

# MVSE ANNUAL of the MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA

NUMBER FOUR: 1970



MUSE 4 1970

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FRONT COVER: Flower-piece after the style of Jan van Huysum in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia. Gift of Mr. Ivan B. Hart. BACK COVER: *Dancer*, by Moses Soyer. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Small.

*All Museum photographs by Ronald G. Marquette*

# ACTIVITIES 1969

As a research institution the Museum assumes greater importance each year, and in 1969 this aspect was more prominent than ever before. Much research activity centered about the Museum's excavations in Israel. The second campaign at Tel Anafa, reported in this issue, was staffed largely by faculty and students from the Museum and the Department of Art History and Archaeology. One of the students, Mr. Leslie Cornell, is preparing a thesis on the fine red-ware pottery from Tel Anafa found during the two seasons. Three graduate students are studying material from the Museum's joint expedition with the Corning Museum of Glass (1964-67), which excavated a Late Roman glass factory at Jalame, a site in Western Galilee. The quantities of vessel glass are the subject of a Harvard Ph.D. dissertation by Mr. Sidney Goldstein (a Missouri B.A.); Miss Barbara Johnson is completing an M.A. thesis on the fine pottery and will study the much larger amount of coarse wares for her Missouri Ph.D. dissertation; Miss Anna Manzoni is preparing an M.A. thesis on the lamps.

The Museum's collections, aside from excavation finds, furnish great opportunities for research in both art history and archaeology, several results of which, by faculty, Museum staff and graduate students, are included in this issue. The use of the collections in courses, especially in introducing graduate students to research methods, is increasing, and several more studies are in preparation for MUSE.

The growth of the collections continues to accelerate—in 1969 twelve hundred items were accessioned. Two thirds of these are accounted for by the collection of Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins formed by the late John H. Townsend of Gallatin, Missouri, made available to the Museum by his family partly as a gift, partly by purchase. Another group of objects,

donated by Miss Catherine France (whose death occurred not long afterward) in memory of her brother Charles B. France, who assembled the collection in Paris before his death in 1928, consists of exceptional "objets de vertu." Important modern paintings and drawings have been presented by Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Small, including a Modigliani portrait, the first notable work in this area for the Museum. The varied nature of the acquisitions is apparent in the following pages: many familiar names of donors appear, together with a number of new ones. Purchase funds have been used to fill in areas not covered by gifts, a combination which has made possible the quality and balance of our collections.

Remembering our pleas of the past few years for more space, the reader will wonder how we continue to house the growing collections. So do we! Storage has so encroached on work space that two people must share a single desk, in shifts. Students hardly have room to work on the objects, a plight emphasized in an article in the *Columbia Missourian* of March 29, 1970. The Museum's grave needs were recognized in a fine report by Nell Gross in the *Midwest Motorist* of February-March, 1970, which stressed the rightful place of the Museum as the third most important in Missouri. MUSE has achieved international recognition, and the Museum is probably better known outside the state and the country than within. It is to be hoped that the Museum's value in the educational program of the University will be recognized in time to save it from death by strangulation. This danger is not far off, and only alleviation of the acute space problem can save it.

SAUL S. WEINBERG  
Director

# ACQUISITIONS 1969

## OCEANIC ART

### New Zealand

Reed hula skirt (14\*), Maori, gift of Mrs. Josefa Carlebach.

## AFRICAN ART

Two wooden pulleys (965, 966), wooden male and female figures (969, 968), Baule tribe, Ivory Coast, 19th c.; wooden Bajokwe mask (970) from Angola; two wooden masks (971, 972), Ibibio tribe, Nigeria, 19th c.; all the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

Three wooden wands (995-997), Yoruba tribe, Nigeria, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks. Two wooden Akua'ba—fertility dolls (1058, 1059), Ashanti tribe, Ghana, gift of Mr. James V. Moseley.

## CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN ART

### Mexico

Terracotta figurine of ball-player (959), Colima, Archaic period, ca. 1000-600 B.C.; terracotta figurine of pregnant woman (7), West Coast, ca. A.D. 250-500; terracotta male figure (958) from Teotihuacán, ca. 3rd-1st c. B.C.; terracotta figurine of seated priest (8) from Teotihuacán; terracotta statuette of chieftain, detachable headdress (955), from Jaina, Maya, ca. A.D. 800; terracotta whistle (957), Late Classical Maya, A.D. 600-900; two terracotta heads (960, 961); terracotta flute (956); shell carved in form of a bird (954), A.D. 1000-1400; all the gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Six terracotta female figurines (985-990) from Michoacan, Archaic, ca. 1000-400 B.C., two knives (one obsidian, one flint) with carved wooden handles (1, 2), Aztec, 15th-16th c.; all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

### Peru

Eight woolen textile fragments with decorative patterns (1014-1021), Chancay, ca. A.D. 1200, gift of Mr. James V. Moseley.

### Salvador

Three terracotta heads (1060-1062), Archaic, ca. 250 B.C.-A.D. 250; terracotta bust of male deity (1063); terracotta male figure with necklace (1064); all the gift of Mr. Eric Field.

## FAR EASTERN ART

### China

Bronze seal in form of a cross (945), Nestorian, from Central

Asia, ca. A.D. 1000; green porcelain statuette of male figure seated upon a frog (952), 19th c.; both the gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Silver opium box (1026) ca. 1800; cylindrical silver container with cloisonné decoration (1051), 19th c.; rock crystal figure of Buddha (1057), 19th c.; brown agate snuff bottle with carved design and carved jade cover (1041); all the gift of Miss Sarah Catherine France in memory of her brother Charles B. France.

Polychromed wooden figure of a Bodhisattva (1084), 18th or 19th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Harris, Jr.

### Japan

Nine bronze and iron tsukas with inlaid decoration in gold and silver (939-942, 974-978), 16th-19th c.; ivory netsuke with dragon head (1006), 16th c.; all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir.

Two lengths of silk brocade fabric (22, 23), 17th and 18th c., gift of Mrs. Josefa Carlebach.

## CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ART

### Iran

Fragment of glazed tile with centaur in relief (9), possibly Sasanian; bronze pin (948) from Luristan; both the gift of J. Lionberger Davis. Bronze rein ring (998) from Luristan, 9th c. B.C., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

Two agate sealstones (10, 11), Sasanian; lapis lazuli cylinder seal (12); agate cylinder seal (13). Two miniatures, gouache on paper (5, 6), 19th-20th c.

Four silver coins (917-920), Sasanian; four silver, three bronze coins (915, 916, 921-925), Islamic, from the collection of the late John H. Townsend.

### India

Stone statue of the dwarf Vāmana (1065) from East India, Pala period, 9th-10th c., gift of Mrs. Natasha Eilenberg.

Bronze statuettes from South India: Skanda riding a peacock (1071), 14th c.; dancing Krishna (1069), 15th c.; Vyāghrapedha, assistant of Śiva (1070), Narasimha, incarnation of Vishnu, 17th c.; group of Śiva, Pārvaī and Skanda (1067), 17th c.; Simhavyāla, combination of parts of several animals—lion's face, antelope's forehead, boar's ears and ram's horns (1066); all the gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg.

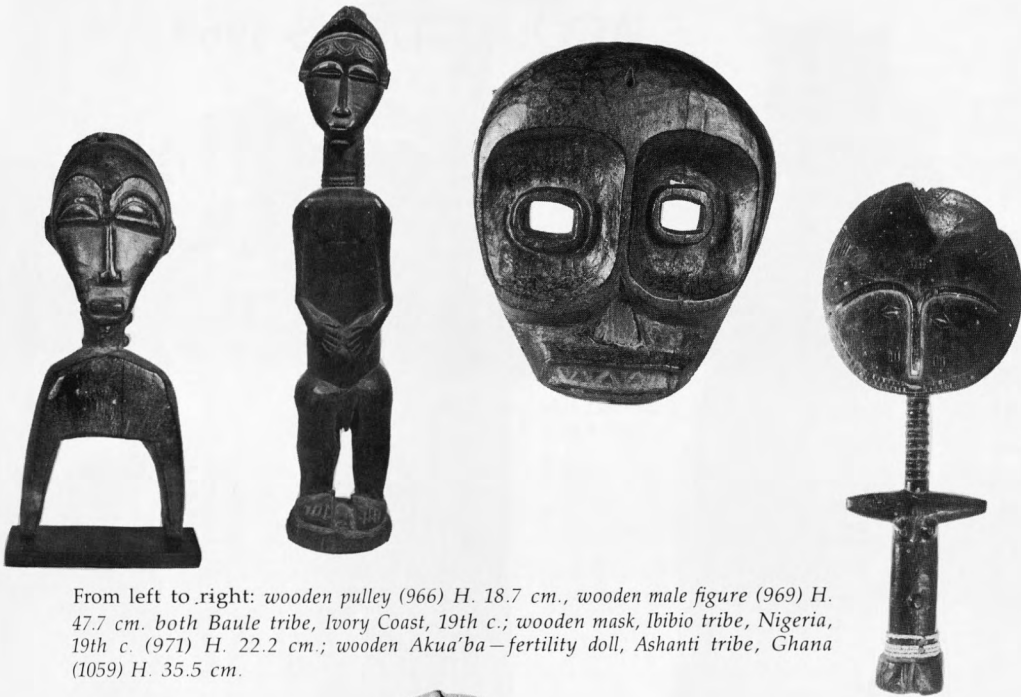
### Cambodia

Bronze statuette of standing Buddha (1072) from Lopburi, Khmer period, 14th c., gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg.

### Indonesia

Terracotta head (33) from Madjapahit; steel dagger with

\*The numbers in parentheses are museum accession numbers and normally are given in full, as 69.14.



From left to right: wooden pulley (966) H. 18.7 cm., wooden male figure (969) H. 47.7 cm. both Baule tribe, Ivory Coast, 19th c.; wooden mask, Ibibio tribe, Nigeria, 19th c. (971) H. 22.2 cm.; wooden Akua'ba—fertility doll, Ashanti tribe, Ghana (1059) H. 35.5 cm.



Terracotta statuette of chieftain from Jaina, Maya, ca. A.D. 800 (955) H. 17.3 cm.

## ACQUISITIONS 1969



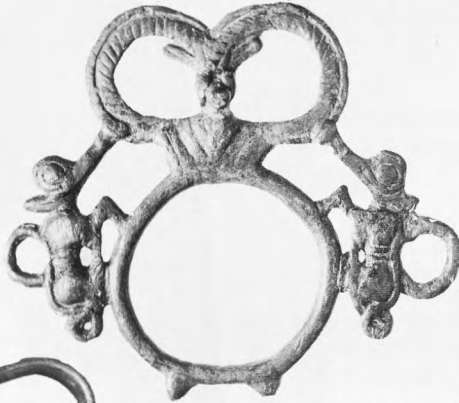
*Polychromed wooden figure of a Bodhisattva from China, 18th or 19th c. (1084)  
H. 30 cm.*



*Woolen textile fragment from Peru, Chanca, ca. A.D. 1200 (1015) H. 33 cm.*



*Stone statue of the dwarf Vamana from East India, Pala period, 9th-10th c. (1065) H. 41.5 cm.*



*Bronze rein ring from Luristan,  
9th c. B.C. (998) H. 9.8 cm.*



*Bronze statuette of Simhavyāla from South India  
(1066) H. 10.8 cm.*



*Bronze statuette of standing Buddha from Lopburi,  
Cambodia, Khmer period, 14th c. (1072) H. 28 cm.*



*Brass bowl with relief decoration from Java, Hindu,  
ca. 1200 (30) H. 15 cm.*

carved wooden handle and sheath (28), cotton textile with pattern (19) from Sumba Island; all the gift of Mrs. Josefa Carlebach.

## Bali

Cotton textile with painted design (18), two woven straw hats with painted designs (15, 16), all the gift of Mrs. Josefa Carlebach.

## Java

Brass bowl with relief decoration (30), Hindu, ca. 1200; bronze bell (31), ca. 1200; bronze bowl with incised design (32), Hindu, ca. 1200; bronze beaker with zodiac in relief (34), Hindu, ca. 1200; tea set—palm nutshell with brass trim and brass bowls (17), 18th c., all the gift of Mrs. Josefa Carlebach.

## Thailand

Gilded lead statuette of Buddha (938), 18th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir. Bronze statuette of Garuda (973), 19th c., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

## Philippines

Wooden funerary figure of seated man (967), Igorot tribe, 19th c., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

## NEAR EASTERN ART

### Anatolia

Bronze male statuette (950), possibly Hittite, first millennium B.C.; bronze male statuette (949), ca. 800 B.C.; both the gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

### Egypt

Three bone dolls (991, 992, 993), Coptic, 5th or 6th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

### Syria

Six terracotta female figurines (979-984) and one male figurine (994) from North Syria, Hurrite, 1800-1500 B.C., all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks; two similar terracotta female figures (962, 963).

## GREEK, ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN ART

### Greek

Ceramic hydria (118) from Crete, Geometric, late 8th c. B.C.; black-figured band cup (111) from Athens, 6th c. B.C.; kylix with white-ground tondo (113) Attic, 5th c. B.C.; terracotta cone with stamped gem impressions and inscription (3) perhaps from Sicily; marble head of a kore (4), probably Ionian, mid-sixth c. B.C.; bronze bowl (112) so-called Graeco-Persian, 5th or 4th c. B.C., gift of Dr. Kurt Deppert.

Three hundred and ninety-seven silver, billon and bronze coins (121-403, 914) from the collection of the late John H. Townsend, gift of Mrs. Mary Frances Davis and Mrs. Susan Ann Davis Aulgur.



Left: wooden funerary figure of seated man, Igorot tribe, Philippines, 19th c. (967) H. 17 cm. Right: bone doll from Egypt, Coptic, 5th or 6th c. (991) H. 6.4 cm.



Detail of band cup on opposite page.



## ACQUISITIONS 1969



Three terracotta female figurines from North Syria, Hurrite, 1800-1500 B.C. (left to right: 979, 983, 984) H. 13.7 cm., 16.8 cm., 14.8 cm.

Right: marble head of a kore from Greece, probably Ionian, mid-6th c. B.C. (4) H. 13.1 cm.



Black-figured band cup with heraldic rams and two cloaked men with staves, Attic, 6th c. B.C. (111) H. 9.1 cm. Opposite page: detail of other side with dancing maenads and satyrs.

Right: ceramic hydria from Crete, Geometric period, late 8th c. B.C. (118) H. 30 cm.





Bronze figurine of a man holding staves,  
Iberian, 6th-4th c. B.C. (999) H. 4.1 cm.

## Etruscan

Bronze bow-shaped fibula (947), ca. 450 B.C., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

## Roman

Bronze attachment in shape of dog's head (944) from Asia Minor, 2nd or 3rd c. A.D., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Gold coin of Valentinian (A.D. 364-375). Four hundred and fifty silver and bronze coins (404-854, 398), Republican and Imperial, from the collection of the late John H. Townsend. Bronze coin of Constantine (A.D. 307-337) with silver head from a Greek coin attached to the reverse (943), gift of Mr. Charles Sherfese.

## EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ART

White agate gem with Gnostic designs and inscription (116). Fragment of glass bracelet with stamped Christian monogram (117), anonymous gift. Fifty-nine gold, silver and bronze coins (855-913) from the collection of the late John H. Townsend.

## EUROPEAN ART

### Prehistoric

Bronze bracelet (946), Hallstatt, 1st millennium B.C., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis. Seven bronze figurines (999-1005), Iberian, 6th-4th c. B.C., all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

### Renaissance to 1800

Paintings: Jan Boeckhorst, *Christ and the Magdalen* (114), Flemish, 1605-88 (118 cm. x 83 cm.). School of Massimo Stanzione, *David and Goliath* (115), Neapolitan, 17th c. (1.35 m. x 1.05 m.). Hubert Robert, *Temptation of a Saint* (1013), French, 1733-1808. (68.6 x 53.3 cm.).

Sculpture: Stone head of a warrior (951), Italian, 16th c., gift of Mr. J. Lionberger Davis.

Drawings and Graphics: Three pen and ink drawings on paper, Salvator Rosa, *An Angel on the Tomb of Christ* (1083), Italian, 1615-1673; Marco Antonio Franceschini, *Study of a Draped Female Figure* (1073), Italian, 1648-1729; Francesco La Marra, untitled (1091), Neapolitan, ca. 1710-1780. Engraving, Heinrich Aldegrever, *The History of Amnon and Thamar* (1086), German, 1502-1558. Drawing in red chalk, Michael Leodius, *La Divina Sapienza* (1090), German, late 17th-early 18th c.

Set of four engravings: Crispin de Passe, *Four Emblems* (1087), Flemish, 1564-1637. Engraving, Jacques Callot, *Le Grand Ecce Homo* (1088), French, 1592-1635. Engraving, Theresa del Pò, *Mausolée du Pape Jules II* (1089), Italian, d. 1716.

Minor arts: Length of red velvet (21), Renaissance, gift of Mrs. Josefa Carlebach. Vernis Martin box with gold mounts, scenes painted on all faces, French, ca. 1780, gift of Miss Sarah Catherine France in memory of her brother, Charles B. France.

## ACQUISITIONS 1969



Painted scene from top of Vernis Martin box, French, ca. 1780 (1044) H. 3.7 cm.



An Angel on the Tomb of Christ, pen and ink drawing, by Salvator Rosa, Italian, 1615-1673 (1083) 17 x 13 cm.



Right: Study of a Draped Female Figure, by Marco Antonio Franceschini, Italian, 1648-1729 (1073) 25 x 15 cm.

## ACQUISITIONS 1969



*David and Goliath, school of Massimo Stanzione, Neapolitan, 17th c. (115) 135 x 105 cm.*



*Stone head of a warrior, Italian, 16th c. (951) H. 8.1 cm.*



Christ and the Magdalen, by Jan Boeckhorst, Flemish, 1605-1688 (114) 118 x 83 cm.

## ACQUISITIONS 1969



Three miniatures. Far left: bust of young woman, Anonymous (1030) H. 2.4 cm. Left: bearded man, Anonymous (1028) H. 7 cm. Above: young woman grieving over dead bird, by Anne Greuze, French, 1762-1842 (1029) H. 6.4 cm.

### 1800 to the Present

The following works of art (oil paintings, watercolors and drawings) are all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Small.

Oil paintings: Amadeo Modigliani, *Polish Boy* (1007), Italian, 1884-1920 (54 x 37 cm.); Robert Beauchamp, *Fantasy* (104), American contemporary (56 x 76.8 cm.); Raymond Parker, *White and Black Forces* (964), American contemporary (1.80 x 2.29 m.); I. Rice Pereira, *Triangles* (1009), American contemporary (49.5 x 52 cm.); Larry Rivers, *Drug Store* (106), American contemporary (33.8 x 38.7 cm.); Giuseppe Santomaso, *War Games in the Sky* (105), Italian contemporary (67.5 x 48.5 cm.); Moses Soyer, *Dancer* (1008), American contemporary (32.5 x 10.5 cm.); Maria Helena Vieira da Silva, *Jardins dans L'Espace* (102), Portuguese-French contemporary (49.4 cm. x 149 cm.).

Watercolors and drawings: Miguel Covarrubias, *Dancer*, watercolor (1010), Mexican, 1904-57; Miguel Covarrubias, *Patouman*, watercolor (1011); Herbert Bayer, *Composition*, watercolor (109), Austrian-American contemporary; Bernard Buffet, *Travesti*, watercolor (103), French contemporary; Philip Evergood, *Miner*, drawing (107), American contemporary; Robert Gwathmey, *Fishermen*, drawing (110), American contemporary; Robert Andrew Parker, *Airplane*, watercolor (108), American contemporary.

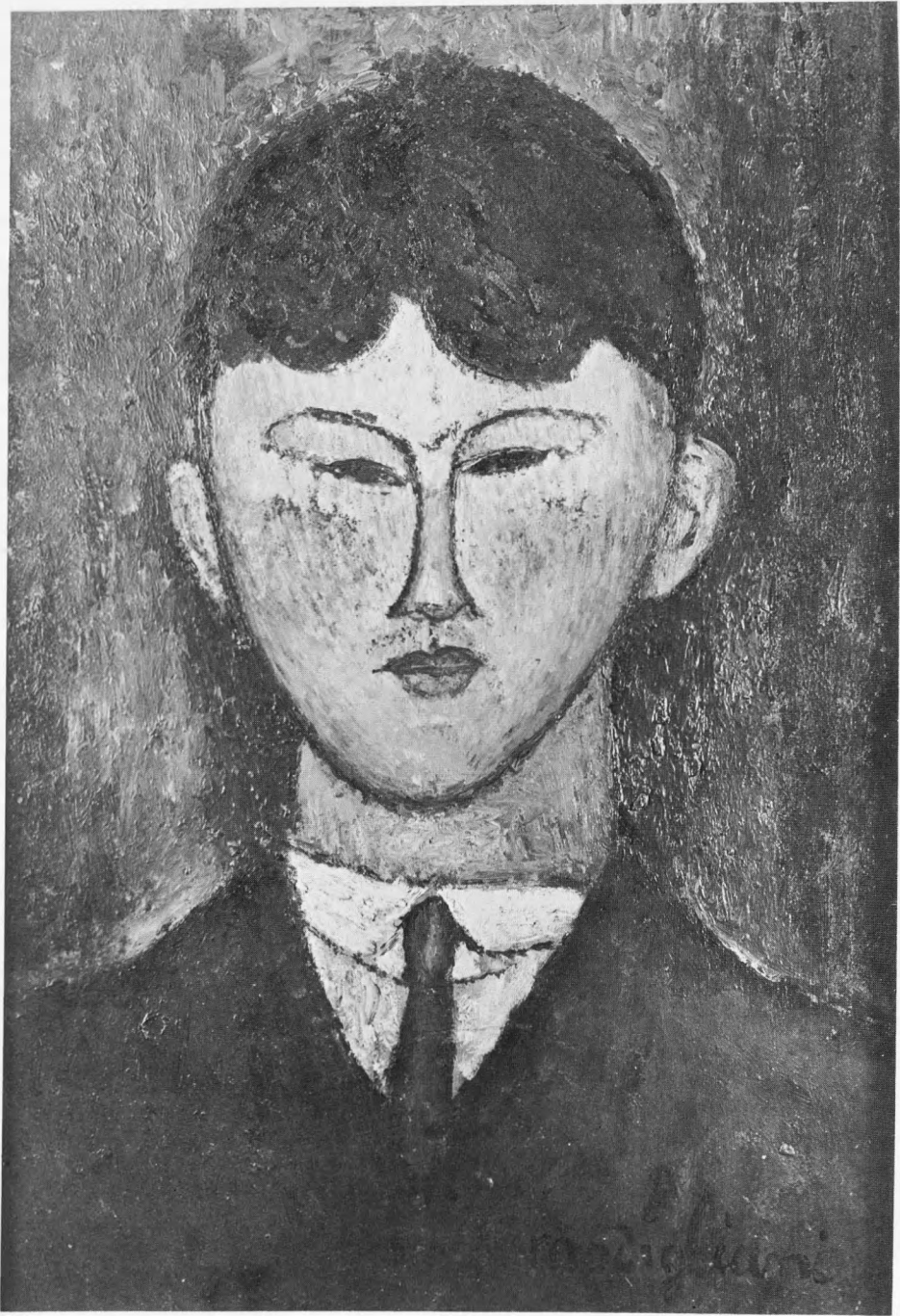
Graphics: Alexander Archipenko, *Le Groupe*, lithograph (1077), Russian, 1887-1966; Fernand Léger, *Remorqueur dans la Ville* from *La Ville Suite*, lithograph (1079), French, 1881-1955; Ossip Zadkine, *Femmes*, lithograph (97), Russian,

1890-1967; Richard Anuskiewicz, from *Spectral Cadmuin Suite*, lithograph (1082), American contemporary; Karl Appel, *Regards vers l'Infini*, lithograph (1076), Dutch contemporary; Alexander Calder, *Ballons Dégoulinés*, lithograph (1075), American contemporary; Max Ernst, *Sign for a School for Pirates*, lithograph (99), German contemporary; Richard Hamilton, *Swinging London*, etching (96), British contemporary; Thomas Henry Kenny, *Space Vehicle no. 1*, 1969, lithograph (1022), American contemporary; Nicolas Krushenick, untitled, serigraph (98), American contemporary; René Magritte, *Les Pommes Masquées*, etching (100), Belgian contemporary; Giuseppe Marino, *Il Miracolo*, lithograph (1081), Italian contemporary; Robert Motherwell, untitled, lithograph (1078), American contemporary; Jörg Schmeisser, *Sie Wird Alt*, set of six etchings (1085), German contemporary; Jesus Raphael Soto, untitled, serigraph (1074), Venezuelan contemporary; Victor Vasarely, *Permutations Suite*, serigraph (101), Hungarian contemporary; Paul Wunderlich, *Eva I*, lithograph (1080), German contemporary.

Sculpture: Le Marchand, ivory statuette of Madonna and Child (1023), 19th c. copy of 15th c. type, gift of Miss Sarah Catherine France in memory of her brother.

Collage: Frank Roth, *Blue Composition* (1012), American contemporary, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Small.

Miniatures and Minor Arts: The following miniatures and containers, intended for perfume or other cosmetic use, are all the gift of Miss Sarah Catherine France in memory of her brother Charles B. France. (The list, which includes items already mentioned in other categories, is a tentative one; the origin and date of many of these "objets



*Polish Boy*, by Amadeo Modigliani, Italian, 1884-1920 (1007) 54 x 37 cm.



*Dancer, watercolor, by Miguel Covarrubias, Mexican, 1904-1957 (1010) 20.2 x 12.7 cm.*



*Miner, drawing, by Philip Evergood, American contemporary (107) 73 x 54.5 cm.*

de vertu" have not yet been established, and many have hallmarks which require study.)

Anne Greuze (daughter of Jean-Baptiste Greuze), young woman grieving over dead bird, painted on ivory (1029), French, 1762-1842; Anonymous, portrait of young girl wearing Spanish comb, painted on porcelain (1043); Anonymous, bust of a bearded man in armor and a hat of peacock feathers, painted on ivory (1028); Anonymous, portrait bust of young woman, painted on ivory, set into tortoise-shell box (1030); Anonymous, flower still-life, painted on ivory (1039).

Pocket tool kit, dark striped agate with gilded banding and hinged top, containing seven tools (1034), French, ca. 1800; gold-trimmed china perfume flask, cylindrical with painted floral designs and bird-cage containing bird at the top, inscription just below the cage, "Je vis en amitié" (1049), French, ca. 1810; china box with painted floral design (1024), Sèvres, ca. 1870; circular gold box, enameled, with inlaid miniature of sleeping Cupid, and borders of enameled flowers (1054); rectangular gold box with elaborate chased design on all faces (1046); rectangular gold patch-box with ruby set in lid (1045); small rectangular gold box with chased designs on all faces (1031); oval silver box with chased floral designs (1042); cocoon-shaped gold flask with blue stones set in clover-leaf patterns (1050); scabbard-shaped box with gold mounts and inlaid pattern in enamel, gold mounting with relief design on lid (1052); tiny basket-shaped gold charm (1032); rectangular silver box with chased decoration containing sewing kit—scissors, bodkin, needle holder and embroidery punch (1040); circular glass box with gold rim, set with diamonds (1033); shell-shaped glass box with border of diamonds, engraved floral designs and dancing figures on the lid (1055); cylindrical crystal flask with gold neck and lid, set with garnets and a diamond (1037); cylindrical rose-colored glass flask with etched floral design; silver lid with mauve-colored enameling (1056); green glass flask, once decorated with gilding, gilded neck and lid (1053), Bohemian; rectangular tortoise-shell box with painted scenes of Classical type on all faces (1047); small rectangular tortoise-shell box with faintly engraved rectangles, opening at one end (1048); circular yellow tortoise-shell container, pale yellow (1035); circular tortoise-shell box with gold fittings and inlaid gold stars (1036); rectangular tortoise-shell box (1038).

Coins: 155 copper United States one-cent pieces (1092-1247), dated from 1793-1966, the gift of Mrs. Thomas O. Mabbott. Ten silver, nickel, copper and brass coins from various countries (928-937), modern, from the collection of the late John H. Townsend.

## Loans During 1969

Oil paintings by Diaz de la Peña (66.313) and Eugene Isabey (67.69) to the Memorial Union Art Gallery, University of California at Davis, exhibit "France in the 1860's; The World of the Young Impressionists." Relief of the goddess Pārvatī (66.117) to the Museum of Art, University of Iowa, exhibit "Pala Art. Buddhist and Hindu Sculpture from Eastern India, ca. 100-1200 A.D."



## Tel Anafa: The Second Season

The first day of summer of 1969 saw the University of Missouri expedition to Tel Anafa, Upper Galilee, back in the field for another eight weeks of digging.<sup>1</sup> The excellent results of the first campaign<sup>2</sup> and the promise they gave for future work were more than fulfilled.

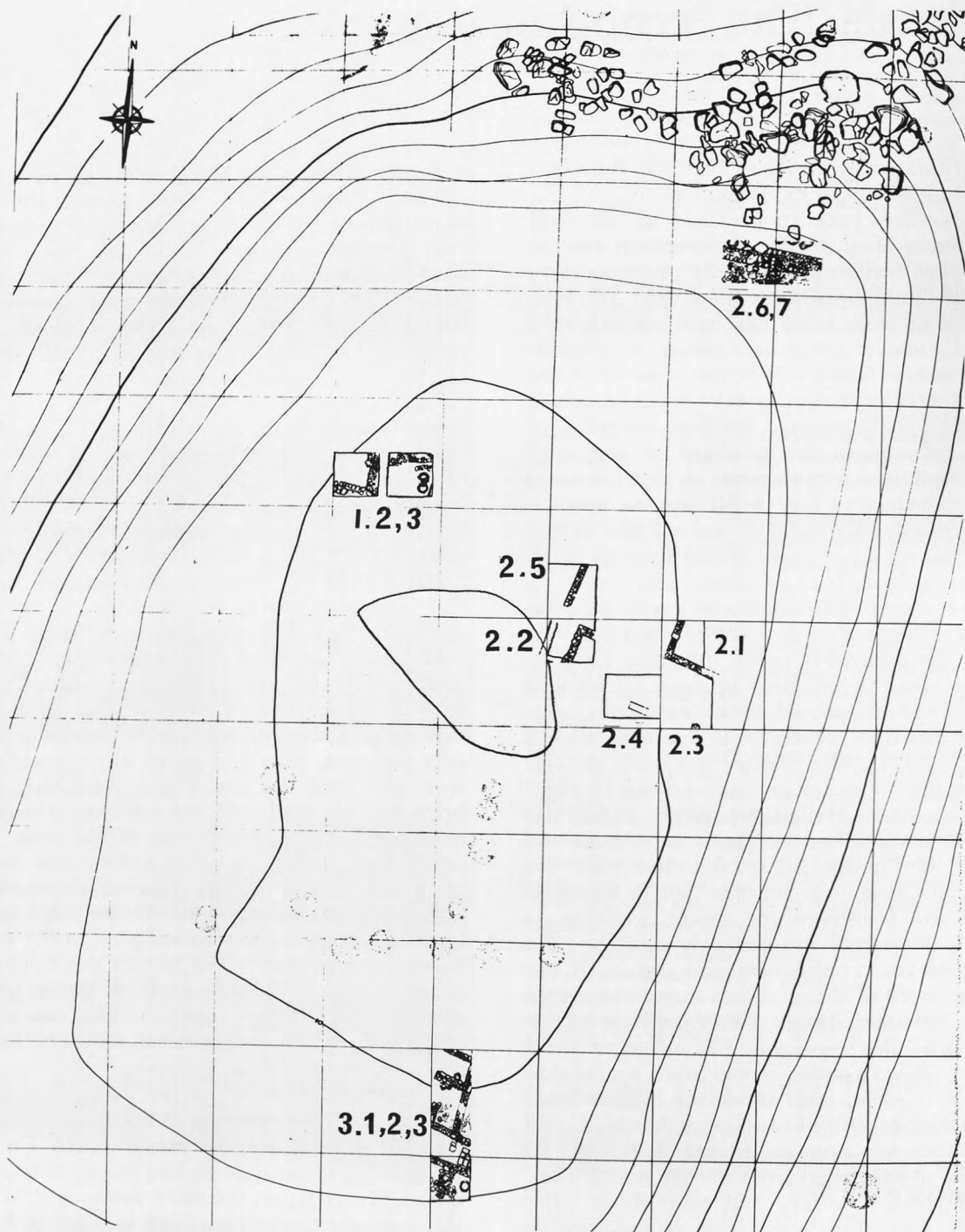
Five separate areas had been investigated in 1968, a total of 129 square meters, to a depth of as much as 3.50 m. This year, four of these areas were enlarged and greater depths reached in some squares opened the year before; one additional area, in the northeastern sector of the mound, was investigated, so that the total area opened thus far is 241 square meters. Although a depth of 3.50 m. was reached in one new area, we again dealt almost entirely with Hellenistic deposit, as much as three meters in depth in some places, and barely penetrated the debris of the Persian period (586-330 B.C.).

In the northwest sector only one 4 x 4 m. trench (Area 1.2) had been opened in 1968 and dug only to a depth of about one meter, disclosing an Arab cemetery. It was here that a depth of 3.50 m. was reached in a small section in 1969; the last meter and a half failed to yield the characteristic Hellenistic pottery. While the uppermost walls had no doubt been removed in the course of digging graves, the corner of a substantial structure, built in part of squared blocks and preserved for almost a meter in height, appeared immediately below the disturbed area in the northeast corner of the square. Some of these stones may have come from a wall immediately below the base of the upper wall; the lower wall had a row of slabs against its west side. Floors were associated with both walls, and above the higher floor was a thick deposit of mud-brick debris. A still lower floor lay over an enormous tumble of massive stones, fallen from a heavy wall 1.10 m. wide. Whereas pottery and other finds were profuse above the latest floor, in the tumble there were very few objects, and the fill below

was quite different in nature, Hellenistic above the floor but devoid of the characteristic red wares in and below the tumble. There are thus four distinct architectural phases, the upper three Hellenistic and the heavy, lowest wall possibly pre-Hellenistic. In the meter below the lowest wall and tumble no architectural remains could be seen in the small area dug; there were, however, floors, brick debris, signs of burning and much coarse pottery, with only an occasional fragment of black-glazed and other fine ware. We seem clearly to be here in debris of the Persian period, and even some Iron Age pottery appears.

In the four-meter square opened to the east (Area 1.3), the Arab cemetery had also disturbed the upper 1.20 m. of deposit; seven or eight graves were cleared. A narrow, late wall running diagonally along the west side of the area probably served the cemetery as a terrace wall, its smooth face to the east. It was founded on a lower wall twice as wide, and the latter, superimposed on the mud-brick tumble general over the area, may also prove to be associated with the Arab burials. These were dug into brick tumble and two had cut into a curious double oven at the east side of the area. The mud-brick tumble rested on a floor that seems to go with a wall bounding the whole northern edge of the area and to relate to the third architectural phase in the adjacent area to the west. Some paving slabs cover part of the floor just south of the wall, while south of these, partly cut into the floor, are the two ovens, one of the most interesting architectural features found during the season.

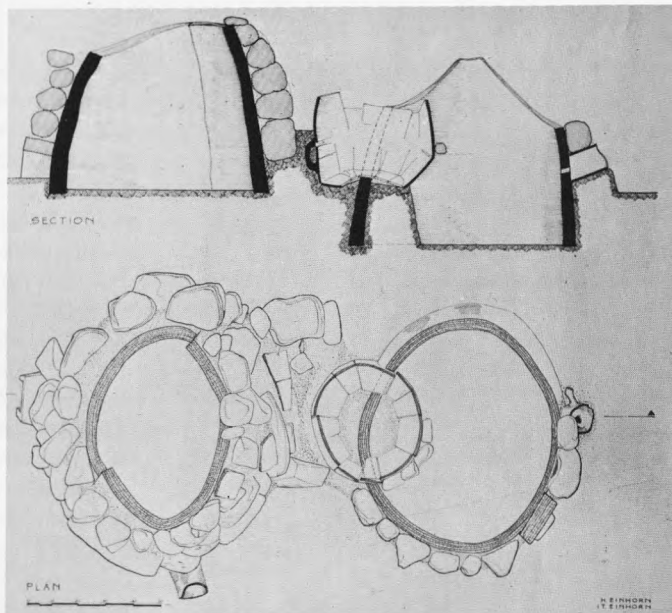
The ovens are about the same size, 0.70-0.75 m. in inner diameter at the base. Both are beehive-shaped and are preserved to a maximum height of ca. 0.70 m. but the southern one is roughly circular, the other more oval. While the floor of the northern oven is only ca. 4 cm. below the floor outside, that of the southern



Plan of the site of Tel Anafa, showing areas of excavation.



*Two ovens in Area 1.3 from south.*



*Plan and section of two ovens in Area 1.3.*

oven is about 20 cm. lower. Both have clay walls ca. 8-9 cm. thick at the base, thinning slightly toward the top. An unusual feature is the coating of large cobblestones around both ovens, rather than the usual large potsherds set in mud. Another unusual feature is a flue in each oven at ground level, with a small hole in the oven wall connecting with a broken-off amphora neck set in to slope down from the floor level to the hole in the oven. Stubs of the amphora handles remain and on one of these in the southern oven was a stamp that would date it between 108 B.C. and a little after 80 B.C. The flue of the northern oven is on the west, that of the southern oven on the south. It seems most likely that the two ovens were built and used together. However, at some time the southern oven was destroyed by placing a large pithos in a cutting in its north side; this was upside down with its mouth at about the level of the floor outside, about 25 cm. above the oven floor. While there were no finds of interest in the northern oven, the southern one contained a whole jug and a large stone lying on what appeared to be the collapsed top of the structure, while below this debris the fill contained

numerous fragments of amphora handles, two of them stamped and dating from the same time as that from the flue. When the pithos was removed, a small bronze jug was found standing beneath it. The whole complex is, to our knowledge, unparalleled. Its setting is a court, partially paved, with a wall on the north and one appearing in the scarp to the east, which must be investigated next season.

At the northeast corner of the mound, part way down the slope, there is a line of huge rocks running roughly east-west and extending downward in a northeast direction. Numerous trees, some very large, have taken root among the rocks. In several places "cup holes" were found cut in the upper surface of the rocks. To begin the investigation of this area two 4 m. squares (Areas 2.6, 2.7) were opened south of the southernmost rocks and when these were joined an area 4 x 9 m. was cleared. The depth dug was only about a meter. We seem here to have found the enclosure wall of the Hellenistic acropolis, which shows clearly from the air. Two architectural phases are visible, the earlier built of two rows of large stones with a fill of

smaller ones. South of this wall is a flagstone pavement sloping down from west to east, following the contour of the mound. Over this wall was placed a similar but less well constructed wall which jogged to the north just where a north-south cross-wall was built. At the inner juncture of the two walls there is coarse plaster; more such plaster occurs on the south face of the later wall. What had clearly been a roadway along a wall in the first period became two rooms of a dwelling in the second phase. North of the enclosure wall there are no signs of occupation, but here the enclosure wall runs over great outcrops of rock, partially cut to receive it, and immediately to the north are other rocks; it is now clear that these are not loose boulders but living rock. Coins and other finds south of the enclosure wall date its two phases to the late second and early first centuries B.C. respectively.

The central section at the east side of the mound had been investigated in 1968, in two areas (2.1, 2.3) in the vicinity of the military slit trench dug in 1956, in which masses of painted and gilded stucco had been found, and in Area 2.2, somewhat to the west. To each of these a 4x5 m. area was added (2.4 and 2.5). Although

Area 2.4 lies immediately west of 2.3, and the baulk between was ultimately removed, very little stucco was found in comparison with the masses removed in 1968, possibly because of terracing operations, to be discussed below. This year again walls appeared immediately below the surface, forming a large complex with those disclosed last year. A lower complex of somewhat different plan and orientation also extends into Areas 2.1, 2.2 and 2.5. In Area 2.4 this lower complex of walls sealed off a group of large pits that occupied almost the entire area; these yielded quantities of Hellenistic pottery and a variety of other objects. The pits were cut into brick tumble and in the south-central part of Area 2.4 a considerable part of a mud-brick wall was found, thus far dug for a height of 1.20 m.; the bottom has not yet been reached. There are indications that this wall was part of a stepped terrace complex onto which the great mass of stucco debris had probably been dumped at a later date. Continued digging in Area 2.3 at the end of the season yielded more stucco and the top of a wall built of large blocks placed on end. Pits had been dug in both the Roman and Arab periods at the west side of Area 2.4.



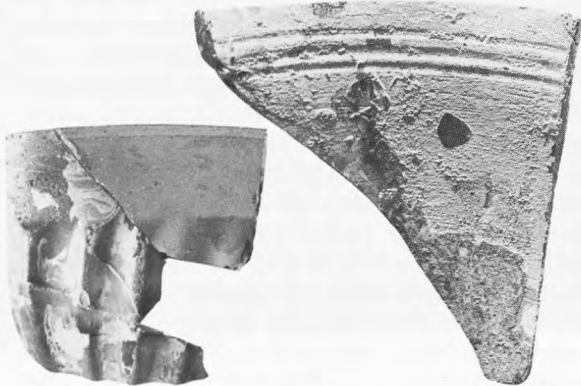
*Areas 2.6 and 2.7 from south and above.*

In Area 2.5 were found walls of the second large building complex mentioned in connection with Area 2.4, and with them were associated a white plaster floor. Another plaster floor lay immediately below. Lower still a beaten earth floor extended over most of the area; into it a large, flat stone had been set. Somewhat below this floor was a wall running diagonally across the trench from northeast to southwest. It is well built, with ashlar blocks at about 0.70 m. intervals; other such blocks were found in the tumble. The bottom of the wall had not yet been reached at the end of the season and a second row of ashlar blocks on end was beginning to appear. Mud-brick tumble found on either side of this wall is probably from its upper part. This third architectural phase from the top, using ashlar blocks with rubble masonry between, is now known in three areas: 1.2, 2.1 and 2.5.

The step trench at the south side of the mound, dug last year in an area 4 x 9 m. (Areas 3.1, 3.2), was this year extended to the south for another five meters (Area 3.3). Again, three distinct architectural phases were observed; below the lowest a small probe trench reached debris of the Persian period, three meters below the surface. The uppermost phase has three sub-phases, represented by successive floors, all associated with a high wall that runs east-west across the north end of the area. Remains of an oven were on the uppermost floor; a pit (stone-lined) was cut into the second floor; another oven, just beneath the first, was built on the lowest floor. The second architectural phase has two subdivisions, but its main features were a large flagstone-paved area over most of the trench and at the north a step up to a pavement of well cut limestone blocks, possibly a street bordered on the north by a house in Area 3.2. An oven rested on the floor near the eastern edge of Area 3.3. When the flagstones and earth floor were removed, another wall was found running across the northern part of 3.3, parallel to and a little south of the latest wall. South of this there was again stone paving and near the south edge of the trench a coarse pot neatly propped up by small stones. Thus



*Step trench at the south side of the mound (Areas 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3) from south and above.*



*Above: glass cup fragment with engraved lines. Below: fragment of glass bowl with ribbed decoration.*

in all phases Area 3.3 seems to have been a courtyard of a house, probably opening onto a road following the contours of the mound; to the north of the road was another house.

The architectural plan that begins to emerge shows a central area at the top of the mound with a substantial enclosure wall. Within it are some large building complexes, one at the center of the east side of the mound (Areas 2.1, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.2, 2.5). In these areas the usual house courts with ovens, so common outside the peripheral wall (Areas 3.1, 3.3) and also appearing in areas 1.2, 1.3, have not yet been found. The stucco suggests that we may expect a public building here.

For the chronology of these architectural phases and the objects found within them we are dependent largely on datable coins and Rhodian stamped amphora handles. Of the sixty-two coins found in the first two seasons, forty-four of which could be identified specifically or placed in recognizable groups, one is Arabic, two (both found in topsoil) fall in the third quarter of the first century B.C., and twenty-two have a beginning date in the first quarter of the first century B.C.; seventeen have beginning dates in the second half of the second century B.C., one belongs in the first half of the second century B.C. and one in the third century B.C.; the last two were both found in contexts that must be late second or early first century B.C. The coins are either those of Seleucid kings or of city-states, largely Sidon. Of the twenty-seven Rhodian stamped amphora handles identified by Miss Virginia Grace and her assistants, only one could possibly belong late in her Period IV (180-146 B.C.), one possibly extends into Period VII (after ca. 75 B.C.) and twenty-five belong in Periods V (146-108 B.C.) and VI (108 to a little after 80 B.C.). The combined evidence points overwhelmingly to a date from 150 B.C. to 75 B.C. for the three architectural phases of the Hellenistic town revealed thus far in most sections of the mound; this would average twenty-five years per phase, approximately a generation. We have not probed sufficiently below the third phase from the top to know if there had been an earlier,

smaller, Hellenistic settlement, or whether these remains are of the Persian period with a gap separating the two settlements; that is still to be elucidated.

In our first report two characteristics of the material remains from Tel Anafa were emphasized—their Greek nature and their richness; the finds of the 1969 season bear these out. The abundance and fine quality of the table wares, both pottery and glass, and to a lesser extent of metal, is especially striking. The red-slipped pottery found in the limited area excavated forms a collection which in size, quality and variety of shapes may have no equal. The ware appears even in the lowest of the three architectural phases discussed above, and so must have been present at the site at least by 150 B.C.; it is then found in all subsequent phases to the end of the Hellenistic town. The light buff fabric of fine, pure clay is so general that one must look for a common source for most of the pieces; the few exceptions only heighten the impression of uniformity. That source can not be very far off, and the pottery from Tel Anafa lends strength to the view which has become prevalent in recent years that this ware was made in a region of Lebanon or coastal Syria; in fact, it would seem to favor a provenience not too far north of Tel Anafa itself.

The bowls and plates, which constitute most of the fine pottery, are all covered with a fine red to red-brown slip, applied by dipping from opposite sides so that there is usually a darker strip down the center where the slip is doubled. Decoration consists of rouletting and stamped palmette and rosette impressions in the tondo. There was also a small production of moulded hemispherical bowls with relief decoration on the exterior, like the so-called "Megarian" type, the fabric of which seems similar to that of the bowls and plates. These are quite distinct from the imported relief bowls, of which a considerable number of pieces have been found, largely of the characteristic East Greek wares. There is a considerable amount of semi-fine wares, slipped or partially slipped and some with painted decoration on the unslipped portion; "pie-crust" applied mouldings occur on some of these, which may



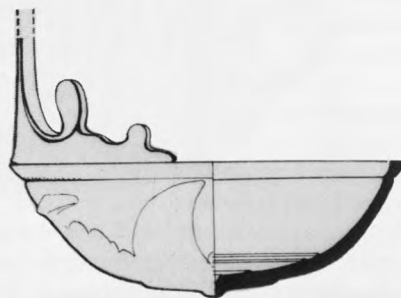
*Two casseroles, amphora and jug—kitchen wares of the Hellenistic period.*

also be an East Mediterranean product. The many amporiskoi and fusiform unguentaria may also be placed in this category; again this year an unguentarium was found which had patterns in black, crackled paint—two rectangles on the body and a triangle on the shoulder; one found last year had a large diamond on the body. In addition there are quantities of kitchen wares: casseroles with or without covers, jars and jugs, large and small mortaria and bowls. Here must also be noted the prevalence of imported amphoras, all from Rhodes. Again this year there were many pieces of kitchen ware with painted decoration crudely applied or, rather, allowed to run down over the pot from a painted zone around the shoulder. The fabric has a heavy admixture of grog and

is fired very hard so that the pottery breaks very sharply. It is a fabric not yet well known which may prove to have been made locally.

An exceptional quantity of glass vessels was found this season as well as last. At a time when these were still being moulded, before mass production by blowing had been introduced and glass vessels were a luxury product, so much glass was in use at Tel Anafa that the firms' two seasons of work have produced rim fragments of over five hundred glass vessels. These are almost all bowls or cups which in general conform to three main types: conical cups, usually decorated with engraved lines near the lip on the exterior and/or interior, sometimes with circles cut on the bottom, shallow bowls similarly decorated, and hemispheri-

Left: bronze ladle with duck-head handle. Below and right: bronze ladle with acanthus decoration in relief on bowl.



cal or shallow bowls with ribs on the exterior. They range in color from green (most common) through colorless, brown, yellow, aquamarine and blue to purple; in the ribbed bowls aquamarine is the most common color, followed by green, brown, colorless, blue and purple. It is interesting that only a few bits of glass core-formed vessels were found and none of the marbled or millefiori glass known at the time; this accentuates the local character of the glass at Tel Anafa and one may conclude that it was made not too far away.<sup>3</sup>

Fine metal ware found in 1969 is represented by some bronze ladles, one with a duck-head handle and another with the underside of the bowl handsomely decorated in relief with

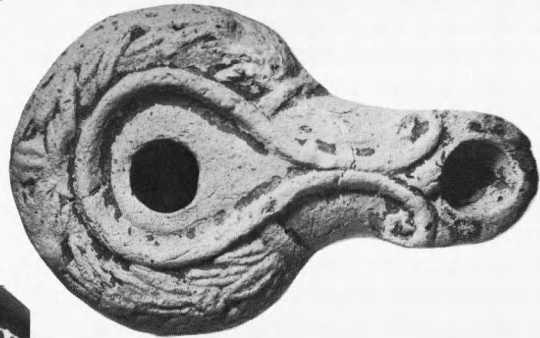
a large rosette formed of wind-blown acanthus leaves, the folded ends standing out in high relief; this is typical of the highest quality of Greek bronzes. The bronze cup found in the southern oven in Area 1.3 has a bearded human head as a handle decoration. Many iron utensils occurred as well, the most elegant being a long, thin knife blade mounted in a handle made of a tusk. Bronze cosmetic spatulae were common, as were straight pins and fibulae, weights and a variety of tools and weapons. Only one piece of fine jewelry, a small silver ring with snake-head ends, was found in 1969.

Negative evidence of interest comes from the scarcity of representations of gods or humans, very likely indicating that no sanc-

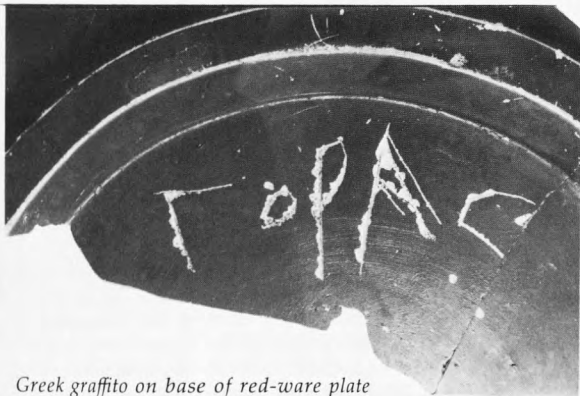




*Small limestone figure of a draped female holding a dove, possibly Demeter.*



*Three terracotta lamps of Hellenistic date.*



*Greek graffiti on base of red-ware plate*



*Clay sealing from Area 3.3.*

tuary or temple precinct has yet been approached in the excavations. A small limestone figure of a draped female holding a dove, possibly Demeter, is the only significant piece of sculpture found; traces of color are preserved. A few fragments of terracotta figurines have appeared; these are of good quality and are probably imports from the Greek world.

Nowhere is the Greek nature of the site clearer than in the written documents found thus far. We have mentioned the twenty-seven Rhodian amphora handles and the sixty-two coins, all with Greek inscriptions of various Seleucid kings or of coastal cities. The graffiti on red-ware vases are all in Greek, not always spelled correctly. A stamp on a piece of coarse pottery reads ΠΤΟ, possibly for Ptolemais, the ancient name of Akko. Finally, there is a clay sealing (Area 3.3) that has four lines of text; the first two are Greek dates, the third probably a Greek legal term, and the fourth, still undeciphered, may prove to be Phoenician, like the number along the left edge.

With the added information gained in the

1969 campaign, one can sketch more accurately the history of Tel Anafa in the Hellenistic period. It now seems likely that a new town was founded some time after the victory of Antiochus III over the Ptolemies at nearby Paneas in 198 B.C., the beginning of firm Seleucid rule in the area. The town remained Greek until its end, which must have come during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus as a result of his campaigns against the pagan towns in the province of Gaulanitis; these he incorporated into the Hasmonaean kingdom some time before the end of his rule in 76 B.C. Though a small town, there is every evidence that it was a rich one, seat of a prince or of wealthy merchants, possibly a caravanserai on an important trade route. Only further digging can add to the picture and answer some of the many questions raised by the excavations. But already Tel Anafa has added new dimensions to the study of Hellenistic Palestine and the Greek world in the East.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

<sup>1</sup> The first season's work, in the spring of 1968, was reported in *MUSE, Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology*, University of Missouri-Columbia, 3 (1969) 16-23.

<sup>2</sup> Sponsored by the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia and supported by funds supplied through the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, as well as by the University, the staff included many Missourians as well as individuals from other universities. The writer was again the director, assisted by Prof. William C. Biers of the University of Missouri staff, Mrs. Jane C. Biers and Mrs. Gladys D. Weinberg of the Museum staff, Prof. John C. Overbeck of the University of New York at Albany, and Prof. Richard Schiemann of Catawba College, North Carolina. Barbara Johnson, a graduate student at Missouri, was also a supervisor, while two other Missouri graduate students (Leslie Cornell and Robert Gordon) were trainees under the Ford Foundation program for archaeological field training. Other Ford Foundation trainees were Catherine

de Grazia and Kathyne Andrews of Columbia University, Yechiel Leavy of the University of Pennsylvania and Cymbrie Pratt of Wayne University. Architects for the excavation were Mr. and Mrs. Harold Einhorn; our artist was Jörg Schmeisser, our photographer Melvin Farris, a former Missouri University student, and our restorer Edgardo Pires-Ferreira. Volunteer workers, largely students, made up the work force. The entire expedition was housed at Kibbutz Shamir and at the Guest House of Kfar Blum, both near the site. Thanks are due to Dr. A. Biran, Director of the Department of Antiquities, and his staff for facilitating the work of the expedition in every way, to Moshe Kagan of Kibbutz Shamir, who offered constant assistance, and to the Kibbutz in general, which furnished the cooperation so necessary to the success of the work.

<sup>3</sup> A preliminary report on the glass vessels of the first two seasons ("Hellenistic Glass from Tel Anafa in Upper Galilee," by Gladys Davidson Weinberg) appears in the *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970).

# Four Figures of Virabhadra

In the Hindu pantheon the personalities of many gods and goddesses manifest themselves in more than one form. The gods appear before their devotees in both benevolent and malevolent forms. For example, the goddess Śakti manifests herself in her benevolent form as Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya Parvata (Parvata=mountain) but in her malevolent form as Caṇḍī, Durgā, Kāli, etc. Similarly the god Śiva, the destroyer, the third god in the Hindu trinity,<sup>1</sup> manifests himself to his worshipers in three different forms, *sāttvika*, *rājasika* and *tāmasika*<sup>2</sup>, performing several *lilās* (sports). His personality is manifold – he is not only destructive but also benign and he bestows wisdom and peace on his devotees. He is, therefore, represented in scriptures as well as in sculptures either as a terrifying destructive deity or as a pacific conferrer of boons.<sup>3</sup>

Virabhadra, the “Saṁhāramūrti, or destructive form of Śiva,” is a Śaiva demigod (*gaṇa*), created to take revenge on Dakṣa Prajāpati (Lord of Beings),<sup>4</sup> created by Brahmā. The Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia has one bronze plaque and three bronze figures of Virabhadra from South India, which we shall discuss later.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout the Vedic period Śiva was called Rudra, the celestial form of Fire, and remained identified with Agni (Fire).<sup>6</sup> Agni received the epithet “three-mothered,” having his abode in the sky as the sun, in the atmosphere as lightning, and on the earth as fire. Consequently Rudra was believed to be the cause of terrifying and fearful phenomena and considered a malevolent deity.<sup>7</sup> Owing to his formidable nature, the ancient seers of India looked upon him as a low-class deity and never offered him oblations as they did to the other gods. In the early Puranic period<sup>8</sup> as well “Rudra retained his attributes as the destroyer and the terrific.”<sup>9</sup>

But in the late Puranic period the auspicious

aspect of Rudra attained prominence and Rudra, who was identified with the Vedic Agni, was named Śiva,<sup>10</sup> the word Śiva meaning in Sanskrit auspicious. During the Epic age of *Mahābhārata*, around the sixth century B.C., Dakṣa denounced the status of Śiva, arguing that he had been teaching *Vedas* to the *śudras*<sup>11</sup> (low-caste people) and thus had abolished the caste barriers. Dakṣa decreed that no one should give Śiva any oblations in sacrifices, and so the gods never offered Śiva any portion of a sacrifice. But during the Puranic period this “lowest of the gods” reached the level of the Vedic gods and received oblations for the first time in Dakṣa’s sacrifice.

There are five interesting major versions depicting the different processes through which Śiva first established his right to receive oblations in sacrifices. The *Varāha Purāṇa*,<sup>12</sup> probably one of the earliest sources, does not mention the name of Śiva; instead, it calls him Rudra. Rudra was inactive in the creation of the universe whereas Brahmā was interested in it. So Brahmā created Dakṣa *Prajāpati* (Lord of Beings), the male creative force, and six other *prajāpatīs*. Aditi was the female creative force.<sup>13</sup> Dakṣa created a great many children and grandchildren who began to perform sacrifices.<sup>14</sup> When Rudra came to know that Dakṣa was performing sacrifices without inviting him to them, he became furious and fire issued from his ears. Many demigods (*gaṇas*)<sup>15</sup> were born of this fire; they destroyed the sacrifice and compelled Dakṣa and others present there to offer a share also to him. Dakṣa apologized and prayed to Rudra to calm down his anger, and gave him his daughter Gauri in marriage.<sup>16</sup>

In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* Dakṣa is depicted performing the sacrifice in his subsequent life as a *kṣatriya* king,<sup>17</sup> Prāchetas. Similarly Sati, the daughter of Dakṣa, was also reborn as Pārvatī of Himavān (the mountain Himālaya) and was married to Śiva when king Prāchetas performed



1. Bronze plaque of standing *Virabhadra* from the Deccan, South India, seventeenth century. Slightly less than actual size.

the sacrifice. According to this *Purāna*, Pārvati on her part created Bhadra Kāli (her malevolent form) to help Vīrabhadra in the fight. Dakṣa prayed to Śiva who was pleased with him and pardoned him.<sup>18</sup>

Edward Moor gives a different version of the episode, saying that Dakṣa had only daughters but no son and so decided to make a grand sacrifice to obtain a son. He invited all the gods and men but disregarded his son-in-law, Śiva, who had once quarreled with him. Dakṣa decided not to offer Śiva any share in the sacrifice. Śiva, being indifferent to praise or abuse, did not mind, but his wife Sati could not resist the temptation to attend her father's sacrifice and went to it. Unfortunately she also was neglected by her father, Dakṣa. Feeling insulted, she plunged herself into the sacrificial fire and thereby polluted the religious sacrifice.<sup>19</sup> When Śiva heard about the suicide of his beloved, he became furious. He struck his *jaṭā* (plaited hair) on the ground and created the armed hero Vīrabhadra, his own fierce aspect. He dispersed the whole assembly and suspended the sacrifice, cut off Dakṣa's head<sup>20</sup> and threw it into the sacrificial fire. But when Dakṣa surrendered himself to Śiva, his head was replaced by a goat's head.<sup>21</sup>

Vasudeva Agrawala narrates the whole episode differently.<sup>22</sup> He says that Vīrabhadra had a lion's face, so all the gods present at Dakṣa's sacrifice became terrified and took shelter under Vishnu. This resulted in a battle between Vishnu and Vīrabhadra, in which the latter made all Vishnu's weapons ineffective. Finally Vishnu used the *cakra* (discus), which Vīrabhadra swallowed. Vishnu challenged him to a hand-to-hand combat and threw him on the ground so violently that the *cakra* came out of his body. Vīrabhadra reported the incident to Śiva, who entered the combat against Vishnu, and ultimately Vishnu disappeared from the scene. Later on, all the other gods came forward to try their strength against Śiva but all were defeated.

According to a Tamil legend, Śiva first sent his eldest son Pulliar (Gaṇeṣa) against Dakṣa but he was bribed by the offering of a cake. Later, Śiva sent his second son Subrāh-

maniar, who was also bribed. Śiva became so furious at his two sons that his whole body was covered with sweat. From one drop of his sweat was born Vīrabhadra, who destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice.<sup>23</sup>

Just as the episode regarding Śiva's victory in attaining the right to receive oblations in the sacrifice is narrated variously by different authorities, so also the creation and relationship of Vīrabhadra to Śiva is interpreted in different ways. Some call Vīrabhadra an *avatāra* (manifestation) of Śiva while others call him a son of Śiva. In the *Śiva Purāna*<sup>24</sup> it is stated that Vīrabhadra was produced from a drop of Śiva's sweat, while Krishna Sastri states that Vīrabhadra "sprang from a lock of Śiva's hair."<sup>25</sup> But *Vāmana Purāna* mentions that Śiva "created Vīrabhadra out of his own self."<sup>26</sup>

Besides the terrifying and destructive form of Vīrabhadra, he is often known as the guardian of Saptā Mātṛkās (Divine Mothers),<sup>27</sup> though as far as we know this form of Vīrabhadra is not mentioned in the *Puranas* and other literature.

The images of Vīrabhadra usually have four or eight arms, although it is mentioned in *Silpasangraha* that Vīrabhadra is represented in



2. Back view of the plaque shown in Figure 1.



3. Bronze figurine of standing Vīrabhadra from South India, seventeenth century. Actual size.

three different forms, viz. *sāttvika*, *rājasika* and *tāmasika*, possessing two, four and eight arms respectively.<sup>28</sup> His seated figure with two arms is called *yoga vīra* (in meditation), which is *sāttvika* and is worshiped for spiritual realization. He holds a *khadga* (sword) and *khetaka* (shield) in his hands. This figure is rare. The standing figure with four arms represents *bhoga vīra*, i.e. *rājasika* where he holds *dhanuṣa* (bow), *bāna* (arrow), *khadga* (sword) and *khetaka* (shield) in his hands. This category of images is meant to be worshiped for worldly prospects. The third figure, in walking posture with eight arms, is called *vīra vīra*, i.e. *tāmasika*, which is to be worshiped for "military prowess."<sup>29</sup> He holds *triśūla* (trident), *khadga*, *bāna* and *mrga* (deer) in his four right hands and the *kapāla* (skull), *khetaka*, *dhanuṣa* and *ankuṣa* (goad) in his four left hands.<sup>30</sup>

According to the *Srītatvanidhi*, Vīrabhadra has four arms, three eyes and a terrifying face with side tusks. He holds in his left hands a *dhanuṣa* and a *gadā* (club) and in his right hands a *khadga* and a *bāna*. He wears a *muṇḍamālā* (garland of skulls) around his neck and sandals on his feet. On his left is a figure of Bhadra Kālī and on the right a figure of Dakṣa with goat or ram's head, holding his hands in *añjali mudrā* (devotion pose).<sup>31</sup>

But in the *Kāraṇāgama* it is added that his hair is flaming and he wears a snake *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread). Instead of the *gadā* (club) he carries the *khetaka*. His face is red,<sup>32</sup> terrifying and expresses great anger.<sup>33</sup> The Tamil legend states that he has heavy mustaches and that formidable fangs protrude from his lips.<sup>34</sup>

As the guardian of the Divine Mothers his images are carved in relief on rectangular stone slabs. On one side of the Divine Mothers stands four-armed Vīrabhadra and on the other Ganesa as their guardian.<sup>35</sup>

All the bronze figures of Vīrabhadra in the Museum of Art and Archaeology have four arms. The first of the four bronzes (Fig. 1) is a beautiful cast bronze processional plaque with a handle at the back (Fig. 2). Vīrabhadra is represented in a walking posture. He stands in *tribhaṅga* pose (hips slightly tilted to the right)

on a very low rectangular base. He wears a conical *jaṭāmukuta* (crown made of plaited hair) bound by an elaborate diadem in two sections; a short *dhoti* (loin cloth) with incised diaper design edged with double beaded borders; an elaborate girdle, the lower part with a dragon-faced clasp which holds the *adhovastra*, a long garment between the legs which ends in a triangular shape. This appendage is loose at the top but riveted to the plaque at the bottom. A long *muṇḍamālā* (garland of skulls), the lower portion of which is a separate strip, stylized, is riveted to the plaque at both sides of the figure's legs. This is superimposed on the *adhovastra*. Both of these elements seem to be made of metal (reddish copper) different from the rest of the plaque. Vīrabhadra wears *makarakuṇḍalas* (crocodile-shaped earrings) with *dhatūra* flowers, wooden sandals and the customary jewelry. In his two right hands he carries *khadga* and *bāna*, while the left hands hold *dhanuṣa* and *khetaka*. On his left stands the much smaller figure of his consort Bhadra Kālī holding a *śakti* (spear) in her right hand to inspire her husband to victory. On the right is a small figure of Dakṣa with a ram's head and with hands clasped in *añjali mudrā*. They both wear the long *dhoti*, the pleats of which are indicated by curved lines. Two horizontal lines in the center of Vīrabhadra's forehead express his vengeful emotions towards Dakṣa. His face with heavy raised mustaches and side tusks is intended to show a furious expression. On the top of his crown, a ram's head is placed, perhaps a symbol of victory.

At the back (Fig. 2) a handle is fixed at the top with two rivets (visible on the front of the plaque above the ear ornaments) and at bottom with one rivet, which is hidden beneath the lower garments. Besides this, there are two small holes above the shoulders beside the neck, which may have been intended for hanging a seasonal garland of flowers or some other ornament.

In the second figure (Fig. 3) Vīrabhadra stands in the same pose holding the same attributes. A third eye in the center of his forehead and the side tusks coming from his mouth are

4. Bronze figurine of standing Vīrabhadra from South India, eighteenth century. Actual size.



5. Far right: bronze figurine of standing Vīrabhadra from South India, eighteenth century. Actual size.



6. Stone relief of Vīrabhadra from South Arcot, Madras, thirteenth century. Photo courtesy of the Government Museum, Madras.



7. Bronze figure of eight-armed Vīrabhadra from Tiruvālangādu, Madras, seventeenth century. Photo courtesy Government Museum, Madras.



symbols of terror, although his face does not have such a furious expression. He does not wear sandals and only Dakṣa stands at his right, with hands clasped in *añjali mudrā*. At the back of the head is a *Siraścakra* (a smaller round halo).

The other two figures (Figs. 4, 5) of Virabhadra are somewhat similar to each other. The one shown in Figure 4 holds different attributes: *khadga* and *śakti* (spear) in his right hands and *añkuṣa* in the upper left, while the lower left rests on the *khetaka* (shield). He wears a *muṇḍamālā* around his neck, sandals and a long *dhoti*, the pleats of which are indicated by incised lines. The fourth bronze (Fig. 5) is much smaller and less detailed in some respects than the third, but carries almost the same attributes and wears a short *dhoti*. He does not wear sandals but he is accompanied by Dakṣa standing with hands clasped in *añjali mudrā*.

A representation of his benevolent form as a guardian of Divine Mothers is shown in Figure 6, a relief in the collections of the Government Museum at Madras. Here he is seated in *lalitāsana* pose, with the right leg resting on the seat and the left hanging down. His appearance is not fierce. The upper left hand holds the trident while the upper right carries a club. The lower right hand is in *abhaya mudrā* (protection) and the lower left rests on his left thigh. He wears *jaṭāmukuta* (crown made of plaited hair), *patra kuṇḍala* (plain circular earrings) such as are worn by ascetics in India, double *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread), *udarabandha* (stomach band) and the customary jewelry.

In Figure 7, a bronze also in the Madras Museum, the eight-armed Vīrabhadra stands in *tribhanga* pose on a circular pedestal set on a rectangular base with moldings. The two front lower hands are broken, while other hands carry weapons which are not easily identifiable. His third eye (a symbol of spiritual insight) is

shown vertically in the center of his forehead; his face does not have a terrifying appearance.

Images of Vīrabhadra are usually set up with the belief that he removes all great sins and cures people of their ailments. He is commonly worshiped in South India. Independent temples have been erected for him in the Telugu district (Andhra Pradesh) and the Canarese district (Mysore). He is rarely represented in Tamil land, but there is a Vīrabhadra temple at Madura (Madras).<sup>36</sup> He is also represented in the temple of Kailashnath at Kanchipuram, in Madras State. At Elura and Elephanta on the west coast of South India he is represented with eight hands as an independent god as well as the fearsome attendant of Rudra along with other demigods.<sup>37</sup> Vīrabhadra is also worshiped by Marathas,<sup>38</sup> the people of the Deccan (South India). As the guardian of Saptā Mātrkāś he is represented in Puri, Orissa State.

To conclude: In the Hindu pantheon the gods and goddesses manifest themselves in malevolent forms in order to help or to save their devotees from their enemies, and in benevolent forms to bestow boons upon them or to confer *darshana* (vision). The benevolent or malevolent form depends upon the occasion that caused their manifestation. Since Vīrabhadra was created to take revenge on Dakṣa who ill-treated his own daughter and son-in-law, his form is usually terrifying and destructive. People pray to him to protect themselves from diseases, ailments and mishaps. He is worshiped only in South India because Śiva is the favorite deity of South Indians. Since the god, in his destructive aspect, is always in a standing posture and usually possesses four or eight arms, we find almost all the figures of Vīrabhadra depicted in this way.

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- <sup>1</sup> Brahmā, the creator of the universe, is the first god and Vishnu, the preserver and pervader of knowledge, is the second.
- <sup>2</sup> *Sāttvika*: an image of a god sitting in meditation in the yogi posture; *rājasika*: an image of one seated upon a vehicle with various ornaments and holding weapons in his hands as well as granting boons; *tāmasika*: a terrifying, standing armed figure fighting and destroying demons. H. B. Havell, *The Art Heritage of India* (Bombay 1964) 151; Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism* (New York 1964) 24-28.
- <sup>3</sup> T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* 2, pt. 1 (New York 1968) 145.
- <sup>4</sup> Dakṣa, Ritual Skill, represents the power of rites that link men with gods. Danielou, *op. cit.* 320.
- <sup>5</sup> Acc. no. 65.22, H. 27.5 cm; Acc. no. 65.25, H. 13 cm; Acc. no. 66.240a, H. 7.5 cm; Acc. No. 66.240b, H. 5.3 cm. All four figures were presented by Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg.
- <sup>6</sup> D. N. Shukla, *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting* (Gorakhpur 1958) 173-174, states that the Vedic triad Agni, Sūrya and Vāyu or Rudra, really developed into the Puranic trinity of Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva. This means that Brahmā represented Agni and Śiva, (Rudra) represented Vāyu. By nature Agni (Fire) is destructive and Vāyu (Air) is life-giving. Hence it would be more appropriate to identify Rudra with Agni and Brahmā with Vāyu.
- <sup>7</sup> Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.* 39.
- <sup>8</sup> The period from the 5th century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. when the Puranas were written. Puranas are the first among the iconographical literature. They advocate image worship and deal with the lives of gods and goddesses.
- <sup>9</sup> Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.* 43.
- <sup>10</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Varanasi 1963) 77.
- <sup>11</sup> There are four castes in India. The first one is *brāhmaṇa* (priest), the second is *kṣatriya* (warrior), the third is *vaiśya* (merchant), and the fourth and the lowest caste is *śūdra* (laborer).
- <sup>12</sup> *Varāha Purāṇa*, ed. Pandit Hrishikesa Sastri (Calcutta 1893) 137-144.
- <sup>13</sup> *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 7 (New York 1924-26) 156a.
- <sup>14</sup> According to Edward Moor, *Hindu Pantheon* (London 1810) 107, Dakṣa had one hundred daughters but no son.
- <sup>15</sup> Virābhadrā's name is also not mentioned in *Varāha Purāṇa*. He seems to be one of the demigods (gaṇas). *Varāha Purāṇa*, *op. cit.* ch. 21, verse 30.
- <sup>16</sup> According to Tamil legend, Dakṣa's daughter was Pārvatī, who requested her husband to give back life to her father. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Iconography of Southern India* (Paris 1937) 48; but in the opinion of Alain Danielou his daughter "Sati" was married to Siva. *Op. cit.* 122.
- <sup>17</sup> See note 11.
- <sup>18</sup> The *Kūrma Purāṇa*; a *System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition*, ed. Nilmani Mukhopadhyaya (Calcutta 1890) 157-170.
- <sup>19</sup> Moor, *op. cit.* 107-109. According to a Tamil legend, it seems that she did not plunge herself into the fire. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *op. cit.* 48; Vijayananda Tripathi says that Sati destroyed herself through the fire of her anger. "Devata tattva," *Sanmārga* 3 (1942) 682.
- <sup>20</sup> According to *Varāha Purāṇa* and *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Dakṣa's head was not cut off.
- <sup>21</sup> Moor, *op. cit.* 107. But according to a Tamil legend, Dakṣa's head was replaced by a ram's head. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *op. cit.* 48.
- <sup>22</sup> Vasudeva Agrawala, *Vāmana Purāṇa, A Study* (Varanasi 1964) 9-10.
- <sup>23</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, *op. cit.* 48.
- <sup>24</sup> Moor, *op. cit.* 177.
- <sup>25</sup> Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses* (Madras 1916) 155.
- <sup>26</sup> Agrawala, *op. cit.* 9.
- <sup>27</sup> These seven mothers (goddesses) represent the embodied energy of the seven major gods: Brāhmani for Brahmā, Māheśvari for Maheśa (Śiva), Kaumāri for Kumāra (Kārtikeya), Vaiṣṇavi for Vishnu, Vārāhi for Varāha, Indrāni for Indra and Cāmuṇḍi for Yama. Shukla, *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting*, 322-323.
- <sup>28</sup> See note 2.
- <sup>29</sup> Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.* 155-159.
- <sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.* 159.
- <sup>31</sup> Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 pt. 1 (New York 1968) 186.
- <sup>32</sup> The *Pāncrātrāgama* mentions that his face is black. Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.* 155.
- <sup>33</sup> Gopinath Rao, *loc. cit.*
- <sup>34</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Iconography of Southern India*, 50.
- <sup>35</sup> J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta 1956) 482.
- <sup>36</sup> Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.* 159.
- <sup>37</sup> James Burgess, *Report on the Elura Cave Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India*. (London 1883) pl. 22, fig. 2. The figure mentions "Bhairava in the Das Avatara" Cave temple. The figure is eight-armed but it is difficult to say whether this is the same Virābhadrā mentioned by Krishna Sastri.
- <sup>38</sup> George C. M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London 1880) 60.

# A Flower-Piece and Napoleon

Among the most appreciated Dutch genre paintings are flower-pieces.<sup>1</sup> In 1964 the Museum of Art and Archaeology became the recipient of a flower-piece (Cover and Fig. 1) signed by the illustrious early eighteenth-century flower-painter Jan van Huysum.<sup>2</sup>

The painting is composed of a creamy-white Spanish iris, light-pink cabbage roses, white carnations, gold tulips streaked with purple, white apple blossoms, violet sweet peas, poppy foliage and many small wild flowers arranged in a terracotta vase which rests on a plinth in a dark, blue-gray niche. A bunch of dew-laden, pale green grapes and two full-blooming red carnations rest in front of the vase. No less than ten butterflies are fluttering about or are resting on the fruit and flowers. A dim light source from the left illuminates the lighter and paler flowers at the left of the composition.

Although the painting is signed, research into the subject convincingly proves that this flower-piece is a nineteenth-century product and that the artist could not have been Jan van Huysum (1682-1749). The results of this research are startling indeed, because Jan van Huysum is as highly prized today as "De Fenix aller bloemschilders"<sup>3</sup> as he was by his contemporaries. Although the Missouri painting is not within van Huysum's oeuvre, it is an important piece for imperial nineteenth-century French iconography.

Initially, the quest to date the Missouri flower still-life was the principal concern. The insufficient number of dated paintings by Jan van Huysum hampered dating by stylistic methods. Recourse to the botanical sciences was therefore a necessary and logical step. It is known that the introduction of a new floral variety on the Dutch market aroused such excitement that the new flower was immediately included in a still-life or a portrait. Often a delicately illuminated drawing of the flower

was recorded in the botanical books and the herbals of the period which concerns us. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that a flower-piece can be dated by its content.

Following this assumption, I secured the help of professional botanists in finding a flower which could date the painting more precisely than had been possible on a stylistic basis. Color photographs of the Missouri flower-piece were sent to leading American botanical librarians and botanists,<sup>4</sup> whose investigations were most fruitful. In fact, the botanical information they furnished showed that Jan van Huysum could not have been the painter of the picture. His imitator betrayed himself by the inclusion of a rare African flowering shrub—*Napoleona imperialis*—which was not known in Europe until fifty-five years after the death of Jan van Huysum. All the other flowers in the Missouri painting could easily have been plucked from any early eighteenth-century Dutch garden. The *Napoleona imperialis* (Fig. 2) is placed in the center of the composition. It therefore assumed a high, if not the highest, position of importance among the flowers in the arrangement. Its position is thus directly influenced by the symbolism of this imperial flower.

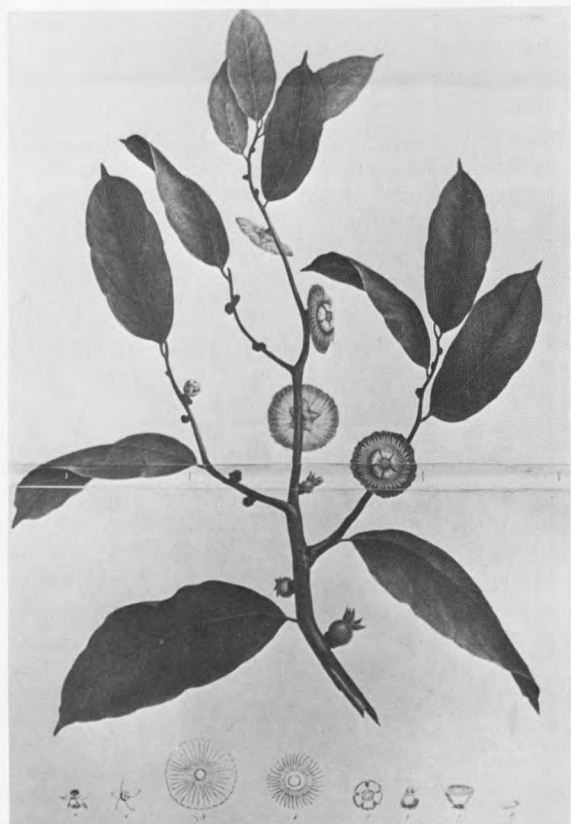
The species of the flower was found and established by the naturalist Palissot de Beauvois (1755-1820) in 1787, at which time his drawings and description were made, though they were not published until 1804.<sup>5</sup> This tropical plant grows in the kingdom of Benin, western Africa, at the city of Warea on the River Escardos, where it forms a small tree, seven to eight feet in height, in alluvial soil.<sup>6</sup> When the plant was found in 1787, Palissot de Beauvois believed the blue and pink flower reproduced quite accurately the design of the royal crown of France and Italy; therefore, it was given a royal name. Thinking this a transparent effort to establish a rapport in the Bonaparte regime,



1. Flower-piece after the style of Jan van Huysum in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.



2. *Napoleonea imperialis*. Detail of the Missouri Flower-piece (Fig. 1).



3. *Napoleonea imperialis*. From Palissot de Beauvois, *Flore d'Oware et de Benin* (Paris 1804). Courtesy of the St. Louis Botanical Gardens, St. Louis, Missouri.

his colleagues were doubtful that such a flower ever existed. A contemporary botanical journal exclaimed, "This dedication is nothing but a shallow piece of flattery."<sup>7</sup>

Finding the new genus *Napoleonea* intriguing but disturbing, two other botanists, Heudelot and de Jussieu, set out to find the flower. In the central African area of Senegambia—a locality considerably remote from Benin—they found the genus of which Palissot de Beauvois had written, but the colors were red and orange, not "d'un bleu avec réflet violet" as described by Palissot.<sup>8</sup> Having died in Africa in 1837 after finding the plant, Heudelot was honored by having his name given to the crimson and apricot-colored flower.<sup>9</sup>

In 1843 Whitfield, a natural historian, returned from Sierra Leone—a country between Senegambia and Oware—with a living specimen of the genus *Napoleonea*, apricot-colored and crimson. But Whitfield also remarked that when decaying, the flower assumed a bluish tint.<sup>10</sup> Although a few leaves of the *Napoleonea* in the Missouri flower-piece are turning brown from decay, the new buds on the woody stem are blue, which would indicate that in the fresh state the flower is blue and not the red and orange of the *Napoleonea Heudelotii*. From this evidence one must assume that the flower in the Missouri painting is the *Napoleonea imperialis* published by Palissot de Beauvois.<sup>11</sup>

A comparison of the *Napoleonea imperialis* (Fig. 2) in the Missouri painting with the original, hand-colored illustration of the *Napoleonea imperialis* (Fig. 3) in Palissot de Beauvois' book reveals the striking similarity between the two representations of the same flower. The very placement of the flowers on the stem in both instances is nearly identical, except for an additional blossom in frontal view in the Missouri painting. One immediately notices that the flowers are depicted by the painter in the manner of a botanical illustrator, i.e., in frontal, three-quarter, profile and rear views. Obviously, the painter of the Missouri flower-piece had copied the 1804 illustration; his portrayal is at second hand.

Upon close inspection of the blossom in three-quarter view (Fig. 2), one is struck by the

painter's inferior draftsmanship. Jan van Huysum worked directly from nature; he would have portrayed this rare flower with exquisite precision. The *Napoleona imperialis* is rarely seen; it is difficult to grow even under theoretically ideal conditions in botanical gardens.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, if Jan van Huysum could have had this plant in his studio, it is unthinkable that it would not have made botanical news in the journals of his day. The smooth surface of the Missouri painting is maintained throughout; there is no over-painting. This rules out the possibility that the rare plant was added to an original by Jan van Huysum as a dedication to Napoleon. In summary, the inferior draftsmanship of the artist, the similarity of this plant to the 1804 illustration, and the history of the *Napoleona imperialis* overwhelmingly suggest that the Missouri flower-piece is not the work of Jan van Huysum but of an imitator.

Jan van Huysum's paintings were imitated at least through the middle of the nineteenth century. The search for the painter of the Missouri picture is an overwhelming task, but a few possible artists can be suggested.

In close affinity to Jan's mature compositional style (Fig. 4) is a painting by the Dutch artist Wybrand Hendriks (1744-1831) in The Broughton Collection (Fig. 5). Although the composition is similar, Hendriks' chiaroscuro is the lighting of the early nineteenth century. Johann Baptiste Drechsler (1756-1811), a Viennese flower and fruit painter, follows most closely the style of Jan van Huysum. From 1772 to 1785 he painted in a Vienna porcelain factory and carried his style to a dry, richly detailed naturalism.<sup>13</sup> Parallels between the Missouri flower-piece and a Drechsler flower-piece (Fig. 6)<sup>14</sup> are clearly evident. These examples are only a few of the many imitators of Jan van Huysum; his following was large.

Thus far we have been primarily concerned with the *Napoleona imperialis* as a botanical specimen which proves the Missouri painting to have been executed by an imitator of Jan van Huysum. But who was Jan van Huysum? For a man of such distinction, surprisingly little is known about him. Jan was born in Amster-

dam in 1682, the eldest son of Justus van Huysum the Elder. He married in 1704 and died in Amsterdam in 1749. Jan painted flower-pieces for his father's painting atelier which he probably left around 1706, the date of his first signed painting.<sup>15</sup>

Jan van Huysum's prestige grew with commissions from dignitaries such as the Comte de Murville, Sir Robert Walpole and the kings of Poland and Prussia. For his exquisite work Jan was paid well, often 1000 florins for a flower-piece.<sup>16</sup> In 1744 Jan received from the Duke of Mecklenburg 2000 florins for two paintings on copper.<sup>17</sup> These were exceedingly high prices for the time.<sup>18</sup>

As demands for his paintings increased he became obsessively secretive. How he employed and purified his colors was his carefully guarded secret. He allowed no one in his studio while he was painting. His only exceptional student was Margareta Havermann, whose developing talents aroused such jealousy in Jan that he dismissed her.<sup>19</sup> So Jan remained in his private world, absorbing himself with his technical virtuosity and with his finesse in flower arrangement.

Jan van Huysum's method of working was unusual; this is shown by paintings which bear more than one date.<sup>20</sup> The double date resulted when Jan, who always worked from nature, was unable to acquire in season fruits or a certain flower desired by a patron. In correspondence with an agent for the Duke of Mecklenburg, Jan stated that the ducal commission for a flower-piece was yet incomplete, for during that year he could not find a yellow rose nor could he find the grapes, figs and pomegranates needed for the companion fruit-piece.<sup>21</sup> In many of his paintings flowers of various seasons are arranged in one bouquet: the tulip, hyacinth and apple blossom of spring appear with the poppy, peony, hollyhock and rose of summer. Painting a flower still-life was nearly a year-round occupation for Jan.

In summer Jan would stay in Haarlem where flower growers enthusiastically provided him with specimens. For their botanical accuracy, Jan's paintings have horticultural interest because they represent trustworthy evidence



4. Upper left: *flower-piece* by Jan van Huysum, dated 1731-1732. Collection of Sir Brian Mountain, Bart. 5. Lower left: *flower-piece* by Wybrand Hendriks, undated. The Broughton Collection. 6. Above: *flower-piece* by J. B. Drechsler. Photo courtesy of Mr. R. A. F. Johnston.

of the flowers and plants grown in a contemporary Dutch garden. Consequently, one is able to see horticultural changes through the introduction of new plants and the loss of the old through atavism and disease.

Briefly, Jan van Huysum's style in composition begins with a planar, triangular arrangement of flowers in a vase stationed on a plinth in a niche. Flowers of lighter tonality form an internal soft S-shaped curve. Light enters from the left. Around 1715 his arrangements become more three-dimensional and take on greater

freedom in internal movement; the S-shaped curve is bolder and more lyrical. The niche still remains and colors are intense. By 1725 he blossoms forth with dynamic direction and lyrical movement in true rococo fashion. The floral arrangement is placed before a park scene of pastel coloration. The light is softer and pervades the whole composition. At this period he has attained his maturity, which he retains (see Fig. 4). Throughout his entire career Jan's application of paint to the surface is thin. This technique allows a naturalistic and detailed portrayal of his subjects.

Stylistically, the Missouri painting appears to have been painted after the style of Jan van Huysum around 1715. His imitator failed in the

treatment of light by obscuring details in shadowed areas. Even in these areas Jan would have been distinct in his execution of detail. The inclusion of the *Napoleona imperialis* betrayed the artist's ignorance of botanical discoveries and the date of Jan van Huysum's death. Despite these "mistakes" on the part of the anonymous nineteenth-century painter, the Missouri flower-piece remains an important illustration of the genre of flower painting. But more important, the painting contains the rare *Napoleona imperialis* and the Museum is proud to possess a dedicatory floral tribute to Napoleon.

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<sup>1</sup> This article is an extract from a thesis, "Jan van Huysum: Flower-painter, 1682-1749," for the M.A. degree at the University of Missouri (June 1969).

<sup>2</sup> Oil on canvas, 84.5 x 69.2 cm., Acc. No. 64.117, the gift of Mr. Ivan B. Hart. The painting is entitled "Still-life with Flowers" and is signed "Jan van Huysum"; no date follows the name. The coloration is brilliant but the surface shows nascent cracking. The painting was brought to the United States from London in 1948 by the late English art dealer, John Nicholson. The earlier history of the painting is not known, as Mr. Hart kindly informed us in a letter (March 1, 1965).

<sup>3</sup> J. Weyermann, *De Levens-beschryvingen der Nederlantsche Konst-schilders...*, (The Hague 1729) 209, cited by I. Bergström, *Dutch Still-life Painting* (New York 1956) 226.

<sup>4</sup> The author wishes to express special thanks to Mrs. Mary K. Moulton of The Morton Arboretum, Lisle, Illinois, for her constant enthusiasm; to Mr. John V. Brindle of The Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt Botanical Library, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for his bibliographical guidance; and to Dr. Mildred Mathias of the University of California, Los Angeles, for her positive identification of the *Napoleona imperialis*.

<sup>5</sup> For a complete botanical classification, see Palissot de Beauvois, *Flore d'Oware et de Benin* (Paris 1804) II, 29, plate 78.

<sup>6</sup> John Miers, "On *Napoleona*, *Amphalocarpum* and *Asteranthos*," in *Transactions of the Linnean Society of London*, Ser. II, Botany, I, 1875-1880, 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Flowering Trees of the Caribbean*, introduction by William C. White (New York 1951) 24.

<sup>8</sup> Curtis' *Botanical Magazine*, "Napoleona imperialis," 74, Tab. 4387, 1848.

<sup>9</sup> The *Napoleona Heudelotii* miraculously bloomed in Paris, 1849, the year when Prince Louis Napoleon became President of the Republic. The flower was then called *Lapageria rosea* in honor of Empress Josephine (*née* de Lapagerie).

<sup>10</sup> Curtis' *Botanical Magazine*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Upon close inspection one can see a yellow-orange flower with a similar shape to the *Napoleona* near the branch in question, but the flower is used as a filler and no connection can be made to the stalk or to the foliage. If one would wish to argue that the branch of the *Napoleona imperialis* is actually a decayed *Napoleona Heudelotii*, I find this foundation is too insecure since it is based on this rather indistinct flower. In any case, the date of the Missouri flower-piece would have to be *post* 1843, the date of Whitfield's discovery and notation of color change.

<sup>12</sup> *Flowering Trees*, *op. cit.* 25.

<sup>13</sup> Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig 1913) IX, 546-547.

<sup>14</sup> Sales catalogue, *Important Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century English Painting*, No. 128, Sotheby & Co. Wednesday, November 19, 1969. This painting is 34½ by 25 inches (87.6 x 63.5 cm.).

<sup>15</sup> This painting in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, is signed J: Huijsum. Bergström, the leading scholar on the subject, gives this 'J' to Jan although there are three other painters in the family whose name begins with the same letter.

<sup>16</sup> A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* (The Hague 1917) 4, 1197.

<sup>17</sup> Fr. Schlie (ed.), "Sieben Briefe und eine Quittung von Jan van Huijsum," *Oud-Holland* 18 (1900) 143.

<sup>18</sup> In comparison to the prices brought on the sale of other artists' works on the same day, a painting by Cuypp was sold for 13 fl., one by van Aelst for 19 fl., a portrait by Rembrandt for 25 fl., two pictures by Jan Steen for 30 fl. while a Jan van Huysum flower still-life brought 1245 fl. A few weeks after Jan's death, four watercolor landscapes brought 1032 fl. See Bredius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Her fine work can be seen in a flower still-life, dated 1716, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. H 29-1.

<sup>20</sup> See Fig. 4 as an example of dual dating.

<sup>21</sup> Schlie, *op. cit.* 141.



# A Glazed Head of a Girl

Ceramic vessels in the form of human heads are not unknown in the Roman period, but the one presented here is a particularly fine example of its kind.<sup>1</sup>

The practice of making such vessels did not originate with the Romans—the Greeks used the idea extensively<sup>2</sup>—but the Romans did produce some interesting head-vases which were more individualized, such as one from Tunis, ca. A.D. 300, which shows an elderly man with a scarred and battered face<sup>3</sup> or a similar one of a woman also from Tunis, of the 2nd or 3rd century.<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 3).

The Missouri head-vase (Fig. 1) is covered with a green glaze with the exception of the greater part of the young girl's face and areas of her hair and neck which are yellowish-buff. The reason for this difference of color may have been an accident during production, or the result of conditions under which the vessel existed since antiquity, thereby indicating a color loss, or done purposely in order to make the girl's face a different color. In any case a head with this sort of glaze represents a definite departure from the long tradition of red- and black-glazed pottery. The Greeks had initially been restricted to red and black because these could be produced from earth colors; eventually they came to prefer these colors and so did not experiment with others to any great extent.<sup>5</sup> The head under consideration here, however, is covered with a glaze which forms a vitrified coat and the chief component of which is lead. Evidently the Babylonians and Assyrians used a lead glaze but the many centuries which intervened after their use of it would seem to indicate that no continuing tradition existed, rather that the Romans rediscovered the process.<sup>6</sup> After lead glaze once again fell out of use in Roman times it did not

reappear until the Islamic period in the 9th century.<sup>7</sup>

As has been indicated above, the vessel at Missouri is in the form of a young girl's head and neck. From the top of her head rises the vessel's neck, around which are two rope-like bands in relief. A grooved ribbon handle with a thumb rest at its highest point (Fig. 2) extends from about the middle of the vessel's neck to the upper part of the head.

That the vase was made in a two-part mould can be seen by the ridge which extends on either side from the very flat, round base to the rim.

The youth of the girl is emphasized by her plump face completely devoid of wrinkles. She has a prominent brow line and nose, resulting in rather deeply set eyes, the pupils indicated by punched dots. Her mouth is small and unsmiling, although there is a punch mark at either side perhaps intended to represent dimples. On her chin there is an unusually large, oval dimple.

Her long hair is parted down the middle and bound by a broad, flat ribbon which is seen across her forehead and at the base of her neck where it has a rolled, cord-like appearance. The parted front portion of her hair is gathered up, partly covering her ears, then drawn up to a topknot along with the hair pulled up from the back. This knot is indicated by the long, loosely formed lines which flow from around and above the vessel's handle in contrast to the shorter, more tightly formed lines lower down. At the base of her neck, below the head-band, is a row of punched dots which seem intended to represent the termination of her hairline. As a final touch to her coiffure, there are two small ringlets in front of her ears and two strands of hair on her forehead.

The head-vase merits discussion from two aspects, stylistic and technical. Stylistically, the most important feature is the coiffure. During the Hellenistic period an accepted way of arranging a woman's hair involved drawing it up into a knot on top of her head. The hair style of the Missouri head seems to be related to that of Hellenistic times, as can well be seen by comparing a drachma from Bruttium dated 282-203 B.C.<sup>8</sup> On the obverse is a bust of Nike, whose hair is drawn to the back, half covering her ears and then pulled up to a knot (Fig. 4). She also wears a headband similar to that on the Missouri vase. This particular fashion is known to have carried over into the late first century B.C. among the Romans, as is shown in portraiture and coin types.<sup>9</sup>

The closest general parallel to the Missouri piece is a head-vase found in Kerch, Crimea, in 1905 (Fig. 5).<sup>10</sup> The representation is that of a young man whose hair falls around his face in loose, free locks. The whole form of the vessel is like ours, with similar neck and handle and made in the form of a semi-bust. This head from Kerch, however, is covered with the red glaze common in the Hellenistic period.



1. Head-vase of young girl in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia: four views. 2. Left: detail showing grooved handle with thumb-rest.



3. Far left: *head-vase from Africa in the Louvre Museum.*  
 4. Left: *obverse of drachma of Bruttium. Photo courtesy of Dr. Herbert Cahn.* 5. Above: *head-vase from Kerch: two views.*

As noted above, the Romans apparently rediscovered the use of lead glaze. The evidence for this comes largely from the site of Tarsus in southern Asia Minor.<sup>11</sup> There the excavators uncovered remains of the finished product as well as fragments from stages of production and moulds, and thus ascertained that the green-glazed ware was produced at the site, a fact which had long been suspected.

Lead glaze produces a glassy surface, usually dark green although it can be yellow-green, mustard or light yellow and occasionally brown.<sup>12</sup>

On the basis of finds from Tarsus the process of production can be reconstructed as follows: after the clay was prepared a small amount was handworked into both sections of the mould, care being taken that the clay penetrated all the depressions of the decoration, in the instance of the Missouri head particularly each lock of hair. Once this preliminary process had been completed the rest of the clay was applied. The mould was then placed on the potter's

wheel, so that the inner surface could be smoothed and the rim built up. After allowing the vessel to dry to a leather-hard condition so that it pulled away from the sides of the mould, it was removed and the handle applied. The vessel then underwent its first firing, after which the glaze was applied and the vessel fired again. Because of the fluidity of the glaze under heat, each vase in the kiln had its own small saucer to catch the excess liquid.<sup>13</sup> It is obvious that the production of such a piece of pottery was a lengthy and costly process. Not only did it have to be fired twice, but the kiln could not be packed with very many pots.

For the date of manufacture of such glazed pottery one must turn again to Tarsus. There it was found in quantity only in deposits of the first century A.D. but at that point it was already a mature product both stylistically and technically.<sup>14</sup> Evidence indicates that early in the first century A.D. the ware had made its way to Italy via trade routes, again indicating a state of maturity.<sup>15</sup> It is the opinion of Frances F.

Jones, who contributed the section on the green-glazed pottery to the Tarsus excavation report, that "it therefore seems reasonably certain that lead glaze was not made at Tarsus before the middle of the first century B.C....but until some excavation produces evidence for an earlier date, there is no conclusive proof that the glaze was made before the Augustan period."<sup>16</sup> With reference to the date at which this pottery ceased to be produced, Miss Jones notes that the material from Tarsus did not provide a definite final date but that the ware had a short life.<sup>17</sup> That its period of existence was so short may perhaps be due to the fact that in the first century A.D. a thriving glass industry was growing up in Palestine and Syria as well as other regions.<sup>18</sup> There are numerous examples of head vases in mould-blown glass,<sup>19</sup>

and since they were easier and less expensive to produce and still showed the shiny, "glassy" surface which had been one of the most unusual features of the lead-glazed vessels, the glass head-vases must soon have driven the more expensive ceramic ones from the market.

Turning to the Missouri head, then, it can be dated from the mid-first century B.C. to the first century A.D. on the basis of stylistic comparisons which are best found in the Hellenistic period. On the basis of the other aspect which merited discussion—the technical—one is led to the same date because, insofar as is known at the present time, the glaze with which it is covered was in use at least from the mid-first century B.C. but did not last very long beyond the end of the first century A.D.

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<sup>1</sup> Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, Acc. No. 68.414. Provenience unknown. H. 23.7 cm., Max. W. 13.3 cm. Acquired through William and Anna Weinberg Purchase Fund. Buff clay covered primarily with a green glaze, although a large part of the face and hair are yellowish buff, along with a similarly colored streak on the neck. The green glaze is crackled in some areas, especially on the neck. Several spots of dark bluish-black vitrification on the hair and another on the chin. Intact except for some pitting on face and hair in front.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Great Britain 2* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) pl. 16, 2a and b.

<sup>3</sup> J. W. Salomonson, *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving te's-Gravenhage* 44 (1969) 90ff. and fig. 127.

<sup>4</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire 1* (Oxford 1957) 60, no. 1. The vessels shown here are in the Louvre and nearly identical to some published by A. Merlin as cited by Rostovtzeff.

<sup>5</sup> The Greeks did experiment with and use a variety of added colors as accessories to the main red or black glaze. See J. V. Noble, *The Technique of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York 1965) 60ff.

<sup>6</sup> F. F. Jones, *American Journal of Archaeology* 49 (1945) 46, note 9. The glaze on the Missouri head, which has not yet been analyzed, is assumed to be similar to that on vases found at Tarsus (see note 11).

<sup>7</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London 1962) 168 and note 4.

<sup>8</sup> Sales Catalogue, Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, Switzerland,

November 1967, Liste 282, no. 3. The illustration appears courtesy of Dr. Herbert Cahn.

<sup>9</sup> O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der Römischen Republik* (Lund 1941) 126ff. and pl. 96, 1-2; 248 and pl. 13,3.

<sup>10</sup> *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 22 (1907) 142 and fig. 12.; *Isvestia Imperatorskoi Archeologicheskoi Kommissii* 30 (1909) 9, fig. 7. These references were kindly brought to my attention by Mr. Carl Berkowitz.

<sup>11</sup> F. F. Jones in H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus 1* (Princeton 1950) 191ff. The pertinent bibliography for lead-glazed pottery may be found in this volume. In addition to Asia Minor, North Syria and South Russia were also areas in which lead-glazed pottery was manufactured during the Roman period. See Jones, *op. cit.* 48-50. The additional list of find spots may be found in *Tarsus 1*, 195, note 144. It should be noted that the green-glazed pottery from Dura-Europos does not contain lead although it was fired twice. See N. P. Toll, *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report 4*, pt. 1, fasc. 1, *The Green Glazed Pottery* (New Haven 1943) 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 191.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 193-194.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 195.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 195 and note 145.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 196.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 196.

<sup>18</sup> Tenney Frank ed., *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 1938) 189-190.

<sup>19</sup> *Journal of Glass Studies* 10 (1968) 181 and fig. 10. Flask in the collection of Mr. Hans Cohn, Los Angeles, California.

## Two Votive Hands in Missouri



*Sabazius hand at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia. Four views proceeding from the front clockwise. Actual size.*

Among the Eastern gods whose popularity spread to the west during the later Roman empire were two—Jupiter Dolichenus and Sabazius—to whom a special kind of offering was customarily dedicated—a human hand executed in bronze and decorated with magical symbols. Two groups of these hands can be distinguished—one with all the fingers outstretched, the other with the fourth and fifth fingers bent inward, the thumb and first two fingers outstretched, thus forming the so-called Latin blessing, which is still used in churches

today. Dedicatory inscriptions on some of the hands allow us to attribute the first group to Jupiter Dolichenus, a god originating in Doliche, a city of Syria; the second group is that of Sabazius, a god of Thracian or Anatolian origin, who came to be identified both with Zeus and with Dionysus.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the Sabazius hands are usually characterized by a large number of attributes relating to the god and his cult. Incidentally, all votive hands appear to be right hands.

Here I propose to discuss two hands dedi-

cated to Sabazius, one in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia, the other in the City Art Museum of St. Louis, Missouri.

The standard discussion of Sabazius hands is still that of C. Blinkenberg published in 1904,<sup>2</sup> and everyone who treats the subject must be indebted to his catalogue of and observations on these hands. They were apparently for the most part votive gifts to the god, but at the same time were used as part of his cult apparatus, much as one might dedicate altar-silverware to a church at the present time in thanksgiving for some event. It could be wished that more were known as to the places where they were found—shrines, private houses, etc. That a great number of them were intended to be placed on poles such as could be set up in a sanctuary or carried in procession is shown by their hollow interiors, in some cases by nail-holes for fastening them, and by the representation of one of them on top of the staff held by the god on a noted Sabazius relief in Copenhagen.<sup>3</sup> The god's hand is represented in the act of blessing—at the same time extending his blessing to the congregation of worshipers and recalling the act of benevolence for which the vow was rendered.<sup>4</sup> The attributes shown on the hands commonly include the snake (Sabazius' particular sacred animal), the pine cone (an emblem, perhaps of fertility, which he shares with the moon-god Men), various scenes of ritual or representations of cult paraphernalia from his own or associated cults, and various animals sacred to him and/or apotropaic in character (the other side of blessing being the keeping away of evil spirits); these commonly include the ram, frog, lizard and turtle.

The hand in the Museum at Columbia is small, as such hands go,<sup>5</sup> and carelessly executed, so that it is hard to distinguish some of the attributes. On the palm the central scene seems to show a man making a libation upon a small altar. The fact that he holds a staff (?) in his left hand and wears a high, perhaps Phrygian, cap may allow us to identify him as the god himself, although the normal representation is different.<sup>6</sup>

The figure at the altar is an unusual feature, shared, to my knowledge, by only one other hand, in the National Museum in Copenhagen.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps to be compared is a scene on an example in the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, where two individuals clasp hands over an altar.<sup>8</sup> This scene, however, probably represents the reason for the vow, standing as it does in the same place as the scene of mother and child (see the St. Louis example below), which identifies several hands as being vowed in thanks for an easy labor and delivery.

To the left of the standing figure (all directions are given as seen by the viewer), on the outside of the hand, there is a turtle, one of the animals commonly associated with Sabazius. To the right there is a ram (except for the horns it looks more like a low-slung dog) coming around under the thumb to face the standing figure, and under it there is a krater, a cult object frequently represented on these hands. Emerging from between the thumb and the index-finger is Sabazius' customary snake, its head curled up along the outside of the thumb. Its body extends down the back of the thumb and curls around the wrist. More difficult to identify is the attribute above the turtle, on the outside of the hand where the curved-in little-finger joins it. It looks as if it may have been intended for one wing and part of the body of an eagle (signifying Sabazius' identification with Zeus), but if so, the rest of the bird must have been inserted into the hole formed by the curved little-finger, and is now lost.

The lower part of the back of the hand is reserved for the usual lizard. On the middle knuckle of the extended index-finger there is a protrusion, perhaps intended for a cicada. Finally, on the knuckles where the index- and middle-fingers join the hand, and in the depression between them, there is a feature not paralleled on any other Sabazius hand that I know of—a procession of three tiny people facing the right. Although they are crudely rendered, their sharply defined heads, their bodies covered with long shapeless cloaks, and their stick-like feet and legs are clearly discernible. Probably represented here is some procession connected with the god's ritual.



*The Sabazius hand at the City Art Museum, St. Louis. Four views proceeding from the front clockwise. Photographs courtesy of the City Art Museum, St. Louis.*

On the knuckles where the ring- and little-fingers join the hand is an indistinct object or group of objects. It seems to consist of an upper horizontal rod, from which hang three appendages, the left one being the longest and coming down almost to the lizard, the right one almost joining up with the eagle's wing (?) on the other side. One may speculate that it is a temple or other building toward which the procession is making its way, or that it is a table with offerings, or even that it is a distorted form of the scales which appear frequently on Sabazius hands, but all this is purely conjectural. The temple-theory is given some probability by a Sabazius hand in the Walters Art Gallery.<sup>9</sup> But that temple-front has a door which opens into the hollow interior of the hand, making it a sort of reliquary. At all events, among known

Sabazius hands this feature, together with the procession, seems unique.

The St. Louis hand is much larger and handsomer than the one in Columbia, and since it has a base with "feet," it was obviously intended to be set on a table or an altar, rather than on a pole; in any case the interior is too rough to receive a pole.<sup>10</sup>

Looking at the palm, let us first remark that the ring- and little-fingers are flat to the palm of the hand, no space being left between them, thus creating a rather awkward appearance. Crowning the whole, resting upon the outstretched middle- and index-fingers, is a thunderbolt on which rests an eagle; this feature assigns the hand to a well-defined sub-group of Sabazius hands, of which this is the finest and best preserved example. As by the eagle

and thunderbolt, our attention is immediately seized by the statuette of Sabazius himself with Phrygian cap and general "Phrygian" costume, his left hand upraised in the Latin blessing. He is dressed in a chiton and long trousers, and sits on a console which projects from the base of the two upraised fingers; at his feet there is a ram's head, which accompanies the Sabazius figure in all cases except a hand from Vado in Liguria (see note 17). The Sabazius figure and ram's head were made separately from the hand and attached only at the point where Sabazius is sitting. The back of the Sabazius figure is not finished. Slightly below and to the left of the ram's head is an offering table on which a pine-cone rests and underneath on the wrist, separated by an arc from the other representations, is a scene of mother and child, giving the reason for the dedication. Below and to the right of the ram's head there is a krater, one of the standard cult objects, as we have said, on these votives. On the border under the mother-and-child scene there is an ornamental device not present on the other sides, thus confirming the fact that the palm side was thought of as the front. On the palm-side of the thumb, a beetle, perhaps a scarab, crawls out from under Sabazius' left leg. On the eagle's right shoulder is the headless remnant of a human figure. On the eagle's back and left wing, the chlamys, arms and legs of this figure are visible. His left arm is around the eagle's neck, the other arm relaxed. His legs stretch down the eagle's left wing, which is broken at the tip. This figure is difficult of interpretation, and I can only suggest that it represents the soul of the devotee borne heavenward as a symbol of apotheosis or immortality. It finds no parallel among preserved hands, but it seems safe to suggest that it existed as well on the Naples hand, and perhaps on all the others of this sub-group.

On top of the thumb there is a small pine cone, and on the outside of the base of the thumb is a turtle, under which is a tree standing on a representation of the ground. This indication of landscape extends to the palm-side under the krater, and also in the other direction.

This concern with landscaping is reminiscent of the hand in the Walters Art Gallery.

On the side of the index-finger near the thumb, between the two lower knuckles, is a small snake, and below it, on the back of the hand, is a winged caduceus (probably the object identified as a "scorpion(?)" in the Boston catalogue). Under that there is a lizard, and finally, close to the ground is an animal with rabbit's ears and head, but swathed from the front legs down in something resembling mummy-bands. I can offer no explanation of this phenomenon.

Extending from the knuckle at the base of the index-finger to a point beyond the base of the middle-finger is an object resembling a gate or a table. One of the uprights resembles a club, the other has a pronounced bulb at the lower end. Possible analogies with the "temple-front" of the Columbia hand may be present, but both items are ambiguous. At the bottom between the uprights is a raised, almost bell-shaped area (less pronounced than the photograph makes it appear, and perhaps unintentional). Below this a snake rises sinuously from directly under the middle-finger to rest its head (now missing) on the knuckle of the bent little-finger. Riding on the snake's neck is a grasshopper, the top of whose left wing is broken.

To the right of the snake there is a frog, then a double-flute, then a whip(?). The double-flute and the "whip" are in many ways similar, except that the right part of the "whip" (on the little-finger side) is quite bulbous. The double-flute is carefully executed, four stops on each tube, with a well defined mouthpiece. Under the double-flute is an instrument vaguely resembling castanets, and below that an offering cake carefully scored into four sections. At the bottom, is again a representation of the "ground."

Under the "whip" is a projecting console such as that on which the pine cone rests on the other side. There seem to be some objects on it. Beneath this is another krater, with objects projecting from it towards the console. The other hands which belong to this group, as



far as I have been able to determine, are as follows:

1. Naples Museum, found in Resina (Herculaneum) in 1746.<sup>11</sup> This hand is in all respects the most similar to the St. Louis example, sharing with it not only the eagle and thunderbolt, but the figure of Sabazius and the ram's head, the mother-and-child scene, and the "feet" of the base. The two pieces might well be from a single workshop. However, the superstructure of the Naples example is missing above the eagle's feet, although both hands of its Sabazius figure are intact, whereas on the St. Louis example one hand is damaged. The similarity between the two examples extends also to the various attributes on the back of the hand, at least if one can trust Elworthy's sketch.

2. British Museum.<sup>12</sup> Although this hand has the thunderbolt and the eagle, it does not share any of the other striking features of the St. Louis and Naples hands. It is said to have been found at Tournai and has been known at least since 1722.<sup>13</sup>

3. Also probably belonging in this category is a hand found at Cagli in Umbria whose current whereabouts is unknown.<sup>14</sup> Like the British Museum hand, it shares only the eagle

and thunderbolt among the outstanding attributes of the St. Louis and Naples hands. The sketches, as a matter of fact, leave it quite uncertain what was supported by the fingers, but the parallel examples allow us to determine that it must have been such an eagle and thunderbolt.

4. A hand ostensibly found in Pompeii in 1894. It is illustrated only by Elworthy,<sup>15</sup> but Blinkenberg was unable to obtain any information on it from the Naples Museum, where Elworthy said it was. As well as the eagle and thunderbolt, it shares the mother-and-child scene with the St. Louis and Naples examples, but has a round bottom without "feet." At least as the piece is illustrated by Elworthy, there is no Sabazius figure or ram's head, but the fact that the area where they would fit is strikingly blank in Elworthy's sketch makes one think that they may originally have been there. A parallel is furnished by the previously mentioned Baltimore hand, where the holes for the attachment of such a figure, now lost, are clearly visible.

5. A hand in the Copenhagen National Museum.<sup>16</sup> Like Nos. 2 and 3 it shares only the eagle and thunderbolt among the striking features of the St. Louis and Naples hands.

Other hands, while not having the eagle and thunderbolt, share the Sabazius figure and the mother-and-child scene. One example is from Vado, present whereabouts unknown.<sup>17</sup> Two others were found in Pompeii in 1954;<sup>18</sup> one of them shares the "feet" of the St. Louis and Naples examples. There also exist numerous statuettes of Sabazius probably once intended to adorn such hands, but now separated from them.<sup>19</sup> And, as we already have had occasion to remark, the Baltimore hand seems to have possessed such a figure originally, although on it the mother-and-child scene is replaced by the temple-front. Yet other hands have the mother-and-child scene alone.<sup>20</sup>

These two Sabazius-hands help round out our picture of this type of ancient votive offering. The Columbia hand adds one more to the category of those intended to be carried on poles, and with its procession of worshippers



*Sabazius hand in the British Museum (front and back views). Photographs courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

toward a temple(?), it adds a new element to the iconography of these hands. The St. Louis hand furnishes us the best preserved example of another type, intended to be dedicated in a fixed location, represented also by the Naples hand and the others listed above. It, too, offers a new iconographic feature, the small figure being borne aloft by the eagle (although that was apparently also present originally on at least one other hand) and its relative care of execution and excellent state of preservation make it one of the outstanding examples of this type of document of ancient religion.

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<sup>1</sup> For additional information see W. Roscher, *Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884-1937) s.v. Sabazius.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Archäologische Studien* (Copenhagen 1904) 66-128. He knew of forty-nine hands, and the number has not increased appreciably since then.

<sup>3</sup> Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* pl. 2.

<sup>4</sup> This is Blinkenberg's interpretation. Of the various other interpretations advanced before and since, the most noteworthy is that of H. P. L'Orange, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo 1953), who sees in it the ancient speaker's gesture, symbolizing the god's word.

<sup>5</sup> Acc. no. 64.21, H. 12 cm.; socket width varies from 2 cm. to 2.5 cm. The provenience is unknown.

<sup>6</sup> Blinkenberg, nos. E4, E8-E12.

<sup>7</sup> Blinkenberg, no. E7; Blinkenberg's preferred explanation of a krater on a stand is, I think, wrong.

<sup>8</sup> Blinkenberg, no. E6.

<sup>9</sup> D. K. Hill in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann, Marsyas*, Supplement I, 132-135.

<sup>10</sup> Acc. no. 52.56. H. 20.5 cm. The provenience is unknown. It has been published in the exhibition catalogue, D. G. Mitten and Suzannah R. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Boston 1968) no. 313 (description by Janet Ayer Scott).

<sup>11</sup> Blinkenberg no. E13, illustrated in S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris 1897-1910) II, ii, 477, no. 2; inaccurately in F. T. Elworthy, *Horns of Honour* (London 1900) fig. 125; and elsewhere.

<sup>12</sup> H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes*, British Museum, no. 876, without illustration; illustrated inaccurately by Elworthy, *op. cit.* figs. 139-40; this, or a copy of it, is probably the hand illustrated in *Archaeologiai Ertesítő* 75 (1948) pl. 34, no. 3, although it is there said to be from Brussels.

<sup>13</sup> L. Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée* (Paris 1722) II, ii, 137, no. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Illustrated, *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 7 (1836) 455, and after that by Elworthy, *op. cit.* figs. 145-146.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* fig. 126.

<sup>16</sup> Blinkenberg no. E1 and fig. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Blinkenberg no. E17 and figs. 35-36.

<sup>18</sup> They are illustrated by M. della Corte, *Loves and Lovers in Ancient Pompeii* (Naples 1960) 90, fig. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Blinkenberg, 98-100 and fig. 41.

<sup>20</sup> Blinkenberg nos. E8-E18 all share this feature.

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