperial motif is summarized by Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944) 208, note 9; see especially pages 211-216 for his discussion of the Greek and Roman precursors. Cf. Richard Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven 1963) 173-177 and the summary of medallions of this *adventus* type by Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, 103-109, especially 107-108.

⁷The problem of dating events of this brief reign precisely has been much discussed. See H. Mattingly, "The Reigns of Trebonianus Gallus and Aemilian," *Numismatic Chronicle* 6 (1946) 36-46; *Roman Imperial Coinage* IV part iii, 151-153; Thomas Pekáry, "Bemerkungen zur Chronologie des Jahrzehnts 250-60 n. Chr.," *Historia* 11 (1962) 123-128; Claire Préaux, "Trébonien Galle et Hostilianus," *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 152-157; Gerald Walser and Thomas Pekáry, *Die Krise des römischen Reiches* (Berlin 1962) 24-27.

⁸*Roman Medallions* 104.

⁹*Op. cit.* 108, note 116.

¹⁰For a brief statement on the administrative continuity of this period, see R. Rémondon, *La crise de l'empire romain* (Paris 1964) 104-105.

The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem

A GOTHIC IVORY

The final decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth saw a rediscovery by European and American collectors of an aesthetically pleasing and historically informative class of *objets d'art*, the Gothic ivory relief. Of the numerous ivories of medieval origin which have since found their way into public galleries and museums relatively few have been published. Here is presented an example recently acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri.

The Missouri ivory (Figs. 1, 2, 3) consists of two pieces, together bearing a relief of the *Entry of Christ into Jerusalem*.¹ This synoptic episode from the Passion is here told in a manner conforming to what has been described as the Hellenistic type, in contradistinction to the Byzantine type.² Christ, astride an ass and followed by a single disciple, is greeted by a group of worshipers, among them a youth laying his mantle before the Savior. As one would expect, the landscape and the architecture of the city of Jerusalem reflect the environment of the carver.

Symptomatic of a particular stage in the evolution of ivory carving are the clarity and simplicity with which the story is told. Ateliers of lay ivory carvers were established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³ This art, previously practised in monastic workshops to suit the liturgical needs of the church, in becoming secularized in production lapsed into conservatism.⁴ The numerous portable altars intended for private devotion, which were produced at this time, show a close adherence to simple iconographic formu-

lae. The goal of telling a story clearly and succinctly is achieved in the Missouri ivory.

Ivory carving by lay artisans was initially French. As it diffused through Europe, some regional styles developed. The subtlety of the initial stylistic variation is such that Raymond Koechlin, a pioneer in the study of Gothic ivories, although realizing that foreign ateliers imitated French models, was unable to distinguish between ivories of foreign and French provenance.⁵ Subsequent reassessment of some of the ivories published by Koechlin has resulted in the establishment of a non-French origin for many of them.⁶

The ivory carvers of northern Italy rapidly developed a unique style. Their elongated, static, vertical figures with relatively small heads were probably the result of the influence of Byzantine art.⁷ Unlike his French counterpart, the carver in northern Italy frequently used untreated ivory.⁸ Preferring not to process the ivory by flattening its natural curvature, the artist produced reliefs with a noticeably convex surface. The Missouri reliefs resemble these north Italian products. The front surfaces are convex and the backs have the natural longitudinal concavity of the tusk.

The study of medieval ivories is confounded by the lack of certainty in the assignment of specific pieces to particular schools. With a single exception, there are no signed medieval ivories.⁹ To only one documented atelier can any specific works be definitely attributed. This is the workshop in Venice of Baldassarre degli Embriachi, founded sometime before 1400.¹⁰

The account book of the Certosa of Pavia contains



1. Ivory relief representing the entry of Christ into Jerusalem (Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri).



2. Detail of panel at left, Figure 1.



3. Detail of panel at right, Figure 1.

entries dated 1400 and 1409 referring to monies for the purchase of a carved altarpiece and two chests, or *cassoni*, from Baldassarre degli Embriachi.¹¹ While the fate of the altarpiece is uncertain,¹² it is known that the reliefs of the chests were stripped from them and used to decorate a portable library cabinet which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figs. 4, 5).¹³

On the basis of style, numerous caskets, combs, mirror backs and altarpieces have been shown to be related to the Metropolitan reliefs. Hans Semper, the first to attempt an inventory of ivories from the Embriachi atelier, was so impressed by the prodigious output of the shop that he was convinced of its organization for mass production on an assembly line basis.¹⁴ A later inventory of Embriachi ivories with secular themes, compiled by Julius von Schlosser, includes 126 items.¹⁵

The style of the Embriachi ivories, evolving from that of earlier ivories of north Italian workmanship, depended upon the form of the material. Most often the Embriachi carvers use bone or small pieces of ivory. Occasionally, as in the Metropolitan panels, the more costly tooth of Hippopotamus was used. These materials did not provide broad planes for the reliefs; thus several small, slightly convex pieces were fitted together, giving a decorative effect to the composite

panel. The use of convex pieces precluded the convincing portrayal of interaction between figures on adjoining sections. It is also evident that vertical and relatively static figures were demanded by the narrow extent of the bone, tooth or ivory.

Ivories that have been ascribed to the Embriachi atelier almost invariably have a projecting ledge along their lower margins. This may be high, to represent a pedestal on which the figures stand, as in the triptych in Florence (Fig. 6), or it may be low, to represent the ground, as in the upper reliefs of a casket in Vienna (Fig. 7). The Missouri ivory has a ledge similar to the latter. The upper portions of the Embriachi ivories frequently display openwork foliage, or architecture. The left section of the Missouri ivory has openwork foliage comparable to that of the panels in Figure 4 and Figure 7. The architecture of the city of Jerusalem on the right section of the Missouri ivory may be compared to that of the triptych (Fig. 6) or to the diminutive castles in the Metropolitan panels.

A distinctive characteristic of the Embriachi ivories is their landscape. The hills are commonly surmounted by formalized mushroom-shaped Tuscan pines. These trees often have their foliage divided into three horizontal layers. Occasional vertical indentations further subdivide the foliage. Careful examination of the trunks

4, 5. Details of ivory panels by Baldassarre degli Embriachi. Photographs courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.



of the trees in the Missouri piece and the other ivories illustrated here reveals that the bifurcating trunk and branches are represented by a few deep cuts in the ivory immediately beneath the leafy part of the trees. Common to the Missouri ivory and the Embriachi works are the smooth, highly polished rocks which are rounded even where in nature there would be sharp angles, points and fissures.

The figures of the Missouri ivory (Fig. 3) are vertical, slightly elongated and somewhat static. This, as we have noted, is characteristic of works from the Embriachi atelier, whose carvers were unable to render the curvature of figures convincingly.¹⁶ A peculiar swelling of the chest, coupled with a thin waist and protruding buttocks, is common to the profile figures of the Missouri ivory and those of the Metropolitan Museum panels.

The clothing on the figures in the Metropolitan and Vienna ivories accentuates the stiffness of articulation and the unusual shape of the bodies it covers. The short medieval skirt hangs stiffly over the plump buttocks. The longer robes have shallow parallel vertical folds, giving a corrugated appearance to the garment.¹⁷ The figures on the right-hand piece of the Missouri ivory are clothed in a manner identical with those in the Metropolitan panels.

The deep cutting of the relief in the Missouri pieces gives sharp profiles outlined by shadow. The sharp line of the jaw and deep shadow underneath make the head appear to be placed well forward on the neck. This is evident in the youths on the right. It can be seen from the examples illustrated here that the carvers of the Embriachi atelier preferred high relief, making abundant use of shadow to outline their figures. The figures in the Metropolitan ivories illustrate clearly the forward position of the heads.¹⁸

A minor but particularly distinctive trait of works from the Venetian atelier is a tight curl just above the upper part of the ear.¹⁹ This is visible in all the ivories illustrated here, including the Missouri *Entry into Jerusalem*, where we may notice the peculiar curl in the hair of Christ and in that of the youthful worshippers.

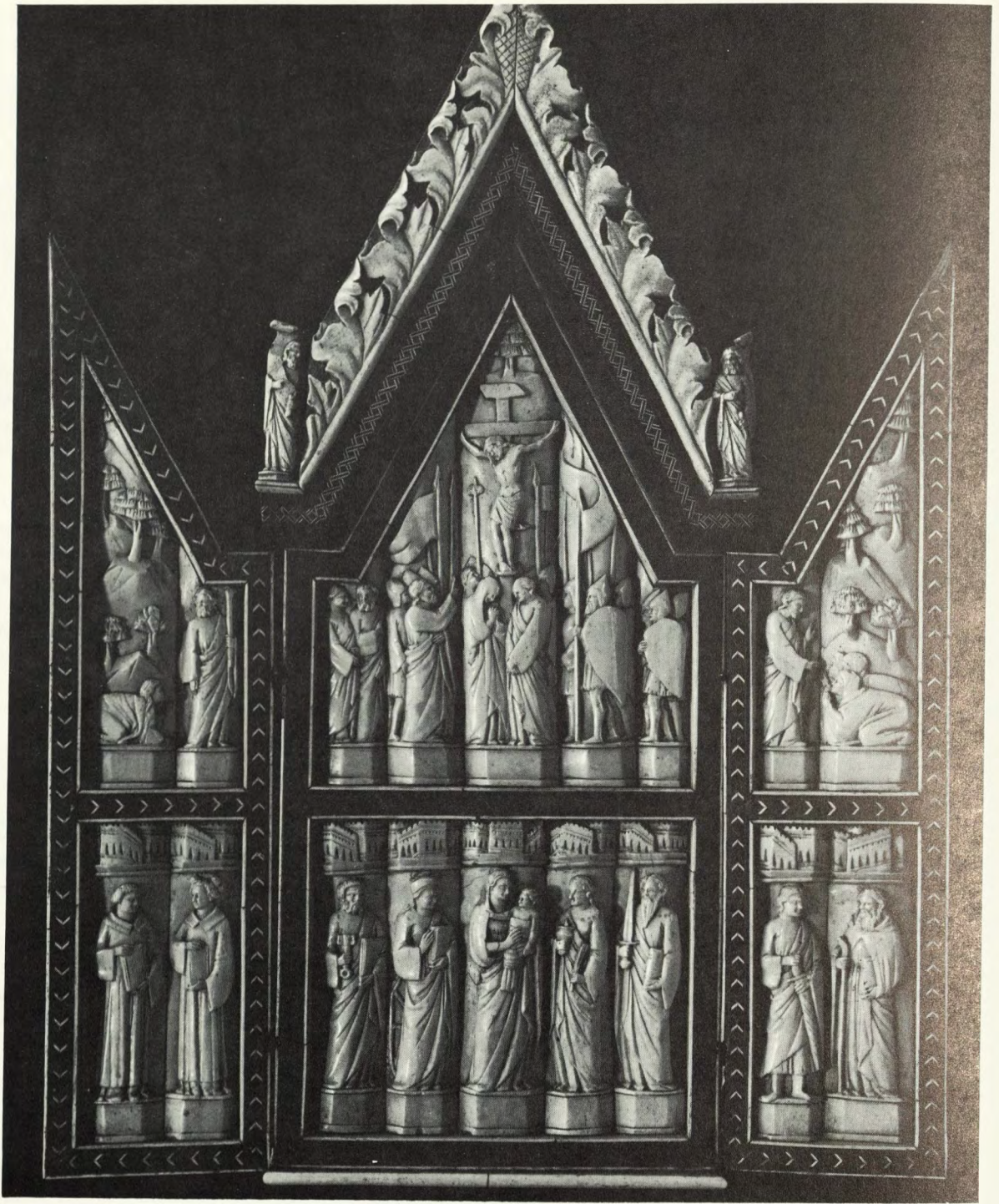
Most of the ivories in Schlosser's inventory²⁰ bear no trace of polychromy. He concluded that if the

ivories were painted at all, the painting was of a delicate nature. The Missouri ivory has no definite remains of pigment.²¹

From the above evidence it would seem that the *Entry into Jerusalem* in the Missouri collection is stylistically similar to works produced in the Embriachi workshop. The ivory must have come from the same atelier that created the Metropolitan panels, the Vienna casket and the triptych in Florence.

The ivories to which the *Entry into Jerusalem* has been compared are in frames of carved ivory or intarsia work. The pieces are not suited to isolation in a portable shrine. On the reverse there is no evidence of any hinging apparatus but there are considerable remains of glue. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these pieces were backed with a thin ivory plaque and inserted into a pointed or ogee arch. Originally they may have been part of a diptych or triptych bearing scenes of the Passion. But few finished pieces from the Embriachi atelier were made up of scenes in arched niches. Most commonly the panels were placed in rectangular frames, as in the Vienna casket. In this casket the individual parts are trimmed to fit the spaces, indicating that the pieces may not originally have been intended to decorate this casket. Such cutting down of finished reliefs gives credence to Semper's hypothetical assembly line production.²² The Missouri pieces have not been cut along the tops to fit a frame. As they are compositionally balanced, with the two figures on extreme left and right identical in pose and height, there is no reason to believe that another part of the scene ever existed. From the evidence available it is reasonable to surmise that this relief was part of a finished altarpiece.

Numerous exhibitions of ivories in America and Europe around the turn of the century created an interest in the cataloguing of various public collections.²³ With descriptions and photographs available and a ready market at hand, forgers turned to defrauding collectors. A readily definable style such as that of the Embriachi atelier lent itself to forgery,²⁴ which would be especially profitable considering the interest in a documented school to which definite ivories could be attributed.



6. Ivory triptych, Museo Nazionale, Florence. Alinari photograph.



7. Casket with ivory reliefs. Photograph courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. (No. 538).

The Missouri ivory is genuine, though it lacks the finesse and the assured touch of a master which one senses in the Metropolitan panels. But the latter, carved of hippopotamus tooth, the most costly of materials, would certainly be the work of a superior master. The vast output of the shop indicates that there must have been a considerable number of masters, apprentices, carvers and intarsia workers. The Missouri ivory is quite clearly the work of a lesser craftsman, probably an apprentice.

In spite of this the reliefs adhere to the stylistic formulae of the Embriachi ivories, as illustrated by the Metropolitan panels and works related to them. The *Entry into Jerusalem* is a genuine example of work from the atelier of Baldassarre degli Embriachi.

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¹Acc. No. 67.59. Gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis. Each section is 0.11 m. high, 0.042 m. wide, and a maximum of 0.02 m. thick. The ivory is in good condition, the only apparent damage being the loss of a hand from the foremost individual in the group on the right, and some loss of the thin ledge on the lower margins of both pieces.

²E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence* (Princeton 1918) 152.

³References to documents indicating the establishment of ateliers of lay carvers in France are given by R. Koechlin in *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris 1924) 7-18.

⁴This was noticed by Koechlin, *op. cit.* 308-309, and more recently by J. Natanson, *Gothic Ivories of the 13th and 14th Centuries* (London 1951) 24-27.

⁵*Op. cit.* 106-115, 348-349.

⁶D. D. Egbert, "The Provenance of Gothic Ivories," *Parnassus* 1 (February 1929) 21. For ivories of Italian provenance see D. D. Egbert, "North Italian Gothic Ivories in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican," *Art Studies* 7 (1929) 169-206, and C. R. Morey, "Italian Gothic Ivories," *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* I (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1939) 181-203.

⁷This has been suggested by Egbert in *Art Studies* 7 (1929) 188.

⁸To flatten a piece of ivory involves a rather complicated process. This is described in detail by M. D. Wyatt in *Notices of Sculpture in Ivory consisting of a lecture on the history, methods, and chief productions of the art* . . . (London 1856).

⁹A. M. Cust, *The Ivory Workers of the Middle Ages* (London 1910) 144, states that the only known signed medieval ivory is a box in the British Museum bearing the name Jehan Nicolle.

¹⁰Baldassarre degli Embriachi was born into the Florentine branch of an old Genoese family. He made his home in Venice, where he became a successful banker and a political agent for Gian Galeazzo Visconti (D. Sant' Ambrogio, "Un trittico Fiorentino del XIV secolo, ascrivibile a Baldassarre degli Embriachi," *Archivio storico dell'arte* Series 11 [1896] 29; H. Semper, "Ueber ein italienisches Beintriptychon des XIV Jahrhunderts im Ferdinandeum und diesem verwandte Kunst-

werke," *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums* 111 [1896] 159). Other members of the Embriachi family also resided in Venice. The brothers Giovanni (d. 1433) and Antonio (d. 1431), not directly related to Baldassarre, owned a workshop of ebonists at San Luca. This business was closed by Lorenzo, the son of Antonio, in 1433. It is probable that Baldassarre's workshop had ceased production by this date.

A genealogy of Baldassarre is to be found in J. von Schlosser, "Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhoechsten Kaiserhauses* 20 (1899) 281.

¹¹An outline of the texts of the two entries is given by L. Beltrami in *Storia documentata della Certosa di Pavia* I (Milan 1896) 109, and in D. Sant' Ambrogio, "Due confani d'avorio," *Archivio storia Lombardo* Series 111, Vol. 4 (1895) 444ff.

The entry dated February 20, 1400, refers to purchase money for the altarpiece and coffers to be carved by Baldassarre degli Embriachi. On March 18, 1409, a notation was made indicating that payment for the items was completed.

¹²There exist several large altarpieces apparently the work of carvers of the Embriachi atelier. The Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Victoria and Albert Museum each possess an altarpiece which could be the one referred in the account book of the Certosa of Pavia.

¹³The chests remained in the Certosa until 1782, when they were taken by the retiring Carthusian Abbot Benedetto Torodoro as part of his pension. In the early nineteenth century the panels from the chests were used to decorate a library cabinet. This cabinet was bought by Giovanni Battista Cagnola in 1865 and kept in his *palazzo* in Milan until 1917 when they were bought by J. Pierpont Morgan for the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. No. 17.190.490).

¹⁴Semper, *loc. cit.* (above, note 10), states that the production was done on an assembly line and then the various pieces were assembled. Hundreds of workmen were employed and the quality of their products determined the price. Pieces by various craftsmen were put together to make a finished casket or altarpiece.

¹⁵Schlosser, *op. cit.* (above, note 10) 222-233.

¹⁶In comparison with French ivories of the same period the figures on the Embriachi ivories are rather crude.

¹⁷This is characteristic of north Italian ivories: Egbert, "North Italian Gothic Ivories . . ." *Art Studies* 7 (1929) 172-173.

¹⁸This characteristic of the Embriachi ivories has been noted by Egbert, *ibid.* 174.

¹⁹It is not unique to Embriachi ivories but is found also in pieces from the Bolognese school of the fourteenth century.

²⁰Schlosser, *op. cit.* (above, note 10) 222-233.

²¹There is some colored material on the backs of the pieces and on the tops of the trees and the walled town. This is oxidized glue.

²²Semper, *op. cit.* (above, note 10) 159.

²³O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum* (London 1909); Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of Bronzes and Ivories Exhibited in 1879; A Description of the Ivories, Ancient and Mediaeval in the South Kensington Museum* with a preface by William Maskell (London 1872); M. H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory, Victoria and Albert Museum* (London 1929).

²⁴Semper, *op. cit.* (above, note 10) 160, wrote that imitations of Embriachi ivories may not be excluded, as some of the particularly poor types seem to indicate forgery. G. C. Williamson, in *The Book of Ivory* (London 1938), includes a section on the forging of ivories. He warns that one must be extremely cautious in establishing the date of an ivory. In discussing the ivories from the Embriachi atelier he exercises considerable caution in ascribing pieces to the workshop.

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Erratum: Mr. Gudmund Vigtel, Director of the High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, has called our attention to an error in the caption of the picture shown on page 30 of MUSE I (1967). The correct title is *The Thanksgiving of Noah* and the painting is part of the Samuel H. Kress Collection in the High Museum of Art.

GLADYS D. WEINBERG, editor



Saints Constantine and Helen. Sculptured wood, polychrome and gilt. Bohemian, early 18th century. (65.18.1,2).