

MVSE

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FRONT COVER: Bone mirror handle, Etruscan, dating from the late fourth century B.C. Acc. No. 63.18. Preserved height 10 cm. See the article pages 25-33.

BACK COVER: One scene from a painted scroll from West Bengal, India. Acc. No. 75.2. Length 2.14m. See the article pages 42-47.

All Museum photographs by Ronald G. Marquette

The Museum of Art and Archaeology is in process of moving to new quarters. Until the autumn of 1976 the exhibits will remain on the fourth floor of the Ellis Library of the University of Missouri-Columbia; the galleries are open 2-5 p.m. daily except when the Library building is closed on certain holidays. Admission is free. Guided tours are provided when arranged in advance.

The offices of the Museum are now located in the Art History and Archaeology Building, on the Francis Quadrangle. All correspondence should be addressed to: Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65201. (Telephone: 314-882-3591).

MUSE, the Annual of the Museum, is circulated world-wide to museums and libraries on an exchange basis; it is also a prerequisite of membership in Museum Associates, and can be obtained by subscription. For information write to the editor of *MUSE* at the address above.

ACTIVITIES

The remodeling of the old Chemistry building for the new quarters of the Museum has eclipsed all other activities during the past year. Work under the base contract was completed in July; another month was spent on some of the alternates made possible through additional funds. The galleries for Far Eastern art and prints and drawings, as well as the print and drawing study and storage room, have been partially completed, with the dry-walling and carpeting remaining to be done as funds become available. Besides this, only the installation of perimeter lighting in the two large painting galleries remains to complete construction work on the exhibition floor. At this writing, in the first days of 1976, the last work on the ground floor is finished. The office furniture, storage cabinets and book shelves have arrived, and we are now beginning to move our offices and the collections to the new quarters.

With the appointment in October of an Associate Curator for Exhibits, planning of the exhibitions has begun. Models of the three large galleries have been made and the work has proceeded to the designing of exhibition cases. The shop is being fitted out and it is expected that much work can be done within the building. Our hope is to inaugurate the new facility before the end of 1976.

The Department of Art History and Archaeology moved into the building in early August, occupying the entire first floor and about one-third of the ground floor. Classes have been held in the new quarters since late August, at first with considerable competition from the builders. The casts of Greek and Roman sculpture were moved from 325 Jesse Hall, where most of them had been for sixty-five or seventy years, to the largest gallery on the first floor. The move was carried out with skill by Belger Cartage Service of Kansas City,



Casts of ancient sculpture being removed from the third floor of Jesse Hall, using a crane.

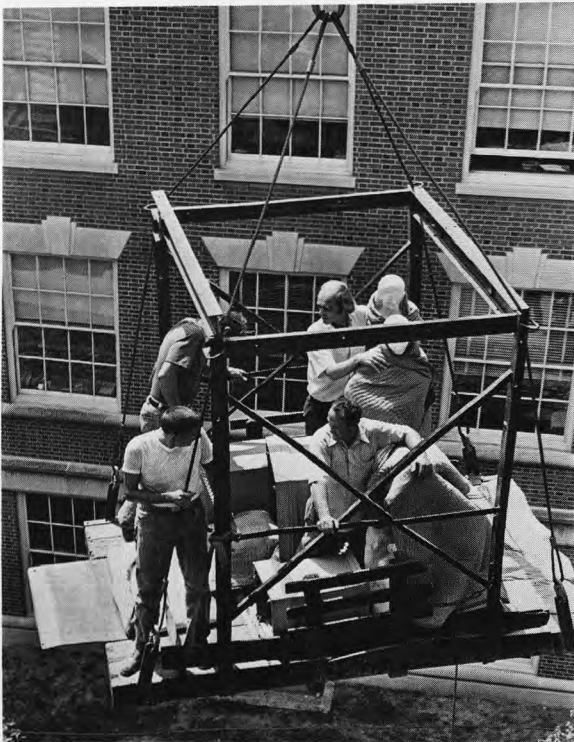
supervised by Richard Baumann, our Curator of Renaissance and Modern Art. He is also responsible for the new arrangement of the casts in the gallery with the help of the Museum Assistants. This handsome new exhibit has received much acclaim and is in constant use by both art historians and artists. The inauguration of the departmental quarters was celebrated in October with a short assembly devoted to the history of the Department, followed by a reception and tour of the building. All agree that this is now one of the show places on the campus.

Staff expansion, coincident with the move to larger quarters, has proceeded according to plan, with the addition this year of Jeffrey B. Wilcox as Associate Curator of Exhibits. He is being assisted in designing the galleries by Roger E. Fritz of the Department of Art. The addition of a conservator to direct our laboratory is planned for next year. Dr. Jane

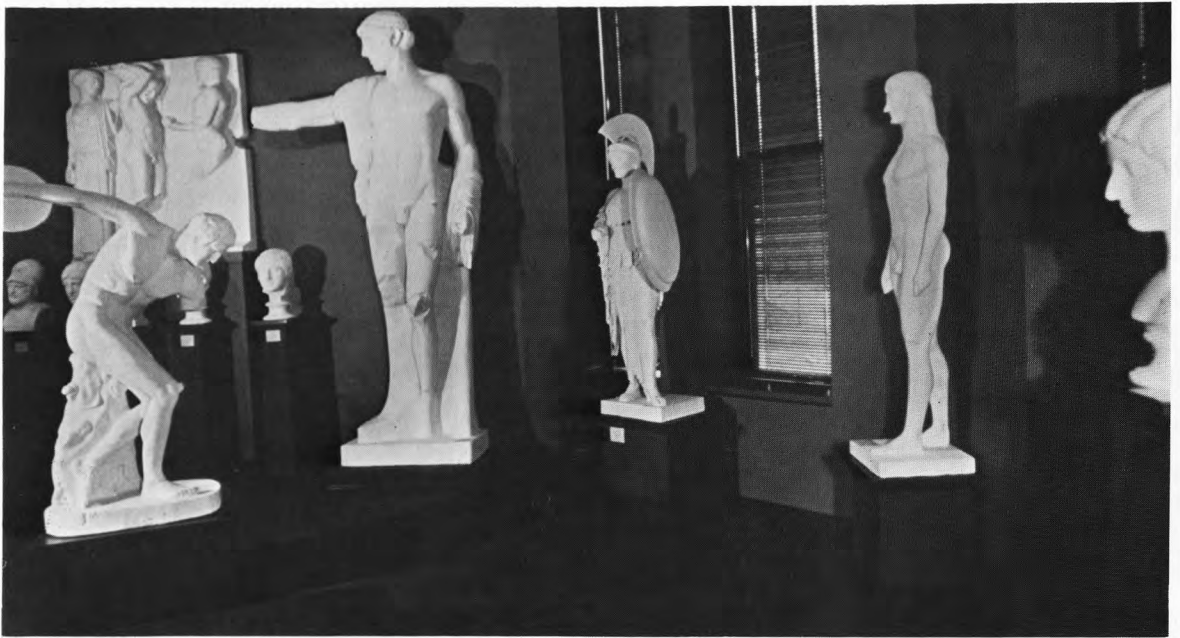
C. Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, is on leave this year and her place is being taken by Dr. David F. Grose.

The 224 objects accessioned during 1974 retain the variety that has marked the collections through the years. We have tried, through illustrations on the following pages, to emphasize both the range and the high quality of the additions, which include both gifts and purchases. The total of inventoried objects in our collections is now about six thousand, three times the number mentioned in the first issue of MUSE in 1967. The collections have developed great strengths in certain areas during these eight years and, thanks to the wide circulation of MUSE, the reputation of the Museum has been greatly enhanced. This is very likely the cause of the phenomenal rise in loans to other museums during the past year. Our very rich Palestinian collections have accounted for the greatest number of loaned objects but, in general, the loans have been as varied as the collections themselves.

The great need for funds for remodeling the old Chemistry building and installing the Museum has compelled us to concentrate on fund-raising during 1975, and our efforts have met with considerable success. It is a particular pleasure to acknowledge a grant of \$30,000 from the Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee of the University of Missouri-Columbia. Serving the students of the Columbia campus has always been our first aim and it is most encouraging to have concrete evidence of their appreciation of our efforts. Their contribution has also served to match a grant of the same amount from the National Endowment for the Arts: this is intended for installation of the Museum. While the students have been our main focus, the people of Columbia and Central Missouri have never been far behind in our planning. It is, therefore, most encouraging to acknowledge a grant of \$10,000 from the newly created Boone County Community Trust. The state-wide role of the Museum is indicated by a grant from the Mission Fund of Kansas City, while a gift from Sir Ellis and Lady Waterhouse of Oxford, England, indicates our international role. We wish, further, to acknowledge gifts of money



"Cage" holding casts as they were lowered.



View showing some of the sculptures placed in the new cast gallery.

from Dr. and Mrs. William D. Curtis of Washington, D.C., from Mr. and Mrs. Leland Hazard of Pittsburgh, from Mrs. Robert B. Mayer of Chicago, from Mr. and Mrs. A. Perry Philips of Columbia and from Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sherfese of Wichita Falls, Texas.

This year the Director was not able to spend any time in Jerusalem working on the material from the Tel Anafa Excavations; it was imperative to remain in Columbia to see through to completion the remodeling of our new building. Several members of the staff, however, spent all or part of the summer in Jerusalem, and research toward the publication of the site is progressing. An exhibition comprising the large group of finds from Tel Anafa that was brought to Columbia in 1974 was mounted and shown for half the year. Work continues as well on publication of our earlier excavation at Jalame, near Haifa.

A signal honor for the Museum was the naming of the Director as a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Dr. Jane C. Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, was awarded a fellowship by the National Endow-

ment for the Arts in support of her work in Greece during the year 1975-76. Mrs. Sarla D. Nagar, Associate Curator of South Asian Art, has received a grant, also from the National Endowment for the Arts, to support her study of the folk art of India in American museums.

With the new quarters almost ready for occupancy—we are already moving to them—we must now focus all our attention on the plans for the exhibition galleries and on securing the funds to carry them out. While we have raised about \$75,000, we still need twice that amount for the exhibitions. It is to the people of Columbia and Central Missouri that we address our plea, for they will benefit most from the new Museum. We need not only their immediate support to finish the job at hand, but their continued support to make the Museum a vital part of their cultural life. With this aim, we plan to found Museum Associates, an organization of friends of the Museum, early in 1976, and the participation of everyone is invited.

SAUL S. WEINBERG
Director

ACQUISITIONS 1974

OCEANIC ART

New Guinea

Ironwood baton surmounted by small carved figure (219*), from Trobriand Islands, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Milton Gross.

AFRICAN ART

Wood: sculpture representing the female of the Primordial Couple carrying a small figure in front and back, seated on *imago mundi* stool supported by four figures (50), Dogon tribe, West Sudan, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Werner Muensterberger.

Three-legged stool with narrow saddle seat and long back rest (220), Lobi tribe, Upper Volta; standing female statuette with beads around knees and ankles (221), Agni tribe, Ivory Coast; heddle-pulley in female form with incised designs (222), Bambara tribe, West Sudan; all the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Milton Gross.

Painted mask with scarification marks, bird perched on top (203), Guro tribe, Ivory Coast; figure of Gbekre, the baboon god, raising a bowl to his lips (204), Baule tribe, Ivory Coast; composite figure with head and wings of bird, human legs and feet, incised decoration (205), Cameroon; all the gift of Mr. Allan Gerdau.

All the following objects from the Bakuba tribe, Congo region, are the gift of Mr. Peter Marks:

Textiles: raffia embroidered in stem stitch and cut pile (*musese*), bar and chevron design (215); raffia embroidered in stem stitch and cut pile (216); raffia embroidered in stem stitch, design of interlocking diamonds (217); raffia embroidered in stem stitch and pile in alternating cruciform and barred stripe design (218).

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN ART

Guatemala

Two ceramic vases: one cylindrical with two painted figures, a band of glyphs above (198), the other a bowl with polychrome glyphs in a central band (199); both Maya, Late Classic, A.D. 600-900, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Justin Kerr.

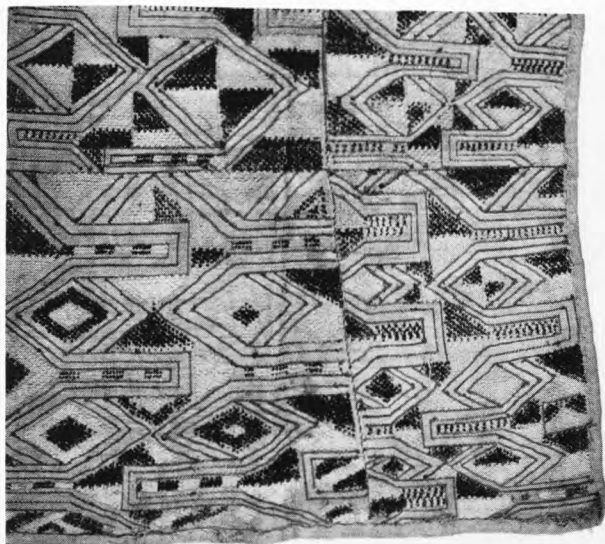
Mexico

Terracotta urn in the form of a seated goddess with serpent mask (200), from Oaxaca, Monte Alban II, 300 B.C.-A.D. 100; mold-made terracotta figure of a standing woman with jewelry and geometric designs in relief on garments (201), from Vera Cruz, Nopiloo II Mayoid, A.D. 600-750; both the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Justin Kerr.



Left: wooden ancestor figure with sacrificial patina, Dogon tribe, West Sudan, Africa (50) H. 93 cm. Right: painted wooden mask, Guro tribe, Ivory Coast, Africa (203) H. 40 cm.

*The numbers in parentheses are museum accession numbers and normally are given in full, as 74.219.



Raffia textile embroidered in stem stitch and cut pile (musese), Bashobwe sub-tribe of Bakuba tribe, Congo region, Africa (216) 70 x 60 cm. (a portion is illustrated).

Extended drawing of the painted figures and glyphs on a cylindrical vase from Guatemala, Maya, A.B. 600-900 (198) H. 18.6 cm. Drawing by John Huffstot.



Gold 20-yen coin of Japan, 1911 (51) Diam. 2.9 cm.

FAR EASTERN ART

China

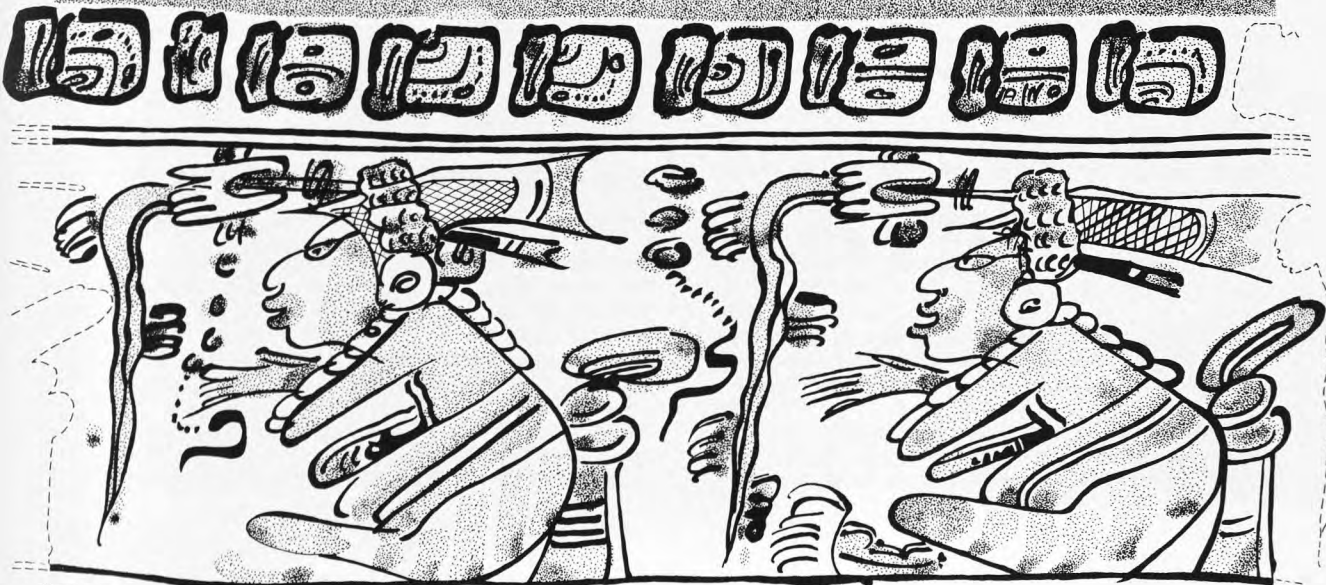
Ceramics: seventy-four fragments of porcelain vessels of the Sung, Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties, including Northern Celadon, Lung Ch'üan ware and underglaze blue and white ware (214), from excavations at Füstat, Egypt, from the American Research Center in Egypt.

Japan

All the following objects are the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir:

Bronze tsukas: circular, with dragon in relief on each side (82), 18th c.; quatrefoil, with relief design of cranes and foliage (83), 18th c.; oval, with scalloped edge, clouds in low relief on each side (84). Iron tsukas: oval, with incised rays emanating from center (85); circular, with relief representation of coins (86). Circular bronze mirror with handle, incised stylized foliage in center, inscription at the side (87); another with long handle, relief of birds flying over cherry blossoms, and inscription (88).

Coins: gold 20 yen, 1911 (51); gold *ni-bu ban kin*, 1860 (57); base gold *ni-bu ban kin*, 1860 (58); sixteen silver coins, 19th and 20th c. (52-56, 64-73, 81); copper coin, 1881 (59); four nickel coins, 1963-65 (60-63).





Left: Slate relief showing a balcony scene. Sanghao, India, Gandharan style, Kushan period, 2nd-4th c. (130) H. 31 cm.

Opposite page:

Left: black painted jug from Yortan, Anatolia. Early Bronze Age (92) H. 19.8 cm. Right: faience alabastron with human figures in relief. Egypt, Ptolemaic period (48) H. 26.5 cm.

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ART

India

Stone: slate relief showing Buddha seated in *dharmacakra mudra* within a small domed shrine (202), Peshawar, late 4th c., gift of Mr. Alan D. Wolfe.

All the following Gandharan sculptures of the second century are the gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg: schist pilaster in high relief surmounted by a Corinthian capital, showing the Naga king Nanda with a begging bowl (126), from Sanghao; schist relief showing Garuda (eagle) with three human victims at his feet (127); schist relief panel from circular base of a stupa, showing two scenes from Buddha's life (128), from Sikri; schist relief panel from circular base of a stupa with a scene from the life of Buddha (129), from Sikri; slate relief of balcony scene, representing King Prasenjit with his two wives (130), from Sanghao.

Bronze plaque with figure of Virabhadra and his attributes in relief (47), from Maharashtra, 17th c., gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Lazarnick.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EASTERN ART

Anatolia

Ceramics: twelve vessels from Yortan, Early Bronze Age, 3rd millennium B.C., as follows—spouted jug with white painted chevrons on polished red slip (89); spouted jug with burnished red slip (90); globular jug with burnished black slip and painted white chevrons (91); three-footed jug with three knobs on shoulder, black slip and painted white design on body (92); four-footed jar with gray-black surface, zone of two lugs and two knobs separated by white-filled incisions (93); spouted jug with several protuberances on neck, red polished surface (94); spouted,

ACQUISITIONS

1974



three-footed jug with polished black surface, incised white-filled design on body (95); spouted, three-footed jug somewhat like preceding (96); four-footed double jar, polished black, with incised geometric design (97); spouted, three-footed jug, red-slipped, with doughnut-shaped body (98); three-legged zoomorphic spouted jug with traces of white paint (99); spouted jug with relief decoration on body (100).

Egypt

Faience: alabastron, biconical, with human figures in relief and three zones of linear decoration (48), Ptolemaic, 304-30 B.C.

The following glass and ceramic objects were received from excavations at Fustat (Old Cairo), carried out by the American Research Center in Egypt.

Glass: fragments of large plate, colorless with yellow tinge, engraved with ellipses and chevrons (150), 8th or 9th c.; blue-green mold-blown bowl, honeycomb pattern



with cross on bottom (151), 8th c.; purple weight with stamped six-pointed star (223), Fatimid, 11th or 12th c.; 140 fragments of objects including: three purple beads with multicolored decoration (167), 10th or 11th c.; fragmentary vessel in form of bird, purple with white decoration (166), 9th or 10th c.; five purple bottles (187.2-6), 10th or 11th c.; one green-blue bottle (187.1), 10th or 11th c.; fragment of flask neck with band of Kufic in greenish-yellow luster (179), 9th or 10th c.; numerous fragments of cups, bowls and other vessels in purple, green, green-blue, blue, yellow, light brown and colorless fabrics, with various kinds of decoration: marvering, molding, enamel and gilding, abrading, wheel-cutting, scratching and trailing (152-165, 168-172, 174-178, 180-186, 188, 189, 224), 8th-14th c.

Rock crystal, four fragments (173), 10th or 11th c.

Ceramics: fragmentary lead-glazed lamps, one with stamped design (209.1), 7th or 8th c.; one pale green with pinched rim, on ring foot (209.2), 11th c.; one with polychrome painting on white slip with luster overglaze (209.3), 11th c.; one with applied textured design and green glaze (209.4), ca. 13th c.; one with light turquoise glaze (209.5), 11th or 12th c. Fragmentary water bottle with pierced filter (209.6), 10th c.; 120 fragments of bowls, cups and other vessels including luster ware from Samarra, 9th and 10th c.; luster ware, Fatimid, 11th and 12th c.; underglaze blue, black and white ware with floral and foliate designs, 13th and 14th c.; black and turquoise ware with designs of birds and foliage, 13th and 14th c.; blue, black and white ware with Kufic designs, 13th and 14th c.; sgraffito ware, Mamluk period, 14th and 15th c.; polychrome ware from Iznik and Kutahya, 16th-18th c. (206, 210-213).

Iran

Silver: matching ladle and spoon, each handle terminating in a snake head (131 a,b), Sasanian period, 224-642.

Iraq

All the following ceramics were acquired by exchange with the British Museum: bevel-rimmed bowl of coarse ware (14), probably from Brak, Late Prehistoric—Early Dynastic, ca. 3200 B.C.; jar with beveled rim and small lug (16), from Ur, Jemdat Nasr—ED I, 3100-2900 B.C.; jar painted with red designs in four zones (15), from Chagar Bazar, ED, 2800-2300 B.C.; boat-shaped vessel (18), from Ur, ED, 2800-2300 B.C.; fruit stand with incised geometric decoration around base (19), from Ur, ED III; jar with ridged shoulder and crescent symbol over three strokes (17), from Ur, Agade period, ED III; bowl with offset rim (22), from Ur, 2nd millennium B.C.; globular lamp with long spout (20), Assyrian period, 14th-11th c. B.C.; lamp with chain design in relief (21), early Islamic, 7th-8th c.

Palestine

Lamp of saucer type, rim pinched to form spout (103), Hellenistic period.

Syria

Glass molded bowl, pale green with horizontal wheel-cut grooves inside, raised ridge and central boss on bottom (49), 2nd c. B.C.

ACQUISITIONS 1974



Steatite foot amulet with incised design, Crete, Early Minoan III (144) L. 5.7 cm.



Silver and gilt repoussé communion bowl, 14th or 15th c. (1) Diam. 13.1 cm.

Bone figurines from Northern Syria, 3rd-5th c. (from left: 132, 138, 135) H. 12.9, 11.6, 11.7 cm.



Lead cover for container of theriac, medieval period (39) Diam. 2.7 cm.



GREEK, ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN ART

Greek

Steatite amulet in shape of a foot, sole with incised branch (144), from Crete, Early Minoan III, ca. 2000 B.C.

Ceramics: Tyrrhenian amphora (fragmentary) by the Timiades Painter, two bands of decoration—on one side battle of Greeks and Amazons, on the other sirens flanking padded dancers, on both sides panthers and rams in the lower zone (101), Attic black-figure, 570 B.C. Relief plaque with satyr riding a donkey, holding cornucopia and thyrsus, accompanied by two other satyrs, one with kantharos and the other playing the double flute (208), probably from Tarentum, Hellenistic period.

Bronze: trefoil oenochoe with handle ending in female heads at attachment points (106), 5th c. B.C. Ladle with long handle ending in head of a swan (6), Hellenistic

period, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Werner Muensterberger.
Bronze coin of Miletus (2), 350-334 B.C.

Roman

Marble portrait head of the Empress Crispina (145), ca. 180 (see article in this issue, pp. 21-24).

Bronze: two bowls in shape of scallop shells, one with base (141, 142), globular oil flask with bronze stopper and short chain (143); all ca. 1st c. Fibula, silvered, with inlaid red and green enamel triangles (123), 3rd or 4th c.; three buckles, one with traces of gilding (114, 117, 121).

Ceramics: plate of red clay, six-pointed star and clover leaves stamped in tondo (104), from Palestine, 3rd-4th c.; globular jug with wheel-ridging around body (102), probably from Palestine, 1st-2nd c.

Glass: blown flask, deep purple with marvered white stripes (107), 1st c.; light purple blown unguentarium with

Procession of Soldiers on Horseback, attributed to Giulio Romano, Italian, 1499-1546 (197) 27 x 40 cm.



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Capture of the Nuremberg Patrician Hieronymus Baumgarten, Hans Sebald Lautensack, German, 1524-1561/6 (13) 17 x 25.5 cm.

two thin vertical handles and trailed decoration (108), 3rd c.; mold-blown globular yellow jug with blue-green handle and thread around lip, spiral ribbing and circles on body (110), 4th c.; blue weight with head of Medusa in relief (149), 4th or 5th c.; finger ring, colorless with spiral yellow threads (109); all the above probably from Palestine.

Nine bone carvings in the form of human figures, all but one female with movable arms (preserved only in one case), some with traces of black paint, one male *togatus* (132-140), from northern Syria, 3rd-5th c.; all the gift of Ancell Enterprises.

Coins: bronze coin of Maxentius (3), A.D. 306-312; bronze of Constantius Gallus (4), A.D. 351-354; bronze of Theodosius I (5), A.D. 388-392.

Byzantine

Silver and gilt eucharistic bowl in repoussée technique representing the communion of the Apostles, surrounded by a band of foliage with symbols of the Evangelists, inscriptions around the central medallion and on the rim (1), 14th or 15th c., probably from Dalmatia; silver-plated spoon with inscription on oval bowl (147), 5th c. (?).

Bronze: reliquary cross with incised figures and inscriptions, on one side the archangel Michael, on the other a saint (146), 7th c.; two buckles with Maltese crosses on the plates (111, 115), 5th c. (?).

Ceramic incense burner, ribbed herringbone pattern impressed on body (105), from Palestine, 5th or 6th c.

Bone: toggle button with pierced attachment (125); button or spindle whorl with incised pattern of ducks and circles (124).

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ART

Migration Period

Silver buckle, cast, with hinged plate, elaborate decoration (148), 6th or 7th c.

Bronze buckles of various types, seven in all, some with hinged plates, others solid (112, 113, 116, 118-120, 122), 6th-10th c.

Medieval Period

All the following objects are the gift of Mr. George Zacos.

Lead: seal of church dignitary, bust of bearded man surrounded by Greek inscription and border of foliage, the date 1459 in the exergue (40); circular covers for containers of the medicine *theriac*, all with figures and inscriptions in relief, as follows: three with garlanded male head in profile and Lion of St. Mark in the field (23-25); ten with a double-headed eagle facing front, some with Lion in field (28-37); two with figure of ostrich and Lion in field (26, 27); one with bust of pilgrim wearing hat and carrying staff (39); one with unclear symbol (38); all the above from Venice; five small oval containers and one oval lid with foliage in relief (41-46).

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ART

Renaissance to 1800

Drawings: Attributed to Giulio Romano, Italian, 1499-1546, *Procession of Soldiers on Horseback*, pen and ink wash, gift of Prof. and Mrs. Saul S. Weinberg (197). Attributed to Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo, Italian, 1727-1804, *Portrait of Sebastiano Ricci*, pen and ink wash (194).

Graphics: Hans Sebald Lautensack, German, 1524-1561/66, *The Capture of the Nuremberg Patrician Hieronymus Baumgarten*, dated 1555, etching (13). Johann Elias Ridinger, German, 1698-1767, *Der Auer Ochse* from the series *Die von verschiedenen Arthen der Hunden behaetzte Jagtbare Thiere*, dated 1761, engraving (191).

1800 to the Present

Paintings: Anonymous, *Landscape with Hunter*, oil on canvas (42 cm. x 62.5 cm.) American, mid-19th c., gift of Mrs. Seymour J. Schoenfeld (207).

Graphics: Arthur B. Davies, American, 1869-1928, *Pompeian Veil*, ca. 1920, hand-colored aquatint etching (10). Sheigla Hartman, American contemporary, *Muddy Waters*, 1973, engraving, gift of the artist (9); also *Au Bout de Chemin*, 1973, engraving (8) and *Cinget*, 1973, etching (7). Stanley William Hayter, English contemporary, *Perseides*, 1958, mixed-intaglio (192). Augustus John, English, 1878-1961,

Woman Gathering Sticks, etching and drypoint (195). Kaethe Kollwitz, German, 1876-1945, *Beim Arzt*, 1920, and *Der Agitationsredner*, 1927, both lithographs (193, 11). Edouard Vuillard, French, 1858-1940, *Une Galerie au Gymnase*, 1900, lithograph (196). Henry Wolf, American, 1852-1916, *Portrait of Jean Leon Gérôme*, 1898, wood engraving (190). Anders Zorn, Swedish, 1860-1920, *Ols Maria*, 1919, etching (12).

The following coins are the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir: one gold coin, 1880 (74), from the United States of America; five gold coins: one dated 1893 (79), two dated 1966 (75, 76), two dated 1967 (77, 78), all from Great Britain; one gold coin, 1945 (80), from Mexico.

Portrait of Sebastiano Ricci, by Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo (?), Italian, 1727-1804 (194) 18 x 11.3 cm.





EXHIBITIONS AND LOANS

Eight special exhibits were shown at the Museum late in 1974 and in the first half of 1975.

Turn-of-the-Century Poster Art: twenty-six examples from a portfolio of promotional posters by the firm of G. Ricordi, Milan, Italy.

The Art of Gandhara: twelve stone reliefs and small carvings from India and West Pakistan.

Masks and Images, African and Oceanic Art: pieces selected from the Museum's large collections of tribal art.

Echoes from the East, China and Japan: Japanese wood-block prints and objects from China dating from 1500 B.C. to the nineteenth century, including loans from Mrs. David D. McLorn, Mrs. Clarence M. Jenni, Mr. James Hourigan and Prof. and Mrs. Arthur Witt, Jr., all of Missouri.

Tel Anafa in Upper Galilee, Israel: a display of objects from five years of excavation by the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

Thomas Hart Benton Memorial Exhibit: a painting and two drawings presented by Prof. Frederick Shane in memory of Mr. Benton.

American Prints and Paintings of the Early Twentieth Century: the Museum's first Bicentennial exhibit.

Two Silver Casters made by Paul Revere, the gift of Missouri alumnus Dr. William D. Curtis.

The Museum provided the following loans for exhibits to other institutions: three sculptures to Utah Museum of Fine Arts, University of Utah, for *Small Paintings and Sculpture of India*; thirteen small ancient Greek objects to the University Art Museum, University of California, Berkeley, for *Echoes from Olympus*; casts of eight coins and two medallions to Musée de l'État, Luxembourg; the painting "River Scene with Castle" by Jan Van Goyen to the Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, Florida, and to the High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, for *Dutch Life in the Golden Century*; 149 Palestinian vases, bronzes and coins to the Spertus Museum of Judaica, Chicago; twenty-six ancient lamps and six other small objects from the Near East to the Elvehjem Art Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison for *The Book and the Spade*; 141 ancient Palestinian artifacts and a portfolio of twenty-three prints by Gershon Knispel to *Israel Expo '75*, St. Louis; collection of forty turn-of-the-century posters to Missouri Council on the Arts for a traveling exhibition to Missouri schools.

Pompeian Veil, by Arthur B. Davies, *American*, 1869-1928
(10) 30.2 x 11.8 cm.

The Muses

on Roman Game Counters



Euterpe (No. 3 in text), enlarged.

An interesting if modest group of ancient objects is that of game counters made of ivory or bone, bearing representations of various kinds on the obverse and usually an inscription on the reverse. In a previous article¹ I have summarized the history of these counters as we know it today, mainly thanks to the studies of Rostovtzeff in 1904 and 1905.² My collection of the material has increased only slightly in the last few years, and not in essential points. These counters have Greek and Roman numerals on the reverse, from I to XV, and the inscriptions, where they exist, identify the representation on the obverse. They are all roughly the same size (see Figs. 1-11, reproduced in actual size). The representations on the obverse can be classified in a number of groups such as gods, goddesses and heroes, portraits of rulers, of athletes, philosophers and poets (for example, Menander), characters of Comedy—slaves and *hetairai*, some rendered as caricatures—theater masks, birds, quadrupeds, fishes, shellfish, zodiac signs, inanimate objects such as vases, baskets and fruit, a most interesting series of buildings representing various districts and landmarks of the city of Alexandria and the Nile Delta.

It is unfortunate that our knowledge of ancient games is not sufficient for us to determine the nature of the game for which these counters were used. Literary sources and ar-

chaeological evidence cannot be coordinated here. Those games about which we know something from ancient literature cannot be related to the counters, and the surviving gaming boards are inappropriate for the rather complicated system of pictures and numerals which they present. The numerals on the reverses do not directly correspond to the representations on the obverses, that is, we find the same representations with different numbers. Thus we may assume, I think, that there were series of fifteen counters each for every subject shown on the obverse. In this case the objective of the game may have been to assemble certain combinations of counters, for example, fifteen counters with Zeus or Athena, or all divinities with number I, and so forth. A comparable game that comes to mind is the Chinese mahjong, where we also have numbered sets of representations (nine and four). These, according to the skill of the player, can be assembled in a variety of ways, which count more or less in reckoning the winnings.

A set of fifteen counters was found in a child's tomb in Kerch (Crimea) and published by Rostovtzeff in 1904.³ Unfortunately it does not shed much light on these matters, apart from the fact that it shows that fifteen pieces made one set. Among these counters from Kerch we have nine deities, one ruler, one Alexandrian "district," two representations of athletic com-



1



2



3



4



5



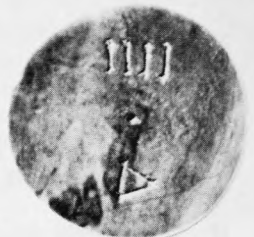
6



7



8





9



10



11

petitions and two male portraits. The collection of a series of I-XV with a variety of obverses might have been the easiest achievement in this game.

The only almost complete series from I-XV that I have been able to assemble is one that may have been used to count up the winnings. The obverses show hands denoting the numerals on the reverses in the position known also from medieval manuscripts illustrating the finger calculus.⁴

THE MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY of the University of Missouri possesses a fine game counter of bone featuring the Muse Euterpe.⁵ It belongs to a group within the category of divinities and heroes; this certainly must have originally contained all the nine Muses. At present only four Muses identified by inscriptions are known to me, to which may be added some uninscribed ones showing similar types and one with two Muses but inscribed "Nine Muses."

1. Clio (Fig. 1). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, A19845-6/212. Obverse: draped female bust facing right. No attribute. Reverse: I/KAEIΩ/A.

2. Clio (Fig. 2). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, A19847-8/211. Piece broken off. Obverse: draped female bust facing right, almost identical to No. 1. Reverse: numerals I/K. (No name). The bust on the obverse is so similar to No. 1 that I suggest it is also a rendering of Clio.

3. Euterpe (Fig. 3). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Acc. No. 65. 148. Obverse: torso-length female bust facing left. Reverse: II/EΥΤΕΡΠΗ/B. The figure is draped in a mantle which has slipped off the shoulders. Euterpe's hair is brushed back in fairly straight locks bound with a narrow fillet and gathered into a small knot at the nape of her neck. A corkscrew lock hangs down to her shoulder. She holds a double flute (*tibiae*) in her left hand.

4. Euterpe (Fig. 4). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, A19849-50/196. Obverse: torso-length female bust facing right. Reverse: II/EΥΤΕΡΠΗ/B. Euterpe wears a mantle that

covers only her left shoulder. Her hair is arranged like that of No. 3, but there is no fillet. She holds the double flute in her left hand, rather like a scepter.

5. Melpomene (Fig. 5). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, A19947-48/ Exp. LXXXI. Obverse: torso-length female bust facing right. Reverse: III/ΜΕΛΠΙΟΜΕΝΗ/Δ. She wears a short-sleeved chiton and a mantle fastened on her right shoulder by a circular clasp. Melpomene's hair style is similar to that of Euterpe, but the long corkscrew lock is lacking. She is playing the lyre.

6. Melpomene (Fig. 6). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, A19935-36/ Exp. LXXXI 53 no. Obverse: torso-length female bust facing right. Reverse: IIII/ΜΕΛΠΙΟΜΕΝΗ/Δ. She wears a sleeved chiton and a himation; the arrangement of the latter is not quite clear. Melpomene's hair style is similar to that of the other Muses, with long locks falling onto the shoulder. A tragic mask faces her.

7. Erato (Fig. 7). London, British Museum. Acc. No. 59/3-1/46. Photo Warburg Institute, London (Parker-Ross). Obverse: torso-length female bust facing right. Reverse: VI/ΕΡΑΤΩ/Ε Erato wears a chiton buttoned at the sleeves. Her coiffure is like that of the other Muses, including the locks falling onto the shoulder. In front of her is an object that looks like a folded scroll. Adrien Blanchet, *Rev. arch.* 13 (1889) 238, no. 11. F. Wieseler, *Commentatio de tesseris eburneis osseisque theatralibus*, Programm Universitaet Goettingen 1866-1867, I, 8. Georg Kaibel (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae* XIV, 2414, 22. Christian Huelsen, *Roemische Mitteilungen* 11 (1896) 242, no. 37.

8. Erato ? (Fig. 8). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Exp. LXXXI. Obverse: torso-length female bust facing right. Reverse: IIII/Δ. The figure is draped like No. 7. Her hair style is similar, but there is no "roll" framing the forehead and the bun at the back is larger and sits higher. The object in front of her seems to be a kind of *scrinium* (book-box); at any rate it is box-like. It seems fairly certain that the figure is supposed to represent one of the Muses, but whether she really is Erato cannot be ascertained.

9. Erato ? (Fig. 9). Munich, Collection

Overbeck. Photo of plaster cast provided by the owner. Obverse: torso-length female bust facing right. Reverse: VII/Z. The woman's hair style is almost identical to that of No. 7 but her dress is different: she wears an ample mantle over her chiton. Her right hand emerges from the folds of the mantle, her index and middle fingers pointing to the object in front of her which, like that on No. 7, looks like a folded scroll. It is mainly on account of the similarity to Erato No. 7 that I suggest this is also the same Muse.

10. Erato ? (Fig. 10). Collection Max Crépy, Marcq-en-Baroeuil (Nord), near Lille. Photos Studio Maisisy, Lille. Obverse: torso-length female bust facing left. Reverse: VII/ΕΡΩΣ/Η. The figure is draped in a chiton and perhaps a himation, part of which may be seen on the right shoulder. The lady wears her hair in two rows of curls framing the cheek, behind these a flat fillet, and on the top and back of the head the hair is brushed in fairly straight strands. A narrow fillet encircles the curl above the forehead. Her right hand is raised, with the index finger laid on the lower lip in a gesture of thoughtfulness such as we also see in the figure of Polyhymnia in the fresco from Herculaneum.⁶ The inscription "Eros" is certainly an error, for there is no doubt that the bust is that of a woman. There is, of course, no proof for my suggestion that Eros is a mistake for Erato.

11. The Nine Muses (Figs. 11, 14). London, British Museum. Photos Warburg Institute, London (Parker-Ross). Obverse: three-quarter figures of two women. Reverse: VI/ΜΟΥΣΑΙ/Θ/Δ. Both are draped in sleeveless chitons, that of the right-hand one belted below the breast, and himatia. The himation of the Muse at the left leaves the right breast uncovered, while that of the Muse at the right is draped only around the hips. The Muse at the left stands with her right arm akimbo and her left hanging awkwardly by her side, partly merging with the right arm of her companion. Her head is seen in profile. Her hair is parted in the center and brushed in gentle waves to the sides and the back, where it seems to be gathered in a loose knot. The other Muse is seated, her chest seen *en face*, the lower part of her body being turned slightly to her right and her head slightly to her



12. The denarii of Q. Pomponius Musa (62 B.C.), showing head of Apollo on the obverses, the Nine Muses on the reverses.



13. Apollo Musagetes on bone counters. Left: a) Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. Right: b) Collection Blanchet.

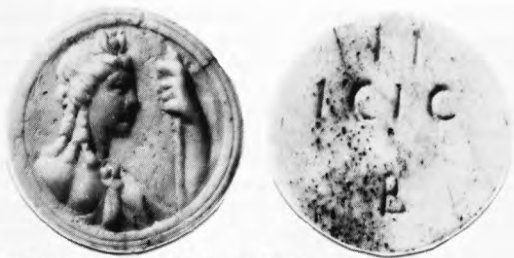
left. Her hair style is the same as her companion's. She holds in her left arm a stringed instrument, partly damaged, which may be a *kithara*. This could identify her as Erato. The Muse at the left has no attribute. She might be Calliope, who is frequently rendered without an attribute, but in the absence of identifying inscriptions there can be no certainty. Blanchet, *Rev. arch.* 13 (1889) 369, no. 22. Wieseler, *op. cit.*, 7-8. John O. Westwood, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum* (London 1876) 2. Kaibel, *op. cit.*, 2414, 41. Huelsen, *Roem. Mitt.* 11 (1896) 249, no. 69. *Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, British Museum (London 1908) 197, fig. 206; 3rd edition (London 1929) 203, fig. 223.



14. The Nine Muses (No. 11) enlarged to show details.

THERE DOES NOT SEEM to have been a canonical set of the Nine Muses with firmly defined functions and set attributes.⁷ Our game counters with inscribed names may illustrate this. Both specimens of Euterpe have as an attribute the double flute, which belongs to her in the standard versions of the series of Nine Muses. Melpomene, however, appears in two ways, once confronting a tragic mask (No. 6), which is her attribute in the standard series; on the other specimen (No. 5) she has a lyre, which is quite unusual. Melpomene appears with a number of attributes such as the double flute, a harp or a branch.⁸ Erato (No. 7) seems to have as her attribute a scroll, which does not normally belong to her but to Clio, who in our series (No. 1) has no attribute at all.

Among the fairly numerous series of all the Muses that have come down to us from Hellenistic to late Roman times there is one which seems to me of particular importance in the present context, since it also appears on small objects, that is, on the *denarii* of Q. Pomponius Musa (known only from these coins), minted in 62 B.C., fifty or sixty years before our counters were made.⁹ Since these coins are better known to numismatists than to art historians, the set is illustrated here with one specimen for each Muse (Fig. 12). The head of Apollo is on each obverse, and on the reverses are all the Muses, rendered as standing figures. The identification can be made only by comparison with other cycles of the Muses. The drapery of the Missouri Euterpe and the seated Muse of counter No. 11 may be compared with the figure of Terpsichore with the kithara on the coins (Fig. 12, g), and the drapery of the standing Muse of No. 11 is not unlike that of Melpomene on the coins (Fig. 12, c).



15. Counter showing the bust of Isis.

The Pomponius Musa series has as a tenth type Hercules Musarum (Fig. 12, k). With regard to the game counters, we have to assume that originally all the nine Muses were represented. Froehner has suggested that the nine Muses were supplemented by six poets to make up a set of fifteen.¹⁰ This seems unlikely, since the poets belong to the groups of human celebrities. Among the counters with deities we have two examples of Apollo Musagetes (Fig. 13) which might well belong to the series of the Muses,¹¹ as Hercules Musarum belongs to the set of the Pomponius Musa denarii. Athena frequently appears with Apollo on sarcophagi showing the Muses.¹² But perhaps we do not have to look for supplements to our series if we are right in assuming that each type existed with numbers ranging from I to XV.

With regard to artistic quality, most of our game counters are rather modest products. But there are exceptions, and to these belongs the Euterpe in Missouri. A comparison with the Paris Euterpe in particular (Fig. 4) makes this quite clear. The pose and the rendering of the head are very graceful and the carving of the drapery shows some plasticity. The rendering of the arms is a little awkward, as in nearly all the other specimens. Among the game counters known to me there are especially two which are stylistically comparable to the Missouri Euterpe—the two Muses on the counter in London (No. 11, Fig. 14) and a counter in Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, with a bust of Isis (Fig. 15).¹³ All three pieces show a similar rendering of the head and a similar plastic treatment of the body and the drapery. Whereas the London Muses share with Euterpe the awkward treatment of the arms, the Paris Isis is an exception. She holds a scepter in her left

hand in a pose very like that of Olympias on the contorniates and elsewhere, a gesture based on Hellenistic models. Still another bone carving, which is probably not a game counter although it has the same shape, may be compared here. It is a small disk with a rather thick rim in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (Fig. 16).¹⁴ Represented in fairly high relief is a woman seated on rocks, playing the lyre or kithara. She wears a sleeveless chiton and a himation, one end of which is laid across her lap. Her long hair floats in the wind. Her pose shows the Hellenistic *contraposto*, with her head turned slightly to her right, the upper part of her body to her left, and the lower part turned again a little to her right. The plastic treatment of the body and the drapery is comparable to the Euterpe, the two London Muses and the Paris Isis. The head is rather rubbed, but seems to have been like the four heads mentioned. It is fairly certain that the woman on the Alexandria disk is meant to be Sappho on the Leucadian rock, just before her suicide.

As to the date of the counters, Rostovtzeff has shown conclusively, in my opinion, that the game for which they were used was invented in Alexandria in the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus,¹⁵ and since the last emperor appearing on some of the obverses is Nero, the period of production of these counters may be defined as between Julius Caesar and the end



16. Bone disk probably representing Sappho at Lesbos, about to leap into the sea.

of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.¹⁶ The Missouri Euterpe, the London Muses, the Paris Isis and the Alexandria Sappho are still so firmly rooted in the Hellenistic tradition that we may assume that they belong to the earliest phase of the game. The main importance of these little objects is, however, not in the field of art history but in that of cultural history. They provide additional evidence of the role of Hellenistic Alexandria in the shaping of the cultural background of Imperial Rome.

ELISABETH ALFÖLDI
University of Toronto

¹ The present article is No. II of "Studies in Roman Game Counters." I began to study these counters some years ago with the support of a grant from Canada Council. My first study was published under the title "The Finger Calculus in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages," in *Fruehmittelalterliche Studien* 5 (1971) 1-9, pls. 1-8. A third study is to be published in a *Beiheft zu Antike Kunst* in honor of Professor Hans Jucker (probably in 1976): "Ruler Portraits on Roman Game Counters from Alexandria." A further study, "Alexandriaca," will appear in *Chiron* 6 (1976). The collection of the material is now almost complete, and the corpus of Alexandrian game counters will eventually be published by the German Archaeological Institute. The photographs for the present article have been supplied by the museums, except when stated otherwise.

² Michael Rostovtzeff, "Tessères anciennes en os du sud de la Russie," *Bulletin de la Commission Impériale Archéologique* 10 (1904) 109-124, pls. 3, 4 (in Russian); I owe a German translation of the article to M. and Th. Kreifelts and M. Kovalenko. *Idem.*, "Interprétation des tessères en os," *Revue archéologique* 5 (1905) 110-124.

³ See note 2 above.

⁴ *Fruehmittelalterliche Studien* 5 (1971) 1-9.

⁵ Acc. No. 65.148. Chorn Memorial Fund. Diameter 3.6 cm., maximum thickness, 4 mm. Rim slightly damaged. Upper part, above the eye, broken and mended.

⁶ Max Wegner, *Die Musensarkophage (Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs Vol. 5, 3 [Berlin 1966])* Beilage 1. Cf. also the thoughtful pose of Polyhymnia on statues and on sarcophagi, *ibid.*, 109 f., Beilage 4-5.

⁷ On cycles of the Muses in general see most conveniently Wegner, *op. cit.*, 93 ff., and Klaus Parlasca, *Die roemischen Mosaiken Deutschlands (Roemisch-germanische Forschungen 23 [Berlin 1959])* 141 ff.

⁸ See Wegner, *op. cit.* The Herculeanum paintings (Wegner, *ibid.*, 96 ff., Beilagen 1-2) show clearly that at the time our counters were designed no uniformity existed in the iconography of the Muses.

⁹ See in general H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* 1 (London 1910) nos. 3602-3632; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London 1952) nos. 810-823. Cf. a set of nine types

of Muses and Hercules from the Collection Voirol, Muenzen und Medaillen 38 (Basel December 1968) nos. 182-191. Wegner, *op. cit.*, 94 ff. See also Andreas Alföldi, "Studien zur Zeitfolge der roemischen Republik," *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 36 (1954) 11 ff.; *idem.*, "Redeunt Saturnia Regna 5," *Chiron* 5 (1975), where the date 62 B.C. is established. The identifications are not certain, as Wegner, *loc. cit.*, has pointed out, but are given in the following list in the conventional manner: a) Clio, Grueber 3610-3611, Sydenham 813. Vatican 3074; b) Euterpe, Grueber 3613-3614, Sydenham 815. L. de Nicola; c) Melpomene, Grueber 3615-3616, Sydenham 816. Private Collection; d) Erato, Grueber 3612, Sydenham 814. Vatican 3073; e) Calliope, Grueber 3606-3609, Sydenham 811-812. L. de Nicola 016; f) Polyhymnia, Grueber 3617-3618, Sydenham 817-818. Vatican 3079; g) Terpsichore (with *kithara*), Grueber 3619-3623, esp. 3622 (pl. 45, 21), Sydenham 819-820, esp. 819 (pl. 23). L. de Nicola 023; h) Terpsichore (with lyre), Grueber 3619-3623, esp. 3619 (pl. 45, 20), Sydenham 819-820, esp. 819 a (pl. 23). Vatican 3077; i) Thalia, Grueber 3624-3627, Sydenham 821-822. Bern; j) Urania, Grueber 3628-3632, Sydenham 823. L. de Nicola; k) Hercules Musarum, Grueber 3602-3605, Sydenham 810. Bern. The obverses of a-j show heads with laurel wreaths facing right. The coiffure is female: hair brushed in gentle waves to the sides and back and gathered in a loose knot at the nape of the neck, not unlike that of our Muses but also known for Apollo. The attributes on the obverses behind the heads do not correspond in all cases to the attributes carried by the Muses on the reverses. The obverse of k has a different kind of head, with long corkscrew locks and encircled by a diadem tied above the forehead in a kind of Hercules knot. This is certainly also Apollo.

¹⁰ Wilhelm Froehner, *Collection August Dutuit* (Paris 1901) 151.

¹¹ a) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. X 440; see A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (Budapest 1943) pl. 60, 13. Obverse: head of Apollo with laurel wreath facing left; in front a lyre or *kithara*. Reverse: XIII/ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ/ΙΓ. b) Collection Blanchet, acquired at Rennes. Blanchet, *Rev. arch.* 13 (1889) 236, no. 5; Huelsen, *Roem. Mitt.* 11 (1896) 240, no. 11. Obverse: bust of Apollo with wreath and lyre facing right; reverse: X/ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ/Ι. The piece is here reproduced from an enlarged drawing in Blanchet's article, as I have been unable to locate it.

¹² See e.g., Wegner, *op. cit.*, 112 ff.

¹³ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Exp. LXXXI. Obverse: bust of Isis facing right, holding a scepter in her left hand. Reverse: II/ΙΣΙΣ/Β.

¹⁴ Inv. No. 10817. Diameter 3.5 cm. The photograph was kindly supplied by M. Riad. Dr. G. Grimm kindly checked the inventory in Alexandria for me (the piece itself being at the time inaccessible) and found no notes about the reverse. There is no precise provenience ("achat").

¹⁵ See above, note 2.

¹⁶ This date is further supported by the fact that a number of counters were found in Pompeii and Herculeanum (most of them now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples) and that one piece comes from Vindonissa, from a context that cannot be later than Tiberius.



1. *The Missouri Crispina.*

A Portrait of the Empress Crispina

Bruttia Crispina was the daughter of Lucius Fulvius Bruttius Praesens and she was married to the Roman emperor-designate Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus in A.D. 177 or 178.¹ In honor of the union the ruling emperor Marcus Aurelius gave a *congiarium*, or distribution of largess, to the people.²

Despite this promising beginning, the marriage was not a happy one, and Crispina was

exiled to Capreae (the island of Capri) and eventually executed there. The cause of her banishment was alleged to have been either adultery³ or plotting to overthrow the emperor in A.D. 182.⁴ Several inscriptions suggest, however, that she may have survived as the wife of Commodus as late as A.D. 187,⁵ but it is not likely that she lived much beyond this date. At any rate, the emperor's mistress during the last years



2. Above: *three-quarter views of the Missouri Crispina.*

3. Below: *rear and side views, showing a tenon for attachment of separately made bun.*





4. Coin of the Empress Crispina, A.D. 181/2. On the reverse Salus feeding a serpent before an altar.

5. Portrait of Crispina at a later time, showing a more matronly hair style. Capitoline Museum, Rome.



of his rule was a certain woman named Marcia.⁶

Only eleven portrait busts of this relatively obscure empress have been catalogued by Wegner (whose work is the main source for Antonine portraiture)⁷ and many of these are in poor condition or are of mediocre quality. A new addition to the list is the portrait shown in Figures 1-3.⁸

The head, of white marble, exhibits the characteristics typical of early portraits of Crispina, already well established from her coins (Fig. 4).⁹ Most distinctive is the hair styling, a variant of the melon-ribbed hair of Faustina the Younger and Lucilla, Commodus' sister. The large, high roll of hair which surrounds her forehead and continues over the ears to the nape of the neck is the principal trademark of her early portraits.¹⁰ On her coins one can see that this hair style was normally completed at the back by a large bun which was coiled into two or three circular braids. The bun is missing from the Missouri Crispina, but the back of the head has been flattened out and roughly chiseled away, leaving a tenon of marble to facilitate the attachment of the separately made bun (see Fig. 3).¹¹ Wegner asserts that the melon-ribbed hair style was worn by Faustina the Younger, Lucilla and Crispina in their younger years before these Augustae adopted a more matronly, conservative hair style, as shown in Figure 5.¹² Thus, on this basis, it is possible to suggest that the portrait belongs to the earlier part of her reign, perhaps about A.D. 180.

The flat profile of the brow, the long neck and the arrangement of the hair which fully reveals the ears are characteristic of Crispina's portraits. Also typical are the small and full lips, the doubly arcuated upper lip and the pronounced fossette at each corner of the mouth. But aside from these brief hints at individualization, there is little to differentiate her facial features from those of Faustina the Younger or Lucilla.¹³

The wide eyes with heavy lids and drilled, circular centers, the scarcely modulated planes of the forehead and cheeks and the rigid bilateral symmetry of the face are typically Antonine features. The smooth, wrinkle-free surface retains, however, something of the



6. Young Crispina in the Terme Museum, Rome.

feeling of Hadrianic portraiture and does not yet exhibit the stylized Neo-verism which begins in the Severan period.

The Missouri Crispina is a greatly idealized Augusta, in keeping with her coinage, which subtly associates the empress with such divinities as Ceres, Venus Felix and Juno. It should also be noted that she was the wife of an emperor who associated himself with Hercules.¹⁴

The exceptional quality of the head ranks it among the finest surviving portraits of the young Crispina, including the excellent example in the Terme Museum in Rome (Fig. 6).¹⁵ Wegner believes that the Terme Crispina suggests an intelligent individual with a certain amiable charm.¹⁶ But her sculpture hides more than it reveals, and the intense drilling of the eyes suggests that she is turning away from the Roman world and looking toward the Middle Ages.

DAVID SOREN

University of Missouri-Columbia

¹ Little is known about the father of Crispina. He may have held two consulships (in A.D. 153 and 180). Crispina had a brother, Lucius Bruttius Quintus Crispinus, who was consul in 187. The family apparently had a mausoleum located outside of Rome between the Via Appia and the

Via Ardeatina. A useful source for information about the family is Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* III (Stuttgart 1890) 914-915. See also William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* I (New York 1967) 507.

² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Loeb edition, David Magie ed.), Marcus Antoninus XXVII. 8 (hereafter SHA).

³ SHA, Commodus Antoninus V. 9-10.

⁴ Dio Cassius, *History* LXXIII. 4. 6.

⁵ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* III. 12487 and *CIL* VIII¹. 16530. Lucilla, sister of Commodus, was exiled for plotting to kill her brother, but Dio is probably right in including Crispina among the conspirators. Since Crispina's brother was consul in A.D. 187, it is believed that she may have remained in favor until at least that date.

⁶ SHA, Commodus Antoninus XI. 9; Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire, British Museum Catalogue of Roman Coins IV* (London 1940) 154. Marcia had been the mistress of one Ummidius Quadratus, who later took part in the assassination plot against Commodus and was put to death. Marcia was later executed by the emperor Julianus, who reigned only briefly.

⁷ Max Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin 1939) 74-78, 274-276. A head with a coiffure somewhat similar to that of the Missouri Crispina has recently been found in the Athenian Agora but the woman does not appear to be Crispina. See T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 172 and pl. 38a.

⁸ Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, No. 74.145, height 24.7 cm., width (ear to ear) 17.7 cm. There are no modern repairs, although spectrographic analysis indicated slight surface abrasion above the left brow, continuing to the left side of the nose, and also on the right naso-labial fold. The lower left portion of the nose is broken and the upper area of the left ear has been slightly chipped. Both ears show evidence of abrasion.

⁹ Photograph courtesy of Dr. Herbert Cahn. "Vente publique 52: Monnaies grecques, romaines et byzantines," *Muenzen und Medaillen* (1975) pl. 41, no. 682.

¹⁰ Wegner, *op. cit.*, 76 and pl. 64 p. [Here the references are wrongly given by Wegner as pl. 60—Ed.]

¹¹ For a head treated in a similarly dovetailed manner, see *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, Oscar W. Muscarella ed. (Mainz 1974) No. 97.

¹² Wegner, *op. cit.*, 275, pl. 52. For another portrait of Crispina which is also later in date, see Wegner pl. 64, m. Additional portrait heads of the older Crispina are discussed by Jutta Meischner, "Zum Bildnis der Kaiserin Crispina," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts* 76 (1961) 188-192.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, 74.

¹⁴ Herodian I. 7.5-6; I.17.12. For the well known portrait of Commodus as Hercules in the Conservatori Museum in Rome, see Mortimer Wheeler, *Roman Art and Architecture* (London 1964) 170. The emperor wears the lion skin, holds a club in his right hand and the apples of the Hesperides in his left.

¹⁵ Wegner, *op. cit.*, pl. 57.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 78.

Etruscan Bone Mirror Handles

Figured carvings in ivory and bone form a small, precious group in the repertory of Etruscan art. Chronologically, they fall into two groups: the Archaic and the Late Classical and Hellenistic. Among the latter are handles for bronze mirrors, usually made of bone. Six examples and a fragment of a seventh have been known, all in Italy and most of them in Florence. The appearance of another handle, almost complete and very well preserved, is thus an important addition to our knowledge of Late Etruscan art. Said to have been found at Vulci, the handle is now in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia (shown in color on front cover).¹

In size and general scheme of decoration our handle resembles the others.² Around it are carved in relief two winged female figures, one young, the other old (Figs. 1, 3), both apparently moving to the left; they occupy the full height of the frieze. Their heads are in profile, the torsos in front view, while from the waist down the figures are in profile. Each wears a diadem consisting of a fillet with leaves rising from it. Both wear large sleeved chitons bloused both at the waist and around the thighs, the folds increasing in size below each girdle.³ The sleeves are gathered at five points along the upper arm. The outlines of breasts and legs are clearly visible beneath the garments. The wings are folded out and seen in front view; they touch the upper border and descend to within 1 cm. of the bottom. Each woman holds an object (ca. 1 cm. long) at about shoulder level.

Along the lower border, fitted into the space between the tips of the wings and the women's legs, is a small seated figure on either side (Figs. 2, 3). The one at the right seems to have been mostly cut away and the other is badly abraded. Each was apparently the figure of a child, seen in front view. The one at the right has the left leg drawn up vertically, the other drawn up and lying out to its right; the second figure has both

legs folded and lying out to its left. In the latter one can see that the right arm is bent at the elbow, with the hand at the waist probably holding some object, while the left arm reaches down and out to its left, the hand possibly resting on the left knee.

An important aspect of the Missouri handle is the comparatively good preservation of the polychrome decoration—gilding and red and blue color. Both diadems seem to have been entirely gilded, as were the objects held by the women. The small feathers of the upper part of the wings as well as their scaled borders are largely painted with bright red, and in many places gilding can be seen over the paint. It is not possible, however, to discern a clear pattern such as an alternation of red and gold feathers. The background was deep blue, best seen in a patch just over the young woman's right shoulder and also visible along the outer edge of her right wing, where blue color extends into a hole through the bone. There are clear traces of red on the young woman's lips. While almost all the color preserved is on the upper third of the handle, there are slight traces of red on the legs of the small figure at the right, bits of gold on the body of the other and a trace of red on the hand that rests on the left knee. There may be flecks of gold along the lower border of one woman's garment. The over-all color scheme is thus clear: a dark ground against which the figures were silhouetted; the small wing feathers picked out with red and gold, red on the lips but no accentuation of other facial features; a possible gilded border on the garments; probably some gilding on the bodies of the small figures as well as touches of red. The ensemble was richly colorful, though the painting was probably highly fugitive, requiring a minimum of handling with a maximum of care.

Evidence of color on other bone mirror handles is minimal.⁴ The polychromatic scheme on ours is best paralleled in relief scenes on

1. Below: bone mirror handle, actual size, two views, showing figure of young woman (at left) and older woman (at right) carved in relief. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

Opposite page:

2. Above: enlarged details of handle showing two small figures seated between the women. These can be seen more clearly in Figure 3.
3. Below: extended drawing of the mirror handle (actual size). Drawing by Dona Barton.



1





2



3

4. Bronze mirror in Vienna with carved bone handle still attached.



roughly contemporary Etruscan stone sarcophagi. Particularly close is the color treatment on a panel showing the Sacrifice of Polyxena, one side of a sarcophagus in Orvieto⁵ dated fourth or third century B.C. The background is also blue; red is used for small areas of drapery and a golden yellow for the hair of several figures. Winged demons on panels flanking this scene have red on the upper parts of their wings, blue on the longer feathers. A similar scheme is seen on the end panel of the somewhat earlier painted Sarcophagus of the Amazons in the Archaeological Museum in Florence, dated about 350 B.C.⁶ Here the background is almost

black, with red-brown, bright blue and golden yellow used on the garments and armor of the combatants. The use of a dark background in Etruscan wall paintings may be traced back to the large frieze of the Tomba delle Bighe of the early fifth century B.C., where the change from the usual light ground has been attributed to the influence of red-figure vase painting.⁷ Although the convention never caught hold in painting, where it does not reappear until the Sarcophagus of the Amazons, it did become common on sarcophagi with reliefs, which were popular from the late fourth century on. A good third-century example is the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus in Tarquinia,⁸ and a still later cinerary urn indicates that the same color scheme prevailed in the latest Etruscan reliefs.⁹

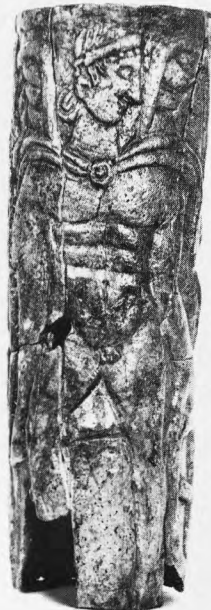
While the polychromy of our mirror handle is closely related to relief sculpture in stone, the iconography seems to belong with the mirrors.¹⁰ Beginning late in the sixth century B.C. bronze mirrors were produced in large quantities for about three hundred years. Only in the latest groups were some mirrors cast with a handle,¹¹ the others had a tang to fit into a wooden or bone handle. Although no wooden handle for an Etruscan mirror has survived,¹² simply worked bone handles occur in quantity,¹³ in some instances still attached to the mirrors.¹⁴ A fine example of an elaborately carved bone handle remains attached to a mirror in Vienna (Fig. 4).¹⁵

When, late in the fourth century B.C., the decoration of mirror handles with figures rather than geometric ornament began, it must have been evident that a greater diameter was required to accommodate the figured frieze. While the simple handles average 2-2.5 cm. in diameter (as far as one can tell by comparing them with the mirrors, since dimensions for the handles are seldom given), the figured handles range from 3.7 cm. to 4.85 cm. in diameter, the largest being the one at Missouri. While these larger handles offered ample room for the figured decoration, the one figured handle found still attached to its mirror (Fig. 5) illustrates the poor join to the thin tang. There is no evidence for any transitional element, which might have been of wood, nor of any terminal member at the bottom, such as is found on some of the simpler handles. The arrangement seems very



5. Bronze mirror in the Archaeological Museum, Florence, with carved bone handle.

6. Bone handle in the Archaeological Museum, Florence.



awkward, but since the handles are quite luxurious, one must assume either that there are missing elements or, as seems more probable, that mirrors with such handles were intended as grave offerings and not for daily use. This is also suggested by the fugitive colors with which our handle is decorated.

THE COMPOSITIONAL SCHEME on all of the figured mirror handles is similar—two figures the full height of the frieze, one on either side of the cylinder. In almost all cases the figures are winged, the wings folded out touching the top

of the frieze, the long feathers ending near the bottom. The space between the figures or their wings is almost always filled by some smaller element, usually a shield or helmet. Of the six fairly complete handles listed by Huls,¹⁶ the first three have two nude male figures in frontal pose, wings folded out, mantles thrown back over the shoulders and held by brooches, a spear in the right hand and, in two cases, a shield resting on the ground at the left (Figs. 5,6); on the third handle the helmets are carried in lowered left hands. Two handles have two fish-tailed monsters brandishing fish; the

7. Handle showing fish-tailed monster with folded-out wings, in the Bargello, Florence.



8. Handle showing Athena with gorgoneion (left) and youth holding club-like object (right). Terme Museum, Rome.



monsters have the usual folded-out wings (Fig. 7). All five of these handles are in Florence, four in the Archaeological Museum, the one with monsters in the Bargello.

Of the three variant handles, one is in the Terme Museum (Fig. 8) unique in having a winged figure of Athena wearing a chiton and peplos with a large gorgoneion, a spear in her left hand, her right hand extended and holding an object now missing; a low, pillar-like object stands beside her left leg. The other figure is a nude youth in frontal view with head facing to his right toward Athena and holding a club-like object in his right hand. Carlo Anti interprets the youth as one of the Dioscuri and implies that the other was also present,¹⁷ but this is unlikely, considering the general scheme of such handles and the unusually large diameter required to accommodate a third figure.

The second variant, in the British Museum (Fig. 9),¹⁸ was not known to Huls. It is probably not a mirror handle but is included here because of the close similarities in the figured decoration. It shows (on the right) a winged female figure wearing a chiton, the torso in front view, her head turned to the right and her right leg bent so that the tip of her shoe touches the ground, giving the impression that she is walking. An alabastron is held in her left hand, her arm bent so that the top of the vase is at waist height. In her right hand she holds a perfume dipper above her head. In front of her a dog seated on its haunches looks up toward her. Facing her is a youth, nude but for a cloak over his shoulders, wearing a helmet and holding a spear. Between the two figures is a vase on a pedestal shown in perspective (partly visible at the youth's left); it resembles an amphora without handles and is decorated with beading around the widest part, with ribbing below.

The Missouri handle offers a third variant. It is the only one with two female figures as well as the small figures rather than the more usual fill ornaments. While there are female figures on both the Terme and the British Museum pieces, they resemble those on the Missouri example only in details. The Terme figure is clearly Athena, identified by the gorgoneion. The woman on the British Museum bone cylinder is likened by Brian Cook¹⁹ to Zipna on a

mirror in Leningrad, taken by Gerhard to be either a goddess of Fate or an attendant of Aphrodite, judging by the attributes.²⁰ While the two figures on the Missouri handle are dressed identically, they are distinguished by their differing ages, young and old. The young woman's hair is neatly dressed and seems to be gathered into a cloth which keeps it off her shoulders. The old woman's hair, on the other hand, seems to rise in separate strands (see Figs. 1 and 3). This style is seen on other mirror handles (Figs. 6 and 7). The two women carry similar objects, not easy to identify. Their main characteristic is an apparent limpness, which suggests nothing so much as partly filled bags. There is a small knob-like projection at both ends of each object; one shows creases at the middle;

9. Bone tube with two figures in relief. British Museum.



both were gilded. Is the container possibly an animal skin tied at either end? I know of no such object on Etruscan mirrors, except perhaps that held by the youth at the left on a mirror in Corneto,²¹ but what seems an exact parallel appears on a fragmentary stele, dated ca. 470-460 B.C., from Pharsalos in Greece, now in the Louvre.²² Here the object held by one of two maidens is considered to be a bag or purse which probably contained knucklebones, a few of which are held in the second maiden's hand. Each has her hair bound in a manner similar to that of the younger woman on our bone handle. The relief is interpreted as representing a "sacra conversazione" and, if the identification as knucklebones is correct, may be connected with a cult of Aphrodite. If such an interpretation were carried over to the Missouri handle, we would be in the same realm as the British Museum piece, with its attributes related to Aphrodite. This would certainly be most suitable for mirrors deposited in women's graves.

The Pharsalos stele has, however, been interpreted differently. Schefold, for one, felt that the object held in the hand of one of the maidens is a folded fillet or taenia, and what Berger interprets as knucklebones he took to be small flowers.²³ There are many scenes on Etruscan mirrors showing winged figures, often identified as Lasae or messengers, carrying a fillet or crowning another figure with it.²⁴ Others show figures wearing fillets which, when folded, might resemble the objects carried by our winged females.²⁵ One mirror shows two Lasae preparing the deceased woman for her journey to the other world; a Lasa adjusts her fillet.²⁶

THE SMALL FIGURES between the Lasae are nowhere paralleled on Etruscan bone mirror handles, nor on any other bone carvings published by Huls.²⁷ However, similar figures do occur on a number of Etruscan mirrors. They are usually chubby, winged children, often seated and with legs in positions like those on the handle.²⁸ They are invariably on the mirror flange immediately above the handle, subordinate to the main scene and probably serving as a fill ornament. That is probably their purpose on our handle as well. Yet their similarity to Eros may again suggest a connection with a

cult of Aphrodite, noted above as a possibility.

With regard to its date, our handle certainly belongs with those classified by Huls as Late Classical, the very end of the fourth century B.C., rather than to her Hellenistic period.²⁹ Cooney has chosen a date of 275 B.C. for the Missouri handle, but without discussing it.³⁰ Because of the strong archaistic nature of the female figures, they offer little help in dating. Although the two minor figures are badly preserved, they are more useful. The short, chubby arms and legs clearly indicate that these are children, while the position of the legs recalls the so-called "temple boys," seated figurines that were popular in many parts of Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.³¹ While the type was better known in the eastern Mediterranean, it has been found in Italy and Sicily as well,³² where it could have served as a model for the figures on the mirror handle. Corinthian figurines and molds for such figures come from the most closely dated contexts: the figurines from deposits of the second half of the fifth century B.C., the molds in fourth-century contexts,³³ showing that the type continued at least into the first half of that century. Even with these indications, the internal evidence for dating the Missouri handle is not conclusive and we can only rely on Huls' dating of the entire group. I would suggest 300 B.C. as an acceptable general date.

The bone mirror handle now in Missouri is thus an important addition to a very special class of Late Etruscan art. Even within this small group it stands apart iconographically and adds new depictions to the scant repertory of figures on these handles. With its general condition better than most, it offers much more than any other example for our understanding of the polychromy that was apparently a regular feature of these luxurious offerings.

SAUL S. WEINBERG
University of Missouri-Columbia

¹ In preparing this article I have been helped most generously by a number of scholars. My thanks go first to Prof. Giacomo Caputo, who kindly provided descriptions and photos of the handles in Florence, as well as

permission to publish them, also to Prof. Gianfilippo Carettoni, for the handle in Rome. Mr. Brian Cook and Dr. Ann Birchall have done the same for the figured bone cylinder which is published here with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Mr. Leslie Cornell, a graduate student at the University of Missouri, wrote a paper on our handle some years ago, and I have profited greatly by his iconographic study. The drawing for Figure 3 was made by Miss Dona Barton. The acquisition of the handle was announced in Frederick Cummings, "The Art Museum: Growth through Gifts," *The Missouri Alumnus* (March 1964) 7, fig. 14. The handle has also been illustrated by John D. Cooney, "Siren and Ba, Birds of a Feather," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (October 1968) 263, fig. 4.

² Acc. No. 63.18. Preserved height, 10 cm. but there was probably a plain border at the bottom like that at the top, which is 5 mm. high. Such a border is seen best on No. 86795, National Archaeological Museum, Florence, published as Catalogue No. 111 in Yvonne Huls, *Ivoires d'Etrurie* (Brussels/Rome 1957) 83, pl. 49 (hereafter Huls). The section of bone, identified by Dr. B. M. Gilbert of the Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri, as being from the femur (probably the right one) of *Bos sp.*, is roughly cylindrical (max. diam., 4.85 cm.); the soft cellular interior structure has been removed, leaving a shell which varies from 3 mm. to 8 mm. in thickness. The preserved height of the figured frieze is thus 9.5 cm.; the depth of the carving is as much as 7 mm. in some places, leaving precariously thin spots; in fact, just behind the young female figure's head the eggshell-thin fabric has broken. Along the border of this figure's right wing and at about the level of her right wrist a hole (diam. 2 mm.) pierces the bone shell in a sharply downward direction; Dr. Gilbert identifies this as a natural hole for a blood vessel, the *nutrient foramen*. The hole may possibly have been used for a pin for attachment.

³ Margarete Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin/Leipzig 1928) 20.

⁴ Huls, 177.

⁵ Giulio Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan 1935) pl. 347 (in color).

⁶ Raymond Bloch, *Etruscan Art* (Greenwich, Conn. 1959) pl. 75 (in color).

⁷ Frederik Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings* (Oxford 1922) fig. 15.

⁸ L. von Matt, M. Moretti and G. Maetzke, *The Art of the Etruscans* (New York 1969) 68 (in color).

⁹ Maria Santangelo, *Musei e Monumenti Etruschi* (Novara 1960) 36, right (in color).

¹⁰ J. D. Beazley, "The World of the Etruscan Mirror," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 69 (1949) 1-17, remains the best summary of this very large group.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 11.

¹² A Greek bronze mirror of the beginning of the fifth century B.C. with a well preserved wooden handle was found in mud near the sacred spring at the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (see *Scientific American* 208, No. 6 [June 1963] 115).

¹³ Huls, 109-116, lists about fifty examples.

¹⁴ Von Matt, Moretti, Maetzke, *op. cit.*, 193, shows a mirror

of the fourth or third century from Todi, now in the Villa Giulia Museum, with its handle turned in simple torus moldings. A mirror of about 350 B.C. in the British Museum (*Arch. Reports* 1966-67, 51, fig. 14) has an ivory handle with simple moldings, with a more elaborate conical terminal element.

¹⁵ *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen archaologischen Instituts* 29 (1935) 158, Abb. 59. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Rudolf Noll, Antikensammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, for the photograph and permission to publish it.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 83-86, nos. 111-114, 116-117.

¹⁷ Carlo Anti, "Athena Marina e Alata," *Monumenti Antichi* 26 (1920) 306-307.

¹⁸ British Museum No. 1884.6-14.30. Castellani Sale Catalogue, Hotel Drouot, 12-16 May, 1884, no. 255, illustration on p. 27. No other publication. The total length is 17 cm., the figural frieze 14 cm. high. Much longer than the other pieces, it is socketed at either end and was most likely from a piece of furniture.

¹⁹ In a letter of May 19, 1975.

²⁰ Eduard Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* III (Berlin 1865) 56, pl. 322.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 213.

²² The stele, often published, is discussed most recently by Ernst Berger in *Das Basler Arzterelief* (Basel 1970) 117-118, figs. 138, 139. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Jane C. Biers, for this and the following reference.

²³ Karl Scheffold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel/Stuttgart 1960) 222, no. VI 249.

²⁴ Gerhard, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 142-143; III, pl. 322 (border); IV, pls. 3, 22 (border).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pls. 112 and 232.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pl. 216.

²⁷ Somewhat similar are the figures on two ivory appliques listed in a sale catalogue of Muenzen und Medaillen, Basel (Sonderliste O, December 1972, 22, nos. 58 b and c). These are youths shown leaning on one knee, the other drawn up sharply in front, their heads turned sideways and upward; they are identified as prisoners. The figures are 9 cm. and 8.5 cm. high, much larger than ours. It is the position, particularly the drawn-up legs, which is most like our small figures.

²⁸ Gerhard, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 212, 213; III, pls. 290, 322, 374.

²⁹ Huls, 203.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.* (see note 1, above).

³¹ Such figurines were made at Corinth, among other places, and the type is fully discussed in Agnes N. Stillwell, *Corinth XV, Part II* (Princeton 1952) 114-116. The molds for making seated-boy figurines, found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, are discussed in A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth XV, Part I* (Princeton 1948) 105-106.

³² *Corinth XV, Part II*, 116, note 6. Four examples from Sicily in the British Museum are published most recently in Reynold A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum I, Greek: 730-330 B.C.* (London 1954) 314, nos. 1156-1159. The type is now fully discussed by Theodora Hadzisteliou-Price in "The Crouching Child and the Temple Boys," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 64 (1969) 95-111; see especially p. 98.

³³ *Corinth XV, Part II*, 114-115.

Fiery Shield and Waxen Darts:

A Mannerist Psychomachy

When Etienne Delaune hastily quit Paris after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1572, France forfeited perhaps her most versatile and brilliant *petit-maître*.¹ A goldsmith, medalist, designer and engraver, he had in the course of his Parisian career (to mention but a few of its salient aspects) worked in the Paris Mint, furnished designs for the parade armor of Henry II,² engraved miniature copies of Fontainebleau School masterpieces and produced hundreds of ornamental and pictorial engravings of his own invention, remarkable for their formal elegance and technical refinement.³ He was, in a word, a highly talented craftsman and artist practising in Paris the gracious French Mannerist style evolved a little earlier in the century (beginning about 1530), principally at the royal chateau of Fontainebleau, that medieval hunting lodge for whose decoration François I had imported the Italians Il Rosso and Primaticcio to direct a cosmopolitan body of artists and workmen.⁴ But Delaune was also a Calvinist in an aggressively Catholic France. His situation as such, probably none too easy even in the earliest days of the turbulent period of religious and social struggle in which the country was caught up after 1560, was, after St. Bartholomew's Day, insupportable. He fled to Protestant Germany where, thanks to inscribed and dated prints, it is known that he was in Strasbourg in 1573, in Augsburg in 1576 and back in Strasbourg by 1580.

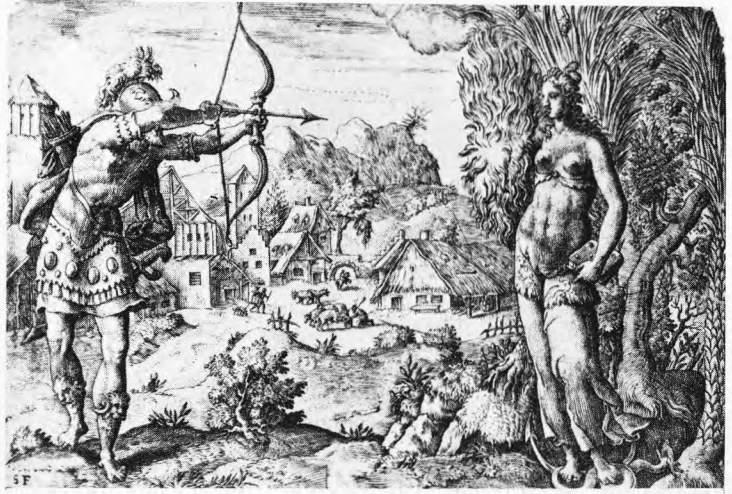
As a result of his forced exile Delaune assumes an historical importance that would not have been his had he remained in France. Because of his flight he is among the artists of the sixteenth century who exercised the

greatest influence upon their contemporaries for, as Colin Eisler attests, "It is thanks only to the great number of engravings, nearly all of small dimensions, produced at first by Delaune from about 1550, that the style evolved by Primaticcio and his Fontainebleau disciples was, for the first time, largely diffused in Northern Europe."⁵

Attention is drawn here to one exemplar of this extremely accomplished and idiosyncratic graphic production. The Museum of Art and Archaeology possesses an impression of one of Delaune's most fascinating masterpieces,⁶ a print engraved in 1580 after the design of his son Jean.⁷ Bearing a small letter **R** which nestles among palm fronds at the top, the print is one of a series of twenty moral emblems, each designated by a letter of the alphabet,⁸ which exposes the vanity, inconstancy and transience of things mundane.

The fabrication of such emblems and allegories preoccupied the erudite Renaissance mind.⁹ The ideal of the emblematic device seems, for the most part, to have been "a middle goal between sibylline obscurity and obvious transparency. . .";¹⁰ but sometimes these emblems, as well as more intricate and elaborate allegorical compositions, are so recondite that they can be understood now only with great difficulty, and sometimes not at all. Speaking of the very series of which Delaune's allegory for the letter **R** is a part, Jacques Bousquet recognizes this impediment. He is not much disturbed about it. Indeed, he finds a positive virtue in the fact that such Mannerist conceits are so often undecipherable. He observes of Delaune's images that when they are divorced from the allegory which united them, "they

Allegory for the Letter R, engraving by Etienne Delaune (actual size), Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.



are extraordinarily incongruous and our dominant impression is one of strangeness and mystery. We see them as a beautiful and curious collection of pure images. . . Our ignorance, however," Bousquet continues, "enables us to appreciate how great was the margin of aesthetic existence which the artist has bestowed upon his images independent of the ideas they represent."¹¹

Though doubtless most attractive in this context, as Bousquet makes clear, Ignorance need not be courted too long. In fact, man's lamentable tendency to consort with Error and Falsehood is among those moral weaknesses which Delaune's series of emblems is meant to counter and subdue. For the **R** print is connected with a known allegorical program, whose portion directly relevant to the imagery of the engraving is set forth in this engaging *huitain*:

*Un jour le monde combatant
Contre vertu sa plus grande ennemie,
Il la menasse, et elle le deffie;
Il entre au camp et elle l'y attend,
Il marche, il vient, il s'approche, il luy tire
Mais tous ses coups ne peuvent avoir lieu
Car tous les traits du monde sont de cire
Et le bouclier de vertu est de feu.*¹²

With the verse as a guide the print becomes

intelligible. The principal personifications—the World and Virtue—are easily discerned. The World, represented at the left as a bearded warrior clad in tight-fitting cuirass, mantle and richly decorated tunic, wears a plumed helmet and greaves terminating in lions' heads, and is armed with sword, quiver and bow. He raises his bow and draws back the waxen arrow in preparation for its discharge toward Virtue, who stands at the right. Virtue is personified as a woman wearing a diaphanous gown which fastens below her breasts and falls in soft folds to her ankles. The simplicity of her dress is relieved by a band of embroidered fabric, to which she points with a finger of her left hand. Standing upon an anchor, as well as a dragon or serpent, she holds in her left hand a closed book and in her right the buckler of fire. Immediately behind her rise date palms and a laurel tree.

While the identification of the warrior as a personification of the World is attested by both the *huitain* and the couplet which accompany a few of the proofs examined by Robert-Dumesnil,¹³ certain attributes and symbols are present in the print which help to reinforce Delaune's moral meaning; like most others found in the series, these are consistent with Renaissance iconographical usage.¹⁴ Arms, for example,



Moral Allegory for the Letter B

*L'eau va viste et le traict, comme aussi fait le vent,
Mais la joye mondaine fuyt plus legierement.*

*Like the wind and the arrow, water moves swiftly,
But mundane joy is even more fleeting.*

(Photo courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

often represent the vanity of human endeavor.¹⁵ The richness of the warrior's tunic, in marked contrast to Virtue's simple gown, may also represent worldly vanity or even the influence of that pernicious vice, *Luxuria*.¹⁶ It seems, too, that the configuration of the bones in the figure's right knee forms a death's-head,¹⁷ emblematic of mortality, hence the evanescence of all human things.

THE WORLD IS INCARNATED in two other prints of the series: in **B** (R-D 206) as the Whore of Babylon, and in **D** (R-D 208) as a duelist. In

the engraving for the letter **B**, Delaune represents the irresistibly seductive powers of the World, capitulation to whose awful charms by frail mortals, as symbols indicate, is more rapid than the flight of an arrow, the blowing of a tempestuous wind or the cascading of a river over a waterfall. The infernal abyss is the sure destination of these hapless creatures. In the **D** print the fickle World is shown trampling the body of a young man after first dispatching him with a sword, although this youth was one of his most ardent servitors and devotees!¹⁸ The Philosopher, who appears in a number of the



Moral Allegory for the Letter D

*S'il [le Monde] est amy, pourquoy a il cest coustume
De tuer l'homme vain, sous ses pieds abatu?*

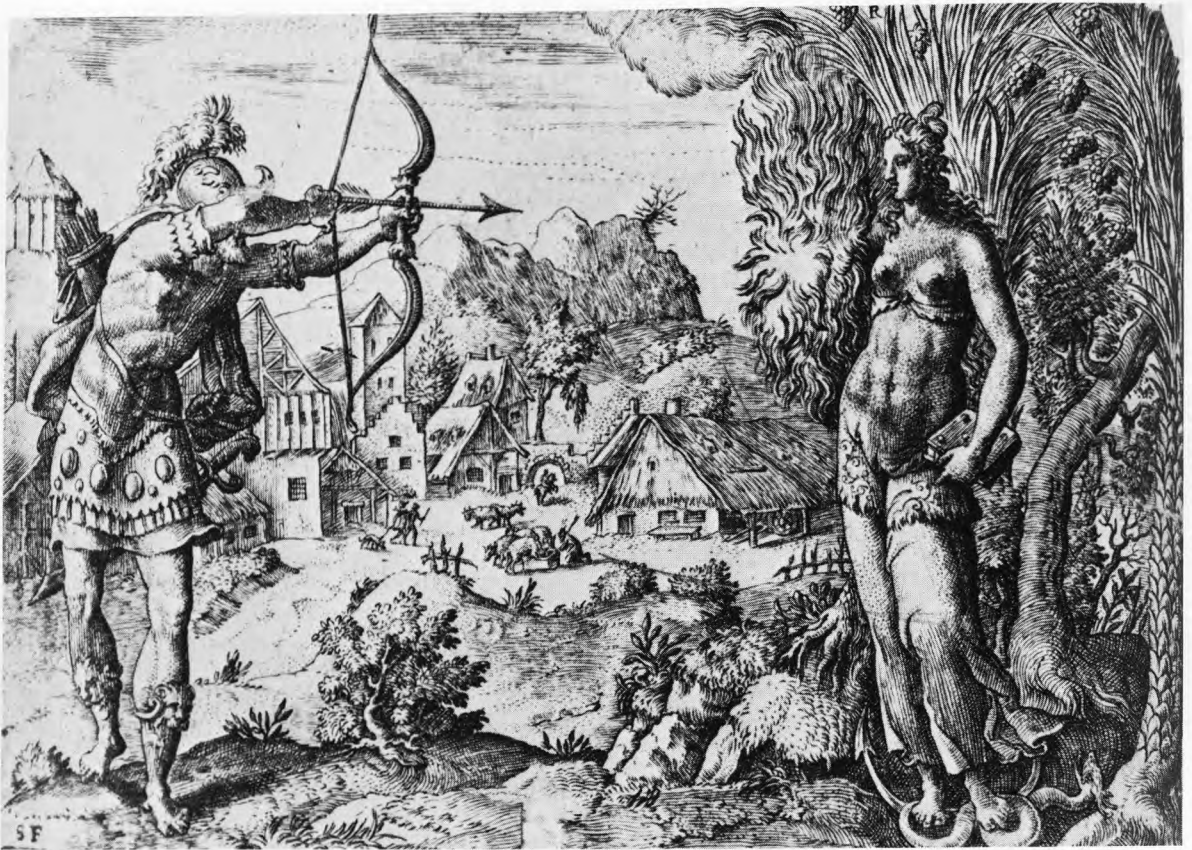
*If the World is a friend, why has he this custom
Of murdering the vain man, trampling him under foot?*

(Photo courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale)

engravings in a contemplative or hortatory role, waves an admonitory finger at the villain. It is not until the confrontation pictured in the **R** print, however, that the vicious World meets a truly formidable foe.

Delaune's Virtue is indeed a redoubtable opponent, for her attributes, which appear to be taken from the iconographical tradition of the four Cardinal (Classical) and three Theological Virtues, along with those of other abstractions, combine to form a composite personification of *virtus generalis*.¹⁹ The book in her left hand is an attribute of Theology, Religion and Verity²⁰ as

well as of Prudence, who finds wise and virtuous (*sage*) precepts therein.²¹ The anchor is the quintessential attribute of Hope²² and may be seen beneath the feet of that personified virtue in print A (R-D 205) of the series. The dragon or serpent upon which Virtue also stands can be interpreted in several ways. If it is a serpent, it may be understood as an attribute of Prudence, Vigilance or *Sagesse*.²³ Or it may be an image of eternity or perfection,²⁴ two concepts which can readily be associated with ever-vigilant Virtue. If, however, the creature is a dragon—its head compares with those of the hydra-headed



Moral Allegory for the Letter R

*Le monde armé de cire a fait guerre a vertu,
Qui ha l'escu de feu, et ses traits sa fondu.*

*The World, armed with wax, made war on Virtue,
Who had a shield of fire which melted his darts.*

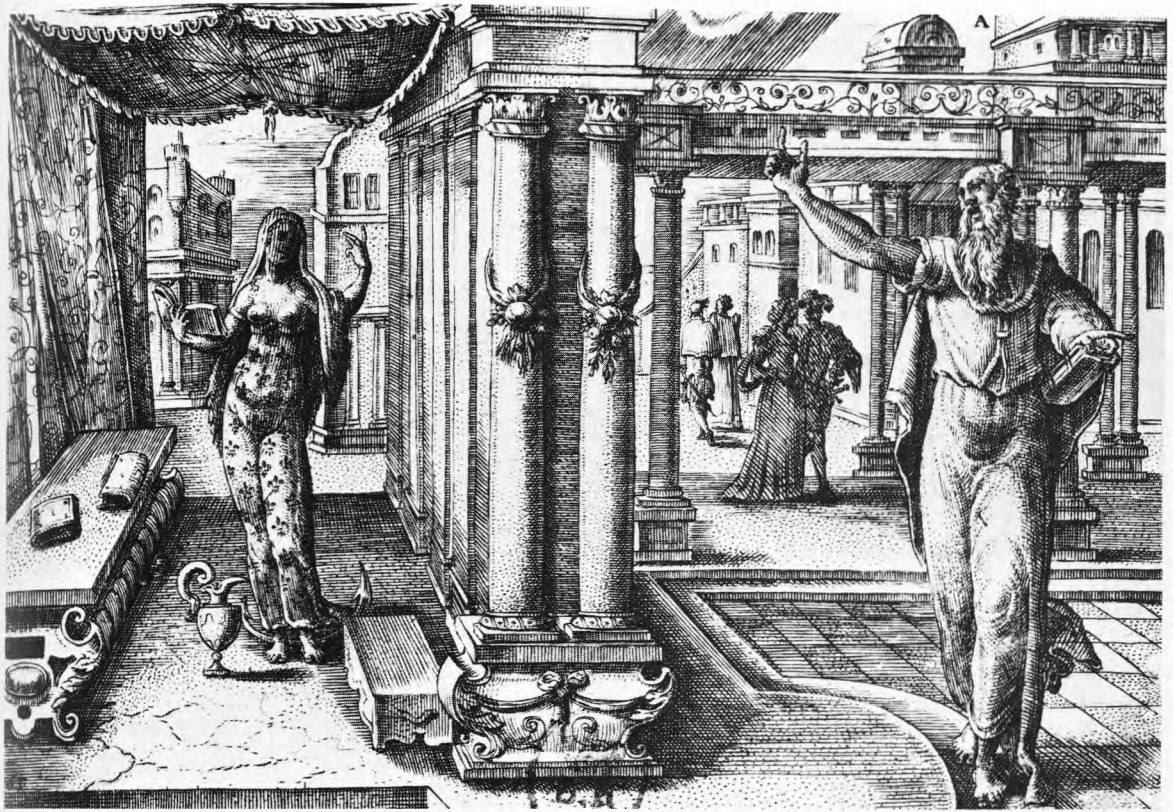
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

monster upon which the Royal Harlot rides in print B—the animal belongs to Virtue in her guises of Prudence, Vigilance and Moral Force (*Fortitudo*),²⁵ symbolizing—as serpents often do—an evil upon which she treads.²⁶ Verneuil lists Vanity, Envy, Pride or even Hell itself as minor avatars of evil sometimes found disguised as a dragon.²⁷

The shield of fire is not quite so problematical. Guy de Tervarent notes that shields are attributes of Chastity, Fortitude, Victory and Minerva in her role of “la Sagesse victorieuse des vices.”²⁸ Verneuil assigns a shield to Prudence and, more specifically, to Virtue her-

self, the shield to preserve her from the blows of evil.²⁹ The fact that the buckler takes the form of flame is dictated by the iconography set forth in the accompanying distich and *huitain*.³⁰

Virtue's attire is appropriate. With the spread of Neo-platonic thought, nude and simply draped figures came to represent lofty principles, nudity signifying, in Panofsky's words, “the ideal and intelligible as opposed to the physical and sensible, the simple and ‘true’ essence as opposed to its varied and changeable ‘images’.”³¹ It is remarkable that Virtue's gown is very like the dress of Hope in print A, a transparent drapery strewn with fleurs-de-lis,



Moral Allegory for the Letter A

*Appren bening lecteur à mepriser le monde,
Et suy la Marguerite ou la vertu abonde.*

*Learn, good reader, to despise the World,
And know that Marguerite or Virtue flourishes.*

(Photo courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale)

“symbole de toute vertu.”³² Virtue’s gown, moreover, drapes a suavely curving body almost identical with that of Hope; only the arms and head are different. Clearly, Virtue’s assumption of both the symbolic and physical attributes of Hope signals her appreciation of the value of this discrete element to her hybrid nature.

Lastly, the arbor under which Virtue stands has iconographical value. Placed between two palms and before a laurel tree, she complacently faces the arrows of the World. And well she might, for not only is the laurel a symbol of Unconquerable Virtue³³ but the palm is emblematic of moral victory.³⁴ The palm, like the

laurel mentioned by Ripa, grows thicker and taller in the face of adversity and even puts forth fruit more bountifully.³⁵ Together, the laurel and palms assure Virtue’s triumph.

STYLISTICALLY THE PRINT REVEALS, above all, Delaune’s acceptance of the Fontainebleau School vocabulary, especially that of Primaticcio.³⁶ This is most evident in his typically Mannerist figures, elongated and graceful, clad in the insubstantial, form-revealing garments favored by these artists.

But while Delaune was obviously inspired by Fontainebleau, his prints reflect the

"northern" tradition as well, notably the work of the Danube school, because of "the penetrating and attentive vision of the microcosm which they offer."³⁷ The synthesis of these influences is demonstrated most fully in his landscapes; they combine observation of natural detail with Classical and Mannerist elements and have a rhythmic, decorative quality. Delaune was one of the first artists of the Fontainebleau School to use naturalistically observed landscapes as settings for his urbane Mannerist figures. He was, in fact, the leader of the new trend in Paris, with Fantuzzi, Jean Mignon and the "Master L. D." in Fontainebleau, and Bernard Salomon in Lyons, as his counterparts.³⁸

A marvelous combination of Delaune's synthetic figural and landscape styles is to be seen in the **R** print. The two personifications, placed on a hill in the foreground, display their French Mannerist lineage. In the middle ground appears gently rolling terrain on which stands a village or large rural estate. Two cows or goats, two men with a leashed dog and a man feeding animals are found in the central area of this enclave. A man on a rearing horse is about to depart through an arched gateway. Birds fly over the background of hills and low mountains.³⁹

The whole effect is one of great descriptive and formal beauty. Delicately engraved, the print breathes that air of complexity and mystery with which Delaune endows his wonderfully detailed, wonderfully tiny works. His depiction of a near cosmic confrontation between two sophisticated and elegant Mannerist figures standing before a closely observed rustic setting may indeed be somewhat incongruous and strange—it is certainly extremely charming.

DAVID MARCH

University of Missouri-Columbia

¹ Etienne Delaune, born at Paris or Orléans 1518/19; died at Paris 1583. Perhaps the son of Christoph Delaune, Paris Mint-master of 1540. Biographical information is to be found in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Kuenstler* 9 (Leipzig 1913) 2-3; also A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français* 9 (Paris 1865; reprinted 1967) 16-24.

² For this armor see Stephen V. Grancsay, "Royal Armorers: Antwerp or Paris?," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 18 (1959) 1-7; *Idem.*, "The Armor of Henry II of

France from the Louvre Museum," *op. cit.*, 11 (1952) 68-80; Helmut Nickel, "The Battle of the Crescent," *op. cit.*, 24 (1965) 110-127; Bruno Thomas, "Die muenchner Harnischvorzeichnungen des Etienne Delaune fuer die Emblem- und die Schlangen-garnitur Heinrichs II von Frankreich," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 56 (1960) 7-62; *Idem.*, "Die muenchner Waffenvorzeichnungen des Etienne Delaune und die Prunkschilder Heinrichs II von Frankreich," *op. cit.*, 58 (1962) 101-168. An article of especial interest about Henry II and Delaune's connection with him is W. McAllister Johnson's "Numismatic Propaganda in Renaissance France," *The Art Quarterly* 31 (Summer 1968) 123-153. Other articles dealing with Delaune include: Yvonne Hackenbrock, "Commessi," *Bull. Met. Museum* 24 (1966) 213-224; *Idem.*, "New Knowledge on Jewels and Designs after Etienne Delaune," *The Connoisseur* 162 (June 1966) 82-89; J. F. Hayward, "A German Design for a Pair of Wheel-lock Pistols," *Connoisseur* 123 (March 1949) 16-18; *Idem.*, "The Mannerist Goldsmiths, 2; France and the School of Fontainebleau Part 2," *Connoisseur* 153 (May 1963) 11-15; and Ilaria Toesca, "Quelques dessins attribueés à Etienne Delaune," *Revue des arts* 10 (1960) 255-259.

³ In addition to over one hundred ornamental prints, he engraved biblical and mythological subjects, allegories of the Elements, Seasons, Months, Planets, Sciences, etc.

⁴ See Sylvie Béguin, *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau: le maniérisme à la cour de France* (Paris 1960).

⁵ Colin Eisler, "Etienne Delaune et les graveurs de son entourage," *L'Oeil* No. 132 (December 1965) 11. See also John D. Farmer, *The Virtuoso Craftsman: Northern European Design in the Sixteenth Century*, catalogue of exhibition at Worcester Art Museum, 27 March—25 May 1969 (Worcester, Mass. 1969) 11, 76; and *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau*, catalogue of exhibition at the Grand Palais, Paris, 17 October 1972—15 January 1973 (Paris 1972) 73, among others, for similar observations.

⁶ Acc. No. X-114. Engraving, 7 x 9.6 cm. Signed SF in lower left corner = Stephanus Fecit. **R-D** 221, second state. Top right and left corners torn; slight tears at center right and center bottom. Two states are catalogued by Robert-Dumesnil, *op. cit.*, 72: the first unfinished, with only the letter **S** at the bottom left; the second finished, with the letter **R** at the top and **SF** at bottom left. The **R** print is reproduced by Jacques Bousquet, *La peinture maniériste* (Neuchâtel 1964) 235, English translation by Simon W. Taylor, *Mannerism: The Painting and Style of the Late Renaissance* (New York 1964) 235; and by Roger Caillois, *Au coeur du fantastique* (Paris 1965) 85. Robert-Dumesnil, *op. cit.*, 71, notes that print **O** of the series (**R-D** 218) bears an inscription at the top right which reads: STEPHANUS PATER AET. 61 FOELICITE SCULPSIT IHOANO. FILIO INVE. 1580. At the center top: IN. ARGENTINA [Strasbourg].

⁷ Jean Delaune, born Paris 1555. Worked in the atelier of his father; known chiefly from prints of 1578 and 1580 (**R-D** 126-132 and 205-224) which Etienne engraved from his designs. See Thieme-Becker, *op. cit.*, 2-3, s.v. Etienne Delaune. The catalogue of the exhibition, *L'Ecole de Fon-*

- Fontainebleau, 76 no. 80, shows a drawing attributed to him.
- ⁸ R-D 205-224. There are no prints for the letters J, U, W, X, Y, Z. Each print measures 7 x 9.6 cm.
- ⁹ See Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-century Imagery*, 2nd revised ed. (Rome 1964); Robert J. Clements, *Picta Poesis* (Rome 1960), among other works.
- ¹⁰ Clements, *op. cit.*, 20.
- ¹¹ Bousquet, English trans., *op. cit.*, (note 6 above) 236.
- ¹² Robert-Dumesnil, *op. cit.*, 67-68. Translation: One day the World battling / Against Virtue, his greatest enemy, / Her he menaces and him she defies; / He enters the camp and there she awaits him, / He steps forward, he proceeds, he advances, he fires / But none of his shots can reach their goal / Because all the World's arrows are of wax / And the shield of Virtue is of fire.
- ¹³ Robert-Dumesnil, *op. cit.*, 65, 67f., 73.
- ¹⁴ Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600: Dictionnaire d'un langage perdu* (Geneva 1958-59) 2 vols; and M. P. Verneuil, *Dictionnaire des symboles, emblèmes et attributs* (Paris n.d.).
- ¹⁵ De Tervarent, *op. cit.*, I, 34.
- ¹⁶ See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art* (New York 1964) 13, note 1, for "richly dressed" *Luxuria*.
- ¹⁷ De Tervarent, *op. cit.*, II, 373. The same seems to be true of the right knee of the warrior in print D; however, all this may be fortuitous.
- ¹⁸ Robert-Dumesnil, *op. cit.*, 64-65, 72-73.
- ¹⁹ The Classical Virtues are Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance; the Theological are Faith, Hope and Charity. Note that Hope appears in print A (R-D 205) with much the same attire as Virtue in R. See Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York 1972) 157, note 97, for a discussion of *virtus generalis*. He notes that this concept was a "modern" one and was still considered a "new problem" in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The first representation appeared, however, in the figure of Hercules in Giovanni Pisano's Pisa Cathedral pulpit, 1302/1310. For treatment of the virtues in the medieval period see Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, and Rosemund Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963) 264-303; as well as Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, 3rd ed. (Paris 1925) 309-328.
- ²⁰ De Tervarent, *op. cit.*, II, 248-251.
- ²¹ Verneuil, *op. cit.*, (note 14, above), 108, 150.
- ²² De Tervarent, *op. cit.*, I, 28. The Christian source of this symbolism is found in St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, VI.19: "Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil." (King James Version)
- ²³ Verneuil, 151, 155, 161, 167. *Sagesse* may be rendered as Wisdom, Sobriety, Chastity, etc. See also De Tervarent, *op. cit.*, II, 340-342.
- ²⁴ See especially Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, rev. ed. (New York 1968) 266. He notes that these concepts are "commonly illustrated by a serpent biting its own tail, but known also in the form of a circular loop on the serpent's back. . .," or with its tail coiled in a circle.
- ²⁵ De Tervarent, *op. cit.*, I, 150; Mâle, *op. cit.*, 324 especially. A representation of Prudence by Delaune (R-D 160) includes "Un serpent, frappé mortellement, se debat à terre." The creature at Virtue's feet is, of course, identical with the serpent encircling the waist of the infernal genius in print B; sure identification is, therefore, forestalled.
- ²⁶ See Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, 15-17 for dragons as embodiments of evil or vice.
- ²⁷ Verneuil, *op. cit.*, 58, 167. It may be remarked here that the personal device of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) was a winged dragon. That Delaune's series perhaps has something more than a didactic and pietistic *raison d'être* is hinted at in a distich for print C of the series (R-D 207) quoted by Robert-Dumesnil, *op. cit.*, 73: "France fragile et pleine de grand' variété / N'a rien de plus constant que sa legiereté." According to Robert-Dumesnil, the imagery of the C print includes a personification of Inconstancy, a moral philosopher remonstrating with her, burning buildings, a corps of soldiers, etc.
- ²⁸ De Tervarent, *op. cit.*, I, 50-51.
- ²⁹ Verneuil, *op. cit.*, 28-29, 186.
- ³⁰ See above and note 12. I have found no other instance of a shield in the form of fire.
- ³¹ Panofsky, *op. cit.*, 159. See pp. 150-160 for an exposition of the problem of nudity in relation to personifications of virtues and moral concepts. It should be noted that the dress of Delaune's Virtue is a rather conventional Mannerist one and appears frequently on Fontainebleau School female figures: a similar one even covers the Whore of Babylon!
- ³² Robert-Dumesnil, *op. cit.*, 64.
- ³³ Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome 1593) 291. *Virtù Insuperabile* is armed with a spear in her right hand and a shield in her left. On the shield's surface is painted the Holm oak. She stands before a laurel which, having been struck by lightning, grows even more vigorously. With a porcupine at her side she fights against vice.
- ³⁴ De Tervarent, *op. cit.*, II, 296; see also 295-297.
- ³⁵ Ripa, *op. cit.*, 291, *Virtù Insuperabile*.
- ³⁶ Béguin, *op. cit.*, 84; Eisler, *op. cit.*, 11; catalogue for the Paris exhibition *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau*, 73.
- ³⁷ Eisler, *op. cit.*, 12; also J. D. Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur* 1 (Leipzig 1860, reprinted New York n.d.) 257, among others. Delaune would have come under direct Germanic influence after his move from Paris, of course, but his style had already been formed by that time. Germanic influences were pervasive in France, however, and Delaune was not alone in being affected. In this regard see Lucile M. Golson, "Landscape Prints and Landscapists of the School of Fontainebleau, c. 1543—c. 1570," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series VI, 73 (February 1969) 95-110.
- ³⁸ See Golson, *op. cit.*; also Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (New York 1969).
- ³⁹ The question of the background elements as bearers of symbolical meaning in the print under consideration still remains. It will in this study, however, be left unexplored. The background may be (probably is) replete with added meanings.

A Painted Scroll from West Bengal

Scroll painting is a popular, living art in all of rural West Bengal, practised by a small group of Hindu painters called *patuās*.¹ Painted scrolls are effective in their story-telling power and depict mostly mythological and religious episodes on a series of rectangular panels, following the tradition of early Jain miniatures. The scroll painters compose their own music and play it as they show the scenes depicted on the scrolls. Because the scrolls are constantly being rolled and unrolled while the songs are sung to entertain large gatherings of villagers, their edges fray or tear and the fabric soon becomes cracked. Therefore the same story is repainted time and again in successive generations in order to preserve the unique tradition and style of each village. The scrolls are painted in bright and pure colors for display in daylight. This entertainment provides income for the *patuas*, but often a scroll is painted at the special request of someone as a means of exonerating sins committed by a relative.

The painting is usually done on hand-made paper, with several layers pasted together to make the scroll durable. The sheets are joined with sago paste on strips of paper to reach the desired length. Sometimes the paper is thinly coated with chalk paste. Then the artist draws a rough sketch with a light red color on the entire length of the scroll, starting from the top. The outlines of figures, architecture and foliage are filled in with colors using natural dyes extracted from plants.²

The drawing of details in the colored areas is the last and most important stage in the whole process.³

Selected scenes of a mythological story are painted in rectangular panels of various sizes, the first scene generally presenting the most significant episode of the story. The pictures are composed of human figures, trees and architectural settings, but emphasizing the narrative.⁴





1

THREE SUCH SCROLLS from West Bengal have recently been acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia. The one discussed here shows scenes from the life of Lord Chaitanya, a great devotee of Lord Krishna as well as a reformer and teacher of Vaishnavism.⁵ His life was pure, full of self-sacrifice and love for humanity. A Brahmin by birth, he was born in A.D. 1485 in Nadia, a great center of Sanskrit learning sixty miles north of Calcutta. It is said that he was born with love for Lord Krishna and did not find any interest in studies. As a child he danced and played pranks all day. But soon he had to get interested in study in order to earn a living for his family, since he lost his father at the age of eleven. He studied Sanskrit grammar and logic, mastering them in a short time, possessed as he was of extraordinary intelligence. At the age of sixteen he became a teacher of Sanskrit. He married, but his wife

soon died. He was not interested in marrying again, but was persuaded by his mother to wed Vishnupriya (beloved of Vishnu).

Chaitanya went to Puri, an ancient place of pilgrimage, to perform *Śrāddha*—a funeral ceremony in honor of the departed spirit of his father—and there he met a Vaishnava sadhu who convinced him to become a *bhakta* (devotee) of Lord Krishna. His love for Krishna grew more intense after his conversion. At this time he lost interest in teaching and even in the whole world. His teaching consisted only of "Hari bol" (reciting the name of Krishna). He used to hold *sankirtan* (chorus prayer) every night in his friend's courtyard. At the age of twenty-four he decided to become a *sanyāsīn* (renouncer of the world), concluding this to be the way to fulfill his life's mission—to secure salvation for humanity. Thus far his teachings were confined to his followers, but now he asked them to visit every house in Nadia and teach the love of



2



Fig. 3 is shown in color on the back cover.

3



4

Krishna, which was the only way to reform those unscrupulous people who, under the pretext of religion, were committing unlawful acts.

Chaitanya visited the famous Jagannath (Lord of the world) temple in Puri and sang the praise of the Lord. There he attracted a great scholar, a minister of the Orissan king, and converted him to Vaishnavism after convincing him that this was the way to salvation. He went on a pilgrimage to the south, continuing his missionary activities. Wherever he went he preached the new religion and converted a great many people to Vaishnavism. Chaitanya visited Brindavan—the sacred place where Lord Krishna played with the milk-maids—and thus fulfilled the great ambition of his life. He returned to Puri by way of Benaras, the holy city. The rest of his life was spent in Puri, where he gave discourses and performed sankirtans. He allowed everyone of all castes, even "untouchables," to join him. One day, while absorbed in meditation of one of the playful divine acts of Krishna, he approached the seashore. He fancied the sea to be the river Jumna, where the milkmaids used to swim, and he jumped into the sea to join them. Thus ended his mortal life (1533), but he still lives through his teaching and preaching.

THE SCROLL CONCERNING CHAITANYA has seven panels. The first (Fig. 1) does not present the most significant episode of Chaitanya's life but begins by showing his mother, Shachi, nursing him.⁶ She is not looking at the child but is absorbed in deep thought of the length of his life, since Chaitanya was her tenth child and many had died. The treatment of her dress and decoration is appropriate to the auspicious occasion of Chaitanya's birth. The red marks on her forehead and at the parting of her hair are characteristic of married women in India. Chaitanya, peacefully lying in his mother's lap, touches her breast, indicating infancy, while at the same time he looks at the sky—a sign that he is a *mahāpurusha* (great person). The figures are drawn with care and skill, in contrast to the rather careless painting.

In the lower right corner of the panel is an inscription written in Bengali with green paint which reads: "Shrimati Lakshmi-priya Devi gave

five annas⁷ and a paisa [a penny] to the painter Jauhar Chaupadi as a donation to remove the sins of her maternal uncle. The painter accepted it graciously. Village and Post Donachaka." Another inscription at the lower left corner is much faded; it is also in Bengali but in a different handwriting, written with very light green paint. It reads: "Tamluk city in Midnapur District, Jauhar Chaupadi—Shilpi chitra [production of the artist], village and post—Kumarchowk. Bengali era 1368 [i.e., A.D. 1961/62]." It seems that Lakshmi-priya Devi, the donor, lived in Donachaka, while the artist lived in Kumarchowk, also in Midnapur District. The scroll is of recent date, but constant handling has caused much wear and tear.

The second panel (Fig. 2), smaller and bordered below by a plain band, presents two episodes in the life of Chaitanya.⁸ The scene on the left shows him just home from Puri, seated under a tree in a semi-conscious state. His mother comes out and, seeing him in this condition, calls a physician who is trying to diagnose his illness, but Chaitanya tells him that he has no malady which medicine can cure. Shachi, here shown as a widow, calls his wife to divert Chaitanya, who does not even look at her. Mother and wife are both in a state of great anxiety. The face of the physician, with mouth slightly open, shows his concern. An atmosphere of melancholy prevails.

On the right-hand portion of the panel Chaitanya appears as a teacher seated on a chair, with five students sitting on the floor, a typical village classroom. Chaitanya is represented merely by his face and his two hands, the rest of his body being merged into Lord Krishna, whom he sees as enveloping the world. He is singing the praise of Lord Krishna and clapping his hands.

The next panel (Fig. 3) portrays a sankirtan in the courtyard of Srivas, one of Chaitanya's five chief companions.⁹ The tall standing figures with hands raised for dancing are Chaitanya and Nityananda,¹⁰ with Haridas and Srivas playing cymbals beside them. Two followers are playing trumpets, and at the bottom are two drummers. All are placed in a rhythmic pattern to represent a prayer in chorus. In the center are two seated figures—Jagai and



5



6



7

Madhai—holding their hands in *añjali mudrā* (submission and devotion), begging to be pardoned by Chaitanya and Nityananda and to be converted to Vaishnavism.¹¹ The intense joy of everyone in the group is obvious. The legs and heads of the drummers move along with their hands as they play. There is an atmosphere of throbbing life and ecstatic movement. Even the two new converts clap their hands and join the chorus. The trees and plants enhance the liveliness of the scene. All the figures wear gala dress as typical Vaishnava devotees.

The fourth panel (Fig. 4) shows two episodes in Chaitanya's life, occurring at different places.¹² At the left is a scene on the river bank, where he is asking permission from Shachi, his mother, to renounce the world, because before embracing asceticism one is required to seek permission of his immediate family. The six-armed figure standing with crossed legs on a lotus in the river, under a tree, is Chaitanya himself. His upper hands, painted green, hold a bow and arrow, the attributes of Rāma (the seventh incarnation of Vishnu); the center hands, painted blue, are posed as if to hold a flute, the attribute of Lord Krishna, and the lower hands hang down but lack the cup and staff—the attributes of Chaitanya—because Nimai has not yet become Chaitanya (a state of being alive, awake and aware).¹³ When he had failed by other means to secure his mother's permission to become a sanyasin, Chaitanya took this form of six-armed Vishnu to illuminate the inner self and impart wisdom to his mother. Thus he demonstrated to Shachi that her son was Rama, Krishna, and a manifestation of Almighty God. Shachi is astonished. Like a flash of lightning, wisdom dawns, and she realizes that her son is Lord Krishna himself. She is shown repenting her foolishness.

It is interesting to note that the motives of both scenes on this panel are the same. On the left Chaitanya begs permission from his mother, while on the right he is getting permission from his wife, but here he is represented in a normal way.¹⁴ Vishnupriya seems almost insane. Her hair is unbraided; she sits in a posture of reverence holding her husband's feet and gazing at him, doubting whether his mother has really

given permission; she is weeping. Chaitanya is moved by the sight; he bends down to lift her up. Finally she realizes that her husband has to leave his beloved ones to save humanity. She gives her full permission by washing his feet from a water vessel, thus observing a typical Bengali tradition of bidding farewell.

The fifth panel (Fig. 5) shows Shachi's dream.¹⁵ She is sleeping on a bed, wearing only a sari. She dreams that her son returned and was standing in the courtyard. Looking toward her through the window, he called, "Oh Mother" in his accustomed tone.¹⁶ He is shown touching the dust of her feet. He came to see her because his heart was subdued by her love.¹⁷

But in the next panel (Fig. 6) Chaitanya is standing at the head of his wife's bed.¹⁸ A cultural tradition of India is demonstrated here, as the son always respects his mother by touching the dust of her feet, while the wife worships her husband as a *devatā* (god). Vishnupriya is sleeping on an ordinary bed, her head covered with a dhoti. She dreams of Chaitanya as the Lord Krishna. She wears no red marks, indicating that she is no longer a wife but a devotee of Lord Krishna. Her bedroom is simple compared to her mother-in-law's in the panel above, and it is evident that her sacrifices were greater.

The last panel (Fig. 7), divided in two, presents Chaitanya's final meeting with his mother and wife.¹⁹ On the left is Shachi, seated in the courtyard. Chaitanya had promised to visit her, and he is shown seated on the ground in front of her. He did not come to see Vishnupriya, because a sanyasin is not supposed to visit his wife, but she came to him with her face veiled. Chaitanya is sitting next to her on the right. Vishnupriya asks: "My Lord! You are saving the entire world, why must your servant alone remain a forsaken being?"²⁰ A shadow of sorrow passes over the face of the Lord. Chaitanya tells her to serve Krishna, since that is the only way to salvation. Vishnupriya asks her Lord to leave some token with her. Since Chaitanya was a sanyasin he had nothing but a pair of sandals (not shown here), which he left with her. The architectural coloring of

the right compartment is black and the windows are closed, suggesting that Vishnupriya had severed her relations with the outside world. Nothing remained for her except the worship of her Lord day and night.

THE SCENES IN THE SCROLL are selected by the artist to bring out the significant episodes of Chaitanya's life. The artist has used his imagination to delineate the architectural settings. For example, in the fifth panel a tree with green and red leaves is pictured at the right, while in the panel below a tree with small black leaves is on the left. This may mean that the mother was honored and glorified, while the black tree may indicate the dark, gloomy life of the forsaken wife, who received no glory at all.

It seems that the scenes of Chaitanya's life were originally conceived by the artist through oral tradition and that no written sources were consulted, because some scenes do not agree with what is found in published literature. It is possible that the *patuas'* traditions differed from what is stated in publications. For example, Vishnupriya's dream in the fifth panel is not found in any of the sources known to the author. Similarly, the true meaning of the first compartment of the second panel is difficult to ascertain; it may be a scene of shaving the head to become a sanyasin, or represent sickness after the return from Puri.

The scenes are not overcrowded and the overlapping of figures is avoided except in the first compartment of the second panel. All unessentials are eliminated in order to bring out the full quality of the main theme. Spontaneous and unsophisticated movements in response to the inner urge of the subjects are shown with skill, although the coloring is done hastily and without much care. As Dutt remarks, "In conception as well as in technique there is a free realism and simplicity in dealing with animate objects, whereas inanimate motives such as drapery, trees, etc. are dealt with in a decorative manner with an abundance of rhythm patterning."²¹

The great merit of scroll painting lies in preserving the cultural heritage of the past—the original art and tradition—which might have died long ago if these scrolls had not been copied

many times and thus been preserved by generations of painter-narrators. A duplicate was always made before the worn scroll was destroyed. The primary aim is to create a spiritual environment rather than to show aesthetic beauty. Entertaining folk gatherings by displaying the scrolls, accompanied with the chanting of songs narrating the myths and religious stories, keeps the people aware of their ancestral tradition. Thus it is one of the most effective means both of education and entertainment.

SARLA D. NAGAR
University of Missouri-Columbia

- ¹ A scroll is a multiple *paṭ* (cloth) and the man who makes it is called a *paṭua*.
- ² A paste prepared by boiling seeds of the *tentul* tree in hot water is mixed with the paints in order to retain the brilliance of the colors as long as possible.
- ³ Ashok Mitra, *The Tribes and Castes of West Bengal* (Alipore 1953) 313.
- ⁴ The scenes are generally flanked by a border of foliage and the panels are demarcated either by a plain band or a border of foliage.
- ⁵ Acc. No. 75.2. Length, 2.14 m.; width, 43 cm.
- ⁶ Height, 36.2 cm.
- ⁷ One *anna* amounts to nearly five cents.
- ⁸ Height, 14.5 cm.
- ⁹ Height, 54 cm.
- ¹⁰ They are believed to be incarnations of Krishna and his brother, Balarama.
- ¹¹ They were cousins who had become robbers. They hated the new faith of Chaitanya. One day Madhai hit Nityananda on his forehead with an empty bottle because he was spreading Vaishnavism.
- ¹² Height, 28.5 cm.
- ¹³ Nimai was his given name, and he was called Chaitanya after he received enlightenment.
- ¹⁴ The reason may be that it was difficult to convince the mother that her son was the Lord without the force of a supernatural scene. She was advanced in age and had reached the stage of wisdom. But Vishnupriya already worshiped her husband as the Lord; she was still very young and not yet ready for supernatural wisdom.
- ¹⁵ Height, 26 cm.
- ¹⁶ In the painting he is not looking through the window but is standing by her bed in front of the window.
- ¹⁷ Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Chaitanya and his Companions* (Calcutta 1917) 191.
- ¹⁸ Height, 26 cm.
- ¹⁹ Height, 28.5 cm.
- ²⁰ Shishir Kumar Ghose, *Lord Gauranga or Salvation for All* (Calcutta 1923) 396.
- ²¹ Guru Saday Dutt, "The Indigenous Painters of Bengal," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 10 (1933) 20.

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