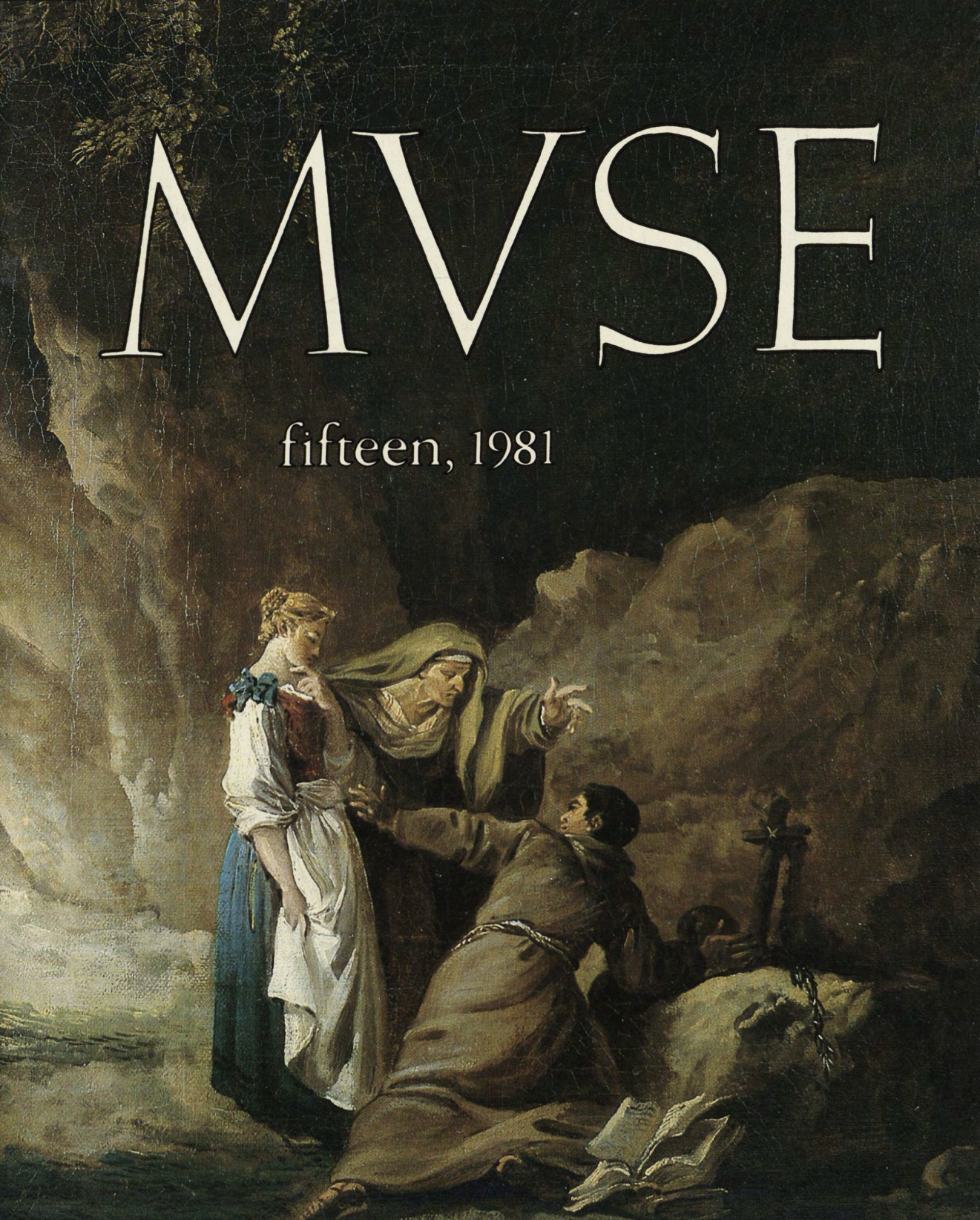


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fifteen, 1981



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ANNUAL of the MUSEUM of ART and ARCHAEOLOGY
University of Missouri-Columbia

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Front Cover: *The Hermit Frère Luce or L'Ermite* (detail), by Hubert Robert, French, 1733-1808. Oil on canvas, 69 x 53 cm. Acc. No. 69.1013. See article beginning on page 46.

The Museum of Art and Archaeology is open Tuesday through Sunday, 12-5 p.m., closed Mondays and national holidays. Admission is free. Guided tours are provided when arranged in advance. Telephone: 314-882-3591. Subscription to *Muse*: \$4.00 per year. Checks should be made payable to University of Missouri and correspondence addressed to Editor, *Muse*, 1 Pickard Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri 65211.

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ACTIVITIES

The Museum enjoyed record-breaking attendance in 1981, over 23,000 visitors. Activities for the general visitor centered on several special exhibitions, three of them of major scope, as well as the continued exhibition of works from our permanent collections. In April, *John Steuart Curry and Grant Wood: A Portrait of Rural America*, an exhibition of sixty important paintings, drawings and prints assembled by the Cedar Rapids Art Center, was installed in the Modern Gallery. This is a particularly popular season for school tours in the Museum, and this exhibition, in large measure due to the excellent work of the volunteer docents, was especially effective with the children. Because Missourians are already so familiar with the work of Thomas Hart Benton, we were happy to be able to present this comprehensive view of the work of the other two artists of the great Regionalist triumvirate. There was a good response to the exhibition and to the special lectures given in connection with it, and to a very handsome volume of the same name prepared by Joseph S. Czestochowski of the Cedar Rapids Art Center and published by the University of Missouri Press. Substantial financial support from Museum Associates and the Boone County Community Trust made it possible to bring this exhibition to Columbia.

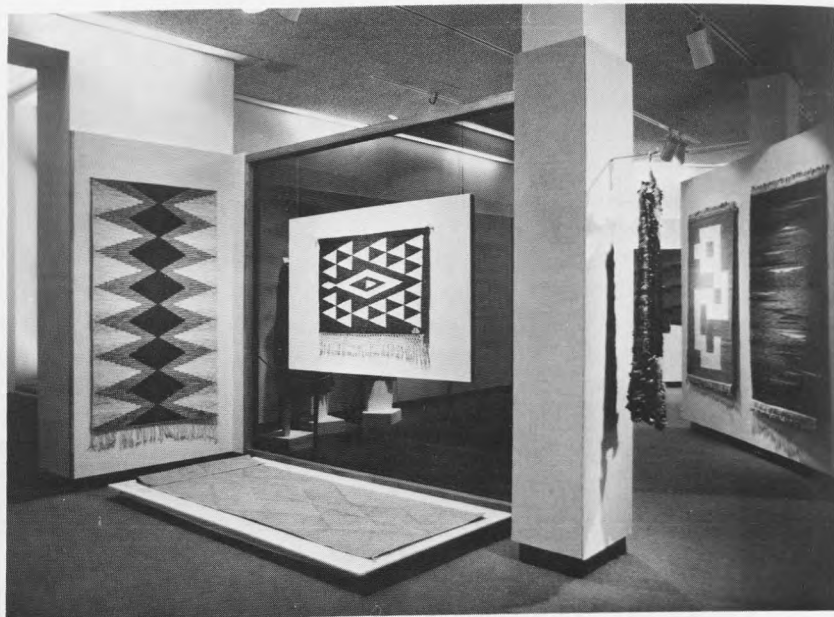
Penelope's Legacy: Weaving and Kindred Crafts, an extensive exhibition of textiles, was organized in June and July to coincide with the annual meeting of the Midwest Weavers Conference which brought about 700 fiber artists to Columbia. A wide variety of works from the permanent collections was brought out, providing for the first time an opportunity to show the public some of the richness of the Pre-Columbian, Coptic and Oriental textiles, in particular, that we have. A few works were borrowed for the

exhibition, and in the Modern Gallery, works by the six principal speakers at the conference, all among the best-known fiber artists in the country today, were also exhibited. Gifts from several individuals and from the conference committee, made it possible to purchase one of these modern pieces for the Museum, *Forest*, by Joy Rushfelt. A fiber workshop for older adults was held just prior to the opening of *Penelope's Legacy*, to introduce the participants to the fiber arts, and to prepare them for the exhibition. The workshop was made possible through the generous assistance of graduate students in Art Education, and was partially funded by Museum Associates.

For the third major exhibition, held in the fall, *Buddhist Treasures from Gandhara*, the Museum's outstanding collection of Gandharan sculpture was all on display for the first time, augmented by some magnificent carvings from a private collection. Because the exhibition was so comprehensive, it provided rich opportunities for a variety of educational activities dealing with South Asian art and the formation of Buddhist iconography. Funds for these activities came from the Missouri Committee for the Humanities. A comprehensive catalogue, *Gandhāran Sculpture, A Catalogue of the Collection in the Museum of Art and Archaeology*, written by Sarla D. Nagar, Associate Curator of South Asian Art, and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, was published on the occasion of the exhibition. It was a particular pleasure on this occasion, also, to rename the South Asian Gallery the Samuel Eilenberg Gallery. Those who have seen the exhibition or the catalogue have an idea of the extraordinarily generous support the Museum has received from Dr. Eilenberg over many years.

In December, the University of Missouri

View in Modern Gallery of the exhibit, *Penelope's Legacy: Weaving and Kindred Crafts*.



Press published *It's Good To Tell You, French Folk Tales from Missouri*, by Rosemary Hyde Thomas with illustrations by Ron Thomas. To help mark this occasion, the original drawings used to illustrate the book, amazing modern works which capture the magic and mystery of the original Creole tales, were placed on exhibition. There were smaller special exhibitions throughout the Museum during the year drawn from our own collections. These covered a wide range of subjects from the ancient art of *Egyptian Faience* to one of the most recent interests of modern artists, *Paper as Object*. The full list of exhibitions is given separately below. The special exhibitions as well as the permanent collections are the subject of the regular series of Museum tours—the Wednesday lunch-time tours, Sunday drop-in tours and monthly discovery tours.

It would not be possible to sustain the level of activity in the Museum without the support of Museum Associates at every turn. Linda Cupp succeeded Jeanne Epple as President of Museum Associates in 1981. Our warm thanks go to both, and to the other officers and committee members who give such devoted and effective leadership to our friends' group. A suggestion of their

service can be seen in the lists of their committees at the end of this issue of *Muse*. These dedicated volunteers have given hundreds of hours to the Museum this year, to manage and staff the shop, to help direct and carry out the educational program, and to organize the social activities for special events. The funds Museum Associates earn through the shop and raise among the membership go to support a host of activities that otherwise could not be done, and a substantial amount is always reserved for acquisitions to the Museum collections. The Associates also arrange an attractive list of special activities for their own members, such as lectures and tours, which included in 1981 a trip to Egypt under the leadership of Professor Albert Leonard, Jr. of the Department, who has been excavating there in recent years.

Inflation and reductions in our operating budget necessitated the elimination of our dwindling allocation for acquisitions. At present, for additions to the collections, we are totally dependent upon the generosity of our donors, the annual gift from Museum Associates, and the narrowing possibility of receiving occasional allocations from special funds that

become available within the University. Our faithful donors continue to present the Museum with fine objects, and new friends have been added as well. Gifts to the Museum continue at the same high levels of recent years. This will be seen in the full listing of acquisitions for 1980 which are reported in this issue, and will also be reflected in the report for 1981 which will be published in full in the next issue of *Muse*. We note with sadness the deaths of three of our most generous donors, Irwin Vladimir, Olive McLorn and Dr. Terry Bladow.

The University was forced to reduce its budget allocations to all departments in 1981, and the Museum did not go unscathed. Not only was our operating budget reduced, but it was also necessary to terminate the half-time position of Associate Curator of South Asian Art. It was particularly hard to give up the services of so faithful a staff member as Sarla Nagar, and to reassign her duties among an already overburdened staff. She leaves a splendid legacy of her detailed knowledge of South Asian Art in the Gandharan catalogue. The Museum staff remains otherwise unchanged, and I proudly claim that no one has a more able and dedicated group with whom to work. In addition to their specific responsibilities indicated by their respective titles, members of the staff are involved in various kinds of teaching from supervising the work of students who come to the Museum as assistants or interns, to lecturing in the docent training program, to offering formal courses. A major project of the staff reported in earlier years has been the preparation of a general handbook to the Museum, which is being published by the University of Missouri Press. It is now in production and is scheduled to appear in August, 1982. Our retired staff members, Gladys and Saul

Weinberg, continue to give their services to the Museum most generously. They have several projects under way, some of major scope, and both were in Europe in 1981 to do research in connection with these, Mrs. Weinberg for six months.

The first mission of a University museum is to serve the needs of students and faculty in teaching and research. This is accomplished in many ways, from the hundreds of assignments done in the galleries to the intensive experience received by the assistants and interns. Works in the collections provide rich topics for study, and occasionally, as with the article in this issue by Candace Clements, a student paper will merit publication in *Muse*. The continued support of excavation activities is reflected in the excavation reports in this issue. The major new project in Portugal at Mirobriga promises further exciting results, and we look forward to continuing reports from this site. John Huffstot again joined the Missouri projects in 1981, and both he and Jeffrey Wilcox from the Museum staff will participate in the Mirobriga project in 1982. The faculty of the Department of Art History and Archaeology continue to serve as the Advisory Committee of the Museum, and are listed separately inside the book cover.

With the beginning of the new fiscal year in July, 1982, the Museum will be twenty-five years old. Plans are well under way for a number of Silver Anniversary events, which we will be able to report in the next issue of *Muse*.

OSMUND OVERBY
Director

ACQUISITIONS 1980



Male figure seated on two-legged stool, probably Nayarit (405). H. 26 cm.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN ART

Costa Rica

Terracotta "whistle" figurine with necklace and hat, traces of red pigment (426),* Guanacaste (?), gift of Dr. Terry Bladow.

Guatemala

Ceramics: cylinder vase with polychrome decoration of figures and glyphs (197), Mayan, 600-900, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Linton. Cylindrical tripod vase with incised and carved glyphs (358), Mayan, 400-700; deep bowl with frog in relief in tondo (357), Mayan, 500-700; deep bowl with polychrome glyphs on exterior (373), Mayan, 300-600; plate with polychrome glyphs in tondo (369), Mayan, ca. 600, all the gift of Boss Partners. Two bowls with incised curvilinear and geometric designs on exterior (406, 419), Mayan, late Classic, 500-600, gift of Dr. Terry Bladow.

*The numbers in parentheses are museum accession numbers and normally are given in full, as 80.426.

Mexico

Stone: mask in form of man's face (377) and mask with elaborate headdress (374), post Conquest, ca. 1600, both gift of Boss Partners.

Terracotta: standing female figurine (372), Pre-Classic, 1800-1000 B.C.; female figurine with turban (362) and female figurine (368), both Huastec, 250-550, all gift of Boss Partners. Male figure seated on two-legged stool (405), Nayarit (?), gift of Dr. Terry Bladow.

Ceramics: vessel in form of seated hunchback dwarf (427), Colima, gift of Ms. Susan Long. Zoomorphic vase with globular body, loop handles, brown-painted curvilinear decoration (425), Huastec, ca. 1100, gift of Dr. Terry Bladow. All the following ceramics of the Chupicuaro culture, ca. 400 B.C.-A.D. 300 are the gift of Dr. Terry Bladow: eight burnished tripod bowls of various sizes, some with polychrome geometric decoration (398, 400, 401, 407, 416, 420, 422, 424); bowl with incised "wave" design around exterior (402); two bowls with pinched rims (403, 411); four burnished bowls with stripe decorations (397, 404, 414, 418); four burnished bowls with polychrome geometric decorations (409, 410, 415, 423); shallow burnished bowl with polychrome design on interior and exterior consisting of cross in center encircled by hook motifs (412); hour-glass shaped vase with painted geometric and curvilinear decoration (408); globular bowl with two lugs at rim (413); globular vase with flaring rim and three lug handles at shoulder (417); globular vase with polychrome geometric decoration (421); vase of slightly depressed globular form with narrow neck and decoration of circles on shoulder (399).

Peru

Ceramics: stirrup-spout vessel in the form of kneeling man (363); stirrup-spout vessel with male figure seated atop globular body (371), both Mochica, 1100-1400, gift of Boss Partners.

Textiles: two fragments with painted zoomorphic forms (394, 395), Chancay, ca. 1200, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Gyenes. Funerary mask of painted cloth and wood (361); painted fragment with feline and bird motif (379); polychrome slit-tapestry fragment with figures of warriors (376); two polychrome slit-tapestry fragments with feline motifs (367, 375); two polychrome slit-tapestry fragments with bird motifs (366, 370), all Chancay, ca. 1100; polychrome poncho in slit-tapestry technique (360), Chancay/Inca, 1100 or later, all gift of Boss Partners.

Right: wool and cotton textile painted with zoomorphic forms, Chancay, ca. 1200 (394). L. 1.65 m.

Below: globular vase with decoration of circles, Chupicuaro, 400 B.C.-A.D. 300 (399). H. 13.3 cm.



Right: large plate decorated with pink prunus blossoms and blackbirds on yellow ground, Chinese, 19th c. (342). D. 28.2 cm.

Below: miniature porcelain meiping with underglaze blue decoration, Chinese, Kangxi, 1662-1722 (199). H. 15.8 cm.



FAR EASTERN ART

China

Ceramics: porcelain miniature *meiping* decorated in underglaze blue with the Immortal Li Tiaguai and attendant (199), Kangxi, 1662-1722; pair of pale celadon bowls with molded *shu* and *fu* characters amid peonies and vine scrolls (198), Yongzheng, 1723-35 or Qianlong, 1736-95; celadon piriform vase with fish-shaped handles (200), ca. 17th c., all the gift of Margaret Carney Long and Howard Rusk Long in memory of the Boone County Long Family.

All the following Chinese objects are the gift of Mr. Robert Landers. Ceramics: earthenware covered urn with phoenix bird handles and relief decoration of the Eight Immortals and gift bearers (313); porcelain covered bowl with butterflies and melons in famille verte enamels (312); porcelain jardiniere with floral motifs in famille verte enamels (336); porcelain saucer decorated with peaches, bats and *shou* characters in famille rose enamels (333); a large *gu* shaped vase decorated with pink prunus blossoms (311); large plate decorated with pink prunus blossoms and black birds on yellow ground (342); charger with battle scene in famille verte colors (354), all late 19th or early 20th c.

Stone: mottled green jadeite covered jar carved with addorsed recumbent deer (303), early 19th c.; rose quartz figurine of Guanyin (287); agatized quartz carving of fu lion and its cub (289); dark green amazonite carving of recumbent elephant (327); inkstone with dragon in high relief and inscription (338); white jade seal (292); pair of mounted jade cups (331); mounted jade cup (332), all late 19th or 20th c.

Metal: sword with engraved silver hilt and sheath, set with turquoise, coral and jade (286), Mongolian, 19th c.;



Ivory figurines of Qin Liangyu and Wen Tianxiang, Chinese, ca. 1900 (314, 315). H. ca. 31 cm.

hand-forged bronze gong with hand-carved hardwood stand (355), 19th c.; pewter tray (307) and fork (308), 20th c.; two brass boxes with enamel decoration (344, 345), 20th c.

Cloisonné: narrow-necked globular vase with flowers of the four seasons in panels (294); hinged box with floral motifs (324); dish with Buddha's hand citron in center medallion (329); small tray with white floral motifs (330); pair of double gourd vases with openwork lotus motif over gilded metal (339); black-ground bowl with dragon motif (340); black-ground covered box (341); white-on-blue bowl with lotus motif (346); wide-mouth bowl with scale motif (343); round cosmetic box with domed lid and floral motif (348); pair of "garlic bulb" vases with openwork lotus flower heads and scrolls (351); pair of cylindrical vases with decoration of prunus and magnolias (352), all late 19th or early 20th c.

Ivory: figurine of reclining Guanyin, holding *ruyi* scepter (299), Daoguang, 1821-1850; pagoda consisting of four-legged receptacle with three-story pavilion, carved all over with dragons, immortals and auspicious motifs, accented with black pigment (310), Guangxu, 1875-1908; "boat of life," carrying the Eight Daoist Immortals (305), ca. 1875; "Prisoner and his Guard" (301), ca. 1895; Qin Liangyu carrying sword and wearing armor beneath cloak (314) and Wen Tianxiang flourishing scimitar (315), both ca. 1900; pair of maidens with polychrome details (316), ca. 1900; philosopher with fan (317), ca. 1900; seated bearded figure with flywhisk (318) and seated female with flower (319), both 20th c.

Glass dish in the form of a Buddha's hand citron (290), 19th c.; sandalwood fan carved with scenes of daily life (288), mid-19th c.

ACQUISITIONS 1980



Lacquer cabinet decorated with gold and silver, Japanese, 19th c. (325). H. 13.8 cm.



Piriform Satsuma vase decorated with Five Hundred Arhats, Japanese, 19th c. (321). H. 17.5 cm.

Japan

Woodblock prints: Kitagawa Utamaro, 1754-1806, blue monochrome of a monkey and a loquat branch (211); Ando Hiroshige, 1797-1858, snowscape at Uruga (212); blossoming cherries by a stream at Yoshino (215); *Miya*, number 42 of *Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido* (213) and *Shono*, number 46 of *Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido* (214), all the gift of Mrs. Walter Staley.

The following Japanese objects are the gift of Mr. Robert Landers. Ceramics: small scalloped porcelain dish with landscape vignettes within motif of sea shells (304), Imari style, early 18th c.; porcelain urn with figural panels in famille verte colors on red ground (353), Kutani (?), ca. 1875; porcelain platter with garden scene in underglaze blue (334), late 19th c.; covered Kogo decorated on exterior with sages and on the interior with samurai (322), Satsuma, mid 19th c.; piriform vase with "five hundred arhats" (321), Satsuma, mid 19th c.; jardiniere with peonies in underglaze blue (337), 19th c.; stemmed cup with decoration of crabs and nets (335), ca. 1890; oval dish decorated with landscape in Imari colors (328), early 20th c.; covered vase with floral design in relief on cobalt blue ground (309), Satsuma style, early 20th c.

Metal: bronze "sea wave" pedestal with two rock crystal balls (297), 19th c.; miniature silver drum with *tomo-e* crest on ends (296), late 19th c.; shallow bronze plate decorated with silver and gold maple leaves (323), late 19th c.; copper inkwell (326), ca. 1870; bronze bowl in shape of lotus flower (300), early 20th c.

Cloisonné: *totai* cloisonné (on porcelain) "tree bark" vase with design of ducks and butterflies amid luxuriant leaves (350), ca. 1870; censer (295); miniature vase with butterflies and flowers (347); vase with dragon and phoenix shields (295); cylindrical covered box (349), all 20th c.

Lacquer: small four-drawer cabinet decorated in gold and silver *nashiji* and *kirigane* with fan motif (325), 19th c.; pair of covered bowls (298), late 19th c.

Ivory: sword with scabbard and long hilt carved all over with samurai warriors and floral motifs (302), late 19th c.; takarabune with seven Gods of Good Fortune (306), ca. 1900; figurine of sculptor at work (320), 20th c.

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ART

India

Bronze standing figure of Vishnu (240), Tanjore, South India, Chola period, 11th c., gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg; red sandstone relief fragment showing a Vidyadhara (196), Medieval period, 13th or 14th c., gift of Mr. Donald L. Nigro.

Right: *bronze standing figure of Vishnu, Tanjore, Chola period, 11th c. (240). H. 54 cm.*

Below: *gray schist relief carving of the seated Bodhisattva Maitreya flanked by angel and a lion, Gandhara, 5th c. (393). H. 18.5 cm.*





Above: gray schist relief carving of Indra and his harpist visiting the Buddha, Gandhara, 1st c. (192). H. 24.6 cm.

Pakistan

Schist reliefs: Indra and his harpist visiting the Buddha in Indrasailaguha Cave (192), probably Nathu, Gandhara, 1st c., gift of Mr. Eric Neff; the Buddha meeting five Pancavargiya Bhikshus (202), probably Nathu, Gandhara, 2nd c., gift of Mr. Alan D. Wolfe. Winged male figure (391), Swat (?), Gandhara, 3rd or 4th c.; turbaned male figure (390), Gandhara, 4th c.; Vajrapani (?) and a Brahman ascetic (388), Gandhara, 5th c. seated Bodhisattva Maitreya flanked by angel and lion in high relief (393), Gandhara, 5th c., all the gift of Dr. Richard J. Nalin.

Stucco: head of Bodhisattva wearing turban and earring (389), Jaulian (?), Indo-Afghan, 4th or 5th c.; head of barbarian with drooping mustache (392), Gandhara, 4th or 5th c., both gift of Dr. Richard J. Nalin.

Metal: silver covered repoussé reliquary box (387), Swat (?), 9th or 10th c.; gold granules inside clay lidded crucible (386), Gandhara, 5th c.; three gold ear ornaments, one with lapis lazuli inlay (383) and two decorated with granules (384, 385), Gandhara, 5th c., all the gift of Dr. Richard J. Nalin.

Below: three gold ear ornaments, Gandhara, 5th c. (383, 384, 385). Actual size.



Black granite seated block figure, Egypt, Third Intermediate Period, 1080-750 B.C. (380). H. 22.8 cm.



Thailand

Green quartz figure of seated Buddha (291), Bangkok style, early 20th c., gift of Mr. Robert Landers.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EASTERN ART

Cyprus

Ceramics: hemispherical bowl with incised lug at rim (225), Red-Polished I-II Ware, Early Cypriote I-II, 2300-2000 B.C.; juglet with three lugs and incised zigzag lines (226), Red-Polished III Ware, Early Cypriote III-Middle Cypriote I, 2000-1750 B.C.; bowl with high swung vertical handle (227), Red-Polished III Ware, Early Cypriote III-Middle Cypriote II, 2000-1750 B.C.; bowl with pale buff slip, painted decoration and high strap handle (228), White-Painted III Ware, Middle Cypriote II, 1800-1750 B.C.; juglet with white-filled incised decoration (230), Black Slip Ware, Late Cypriote I, 1625-1450 B.C.; hemispherical bowl with double carinated shoulder, "wish-bone" handle (229), Monochrome Ware, Late Cypriote, 1550-1050 B.C.; shallow bowl with echinus-shaped body, loop handles, black and red decoration (231), Bichrome Ware, Cypro-Geometric, 1050-750 B.C.; juglet with trefoil mouth, red and black decoration (232), Bichrome III Ware, Cypro-Archaic I, 750-600 B.C.; deep biconical bowl with small handles, red and black decoration (233), Bichrome III Ware, Cypro-Archaic I, 750-600 B.C.; jug with spherical body, black and red decoration (234), Bichrome V Ware, Cypro-Archaic II, 600-475 B.C.; bowl with echinus-shaped body, black decoration (235), Black on Red II Ware, Cypro-Archaic, 750-475 B.C.; bowl with carinated shoulder and wide down-turned rim (236), Red Slip IV Ware, Cypro-Classic, 475-325 B.C.; bowl with incurved rim, dark brown glaze (237), Black-Glazed Ware, Hellenistic I, 325-150 B.C.

Egypt

Black granite seated block figure with standing Osiris in relief on the front (380), 3rd Intermediate Period, 1080-750 B.C., gift of Mr. Theodore E. Bachman; bronze oxyrhynchos fish (365), 26th Dynasty, 664-525 B.C., gift of Boss Partners.

Iran

Copper stamp seal for pottery with geometric design (378), Elamite, 3rd or 2nd millennium B.C., gift of Boss Partners.

Bronze toggle pin (257), Amlash or Luristan, 2nd millennium B.C., anonymous gift; burnished gray clay dipper (247), possibly from Tepe Siyalk, Iron I, 12th or 11th c. B.C., Weinberg Fund Purchase.

All the following objects from Iran are the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

Bronze: two axe-adze heads (108, 109), ca. 2000 B.C. Objects from the Amlash and Luristan cultures, 13th-7th c., B.C.: three mirrors (80-82); double bird-headed stamp seal (93); four pendants (83, 84, 94, 112); pendant with ibex heads back-to-back (111); double pyramidal knobbed ornament (176); five bracelets (91, 101-103, 106); three sets of beads (154, 158, 159); three horse bits (85, 100, 110); two harness jingles



Above: six terracotta tesserae, impressed on both sides with designs and legends, Seleucia, Late Parthian, 2nd c. (left to right: 432, 433, 430, 431, 428, 435). All actual size. Right: black glazed conical bowl (Mastos) with rouletted beading on the interior of the rim, Syria, mid 2nd c. B.C. (249). Half actual size.

(86, 98); two disk-shaped cymbals or bosses (95, 96); bottle-shaped mount (99); two bells (113, 114); spatula (144); sword (119); mace head (107); five spear heads or daggers (97, 118, 120-122); three spikes (87, 147, 148); seventeen pins (88-90, 92, 104, 105, 115-117, 123, 139-143, 145, 146); fifteen arrow heads (124-138).

Objects probably of the 4th millennium B.C.: string of beads of stone, shell and terracotta (178); six stone spindle whorls (179-184); faience spindle whorl (185).

Objects said to be from Tépé Marlik, 1200-1000 B.C.: assorted beads (162, 164); one terracotta cylinder seal or bead (163); bronze bead (175); four pendants, three stone (167-169) and one terracotta (170); two terracotta spindle whorls (165, 166) and four stone spindle whorls (171-174).

Nine strings of beads in assorted materials: amber, shell, glass, faience, terracotta, bone, ivory, jet (?), carnelian and agate (149-153, 155-157, 160, 161), dating from 13th c. B.C.-A.D. 2nd c.

Iraq

Blue-green glass pendant (177), Hurrian, Late Bronze Age, 15th or 14th c. B.C., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks. Eight terracotta tesserae with impressed designs (428-435), Seleucia, Late Parthian, 2nd c.

Israel

Bronze bird, incised and inlaid (382), Hebron, Islamic period, 800-1200, gift of Mrs. Leonard W. Staples.



Syria

All the following objects are Weinberg Fund Purchase.

Stone: alabaster vase or pyxis (244), 2nd millennium B.C.; basalt quern with double bulls' heads (248), from Hama or Aleppo (?), 9th or 8th c. B.C.

Bronze: three toggle pins, one with conical head (241), 2300-2000 B.C.; one with lion head finial (242), 2250-2000 B.C.; one with melon head (243), Early-Middle Bronze Age, 1900-1750 B.C.

Ceramics: jug (246) and juglet (245), both Middle Bronze II, ca. 2000-1550 B.C.; black glazed conical bowl with beading on the interior of the molded rim (249), Hellenistic period, mid 2nd c. B.C.; echinus-shaped bowl (250), Red Ware, Hellenistic, probably mid 2nd c. B.C.

ACQUISITIONS 1980



Right: terracotta mold depicting a comic scene in high relief, with modern impression to the right, Roman, 3rd c. (195). Three-quarters actual size. Below: bronze furniture attachment in the form of a goat protome, Roman, 1st or 2nd c. (77). Three-quarters actual size.



Etruscan

Bronze engraved mirror with scene of Heracles (Herakles) and Hermes (Turms) surrounded by a border of ivy branches (191), last decades of the 4th c. B.C. (see article on p. 54).



Roman

Bronze: furniture attachment in the form of goat protome emerging from horseshoe-shaped wreath (77), 1st or 2nd c., gift of the Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee; bird (381), from Shiloah, Israel, 100-300, gift of Mrs. Leonard W. Staples; ring with yellow glass intaglio gem carved with man and dog (78) ca. 200.

Polychrome painted fresco fragment with arcuated columned exedra and figures (194), late Second-early Third style, 1st c. B.C. or A.D. 1st c., probably from Italy, anonymous gift.

Ceramics: oinochoe in form of negro head (356), 2nd or 3rd c., gift of Boss Partners. Carinated Red Ware plate with stamp (251), early 1st c.; terracotta mold with comic scene (195), 3rd c., both Weinberg Fund Purchase.

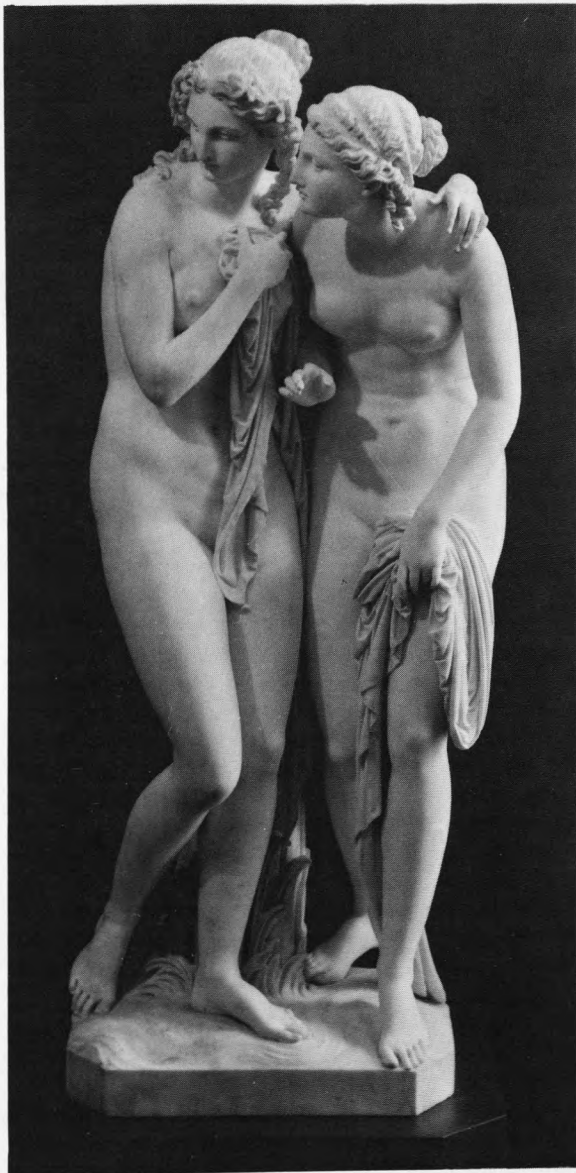
Coins: bronze antoninianus of Victorinus (396), 268-270, anonymous gift; bronze coin of Galba (252), Alexandria, 68-69; silver antoninianus of Valerian II (254), Antioch, 254-255; bronze follis of Constantine (255), Alexandria, 337-341, all Weinberg Fund Purchase.

GREEK, ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN ART

Greek

Pottery ring aryballos with panther and goat decoration (364), Middle Corinthian, 600-575 B.C., gift of Boss Partners; terracotta necklace with alternating lotus and palmette pendants, traces of white slip (190), said to have been found near Vejo, South Italy, 4th c. B.C.; bronze coin of Antiochus IX of Syria (253), 116-95 B.C., both Weinberg Fund Purchase. Figurine of dancing mime (359), Hellenistic, 2nd or 1st c. B.C., gift of Boss Partners.





Opposite and above: *Bathing Nymphs*, by Johann von Halbig, German, 1814-1882 (218). H. 1.69 m.

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ART

Sculpture

Johann von Halbig, German, 1814-1882, *Bathing Nymphs*, inscribed: IOH. HALBIG, PROF. Fecit, München, 1867 (218), Carrara marble (1.69 m.), Unrestricted Development Fund Purchase.

Painting

Frederick E. Shane, American, b. 1906, *Mr. Dawes*, ca. 1939 (220), tempera and oil resin on Masonite (35.5 x 45.9 cm.), gift of the artist.

Drawing

Frederick E. Shane, *Mrs. Kate Robinson and Mr. Dawes in a Cafe*, ca. 1939 (219), pencil, gift of the artist.

Graphics

George Bellows, American, 1882-1925, *The Return to Life*, 1923 (193), lithograph, from the series, *Men Like Gods*.

Thomas Hart Benton, American, 1889-1975, *Down the River*, 1939 (187); *The Fence Mender*, 1940 (188) and *The Race*, 1942 (189), all lithographs, gift of Mr. and Mrs. D. A. Ross

Sir Frank Brangwyn, R. A., British, 1867-1956, *Castello della Ziza*, 1904 (216) and *The Paper Mill, Montreuil, No. 2*, 1907 (217), both etchings on zinc, gift of the American Friends of Wilton Park in memory of Sir Heinz Koeppler, Kt.

Lovis Corinth, German, 1858-1925, *Self-Portrait with Male Model*, ca. 1924 (239), drypoint on Japan paper, gift of the Arts and Science Student Government.

Eugène Delacroix, French, 1798-1863, *Weislingen Prisonnier de Goetz*, 1836 (224), lithograph, recto/verso proof impression on China paper, from the series *Goetz de Berlichingen*, 1836-1843.

Gene Kloss, American, b. 1903, *Rio Grande Gorge* (256), etching, aquatint and drypoint, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Berneche in memory of Mr. Romay De Pompei.



David in Prayer, by Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606-1669 (238). 14.3 x 9.3 cm.

Jan Müller, Dutch, 1571-1628, after Hendrik Goltzius, *Dies III. Third Day—Separation of Land and Sea* (79), engraving, from the series, *The Creation of the World*.

Eduardo Paolozzi, British, b. 1924, *Moonstrips Empire News*, Vol. 1, 1967 (221.1-45), text of portfolio, serigraphs, gift of Mr. John Wilson; *High Life* (221.46), five-color serigraph; *Memory Core Units* (221.47), serigraph; *Unser Nachbar Amerika* (221.48), three-color serigraph; *Cover for a Journal* (221.49), five-color serigraph, all from the portfolio, *Moonstrips Empire News*.

Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, Dutch, 1606-1669, *David in Prayer*, 1652 (238), etching and drypoint, gift of Gladys and Saul Weinberg in memory of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.

Erica Rutherford, British, b. 1923, *Still Life with Red*, 1978 (186), thirteen-color serigraph, gift of the artist.

John Sloan, American, 1871-1951, *Subway Stairs*, 1926 (223), etching, gift of Museum Associates.

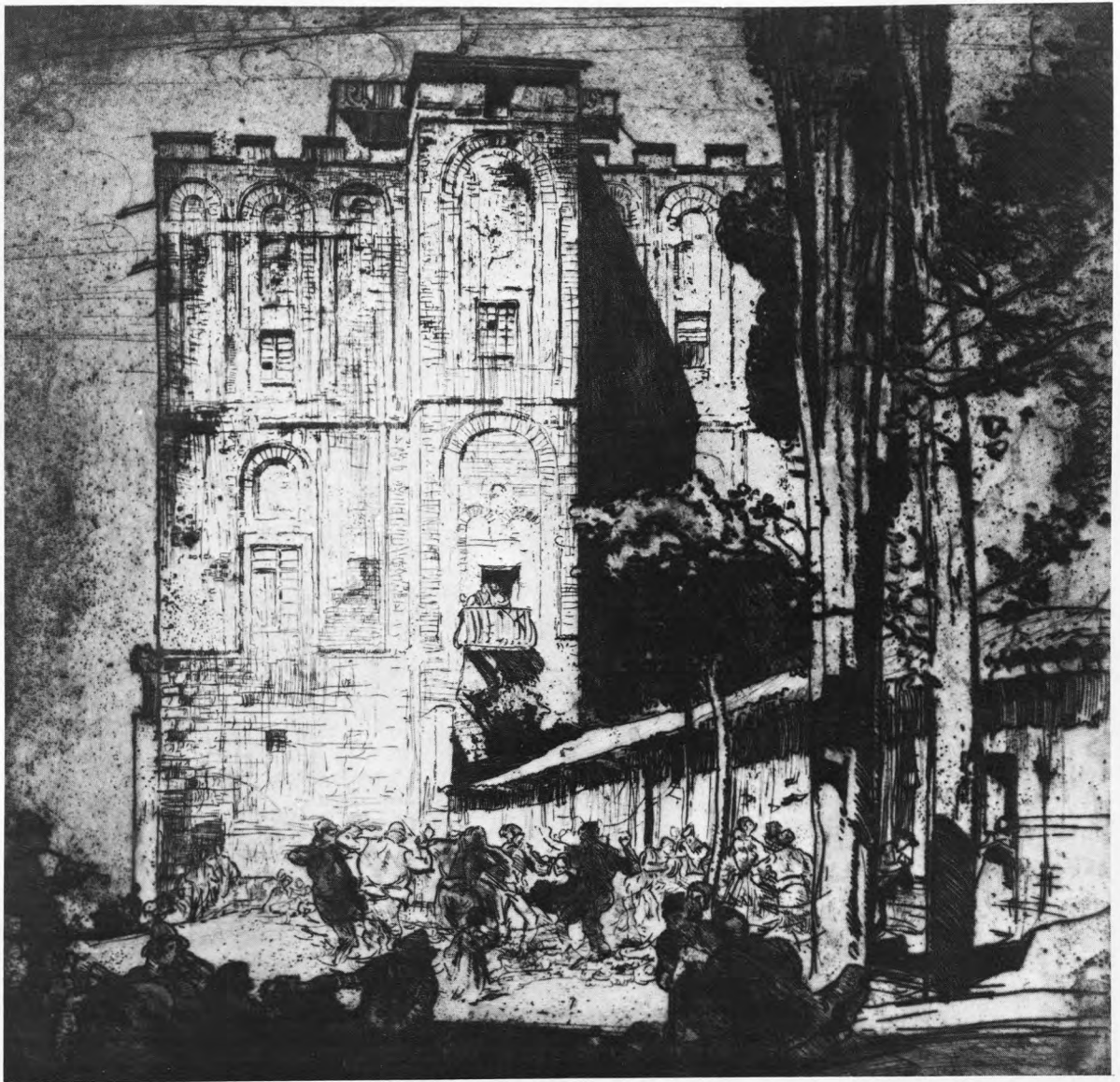
Graham Sutherland, British, 1903-1980, *Articulated Forms* (pink background). *Forms on a Terrace*, 1950 (222), five-color lithograph.



Above: *Dies III. Third Day—Separation of Land and Sea*, by Jan Müller, Dutch, 1571-1628 (79). Diameter, 26.4 cm.

Below: *Weislingen Prisonnier de Goetz*, by Eugène Delacroix, French, 1798-1863 (224). 28 x 21 cm.





Castello della Ziza, by Sir Frank Brangwyn, R. A., British, 1867-1956 (216). 46.3 x 48.7 cm.

The following prints were acquired with the aid of the National Endowment for the Arts Living American Artists Purchase Fund and with matching gifts from Dr. and Mrs. A. Sherwood Baker, Mr. and Mrs. Royal D. M. Bauer, Edzard Baumann, B D R Antiques, Mrs. Joseph Bien, William B. Bondeson in memory of Mrs. Abbie Olson, William E. Bondeson Memorial Gifts, Boone County Community Trust, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Culley, Harold F. Daum, M.D., Mr. and

Mrs. Mark Foreman, Dr. and Mrs. James N. Hueser, Clotilde M. Moller, Dr. and Mrs. Larry Dee Mosby, Barbara Nowell, Dr. and Mrs. James C. Olson, Mrs. Mary Banks Parry, Dr. and Mrs. Carlos Perez-Mesa, Mrs. Charles Proctor, James R. Reed, Hazel Riback, Eleanor Roberts and Mrs. Joe M. Roberts, Mrs. Temple Stephens, Jr., United Telecommunications and anonymous donor.



Left: *Subway Stairs*, by John Sloan, American, 1871-1951 (223). 17.7 x 12.8 cm. Above: *Self-Portrait with Male Model*, by Lovis Corinth, German, 1858-1925 (239). 23.1 x 16 cm.

Sam Francis, American, b. 1923, *Untitled*, 1979 (204) four-color lithograph.

Red Grooms, American, b. 1937, *Nineteenth Century Artists*, 1976 (205.1-10), portfolio of nine etchings and one dry-point.

Jasper Johns, American, b. 1930, *Good Time Charley*, 1972 (206), seven-color lithograph.

Roy Lichtenstein, American, b. 1923, *Pyramids*, 1969 (207), two-color serigraph.

Robert Rauschenberg, American, b. 1925, *Page 3*, 1974 (208), hand-made molded paper in plexiglas box, from the series, *Pages and Fuses*.

James Rosenquist, American, b. 1933, *Tumbleweed—chrome plated barb wire sculpture* 1964, 1970 (209), three-color lithograph.

Frank Stella, American, b. 1936, *Puerto Rican blue pigeon*, 1977 (210), fifty-two-color lithograph and serigraph, from the series, *Exotic Birds*.

All the following graphics, the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Frederick P. Nause, published at the Lakeside Studio, Lakeside,

Michigan, are the work of contemporary American artists, except where noted.

Sigmund Abeles, b. 1934, *Nude in Bed*, 1978 (1); *Tiger Lily*, 1978 (2); *Paul*, 1978 (3); *Print Dealer and his Lamp*, 1979 (258), all lithographs.

Richard Black, b. 1952, *Blossoms in Mid-Air: C*, 1978 (4); *Blossoms in Mid-Air: A*, 1978 (5); *Blossoms in Mid-Air: R*, 1978 (6); *Blossoms in Mid-Air: L*, 1978 (7); *Blossoms in Mid-Air: O*, 1978, (8), all four-color etchings; *Ezekiel's Wheel*, 1978 (9), six-color etching.

Robert Ecker, b. 1936, *Connections*, 1978 (10); *Reflections*, 1978 (11); *The Tragic View*, 1978 (12); *Strange But True*, 1978 (13); *The Historical View*, 1978 (14); *Drawer*, 1978 (15); *Relic*, 1978 (16); *Monument*, 1978 (17); *Eve*, 1978 (18); *Melancholia II*, 1978 (19); *Dark Glasses I*, 1978 (20); *Dark Glasses 2*, 1978 (21); *Dark Glasses 3*, 1978 (22); *Dark Glasses 4*, 1978 (23); *Dark Glasses 5*, 1978 (24); *Dark Glasses 6*, 1978 (25); all mezzotints.

Richard Florsheim, 1916-1980, *Flags*, 1978 (26) and *Sand Flats*, 1978 (27), both color lithographs.

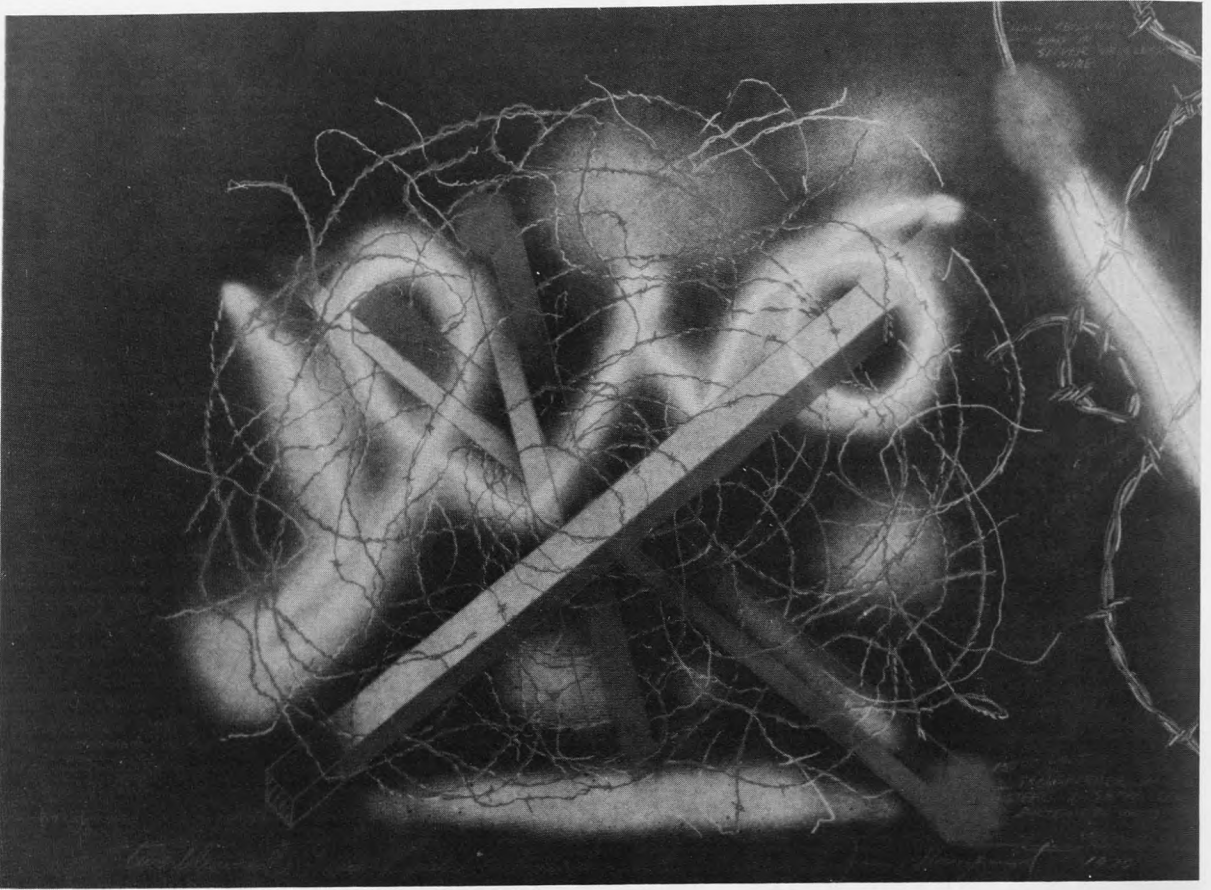
DeWitt Hardy, b. 1940, *Two Trains Passing in the Day*, 1978 (28), drypoint.

Right: Mrs. Kate Robinson and Mr. Dawes in a Cafe, by Frederick E. Shane, American, b. 1906 (219). 22.5 x 37 cm.



Below: The Race, by Thomas Hart Benton, American, 1889-1975 (189). 22.7 x 33.5 cm.





Above: Tumbleweed—chrome plated barb wire sculpture 1964, by James Rosenquist, American, b. 1933 (209). 55 x 75 cm.

Below: Cezanne, from the portfolio, Nineteenth Century Artists, by Red Grooms, American, b. 1937 (205.6). 9.9 x 12.2 cm.

Irwin Hollander, b. 1927, *B Bear*, 1978 (29) and *Mann*, 1978 (30), both color lithographs.

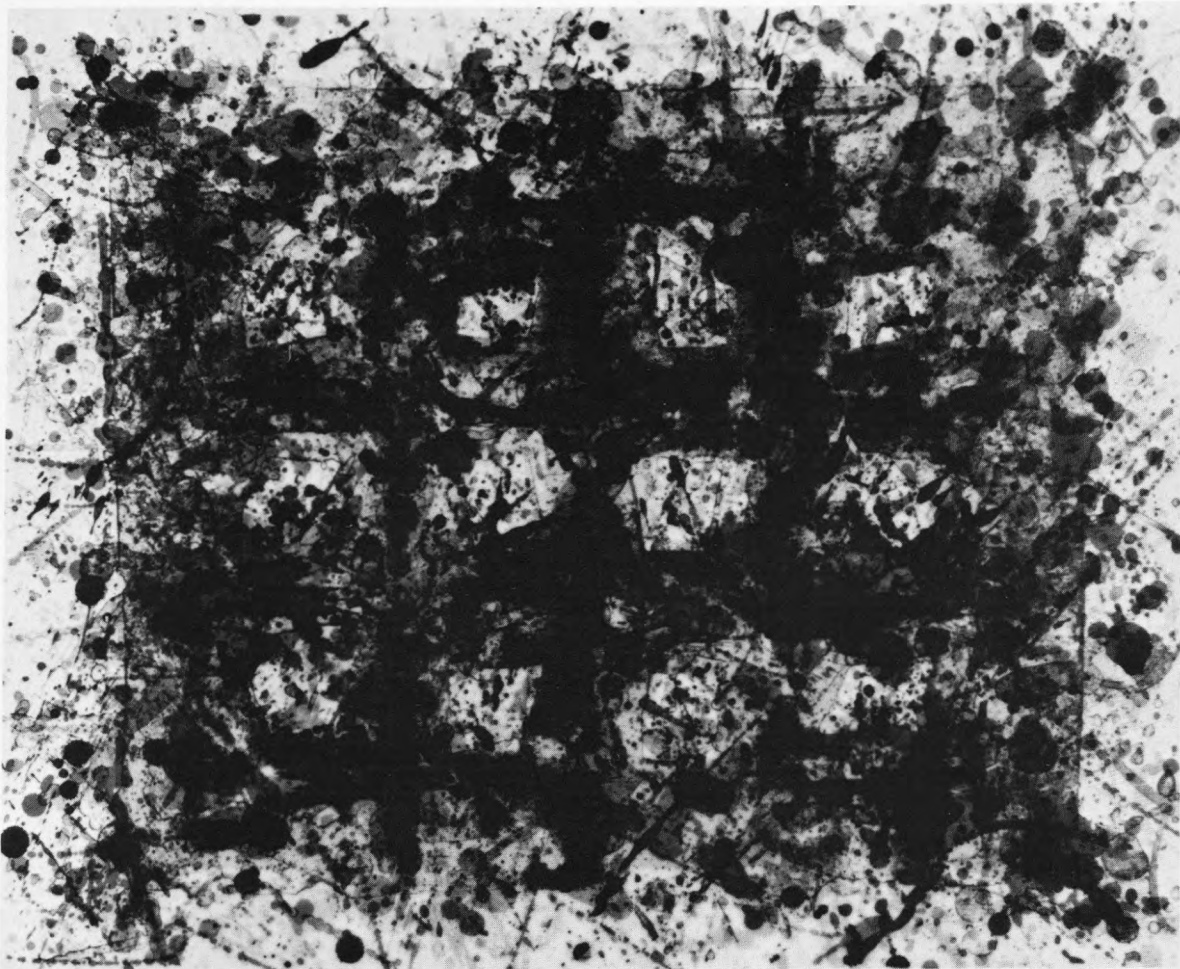
Richard Hunt, b. 1935, *Paper Piece I*, 1978 (31); *Paper Piece II*, 1978 (32); *Paper Piece III*, 1978 (33); *Paper Piece IV*, 1978 (34); *Paper Piece V*, 1978 (35); all laminated colored papers; five untitled lithographs, 1978 (36-40); two untitled lithographs, 1979 (259, 260).

John Hunter, b. 1934, *The Litho Demon*, 1978 (41); *Vaudeville* 1978, 1978 (42); *Death and Transfiguration*, 1978 (43); *Love*, 1978 (44); *The Printsellers*, 1978 (45); *Carnival*, 1978 (46); *Childhood*, 1979 (261); *Self-Portrait at 45*, 1979 (262), all color lithographs.

Jim McCormick, b. 1936, *Collaboration: Printer*, 1979 (263); *Collaboration: Assistant*, 1979 (264); *Collaboration: Visitor*, 1979 (265); *Collaboration: Press*, 1979 (266); *Collaboration: Slab*, 1979 (267); all lithographs.

Robert Malone, b. 1933, *Afternoon*, 1978 (47); *Evening*, 1978 (48); *Morning*, 1978 (49); *Night*, 1978 (50); *Through the Window*, 1978 (51); *Closed*, 1979 (268), all color lithographs.





Untitled four-color lithograph by Sam Francis, American, b. 1923 (204). 47.2 x 57.5 cm.

Michael Ponce de Leon, b. 1922, *Once Upon a Journey*, 1979 (269), four-color lithograph.

Gay Rogers, Canadian, b. 1942, *Clever Hunter, One Caribou*, 1979 (270); *Clever Hunter, Two Foxes*, 1979 (271); *Clever Hunters, Three Bobcats*, 1979 (272), all color lithographs.

John Schlump, b. 1933, *Surf Forms*, 1979 (273); *Expose*, 1979 (274), both five-color serigraphs.

Frank Stack, b. 1937, *Mirror Nude*, 1978 (52); *Dresser Mirror*, 1978 (53); *Tree*, 1978 (54); *Jean*, 1978 (55); *Tina*, 1978 (56); *Two Women*, 1978 (57); *Sleepwatcher*, 1979 (275); *Disturbed Sleep*, 1979 (276); *Kim*, 1979 (277); *Sleepwatchers*, 1979 (278), all lithographs.

Adrian van Suchtelen, b. 1941, *Seven*, 1978 (58), shaped, laminated colored paper; *Cherries*, 1978 (59), lithograph; *Four Graces*, 1978 (60); *Three Lilies*, 1978 (61); *Three Trees*, 1978 (62); *Cherries*, 1978 (63); *Target*, 1978 (64); *Pomegranates*, 1978 (65); *Time Out*, 1978 (66), all etchings.

Doug Warner, b. 1930, *Untitled*, 1978 (67); *Untitled*, 1978 (68); *Double X*, 1978 (69); *Untitled*, 1978 (70); *Untitled*, 1978 (71); *Screenscape*, 1978 (72); *Homage/LVB*, 1979 (285), all color lithographs; *Double V*, 1978 (73); *X Shift*, 1978 (74); *Two Plus*, 1978 (75); *Two Pyramids*, 1978 (76), all shaped laminated colored papers.

William Weege III, b. 1935, *Cowomonoco*, 1979 (279); *Oconomowoc*, 1979 (280); *Grubtsoo*, 1979 (281); *Oostburg*, 1979 (282); *Hsokhso*, 1979 (283); *Oshkosh*, 1979 (284), all hand-painted laminated papers.

Minor Arts

Brass: two samovars with trays, large bowl, four teapots, four bowls, four trays, pair of candlesticks (201.1-.7), from Russia and China, late 19th/early 20th c., gift of the Fort-nightly Club.



Entrance to the exhibit, John Steuart Curry and Grant Wood: A Portrait of Rural America.

EXHIBITIONS

Among the exhibitions in the Museum in 1981 were:

Notable Acquisitions Since 1976, selections from the permanent collections, November 16, 1980–March 1, 1981.

John Steuart Curry and Grant Wood: A Portrait of Rural America, an exhibition of sixty important paintings, drawings and prints assembled by the Cedar Rapids Art Center, with support from Museum Associates, April 7–30.

Penelope's Legacy: Weaving and Kindred Crafts, an exhibition organized in conjunction with the Columbia Weavers Guild for the annual Midwest Weavers Conference, with examples of weaving and textiles from many parts of the world, from ancient to contemporary times, May 31–July 12.

Egyptian Faience, objects from the permanent collections, beginning June 5, 1981.

Buddhist Treasures from Gandhara, an important exhibition of over seventy sculptures, utilitarian objects, reliquaries, coins and jewelry from the Museum's permanent collections and from private collections, partly funded by the Missouri Committee for Humanities, Inc., the state based arm of the National Endowment for the Humanities, September 22–December 13.

It's Good to Tell You French Folk Tales from Missouri, original drawings by Ronald W. Thomas for the book of the same title by Rosemary Hyde Thomas, October 16–December 13.

Paper as Object, paper pieces by contemporary artists, exploring the basic properties of paper, selected from the permanent collection, December 18, 1981–March 21, 1982

Acquisitions '81: Modern Art, a selection of 20th century prints, drawings and paintings, December 18, 1981–February 7, 1982.

LOANS

During 1981 the Museum provided the following loans: a drawing, "Studies for St. Thomas Delivering Alms to the Poor," by Pietro Fancelli, to the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa for the exhibition, *Bolognese Drawings from North American Collections, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, September 11–November 8; a tapestry, "Forest," by Joy Rushfelt, to Thornhill Art Gallery, Avila College, Kansas City, Missouri for the exhibition, *Fiber and Metal*, November 30–December 20.

In 1981 the Museum received the following objects on loan: for the exhibition, *Penelope's Legacy: Weaving and Kindred Crafts*: twenty-five weavings and fiber objects from contemporary weavers Jane Busse, Bette Hochberg, Albertje Koopman, Joy Rushfelt and Barbara Wittenberg; twenty-four North American Indian baskets from the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, Missouri; five North American Indian baskets from Ralph T. Coe; twelve embroideries from Greece, the Greek Islands, Turkey, Persia and Bokhara from an anonymous lender.

For the exhibition, *Buddhist Treasures from Gandhara*: stone reliefs and sculptures from two anonymous lenders.

Tel Anafa: The 1981 Season

The summer of 1981 saw the joint University of Missouri/University of Michigan team¹ back in the field at Tel Anafa for nine more weeks of excavation at this rich Hellenistic settlement in the Upper Galilee of Israel. The 1981 season was the final season of the current series,² which has concentrated on the Hellenistic and Roman levels of the tel. Preparatory to final publication, the principal goals of this last season were the verification of certain assumptions on which the restoration of the plan of the large Late Hellenistic stuccoed building (hereafter the LHSB) is based, and the clarification of the occupation phases and remodelings of that building. Specifically, we had four major questions about the LHSB: (1) the extent of the hitherto unexplored western sector; (2) the relationship between the luxurious stuccoed room at the northeast corner of the central court and the heating and drainage system some five meters to its south; (3) the function of the central court; (4) the extent of the building in the northeast.

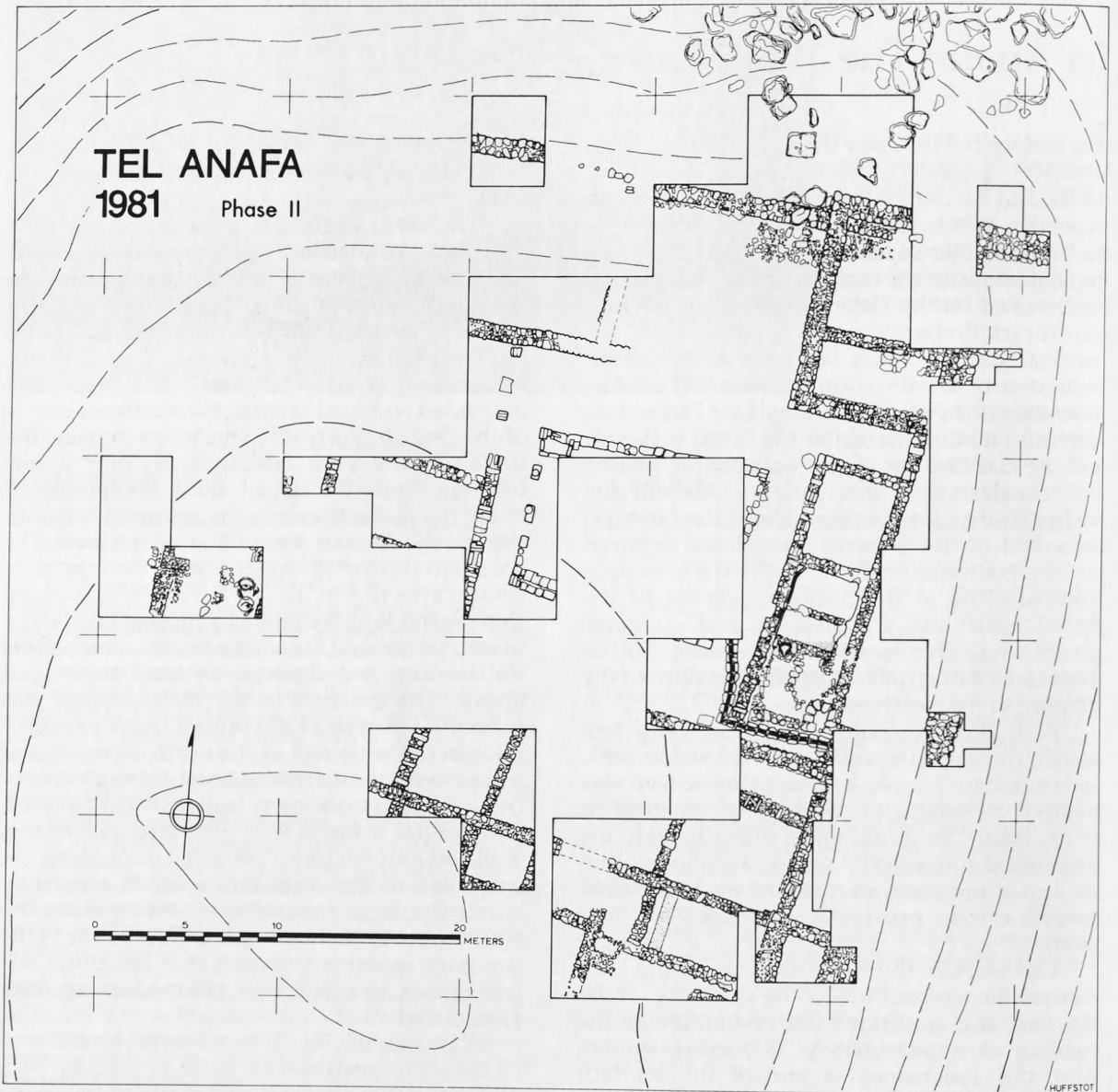
With these questions in mind only two complete new grid squares were opened in 1981, and elsewhere excavation from the surface was confined to limited probe trenches at strategic points (Plan). In addition, in order to date the sequence of construction and remodeling within the area of the LHSB we removed and excavated beneath certain previously exposed walls and floors.

Our work in the western sector of the LHSB exposed the western wall of the structure for the first time and confirmed our restoration of the building as approximately 38 meters square. Also, the dimensions of one of the western rooms (8 m. E-W x 4 m. N-S) were determined. The results of the 1981 season in this area combined with information gained from earlier

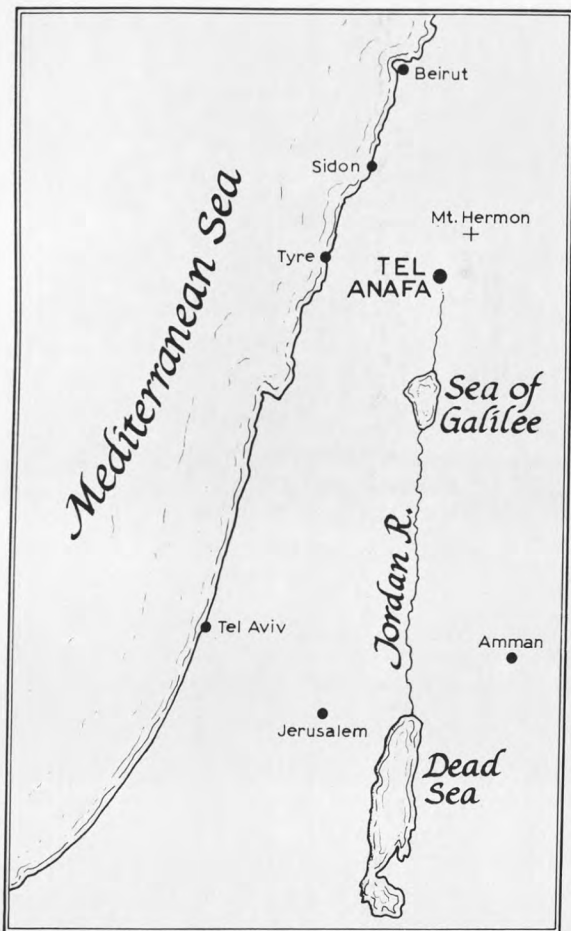
excavation in the northwest suggest that the major entrance to the LHSB was from the northwest.

The areas opened in the eastern rooms of the LHSB, connecting the northeast stuccoed room with the heating and drainage system to the south, showed the entire eastern sector of the building to belong to a tripartite bath complex of Hellenistic date (Fig. 1). The northernmost room of the complex is the previously excavated stuccoed room at the northeast corner of the central courtyard. This room contains the underpinning of a mosaic floor; only a few tesserae from the actual floor are preserved along the walls; the rest were removed before or during the Roman occupation of the area. The southern sector is divided into two parts: a central area (5.5 m. E-W x 5.2 m. N-S) exposed this season which contains a mosaic floor and a plaster basin, and the southern area which holds the heating and drainage systems mentioned above. The entrance to the bath complex was from the peristyle of the central court through a door in the west wall of the north room. Access to the central area was gained through a door (now robbed) in the party wall between the north and central areas; a lead pipe also pierces this wall and empties into a plastered drain along the west side of the central area which eventually meets the large stone drain running along the southern edge of the complex. The linkage of the drainage systems indicates that the entire sixteen-meter complex was planned as an integrated unit.

The mosaic (Fig. 2) found in the central area of the bath measures 3.5 m. E-W x 2.3 m. N-S and is the first mosaic found *in situ* at Tel Anafa; it is made up of black diorite and white marble tesserae between 1 and 1.5 cm. square. The



PLAN of the Hellenistic remains at Tel Anafa.



Tel Anafa is located in the extreme north of modern Israel, at the foot of Mt. Hermon.

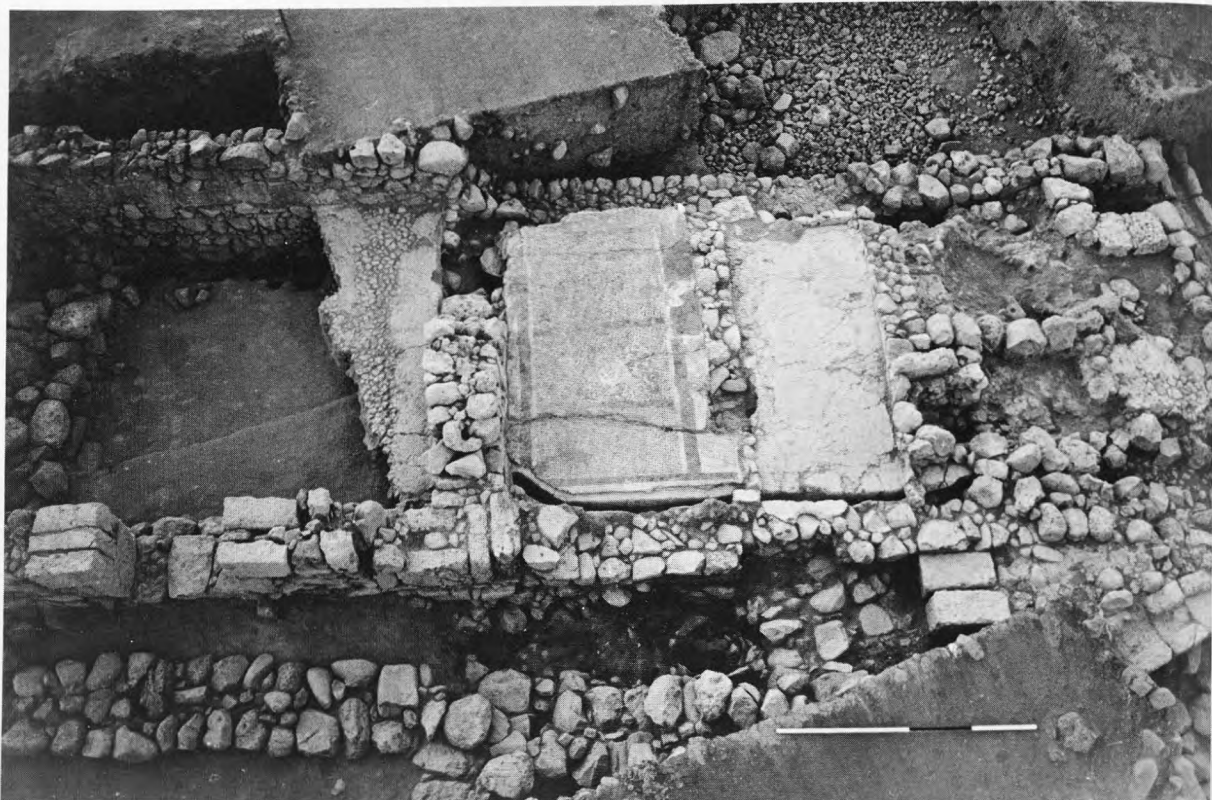
design includes a black border which runs around all the edges of the mosaic; the interior is divided into three panels of unequal size by black bands running from north to south. The westernmost panel contains a clear checkerboard design; the other two are decorated with abstract curvilinear motives. The mosaic is preserved intact except for some cracks and a small missing area along the robbed east wall of the complex; it does, however, show signs of repairs in antiquity. The mosaic was lifted by the conservation team of the excavation and is now stored in the Rockefeller Museum.

Excavation under the mosaic and plaster basin revealed a primitive hypocaust system of mudbrick pillars separated by heating channels running from a stone firing pit in the southern sector.

The bath complex and its mosaic floors can be dated with confidence to the Late Hellenistic period. The latest datable materials from the 91 kilograms of pottery recovered in the fills sealed beneath the floors of the complex were Hellenistic redwares and molded lamps. A coin of Alexander Zebina (TA81 C23), 128-123 B.C. was found in the construction fill of the heating area. In addition, the bath is an integral part of the LHSB and should date to the main or final phase of that building between 125 and 80 B.C. Such a date for the bath makes it one of the earliest heated Greek baths yet found in the Near East, and the mosaic the earliest uncovered in Israel.

The bath complex opens on the eastern peristyle of the central courtyard of the LHSB and more of the peristyle was excavated in the '81 season. In a pit sealed beneath the floor connecting the peristyle stylobate and the western wall of the bath complex was a small deposit containing both red and black-glazed pottery (Fig. 3). In this area the stylobate can be seen to be built directly on a wall of an earlier structure.

A 4 x 4 meter square put down in the center of the central courtyard proved that area to be an open paved space in the final phase of the LHSB with no facilities for drainage or any other activity. With the removal of the pavement remains of earlier Hellenistic structures were uncovered—a large oven, a pit lined with cut limestone blocks, and several unlined pits—all associated with a pebble floor level that runs under the stylobate of the LHSB. This early pebble floor has been found all over the northwest area



1. *The bath complex to the east of the peristyle.*

of the LHSB and was excavated in several probes of the earlier levels at the end of the '81 season. The datable material from in and under the floor is primarily pre-Hellenistic but consistently contains a small amount of the finds associated with the earlier Hellenistic levels on the site—wheelmade lamps, black or semi-glazed pottery, and a pale blue-green glazed pottery. No red-wares or molded glass have been found under these earlier Hellenistic floors.

The relationship of this earlier Hellenistic floor to the building phases of the LHSB is problematic. The early floor runs well under and clearly antedates the stylobate of the LHSB. In two instances in the west it runs up to the lowest levels of walls belonging to the LHSB; in the north it is cut by walls of the same structure. In the past, due to its association with some walls of the LHSB, this floor level has been assigned to an

early, pre-stylobate phase of the LHSB (II a) and, in fact, is the only evidence for the existence of such a phase. It now seems more likely that this floor level belongs to several separate structures which precede the LHSB, the walls of which were in some cases incorporated into the foundations of the LHSB, and that there is no pre-stylobate phase of the large incorporated structure.

THE FINAL QUESTION to which we turned our attention was the extent of the LHSB in the northeast. We have been unable to restore with confidence the northeast corner of the LHSB by extending the lines of already excavated walls for three reasons: first, both the north and the east walls of the building double as the enclosure walls of the tel in the Hellenistic period and follow the natural and somewhat unpredictable contour lines of the tel. Second, in the last years

of Hellenistic occupation on the site a smaller, but deeply founded structure (the northeast building), was built over the LHSB and destroyed much of the earlier architecture. Finally, the tel slopes off sharply in this sector exposing the latest Hellenistic walls at the modern surface; consequently, little stratigraphical evidence is preserved to date the walls found here. Minimal clearing, however, reveals the preserved walls and their architectural sequence. Such a clearing

operation was undertaken in the northeast during the last two weeks of the '81 season and provided two important new pieces of information about the architecture in this area. First, the northeast building is larger than previously assumed, continuing beyond the preserved eastern edge of the tel. The exposed remains now indicate a building of at least three rooms measuring 12 meters N-S by something more than 12 meters E-W. Second, the eastern sector of the

2. *The black and white mosaic in situ, now stored at the Rockefeller Museum.*





3. More of the black and red glazed pottery so plentiful at Tel Anafa.

northeast building is founded on a continuation of the LHSB which appears to be a tower marking the northeast corner of the building.

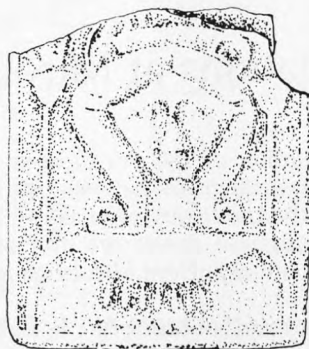
In 1981 Tel Anafa again proved to be rich in small finds of the Hellenistic era. Of the twenty-three legible coins discovered, five were Ptolemaic; seven of the Seleucid kings of the late second and early first centuries B.C.; ten of the independent mints of Tyre and Sidon (Fig. 4), and one from our Roman levels of Herod Philip.³ Rhodian stamped amphora handles of the second and early first centuries B.C., Hellenistic pottery of all kinds, and molded glass continued to be abundant. Probes into the pre-Hellenistic strata produced mixed fills with pottery from all periods from Early Bronze through Persian. Particularly interesting is a faience plaque of the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Fig. 5).

This is the last preliminary report to be written for *Muse* on the excavations at Tel Anafa. The directors and contributing scholars are now preparing the final publication of the Hellenistic settlement. We look forward with pleasure to the knowledge of the Hellenistic world that will be gained from the concentrated and integrated study of all the finds from the site. As we contemplate the vast array of finds accumulated over nine seasons of Missouri's excavation at Tel Anafa we wish to take this opportunity to thank all our friends at Missouri and the readership of *Muse* who have followed and helped our efforts at Tel Anafa over the years.

SHARON HERBERT
Kelsey Museum of Archaeology
University of Michigan



4. Left: three of the twenty-three coins recovered during the 1981 season, illustrated at twice actual size.



5. Above: faience plaque depicting the Egyptian goddess Hathor. Actual size.

¹The excavation was again sponsored by the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri and the Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan; other units of the University of Michigan also contributed generously to the '81 season, including the Office of the Vice-President for Research, the Horace Rackham School of Graduate Studies and the College of Literature, Science and the Arts. The writer again served as Field Director aided as always by the advice and support of Professor Saul S. Weinberg of the University of Missouri as Co-Principal Investigator. Dr. Barbara L. Johnson was again invaluable as our Administrator in Israel and Esther Goetz served efficiently as Camp Manager. The trench supervisors were Andrea Berlin, Nicholas Cahill, Barbara Hamann, and Paolo Visoná from the Program of Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Michigan; Allyn Lord, a graduate student in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, and Professor Roy Lindahl of Furman University also supervised trenches. Architects for the season were David Myers and Jaqueline Royer; Susan Webb was the photographer and Lorene Sterner drew the small finds. Elayne Grossbard of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was Chief Conservator, assisted by Risé Taylor, an intern from the London Institute of Archaeology. Timothy Motz of the Detroit Institute of Art ably handled the objects

registry, and Blane Nansel continued his work on the bones from the excavation. My warmest thanks to an exceptionally able and dedicated team who turned in excellent work under unusually difficult circumstances.

The staff and volunteers were housed this summer in the Regional High School at Kibbutz Amir, and we are grateful to Ehud Ariel and his efficient staff for our most comfortable accommodations in years. Our friends at Kibbutz Shamir, in particular Moshe Kagan, gave generously of their time and equipment. Thanks are due to Avi Eitan, Director of the Department of Antiquities, and his staff for facilitating the work of the expedition in every way. And finally, we wish to thank Hannah Katzenstein, our constant source of information and advice, for her help over the years of the dig.

²Reports on the earlier campaigns have appeared in *Muse* 3 (1969) 16-23; 4 (1970) 15-24; 5 (1971) 8-16; 6 (1972) 8-18; 8 (1974) 14-28; 12 (1978) 21-29; 13 (1979) 16-21; 14 (1980) 24-30. A summation of the first three seasons, "Tel Anafa, the Hellenistic Town," appeared in the *Israel Exploration Journal* 21 (1971) 86-109, and a report of the 1978 season appeared in *BASOR* 234 (1979) 67-81.

³I wish to thank Paolo Visoná for his preliminary identification of the coins from the 1981 season.

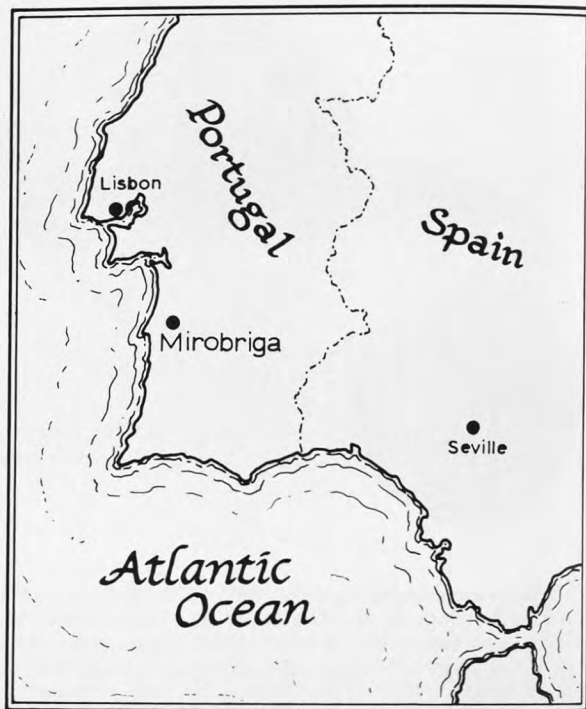
Investigations at Mirobriga, Portugal in 1981

At the invitation of the Portuguese government, the Department of Art History and Archaeology of the University of Missouri initiated the first Portuguese-American archaeological project at the site of ancient Mirobriga in southern Portugal.¹

The site of ancient Mirobriga lies about 140 kilometers southeast of Lisbon (ancient Olisipo) amid gently rolling hills near the modern town of Santiago do Cacém (Fig. 1). In antiquity it was situated on the westernmost major road of the Roman empire leading from Lacobriga (modern Lagos) in the south to Bracara Augusta (Braga), capital of the Province of Gallaecia. It was also the starting point for a major inland road that passed through Eborá (Evora) on its way to Emerita Augusta, the capital of the Roman Province of Lusitania. Mentioned by several ancient writers, Mirobriga must have been an important center both in Roman times and in the Pre-Roman, Iron Age, period.² Today, its ruins extend over two square kilometers and contain traces of buildings, paved streets, a large hippodrome, a bath complex, and an acropolis with a forum and at least one temple.

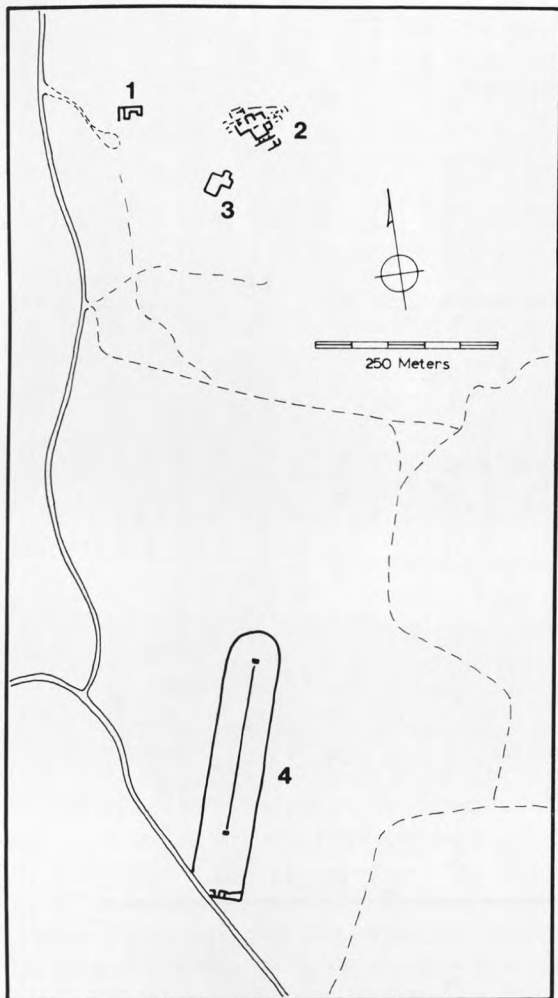
The site long has been known and was investigated as far back as the early nineteenth century. Major clearing of some areas was undertaken in the forties of this century, and in 1959 Professor Fernando de Almeida began to excavate the site. His book and articles constitute the most important studies of Mirobriga.³ In addition, he made his excavated material available to specialists and students who have produced significant articles on the pottery, coins, and lamps from the site.⁴

Professor de Almeida's investigations led him to interpret the site as a huge pilgrimage center built around an enormous sanctuary of Aesculapius and Venus located at the top of the



1. The southwestern Iberian peninsula, showing the location of Mirobriga.

hill.⁵ The entire temple area was seen by him as having been constructed essentially at one time, during the third or fourth century A.D. The hippodrome and the baths, which were destroyed in barbarian raids of the fifth century, are assigned to the same building program.⁶ De Almeida's interpretation of the site was based on construction technique and an inscription referring to a festival known as the Quinquatrus, which he believed was the major celebration of Aesculapius at Mirobriga. De Almeida partially restored the temple on the top of the hill (his



2. Sketch plan of the areas at Mirobriga: 1. St. Brás Chapel, now the excavation field house; 2. Temple area and Forum; 3. Bath complex; 4. Hippodrome.

healing saint. Professor Caeiro will carry on investigations in this area. The Missouri teams will concentrate on area 2, the forum and temple complex at the top of the hill; area 3, the extensive bath complex to the south, and area 4, the hippodrome. The preliminary 1981 season concentrated on area 2 under Professor Soren, and area 4 directed by Professor Leonard. The bath complex (area 3) will be investigated in the forthcoming season.

In 1981 work in area 2 produced a plan of the forum area (Fig. 3), and a section through the restored so-called Temple of Aesculapius (Fig. 4). The work cast doubt on many of the previous theories concerning Mirobriga.⁸

As can be seen from the plan (Fig. 3), the principal temple and forum area look very much like the standard provincial Roman capitolium and forum area with many roads leading to it, numerous dedications appearing within it and various shrines and public buildings around it. The whole assembly is more appropriate to a large fortified town (the *oppidum* of Pliny) than to a sanctuary, and critical study of the Aesculapius inscription indicates that it does not necessarily support the identification of the temple as dedicated to that god.⁹

The actual remains of the temple are evidence of a substantial structure with walls some ninety centimeters thick. It apparently had a basement, since an opening 1.88 meters wide exists and continues down over two meters below the level of the present reconstructed column bases. The construction technique for

temple of Aesculapius), the bath and the hippodrome, even borrowing columns and other architectural members originally found in the bath to decorate his reconstruction of the temple (Fig. 5).

The death of Professor de Almeida in 1979 halted excavation at Mirobriga, but his work will now be carried on by the new Portuguese-American Mirobriga Project. Figure 2 is a sketch plan of the site, indicating the primary areas of investigation by the Project. Area 1 is situated at the modern entrance to the site and includes a Roman street, houses and a standing, but abandoned, medieval chapel of St. Brás, a local

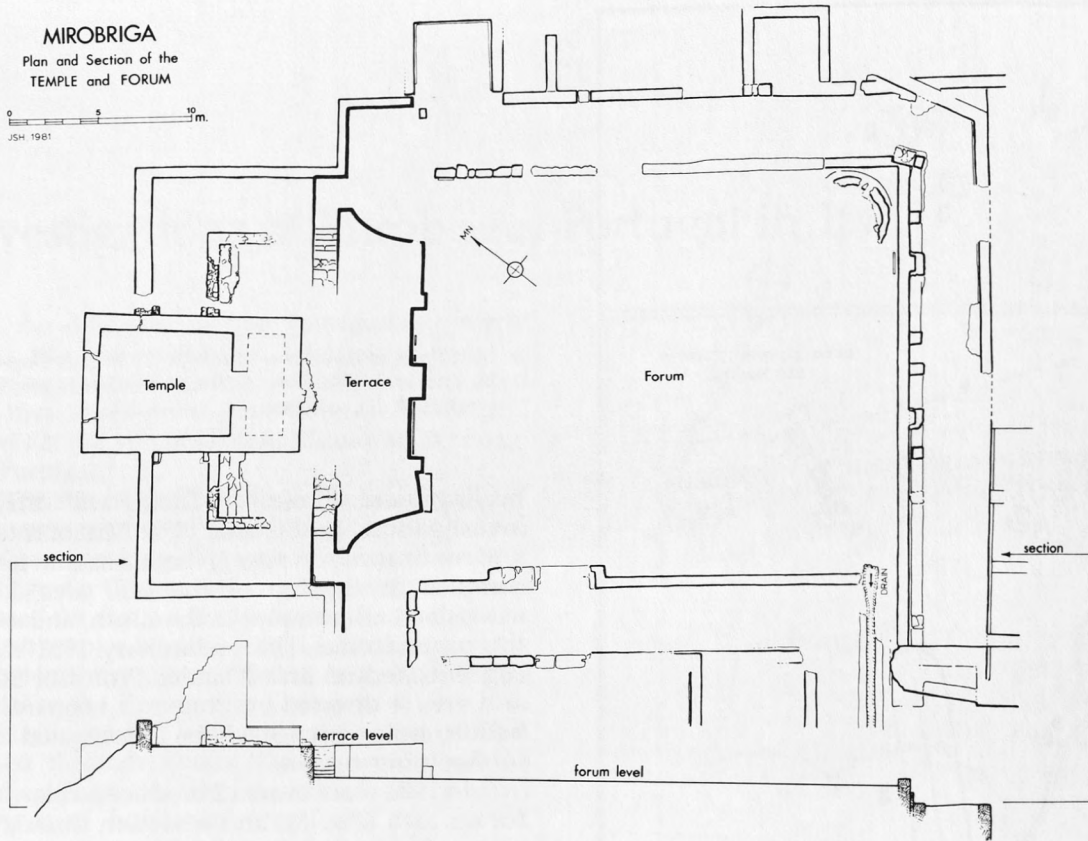
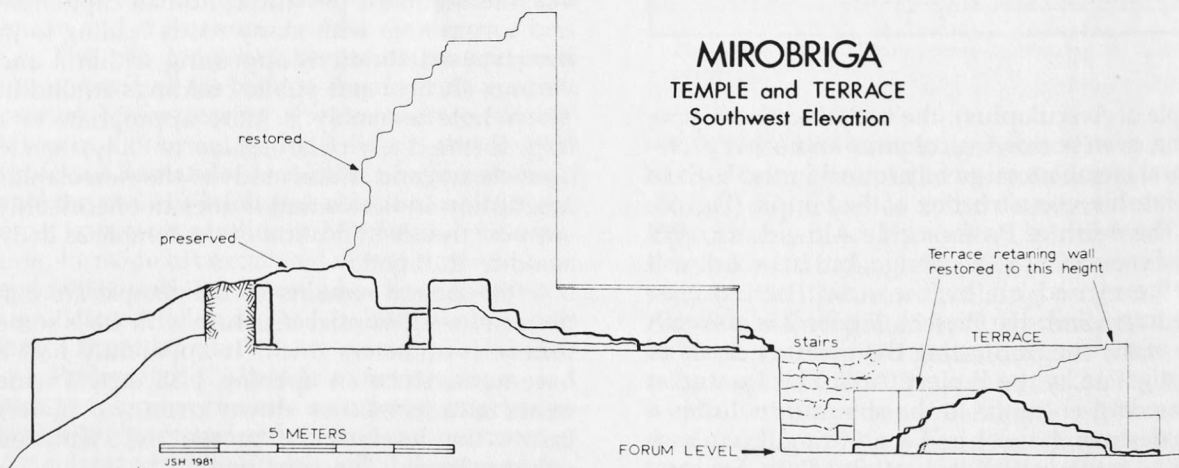


Figure 3.

Figure 4.





5. View of the restored Temple and terrace as it appears today.

the temple was to set pale red limestone blocks averaging seventeen centimeters high by thirty-five long and twenty-six deep in courses, with ample interstices filled with mortar. This technique is found all over the site.

The temple rested upon an elaborate, rather asymmetrical terrace approached by flanking staircases and decorated with scalloped rectangular and curvilinear niches reminiscent of a Roman theater *pulpitum* or stage front (Figs. 3 and 5). De Almeida had recorded the existence of stairs attached to the exterior of the southwest cella wall that led to a raised L-shaped *ala* (wing). Investigations proved that a similar step and L arrangement existed on the northeast side of the temple. These *alae* might have been colonnaded. The *pulpitum* and *scenae frons* arrangement of a Roman theater would seem to have inspired this extraordinary construction

that gives the appearance of having emerged from a second style architectural landscape painting.¹⁰

The forum area is paved with limestone slabs set in hard mortar. A small test under this paving in the southern corner of the forum provided evidence for an earlier Phase 3 in the form of the remains of a drain dismantled in antiquity. Scraps of Arretine and South Gallic pottery datable not later than the Flavian Period (A.D. 69-96) and not earlier than the Tiberian Period (A.D. 14-37) came from beneath the paving slabs and were found in association with the drain. Confirmation of at least two stages in the forum can be seen at the south end where a lower level peristyle ran southwest to northeast against the south foundation wall of the forum. Here at least two stages of construction can be differentiated, the first with stairs and projecting

columns or pilasters of which only the ashlar bases survive and the second at a higher level that eliminated the need to step up into the forum proper.

Below the forum to the south and bonded into the southeast wall of the lower peristyle is a huge building, previously unrecorded, measuring 13.5 meters in width and 42 meters in length. Some of its walls are preserved to a height of over 10 meters (Fig. 6).

This structure contained at least two and possibly three stories. A narrow staircase ran down between the forum and lower street and between this building and a smaller extension of the building along the same alignment to the southwest. At least six extremely massive walls ran through the building along its width. The limited campaign of 1981 did not afford time to clear or plan the structure but it was possible to discover a tumble of corner blocks at its apparent southeast limit and to observe the facade which appears to have been carefully made from ashlar blocks, some of which at least have been rusticated. (Rustication was common in the Claudian period in Rome and is found in the Neronian period on Cyprus, so that it would not be inappropriate to find it used here at about the same period.) Behind the facade, the most massive walls appear to be of a construction technique similar to that of the temple, but more clearing and cleaning will be needed to confirm this. One tumbled ashlar from the building contained a fine relief sculpture of a bull, while an iron tethering ring is still clearly affixed to the wall of one of the rooms. Could this have been a market building? Also preserved here were several iron strips which have a ring on one end (Fig. 7). These are hardware for hanging doors, and cuttings for the placement of these strips can still

be seen in the stone thresholds of the large building.

A few other small soundings were undertaken in the temple and forum area. One of these in a "shop" recovered the remains of a fallen fresco decorated with simple bands of red and black on a white background. The fresco was also "decorated" with graffiti and several fragments contained complete words or nearly complete phrases. These are now being studied.

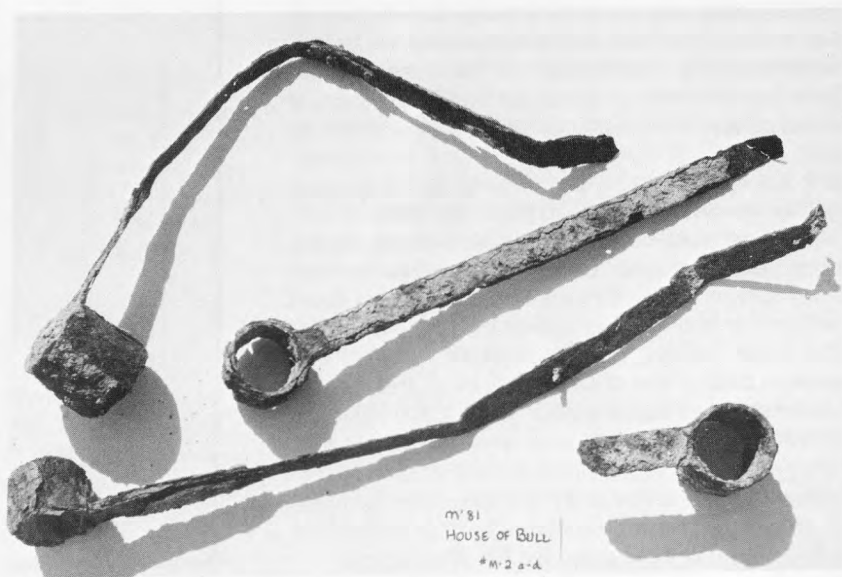
THE SECOND AREA TO BE INVESTIGATED in 1981 was the hippodrome, which lies slightly over a kilometer south of the temple area. Here also a new plan was made and small tests were dug.

The hippodrome is a large structure measuring approximately 369 x 75 meters. Although first identified in the forties of this century, Professor de Almeida excavated and reconstructed portions of it and published the first coherent plan. The dimensions as given by de Almeida are basically correct; however, the axis of the structure does not lie so neatly along a north-south line but approximately 20° east of north. This may not seem a major discrepancy, but combined with the fact that more walls are now visible than appeared on de Almeida's plan, it was decided that a new plan must be made (Fig. 8). From this it is clear that the hippodrome of Mirobriga shares most of the features exhibited by those in other parts of the Roman world. It is an elongated structure entered from the south, with a rounded wall at its northern end. The race-course is divided longitudinally by the *spina*, and there is evidence for a turning point (*meta*) at each end. At about the mid-point of the *spina* the foundations are interrupted for about seven meters. Until excavations are undertaken, it cannot be ascertained whether this is part of



6. Above: the large building to the south of the forum. Investigating this massive structure will be one of the focal points of the 1982 season.

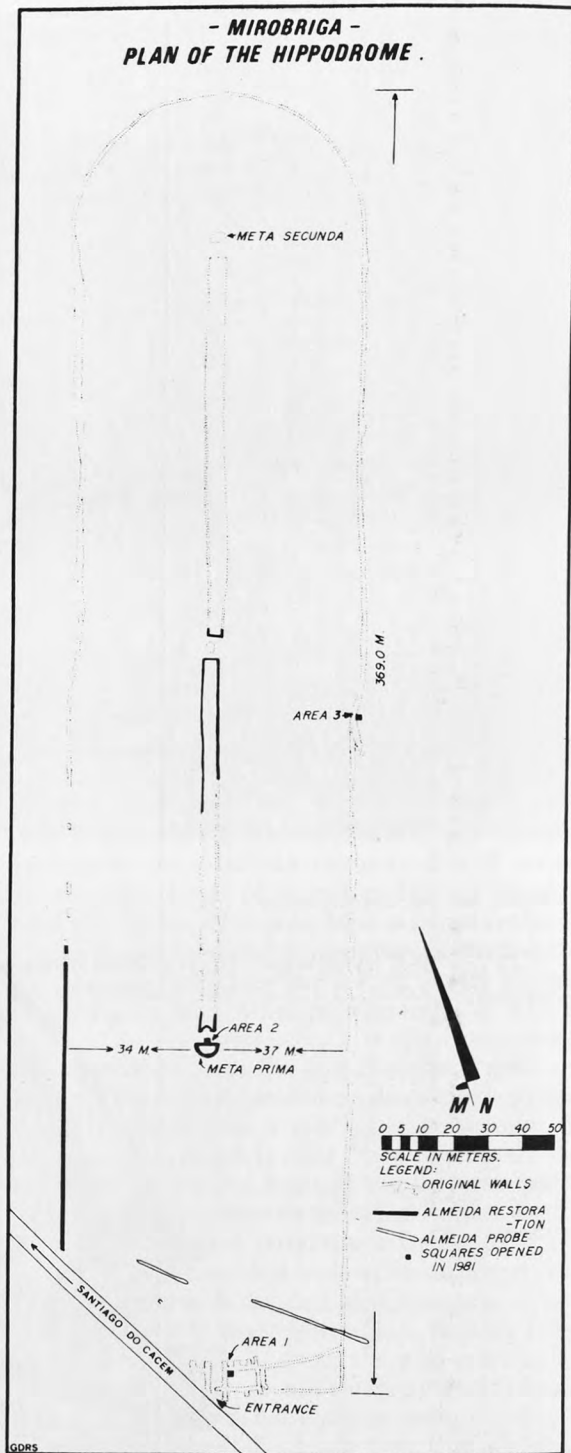
7. Right: iron fittings for a door once used in the large building seen above.



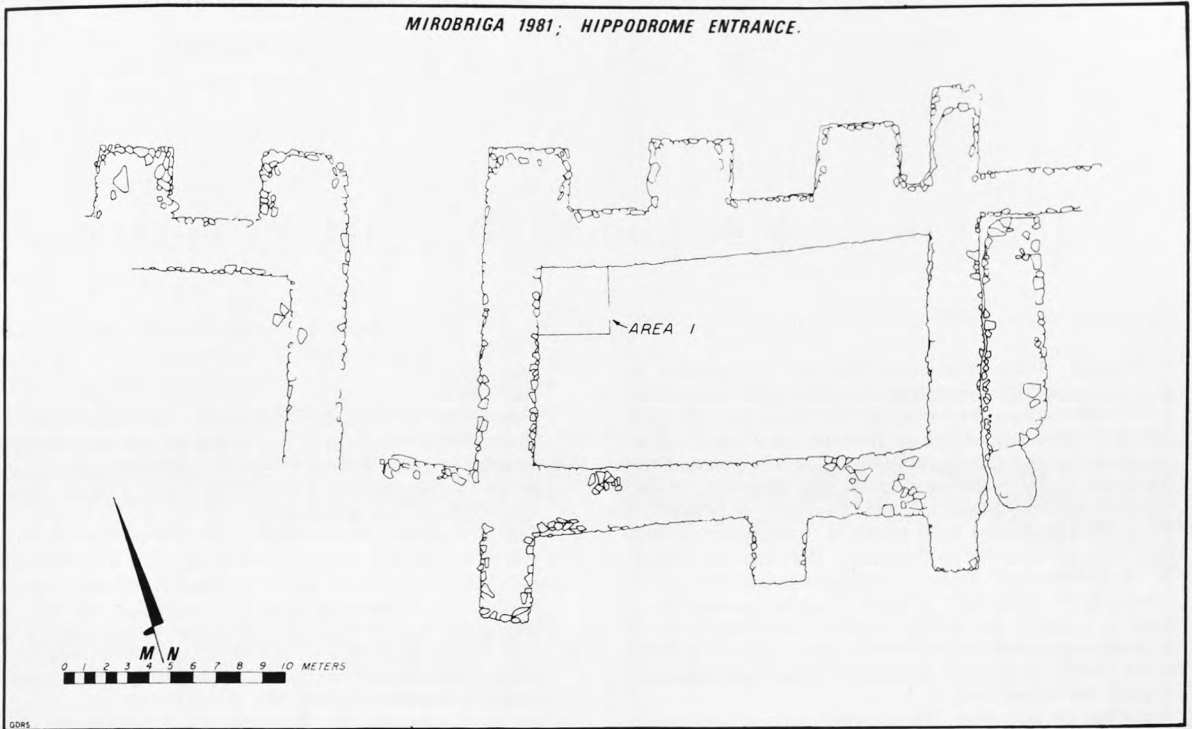
the original structure or placed here in modern times to emulate the position taken by the obelisk in the Circus Maximus in Rome.

Rubble and concrete constructions located at the south end of the hippodrome and now partially under a modern road were identified by de Almeida as starting gates (*carceres*). A preliminary study of these remains suggest that they may not in fact be starting gates. In the first place, it seems that the remains are of a structure which, although partly destroyed by the road construction, can be divided into a western and an eastern half, separated by a central entryway which is aligned approximately with the main axis of the hippodrome. Of these two sections, the one to the east (to the right as one enters the hippodrome) is complete in plan (Fig. 7) but the one to the west is fragmentary. It may be that it would have been a mirror image of the eastern half, and that the entire unit would have formed an on-axis entryway to the hippodrome. In this interpretation, the visitor to the races would have been met by a facade with a deep pier (or column on a podium) framing the entryway, each flanked by two shallower piers or columns. It is hoped that the exact form of this entryway will be revealed with further excavation.

Three small soundings were made in the hippodrome to test stratigraphy and to provide information for further work. Area 1 was placed within the foundations of the "entryway" against the main northern and western wall of the eastern half of the structure (Figs. 8 and 9). The probe showed that the N-S and E-W walls were bonded to each other and thus contemporary. They are constructed of field stone and mortared with concrete similar to the popular *opus signinum*. A probable foundation trench was identified, which should hold promise for the future.



MIROBRIGA 1981; HIPPODROME ENTRANCE.



8. Opposite: plan of the Hippodrome. 9. Above: plan of Area 1 at the south end of the Hippodrome.

The second sounding, at the southern end of the *spina* (Area 2, Fig. 8) was placed against a reconstructed semi-circular base. It was found that this modern construction rests on a lower wall constructed of unhewn field stones, without coursing and mortared with mud. The exact nature of this wall will also be the subject of future study.

The third probe (Area 3, Fig. 8) was opened along the eastern side of the building. Here a foundation trench for the east wall of the building was found and a large bronze Roman coin recovered from the soil into which the foundation trench was dug. Although not yet cleaned, the coin appears to be of first century date, providing a *terminus post quem* for the digging of the foundation trench and the building of the wall.

In short, the first preliminary season of the Mirobriga Project has cast doubt on the attribution of the site as a sanctuary to Aesculapius, has argued for a city with major constructional phases perhaps beginning in the first century, and has begun to approach an understanding of some of the most important buildings, with future seasons on the acropolis, in the bath, the hippodrome and elsewhere. We are confident Mirobriga will become one of the most important archaeological sites in the far west of Europe.

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¹The Project, designed to be several years in duration is directed jointly by the authors of this article, Professor Caeiro representing the Portuguese Archaeological Service and the University of Evora. The first pilot season was supported by grants from the Archaeological Service of the Southern Zone of Portugal under the direction of Dr. Caetano de Mello Beirão and the University of Missouri.

²Pliny (*Natural History* 4.22) refers to "mirobricensis qui Celtici cognominantur"—"Malabriga [sic] surnamed Celtic" (Loeb Classical Library, H. Rackman translation)—and listed it as an "oppidum" or town. Iron Age remains have been reported by the earlier excavators and Professor de Almeida suggested that the name was compounded of the Celtic "miro" (a person's name) and "briga" (fortification or hill). See below, note 3.

³Fernando de Almeida, "Noto sobre os restos do circo romano de Miróbriga dos Celticos," *Rivista de Guimares* 73 (1963); de Almeida, "Tres lucernas do Museu de Santiago do Cacém," *O Arqueólogo Português* I (1951) 125-131; de Almeida, *Ruínas de Miróbriga dos Celticos* (Edição da junta distrital de Setubal, 1964)

⁴Maria Adelaide de Figueiredo Garcia Pereira, "Subsidio para o estudo da terra sigillata de Miróbriga," *Actas do II Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia* (Coimbra 1971) 433-444; Luisa Ferrer Dias, "Terra Sigillata de Miróbriga," *Setubal Arqueologica* II-III (1976-1977) 361-422; Jeannette Smit Nolan, "Alguns fragmentos de 'paredes fines' de Miróbriga," *ibid.*, 432-454; Maria Elisabeth Figueiredo Neves Cabral, "Lucernas romanas de Miróbriga," *ibid.*, 455-468; Maria Luisa Abreu Nunes, "Moedas romanas de Miróbriga," *Actas das II Jornadas Arqueológicas* II (1972) 185-193. For additional reading on Mirobriga, see Jose Leite de Vasconcelos, "Excursão arqueológica à Extremadura Trastagana," *O Archeólogo Português* (1914) 314-318; João Cruz e Silva, "Apontamentos e considerações sobre as pesquisas arqueológicas realizadas desde 1922 no nos conchelos de S. Tiago de Cacem, Sines e Odemire," *Arquivo de Beja* II (1945) 291-299 and continued in volume III (1946) 336-351; Scarlat Lambrino, "Catalogue des inscriptions latines du Musée Leite de Vasconcelos," *O Archeólogo Português* Series III, Vol. I (1967) 147-148. Mirobriga is mentioned in Jorge Alarcão, "On the Westernmost Road of the Roman Empire," *Archaeology* 20:3 (1967) 174-177 and in Paul MacKendrick, *The Iberian Stones Speak* (New York 1969) 191-196.

⁵De Almeida, *Ruínas*, 71.

⁶*Ibid.*, 26.

⁷*Ibid.*, 45-48.

⁸Thanks go to John Huffstot and Guy Sanders of the University of Missouri for their work as architect and field director respectively for the initial campaign and to Sian Jones of the Walters Art Gallery for serving as fresco specialist and acting conservator.

⁹The inscription, known since the seventeenth century, refers to a doctor from another Roman town some fifty kilometers from Mirobriga and nowhere mentions Mirobriga specifically, although a second town may be implied. Its original provenience is unknown, and there is nothing to link it with the temple at the top of the hill; it could have come from another sanctuary in the city or even another city! de Almeida, *Ruínas*, 46.

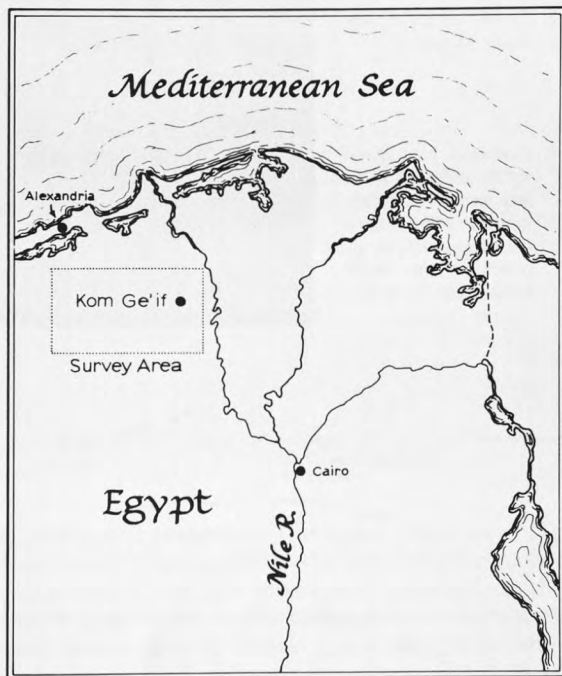
¹⁰In H. G. Beyen, *Die Pompejanische Wanddekoration Vom Zweiten bis zum Vierten Stil*, Volume I plates (Haag 1938) are numerous examples of shrines with projecting colonnaded *alae* of L shape. Particularly striking and reminiscent of the Mirobriga temple, *alae* and Baroque terrace arrangement is a wall painting from the Pompeian house of Sulpicius Rufus which shows in *tabula* form a temple sitting atop a terrace with a pronounced rectangular niched entry (pl. 36). The temple has a colonnade across its front with a second story of columns rising above that and crowned by the pediment. The structure is clearly flanked by and linked to two projecting L shaped *alae* each with broken pediment. While this may not be an exact copy of the arrangement at Mirobriga or even be intended to be a temple, it is close enough and shows that this kind of architectural caprice could emerge from wall painting and become built. In plates 40, 43, 100b, 109, 110, etc., Beyen shows the Roman emphasis on a central structure with laterally projecting wings as quite typical in painting of the first century A.D. For an Augustan temple with *alae* (but not of L shape) see Jorge Alarcão and Robert Etienne, *Fouilles de Conimbriga I, L'Architecture* (Paris 1977) 33.

¹¹De Almeida, *Ruínas* 40-43.

Excavations in the South Mound at Naukratis: 1981

In 1883 the ancient city of Naukratis was identified with the Egyptian village of Kom Ge'if by the patriarch of British archaeology, Sir William Flinders Petrie.¹ Subsequent excavation by Petrie and other archaeologists at the end of the nineteenth century² succeeded in uncovering much of the Archaic (7th–6th century B.C.) city which, according to Herodotus, was the only emporium in Egypt to which the early Greek merchants could bring their wares.³ While the work of these early excavators did much to increase our knowledge of the early phases of the history of Naukratis, it also raised many questions, and in an attempt to answer these questions the Naukratis Project was conceived.⁴ This project, which includes archaeological survey and excavation at more than a dozen sites in a 25 kilometer area to the north and west of Cairo (Fig. 1), utilizes archaeological techniques developed after Petrie's time. By using a wide range of support disciplines not normally integrated into nineteenth century archaeological research, the excavators are endeavoring to place Naukratis and its environs in their total chronological, historical and ecological perspective. The following report deals with but a single facet of the work conducted by the Naukratis Project during the 1981 season: the excavations in the South Mound at Naukratis (Fig. 2).

The 1981 program of excavation at Naukratis was the direct continuation of the work initiated during the 1980 season⁵ when preliminary testing of the western end of the South Mound indicated a succession of building phases datable to the Ptolemaic and/or early Roman period (4th c. B.C.–A.D. 1st c.). Because these historical epochs were only briefly noted by Petrie and his successors, and because the South Mound is located in the area in which Petrie claimed to



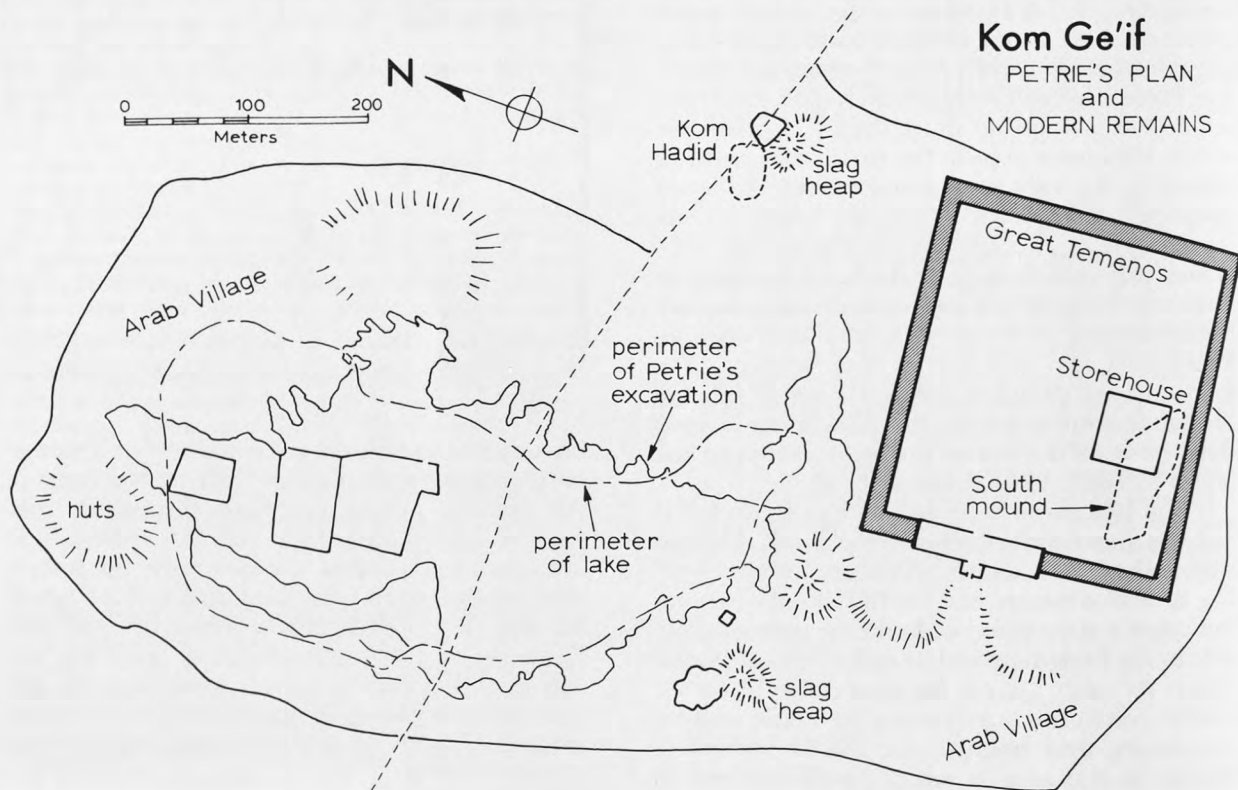
1. Map of the Nile Delta showing area under study by the Naukratis Project.

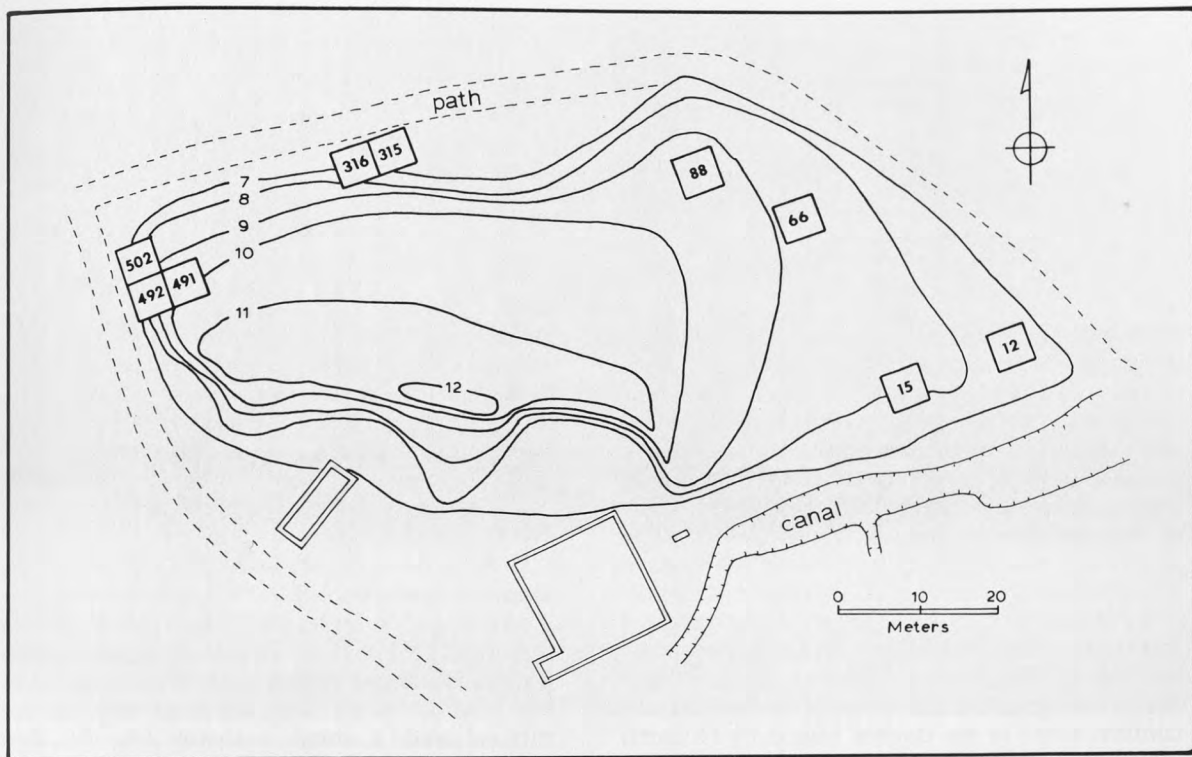
have excavated the Great Temenos (Fig. 3) which he identified with the Pan-hellenic sanctuary of the Archaic period, emphasis during the 1981 season was placed on horizontal exposure of architectural features. Accordingly, excavation was conducted in four major areas of the South Mound (Fig. 4): 12 and 15 along the southern flanks; 66 and 88 in the northeast corner; 315 and 316 at the base of the northern face; and 491, 492 and 502 on the high western summit of the mound directly above the small probes excavated in 1980.



2. Aerial view of the South Mound.

3. Composite plan showing the perimeter of the lake formed in the depression left by Petrie's excavations, and the location of the South Mound within Petrie's "Great Temenos."





4. Plan of the South Mound, showing the areas tested during the 1981 season.

Areas 12 and 15

Areas 12 and 15 are two, four-meter squares that exhibit the same basic stratigraphy: the severely disturbed remains of a nineteenth century Islamic cemetery just below the surface, and a series of intact burials of similar date cut into, or built upon, a thick layer of *detritus* from a substantial mudbrick structure whose founding level is well below the present level of ground water.

The lower, intact stratum of Islamic burials consisted predominantly of children who lay on their right sides with their heads to the west, facing the holy city of Mecca. Sophistication in tomb construction varied widely from simple, disarticulated clusters of bones dug into wind-borne sediment and *detritus* levels, to fairly substantial mudbrick tombs. Separating these tombs from the earlier structure below is a series of *detritus* loci, formed by the collapse and

subsequent erosion of the upper portions of the structure. The northern or southern faces of this wall could not be excavated because of the superimposition of the later tombs, but enough was uncovered to define it as a nineteen-meter (east-west) wall with a minimum width of three meters. It is preserved to a height of over one meter but its founding level could not be determined since it is, at present, below the modern water table.

Ceramic inclusions were relatively frequent in the mudbricks of both walls and their *detritus* but unfortunately were usually morphologically non-diagnostic. Vessel forms which could be determined, as well as the fabrics of the smaller fragments, agree with the pottery excavated during the 1980 season and suggest a Ptolemaic date for the structure.

The presence of disturbed and undisturbed tombs in Areas 12 and 15 casts considerable doubt on some of the statements made by Petrie

concerning his excavations in the southern limits of the city. Although he noted the existence of an Arabic cemetery over a portion of the Great Temenos area when he arrived at Kom Ge'if, he also claimed to have financed the transfer of the contents of these graves to two large, communal tombs which subsequently allowed him to "clear all the chambers" of the Archaic structure.⁶ The empty tombs discovered just below the surface at first seemed to agree with Petrie's description and offered the hope of reinvestigating the early architecture cleared by Petrie in 1884. The lower stratum of intact burials, however, dashed these hopes and appear at this stage of our research to confirm some of the doubts raised by Hogarth after his excavations at Naukratis in 1903, as to just how much of the southern portion of the site was actually investigated by Petrie.⁷ The 1981 excavations below these tombs, however, have presented us with a good indication of the scale of the building program pursued by the Ptolemaic architects, for if the mudbrick walls exposed in Areas 12 and 15 do indicate elements of a single architectural unit it would be a minimum of nineteen meters on one side with walls at least three meters thick.

Further clearance had been planned for the Ptolemaic architecture in Areas 12 and 15, as well as in Areas 66 and 88, but the articulation and photographic recording of the later skeletons so disturbed the people of the village that midway through the season we were prohibited from continuing excavations in this part of the mound. Subsequently we shifted the focus of our work to the base of the northern limits of the South Mound where deep cuttings made by local farmers had reduced the area to a level well below that of the ubiquitous nineteenth century cemetery. The selection of this area proved to be

fortuitous for we were rewarded with our first opportunity to obtain horizontal exposure of Ptolemaic mudbrick architecture without the problems presented by the intense covering of later tombs.

Areas 315 and 316

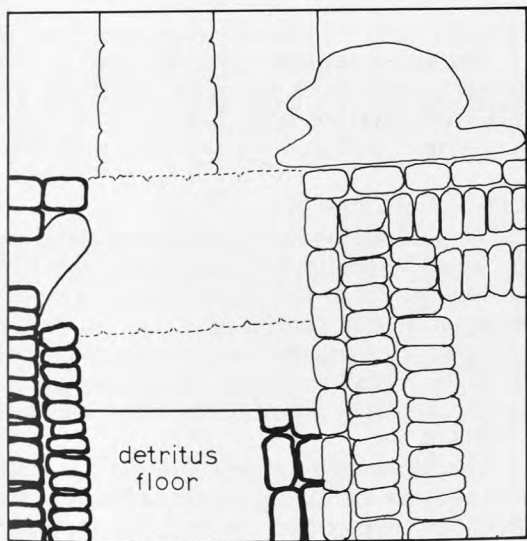
After the initial clearing and cleaning of this area, the recent cuts of the villagers were regularized into a nine-meter balk running east-west, to the north of which two four-meter squares (Areas 315 on the east and 316 on the west) were laid out between the northern edge of the mound and a small pathway (Fig. 5). Two stratigraphically distinct architectural phases were detected in these two squares: an upper stratum which can be correlated in both squares and a lower stratum observable only in Area 316.

The lower stratum consists of two parallel mudbrick walls oriented approximately north-south, indicated by bold lines in Figure 6. Between these walls was a 5–10 cm. thick floor apparently of *detritus* origin, but including small ceramic fragments, pieces of kiln waste and bits of charcoal evenly distributed throughout the matrix. This surface and its related walls had been built upon a considerable fill (over 30 cm. before ground water was reached) which was rich in pottery that can be dated to the Ptolemaic period, thus offering a *terminus post quem* for the sequence of architecture in these two squares.

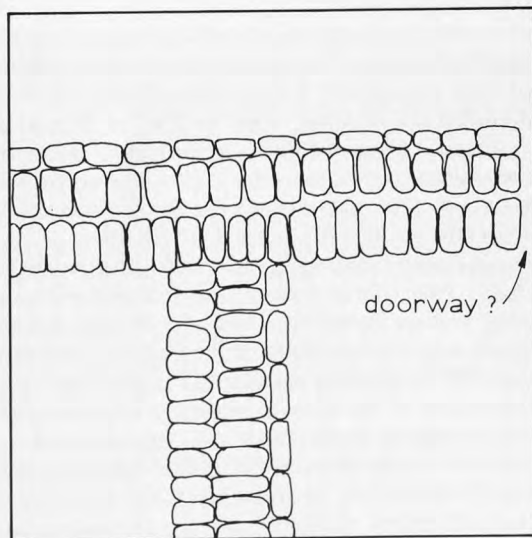
The upper stratum is architecturally more extensive than its predecessor. The major structural features consist of an east-west mudbrick wall indicated by light lines in Figure 6, with a possible doorway at its eastern end. A north-south wall is bonded into the main wall in Area 316 while a parallel wall abuts the main wall in



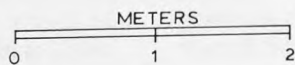
5. Area 315 (on the left) and Area 316, seen from the north.



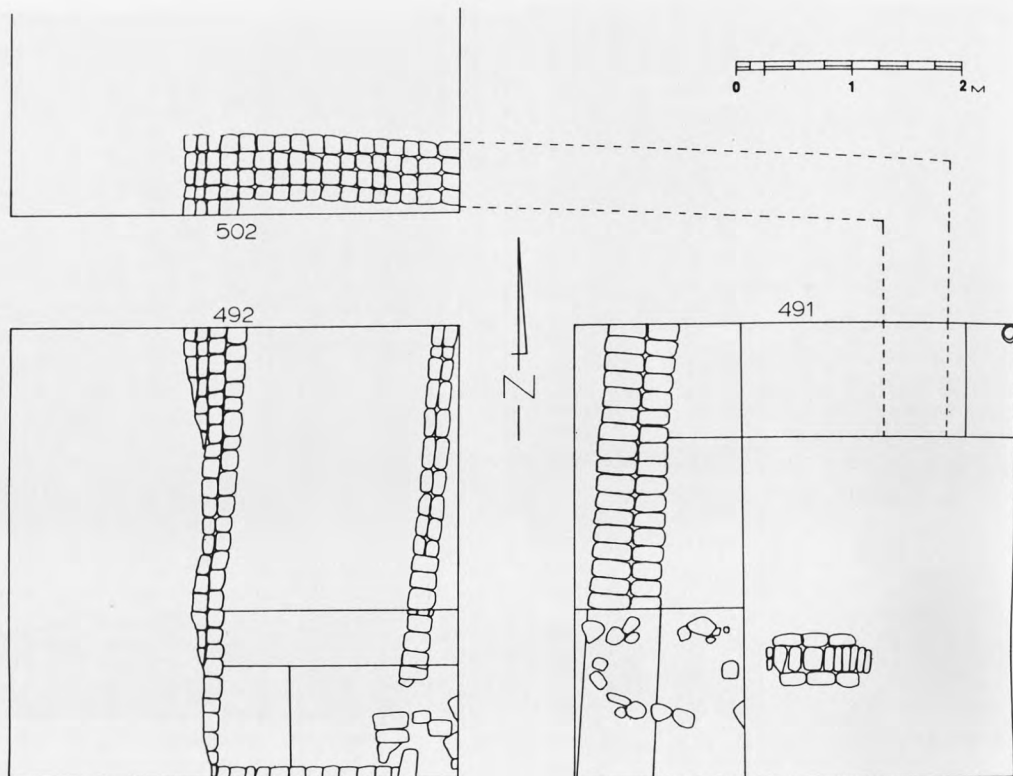
316



315



6. Simplified top plans of Areas 316 and 315.



7. Simplified top plan of the probes at the western end of the South Mound.

Area 315 about 10 cm. above its founding level, thus indicating at least one phase of remodeling of the structure. To be associated with this complex is another wall which is the logical extension (westward) of the main wall. It is represented on the plan by a segmented line because, although it is evident in the west balk in Area 316, it never appeared as a distinct archaeological entity during the excavation of the square itself. The line and direction of the north-south wall which must have joined it was touched upon only during the final days of the excavation and its individual mudbricks were not distinguishable at the level to which it was excavated. Its founding level, however, agrees well with that of the western end of the main wall and must, therefore, be contemporary with the earlier sub-phase of the upper stratum structure.

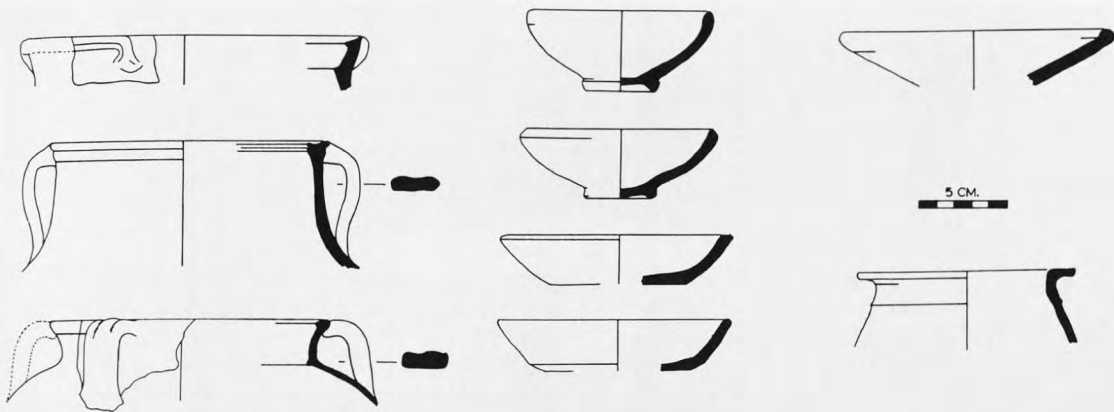
The date of the pottery associated with the main upper stratum architecture is, as we have seen in all other areas so far discussed, purely

Ptolemaic with its best parallels in the Chatby and Hadra cemeteries in Alexandria, and in various contexts in Syria-Palestine dating to the third to first centuries B.C.⁸

Areas 491, 492 and 502

These three squares are located above the two small soundings made during the 1980 season (Fig. 7). In fact, Area 492 is the eastern extension of the 1980 Area 1, but at a higher level, and was dug this year in order to provide some horizontal exposure to the vertical sequence established during the initial season of excavation.

The major architectural elements in these three squares are an east-west wall in Area 502 which can be traced on the surface to the extent shown on the plan; a parallel wall shown at the extreme south of Area 492, and a north-south wall which connects the western end of these



8. Some of the ceramic vessel forms from Areas 491, 492 and 502.

two walls. To the primary walls three, evidently sequential, north-south walls had been added, which can be seen in Areas 492 and 491. Based on the top levels of all of these walls, they appear to have continued in use as each additional wall was built and respective floor added.

The ceramic material found in and below each of the floors of the various phases of this structure is purely Ptolemaic (Fig. 8) with many parallels in both shape and fabric to the third to first century B.C. pottery found in other areas of the South Mound.

The 1981 season of excavation in the South Mound at Naukratis/Kom Ge'if has continued to illustrate the extensive and intensive Ptolemaic building activity in the southern part of the city, and has shown that remains of the earlier periods of the city's history—if they ever existed in this area—are presently lost below the rising ground water. Succeeding seasons of excavation will concentrate on the area north and northeast of the lake formed in the depression left by the excavations of Petrie and his successors in hopes of finding more evidence of the Archaic city which made this Greek outpost in Egypt such a truly unique settlement.

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¹W. M. F. Petrie, *Naukratis I* (London 1886).

²E. A. Gardner, *Naukratis II* (London 1888); D. C. Hogarth, "Excavations at Naukratis," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 5 (1889-90) 26-97; and D. C. Hogarth, H. L. Lorimer and C. C. Edgar, "Naukratis 1903," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 25 (1905) 105-36.

³*History* 2.97, 178.

⁴The Naukratis Project is co-directed by Professor W. D. E. Coulson of the University of Minnesota and the author, the former having specific control over the survey and sounding of the environs of Naukratis, the latter being in charge of the excavations at Naukratis (Kom Ge'if) itself. Reports of the initial, 1977-78 season appeared in the *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 103 (Winter 1977-78) 12-26, and *Journal of Field Archaeology* 6 (1979) 151-68. Publications on the 1980 season appear below in note 5.

The 1981 season was funded by a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities with matching funds provided by the Social Sciences/Humanities Research Council of Canada and private individuals and groups, with additional monies provided by academic institutions in the state of Minnesota, especially the Graduate School of the University. The Naukratis Project wishes to thank the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, for its support of the 1981 season.

⁵W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, Jr., "Naukratis 1980," *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 112 (Fall 1980) 49-50; and W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, Jr., *Cities of the Delta*, fasc. 1, *Naukratis* (Malibu 1981).

⁶W. M. F. Petrie, *Naukratis I*, 34.

⁷D. C. Hogarth, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 25 (1905) 111-12.

⁸Hadra Cemetery—Rue d'Aboukir: A. Adriani, *Annuaire du musée greco-romain* 2 (1935-9) 81, fig. 40 (hereafter abbreviated as AMGR); Ezbet el-Makhlour: *ibid.* 117, fig. 53; el-Manara: Adriani, *AMGR* 3 (1940-50) 26, fig. 21. See also Kom el-Nougous, *ibid.* 142, fig. 70. For the Syro-Palestinian parallels, cf. P. W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology: 200 B.C.—A.D. 70* (New Haven 1961).

Robert's *Temptation of a Saint*: A Reinterpretation

The eighteenth-century French artist Hubert Robert earned the sobriquet "Robert of the ruins" for his prolific production of canvases like the one reproduced here, now in the National Gallery of Art (Fig. 1).¹ They featured imaginative arrangements of the Roman ruins the painter loved, animated by lively if inconspicuous figures and picturesque, broken effects of light. Paintings like this one, being at once evocative and highly decorative, most often represented Robert at the French Academy's exhibitions, the *Salons*, and made him one of the most acclaimed view painters of his day. It has long been recognized, however, that Robert painted other types of subjects as well: among them urban and garden scenes, domestic genre, and religious and literary themes.

An unsigned and undated painting, acquired by the University of Missouri's Museum of Art and Archaeology in 1969, has been attributed to Robert by art historians Louis Réau and Charles Sterling (Fig. 2).² Its subject has long been identified as the carnal temptation of a hermit-saint, perhaps even of Saint Anthony.³ But while this interpretation is convincing at first, the tone of the Museum's picture soon begins to seem somehow wrong for this traditional theme. In contrast to the other painted *Temptations* there is no evidence of demonry or of overt sexual temptation in the Robert—indeed the hermit seems to be reacting oddly to the presence of the old woman and the girl, who is rather diffident for a convincing temptress.

It is suggestive to compare the painting instead with a sizeable group of Robert's other works including hermit figures. One theme that he drew and painted many times throughout his career was that of a praying hermit tormented by young women stealing his belongings or tickling him with reeds.⁴ There is also a painting he exhibited in 1791 showing a hermit-like figure

preaching among ruins who, having bored his audience to sleep, leans from his pulpit to pick and eat cherries.⁵ These subjects, displaying a lightly satirical, anticlerical bias, exemplify the enlightened scorn of established religion felt by many of Robert's contemporaries. They may express Robert's personal convictions as well. As a young man, he had successfully resisted his parents' wish that he take holy orders. He apparently never evinced any particular piety in later life, although he did leave a few works of a more conventionally religious character.⁶

No specific sources have been proposed for these other hermit pictures, but there is a literary source that accounts for the ambiguities in the subject of the Missouri painting. It is a tale from seventeenth-century author Jean de La Fontaine's *Contes et Nouvelles en vers*, a collection of short verse adaptations of stories by Boccaccio and other writers. La Fontaine's licentious and sometimes anticlerical *contes* were extremely popular in eighteenth-century French society, although

1. *The Old Bridge*, by Robert. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington. Samuel Kress Collection (1129).
2. Opposite: *Missouri's L'Ermite*, by Robert (69.1013).







officially banned by the French state. They were published many times, often in illustrated form; they were analysed, imitated and adapted for the stage.⁷ In addition to book illustrations, individual *contes* provided subjects for independent prints and paintings throughout the century.⁸

The *conte* that the Missouri painting illustrates is entitled "L'Ermit," and was sometimes called "Frère Luce" after its chief character. Briefly, the story is this. Frère Luce, a hermit who passes for a saint in the village near which he has his retreat, is really a clever hypocrite. As the narrative begins he plots to satisfy his lust for the daughter of a poor widow without sacrificing his reputation. To this end he stations himself

outside the widow's humble cottage one night, amplifying his voice with a paper horn so that the frightened pair within believe that God himself is addressing them. The unearthly voice commands the mother to bestow her daughter upon his servant Frère Luce. He has, he reveals, destined their future son to become a great and rich Pope. The mother is eventually persuaded, and one morning brings her daughter to the hermit's cell. But then the "virtuous" Frère Luce is horrified, and rejects her explanations; their divine mission may be the work of the Devil, he warns, and women must never profane his dwelling. The painting translates this interchange into the attitudes and gestures of the three figures. The old widow leans anxiously forward

3. Opposite: Frère Luce, *Nicolas de Larmessin* after *Nicolas Vleughels* (B-1629). 4. Right: *L'Ermite*, by *Jacques Aliamet* after *Charles Eisen*, from 1762 edition of *Contes et Nouvelles* by *La Fontaine* (B-1632). Both courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

as she remonstrates with the hermit, offering him her daughter who shyly hangs back, clutching her apron. The shocked Frère Luce twists violently around from his rough altar, throwing out his arm as if to ward off a dangerous presence. The irony of the scene, in the picture as in the narrative, lies in its similarity to a real temptation of a saint. Only the knowledgeable viewer realizes that it represents a farce engineered by the hermit, who is the real demon here.

Most of the eighteenth-century artists who illustrated "L'Ermite" seem to have chosen to depict just this scene of mock temptation.⁹ An example is the engraving by *Nicolas de Larmessin* (Fig. 3) after a lost painting by *Nicolas Vleughels*, both dating from the mid-1730's.¹⁰ While much more faithful than Robert in reporting the anecdotal details of the story—the little bell, rosary, knotted cord (for self-flagellation) and begging bowl—Vleughels did not preserve *La Fontaine's* irony, choosing instead to render the true state of affairs for the viewer. His Frère Luce is too obviously leering at his prey to deceive anyone into thinking he is resisting temptation. The case is otherwise with a later illustration designed by *Charles Eisen* (Fig. 4), taken from a well-known edition of the *Contes et Nouvelles* published in 1762.¹¹ The mother and daughter figures in this version are reminiscent of those in the print after Vleughels, but his hermit figure is strikingly similar in pose and relative position to its counterpart in the Missouri picture, although reversed.



Hubert Robert certainly could have seen *Eisen's* illustrations for the 1762 edition of the *Contes*. His hypothetical awareness of *Eisen's L'Ermite* is not, however, necessary to account for the similarity of their conceptions. On the contrary, both of their versions, Robert's especially, depend upon yet another, painted when *Eisen* was twelve and Robert not yet born. It was the work of *Pierre Subleyras*, a French artist who spent his career in Rome painting mostly religious subjects and portraits. Exceptions to this were the four scenes from *La Fontaine's Contes* that he first painted in 1732 for the French ambassador to Rome. This series of paintings, which included a scene from "L'Ermite," proved so popular that *Subleyras* painted many replicas



5. *L'Ermite*, by Pierre Subleyras. Courtesy of the Louvre, Paris (8011).

of it, varying the costumes, poses and settings slightly. The only catalogue of Subleyras' works lists six painted versions of *L'Ermite* alone, and notes that several others were known to have existed.¹² One of them, here reproduced, is now in the Louvre (Fig. 5).¹³

At the time that Subleyras painted the original series he was still a pensioner at the French Academy at Rome, then directed by the same Nicolas Vleughels whose version of the theme has already been discussed. It does not seem possible to establish which of the two painted his *Frère Luce* first, but it does seem clear that the visual irony lacking in Vleughels' more literal interpretation was the invention of his pupil Subleyras.¹⁴ It is hardly surprising that,

just as in the case of the Missouri painting, the Subleyras composition has been, at various times, misidentified as a *Temptation of Saint Anthony*.¹⁵

ROBERT MUST HAVE APPRECIATED Subleyras' interpretation of the tale of the lascivious hermit, for at some point in his career he acquired one of those many painted replicas. This fact is established by the inventory of the collection sold after his death in 1809.¹⁶ The question of why and when Robert may have copied its figures for his own version cannot be answered with as much assurance, but a hypothesis is possible. A starting point is in Denis Diderot's review of the 1767 *Salon*, the year of Robert's triumphant debut there after his return from Rome. After

praising the general effect of one of Robert's large ruin pictures, Diderot went on to chide the artist:

I will not describe those figures so unfinished that it is impossible to know whether they are male or female, still less what they are doing; . . . Monsieur Robert, work on your figures, make fewer of them, and make them better.¹⁷

Diderot repeated these strictures in subsequent *Salon* reviews, as did other critics. It has been suggested that this adverse criticism is what prompted Robert sometimes to add figures copied from the court painter François Boucher to his paintings during this period.¹⁸ Diderot, however, was by no means the first to fault Robert's painted figures. Another was the painter Charles-Joseph Natoire, director of the French Academy at Rome during Robert's years there in the late fifties and early sixties. Natoire seems to have taken a special interest in the young artist, with whom he shared a passion for landscape. In one of his official letters to his superior in Paris, dated 1759, Natoire reported on Robert's progress:

His great skill and spirit often keep him from correcting what he does carefully enough, something I am constantly recommending to him, especially for his figures. He needs to pay serious attention to that area.¹⁹

It so happens that a painter whose figures Natoire apparently did admire was Pierre Subleyras, who had died in 1749. An analysis of Natoire's art collection, sold after his death in 1777, has shown that Subleyras was nearly the only eighteenth-century figure-painter whose canvases he collected. Among the eight that he owned was one of the *Frère Luce* replicas.²⁰ Natoire therefore could have been the one who introduced Robert to that composition, which may, as suggested earlier, have held a special

appeal for the younger man on account of its subject matter. Copying being then one of the established ways for an inexperienced artist to learn, it is possible that the Missouri picture originated as an exercise in figure composition painted at Natoire's instigation. Following this hypothesis the Museum's picture would date from Robert's student years in Rome, or from between 1754 and 1765. It has been assigned to the same period on stylistic grounds.²¹ Whatever its origins, however, the picture is far from being a slavish copy. By painting the three "borrowed" figures summarily, with broad, crisp strokes, and above all by expanding their setting into a mysterious cavern only partially and dramatically illumined through its two openings, Robert transformed his source and made it his own.

It seems appropriate to close this inquiry by picking up the thread of the narrative of "L'Ermite" where it was left hanging, at the moment depicted in so many eighteenth-century illustrations. Soon giving up his hypocritical resistance, Frère Luce takes in the widow's daughter, who lives with him until she is quite obviously pregnant. The mother then returns and takes her home to await the child destined for the Papacy. As one of the few English translations of La Fontaine's *Contes* concludes the tale:

When home returned, the girl, each day and night,
Amused her mind with prospects of delight
By fancy's aid she saw the future Pope,
And all prepared to greet her fondest hope
But what arrived at the whole at once o'erthrew
Hats, dukedoms, castles, vanished from the view
The promised elevation of the name
Dissolved to air—a little female came!²²

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¹A version of this paper was presented at the Fifteenth Annual Graduate Student Seminar at the Art Institute of Chicago, April 19, 1980. I am grateful to Mr. Richard Baumann, Curator of Renaissance and Modern Art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, both for suggesting this topic and for helping with my subsequent research.

²Accession number 69.1013, purchased from H. Shickman Gallery, New York City. The painting is oil on canvas, 69 x 53 cm., and in very good condition. In a letter of 18 October 1972, Norman Leitman of Shickman Gallery claimed to have a note in his files that Charles Sterling had seen the picture in 1969 and attributed it to Robert's years in Italy (1754-1765). With that letter Leitman enclosed an old photograph of the painting with a handwritten certificate of authentication by Louis Réau on the back, who termed it "une des oeuvres les plus originales d'Hubert Robert." It is illustrated (cat. no. 133) in the forthcoming *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology*, University of Missouri-Columbia, edited by Osmund Overby.

³The painting was purchased and exhibited as a *Temptation of a Saint*, and Réau compared the action in it to the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (see note 2).

⁴In her discussion of one of these drawings M. R. Michel lists painted and drawn variants dating from as early as 1760 to as late as 1790. *Autour du Néoclassicisme: peintures, dessins, sculptures* (Paris 1973) entry 44. A related sanguine drawing, dated to Robert's Roman period, shows a young woman stealing up behind a seated and reading hermit, as if preparing to surprise him. M. Beau, *La Collection des dessins d'Hubert Robert au musée de Valence* (Lyon 1968) entry 76.

⁵The entry from the *Salon* catalogue of that year, which calls the robed figure a "prédicateur" or preacher, is reprinted in C. Gabillot, *Hubert Robert et son temps* (Paris 1895) 279. The painting, or one like it, is reproduced in H. Burda, *Die Ruine in den Bildern Hubert Roberts* (Munich 1969) pl. 95.

⁶Robert's defiance of his parents' wishes is discussed in Gabillot, 66ff, and in V. Carlson, *Hubert Robert: Drawings and Watercolors* (Washington D. C. 1978) 18. As Cailleux noted, for Robert, "the friend of the encyclopaedists, religion is no more than a pretext for showing scenes from real life, or sarcastic jokes about religious practices." J. Cailleux, "Introduction to the method of Hubert Robert," *Burlington Magazine* 109 (February 1967) supp. i-iv, iv. Out of the only four paintings of religious themes Burda found among his *oeuvre*, two were copies. Burda, 8.

⁷The most convenient scholarly edition of the *Contes et Nouvelles*, which offers G. Couston's summary history of their early publication and official condemnation in 1675, was published as part of the Garnier *Classiques* series (Paris, 1961). For the *Contes'* popularity and influence in eighteenth-century France see C.D. Brenner, "Dramatizations of French Short Stories in the Eighteenth Century . . ." *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 33 (1947) 1-33; and especially R. Runte's unpublished dissertation "La Fontaine's Heritage: His Reputation and Influence in 18th Century France" (University of Kansas 1974).

⁸The best source on the illustrated editions is still H. Cohen and S. de Ricci, *Guide de l'amateur de livres à gravures du XVIIIe siècle*, 6th ed. (Paris 1912) s.v. "La Fontaine (Contes)." Another reference work that includes information on independently issued prints, most engraved after paintings, is A. Hédé-Haüy, *Les illustrations des Contes de La Fontaine* (Paris 1893).

⁹Exceptions were the painters François Boucher and Honoré Fragonard, both of whom Robert knew. Boucher's painted version, dated 1742 and now in the Pushkin Museum in Leningrad, shows the mother and daughter advancing toward the waiting hermit through a lush Rococo landscape. A. Ananoff, *François Boucher* (Lausanne-Paris 1976) I, 332. In contrast Fragonard, who drew several sets of illustrations for the *Contes*, chose to show Frère Luce undressing the unresisting girl after her mother's departure. His version, as engraved for the 1795 Didot edition of the *Contes*, is reproduced in J. S. Nemilova, "Kartiny Gjubera Robera na Literaturnye sježety v sobranii Ermitaža," *Trudy Gos Ermitaža* 1 (1956) 207-14, fig. 2.

¹⁰This engraving is one of the four after Vleughels from a series of thirty-six folio-sized prints of subjects from the *Contes*, which was published from the 1730's to about 1750 by Larmessin and others. This so-called "Larmessin Suite" also includes engravings after paintings by Pater, Lancret and Boucher, as well as by lesser-known French painters. See Cohen and Ricci, 556f., and Hédé-Haüy, 118-28.

¹¹Called the "édition des Fermiers-généraux" because it was clandestinely financed by the French corporation of tax collectors, this edition has been prized by bibliophiles ever since its first appearance. A description and history may be found in Cohen and Ricci, 558-71, and Hédé-Haüy, 27-50. This edition is also the subject of my Master's thesis.

¹²The only lengthy account of Subleyras' career and catalogue of his work is O. Arnaud's, in L. Dimier. *Les peintres*

français du XVIII^e siècle (Paris 1930) II, 49-92. Her discussion of the history of the series is on 56f; her catalogue entries on known replicas of *L'Ermite* on 81f.

¹³A recent Louvre catalogue asserts that this painting is one of the original four Subleyras painted for the Ambassador Saint-Aignan. P. Rosenberg, N. Reynaud, and I. Campin, *Musée du Louvre: Catalogue illustré des Peintures, École française, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris 1974) II, 218. But see note 16 for an opposing view.

¹⁴Hercenberg speculated that Vleughels painted his around 1735, making it somewhat later than Subleyras', in his *Nicolas Vleughels, Peintre et Directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome 1668-1737* (Paris 1975) 106.

¹⁵Arnaud noted in her 1930 catalogue that one of the painted replicas (#116, 82) was in a Zurich museum as a *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, a title it retained in the recent edition of A. Pigler's *Barokthemen: Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zu Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd. ed. (Budapest 1974) I, 422. Hédé-Haüy found an eighteenth-century engraving of the composition with the title "Saint Antoine" and a short biography of the saint added at its base (144). Beyond the limits of this article, it seems clear that Subleyras himself drew on earlier depictions of the Temptation of Saint Anthony for inspiration, very possibly on one of the numerous versions by the seventeenth-century Flemish painter David Teniers II, whose works were admired and engraved throughout the eighteenth century. See, for a comparison, Teniers' *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in the Dresden Gemäldegalerie, reproduced in A. Rosenberg, *Teniers der Jüngere* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1895) fig. 21.

¹⁶The catalogue is reprinted in Gabillot, 256-71: "30. *Subleyras*. Ce petit tableau représente un sujet tiré des contes de La Fontaine, connu sous le titre de *Frère Luce* . . ." 259. According to Arnaud in 1930, Robert's former picture was then in the Niel collection in Paris (#118, 82). In 1969 Le Moël and Rosenberg claimed that the same *Frère Luce*, then unlocated, was one of the original series Subleyras painted for Saint-Aignan, rather than the one now in the Louvre (Fig. 5). M. Le Moël and P. Rosenberg, "La collection des tableaux de duc de Saint-Aignan et le catalogue de sa vente illustré par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin," *Revue de l'art* 6 (1969) 51-67, 61. If true, this means that Robert acquired his *Frère Luce* at or after the sale of Saint-Aignan's collection in 1776.

¹⁷My rough translation of a passage from Diderot's comments on *Ruine d'un Arc de triomphe, et autres monumens*. D.

Diderot, *Salons*, eds. J. Sez nec and J. Adhémar (Oxford 1957-67) III, 227. The original reads: Je ne caractérise point ces figures si peu soignées qu'on ne sait ce que c'est, hommes ou femmes, moins encore ce qu'elles font; . . . Monsieur Robert, soignez vos figures, faites-en moins, et faites-les mieux. . . .

¹⁸By J. Cailleux, with illustrated examples, in his article "Robert a pris modèle sur Boucher," *Connaissance des arts* (October 1959) 100-107, 105.

¹⁹My translation from Natoire's letter to the Marquis de Marigny, 8 August 1759, as reprinted in *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments* . . . , eds. A. Montaignon and J. Guiffrey (Paris 1887-1908) XI, 293. The original is: . . . sa grande facilité, avec le feu qu'il a, l'emporte souvent à ne pas châtier avec assés de soin ce qu'il fait, ce que je luy recommande toujours, surtout pour ses figures. Cette partie a besoin qu'il y fasse des sérieuses attentions

²⁰My source is G. Brunel's excellent essay "Charles-Joseph Natoire collectionneur" from the exhibition catalogue *Charles-Joseph Natoire* (Troyes 1977) 36f.

²¹By Sterling, see note 2. Consideration of the Missouri painting's date is complicated, however, by the existence of a similar painting attributed to Robert and now in the Hermitage Museum. The Russian scholar who first correctly identified its subject as La Fontaine's "L'Ermite" dated it to much later in Robert's career, the 1780's or 90's. She was aware neither of the Subleyras prototype nor of the painting now in Missouri. Nemilova, 207-14. In 1967 Burda pointed out the similarity between the Hermitage painting and Eisen's illustration for the 1762 edition, still without realizing their common source. (Burda, 79) The figures in the Russian picture do not seem to follow the Subleyras composition as closely as do those in the Missouri version, and they are set in one of Robert's typical overgrown and crumbling ruins. This could indicate that the Hermitage's painting is indeed a later and more personal treatment of the theme, an instance of Robert's well-known tendency to repeat compositions years, even decades apart (for another example see the article by Cailleux referred to earlier, "Introduction to the method of Hubert Robert"). Perhaps Robert painted it in Paris, using his own Subleyras *Frère Luce* as the model.

²²J. de La Fontaine. *Tales and Novels in Verse* . . . (London 1896) II, 57.

Hercle and Turms on an Etruscan Engraved Mirror

A new acquisition by the Museum of Art and Archaeology (Fig. 1) has provided an excellent opportunity for me, after an interval of twenty-five years, to return to the "San Francisco Group" of Etruscan bronze mirrors.¹ This special group of more than thirty mirrors was first brought together on the evidence of two specimens in San Francisco, study of which soon attracted numerous other mirrors that bore a characteristic two-figured composition depicting males—generally nude, and one or both figures young (clean shaven) or old (bearded)—who confront each other (as if conversing) in an awkward half-seated, half-leaning posture. Although the figures may sit on or lean against a shield, club, rock, or the like, such supports are usually omitted or merely implied by the engraver who has unwittingly created a rather precarious pose often present on mirrors of the group, but especially conspicuous on "descendent" mirrors of the group, which show debased representations of the Dioskouroi.²

Despite the seemingly restrictive nature of the composition and pose of its figures, the engraved scene on mirrors of the San Francisco Group may attain a surprising variety owing to the addition of certain details or attributes: spears, mantles, wings, lionskin and club for *Hercle* (Greek Herakles), winged hat and caduceus for *Turms* (Greek Hermes), etc., and, more effectively, by the modification or alternation of gesture and/or position of head, arms and legs. Further variations are achieved by the choice of decorative border—ranging from simple to ornate—which encircles the main scene, and by the single motif (lotus, palmette, etc.) engraved at the base of the disc just above the tang that was originally inserted into a handle of some material other than bronze—bone, ivory, or wood.³



The general composition, the posture of the "seated" figures and the character of the encircling ornamental border on the new Missouri mirror conform well with the engraved decoration on mirrors of the San Francisco Group. In place of the more usual winged or wingless youths, however, the Missouri mirror shows *Hercle* and *Turms*—a duo who have appeared together on only two of the mirrors (Figs. 2 and 3) assigned to the San Francisco Group.⁴ A mirror in Paris (Fig. 4)⁵ may now be added since its portrayal of *Hercle* and *Turms* as protagonists in the two-figured composition is appropriate to the group. *Hercle* and *Turms* are also engraved as two of a threesome on a handsome mirror in Bologna which, together with the adjunct feet of the celebrated Ficoroni Cista, are included in my study of the San Francisco Group for arguments iconographical and chronological.⁶

Of the four mirrors here brought together for comparison, three (Figs. 1-3)—despite the stylistically insignificant differences which may



1. Opposite: photo, and above: drawing and section of the mirror in the Missouri collection. Drawing by John Huffstot.

be seen in the manner that lionskin and mantle are worn, and the presence or absence of plant forms in the field, a bird at Heracle's shoulder, and amphora at his feet—are unquestionably the works of a single Etruscan engraver. Granted that a nineteenth-century drawing does not provide as reliable a basis for attribution as does a photograph, it suffices to point out the consistency in the general proportions and the contours of the bodies, the profiles of both Heracle and Turms⁷—especially the winged *petasos* (hat) and long hair of Turms. Although the staff-like

2. Below: engraved Etruscan bronze mirror of the San Francisco Group. Drawing from E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Vol. 2, Berlin, 1845. Pl. CXXIX.





3. Above left: engraved Etruscan bronze mirror of the San Francisco Group. Drawing from E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Vol. 2, Berlin, 1845. Pl. CXXX.



4. Above right: engraved Etruscan bronze mirror in Paris. Cabinet de Medailles, Inv. No. 1285.

caduceus of Turms is clearly represented on the Paris mirror (Fig. 4) and, as very likely intended on a mirror in Naples (Fig. 2), it could be naturally taken for a staff, or even a spear on the Missouri mirror (Fig. 1) and its closest parallel (Fig. 2), if it were not for the very tip of the caduceus barely visible behind the front brim of Turms' winged hat.

Of the three mirrors here attributed to a single Etruscan engraver, two (Figs. 1 and 3) disclose the same basic encircling decoration—also found on the Paris mirror (Fig. 4) related in subject but not in style⁸—which is comprised of two relatively thick branches that spring forth, one to each side of the engraved ornamental motif at the tang, and run upwards along the curve of the disc to meet at the top of the mirror where they are tied together with a fillet. A single heart-shaped ivy leaf sprouts from each

side of the branch which, on the Missouri mirror, shows the addition of triple-berry clusters that alternate with the individual leaves. One of our mirrors (Fig. 2), however, carries alternating ivy leaf and berry clusters, but in a far more elaborate fashion; i.e., continuous intertwined tendrils instead of a single thick branch.⁹

For the Missouri mirror and its closest parallel (Fig. 2), attention must be called to the overturned amphora at the feet of Heracle—a detail which adds some interest to an otherwise dull scene. Hence, a third mirror which formed part of the original San Francisco Group may once again be cited because Heracle appears with similarly located amphora. In place of Turms, however, a youth inscribed *Vile* (Iolaos)¹⁰ appears as Heracle's companion. The association of Heracle and overturned amphora on certain mirrors of the San Francisco Group and the compo-

sition with Turms on the previously mentioned Bologna mirror,¹¹ prompted my consideration of this latter mirror as a link between the San Francisco Group and the Ficoroni Cista by reason of the remarkable sculptural counterpart of the cista's adjunct feet to the Bologna mirror's engraved scene.¹²

In view of the amphora beneath the foot of Herclé, I believe such scenes refer to his presence at a fountain or spring,¹³ and consequently sought correlation between the adjunct feet of the Ficoroni Cista and its elaborate engraved scene.¹⁴ Rebuffat-Emmanuel, on the other hand, proposed that Turms' inclusion within the scene of Herclé and amphora is to be equated with "Hermes agonios," representative of masculine "valeur" in the games for which the amphora is Herclé's prize.¹⁵

Although interpretation of the scene engraved on the Missouri mirror may yet prove unsatisfactory and elusive, there can be no doubt that the well-preserved mirror, new to the Museum of Art and Archaeology, finds its rightful place within the San Francisco Group as a handsome example dating to the end of the fourth century B.C. As Fischer-Graf's recent study may well indicate, it may prove to be a product of a Vulcian workshop.¹⁶

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¹¹M. Del Chiaro, "Two Etruscan Mirrors in San Francisco," *American Journal of Archaeology* 59 (1955) 277-286. I wish to thank Osmund Overby (Director) and Jane C. Biers (Curator of Ancient Art) of the Museum of Art and Archaeology for permission to study and publish their new Etruscan mirror, Acc. No. 80.191 in this number of *Muse*. Preserved length, 22.7 cm.; diameter of disc, 16.6 cm.; average thickness, .0025 cm. It will appear in color (cat. no. 83)

in *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia*, edited by Osmund Overby, to be published this fall.

¹²See *Studi Etruschi* 25 (1957) 384, fig. 13 and 392, fig. 24; R. De Puma, "The Dioskouroi on Four Etruscan Mirrors in Midwestern Collections," *Studi Etruschi* 41 (1973) 159-170; D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *Le miroir étrusque d'après la collection du Cabinet des Médailles* (Paris 1973), pls. 24-26; R. Lambrechts, *Les miroirs étrusques et prenestins des Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire* (Brussels 1978), nos. 40-45, 66 and 71.

¹³See S. Weinberg, "Etruscan Bone Mirror Handles," *Muse* 9 (1975) 25-33.

¹⁴M. Del Chiaro, op. cit., 282, no. 20 (here Fig. 2) and no. 21 (here Fig. 3), the latter also D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, op. cit., pl. 89. See also E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin 1845), pls. CXXXIX and CXXX.

¹⁵Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. no. 1285: D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, op. cit., no. 3 (whence here Fig. 4) and pl. 74.

¹⁶M. Del Chiaro, op. cit., 284ff. For the Bologna mirror: also E. Gerhard, op. cit., pl. CXXXI.

⁷Note that the engraver responsible for the three mirrors has indicated short whiskers along Herclé's jaw on the Missouri mirror (Fig. 1); placed the whiskers much like a goatee on a second mirror (Fig. 3); and omitted them altogether on the third (Fig. 2).

⁸See also M. Del Chiaro, op. cit., pl. 80, figs. 5 and 6; pl. 81, fig. 13.

⁹Other encircling border decorations on mirrors of the San Francisco Group may disclose laurel wreath; ivy or grape leaves—with or without berries—sprouting from a continuous and sinuous stem: see *ibid.*, pls. 78-81.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 80, fig. 7; E. Gerhard, op. cit., pl. CXXXVIII; and U. Fischer-Graf, *Spiegelwerkstätte in Vulci* (Berlin 1980) 106, V 88. I see now (cf., L. Bonfante, "A Mirror in the Indiana University Art Museum," *Studi Etruschi* 45 [1977] 149-167 and E. Simon review of A. Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca in Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* [1980] 206f.) that my original reading "Pile" (Pelias) is better translated as *Vile*, the etruscanized form of Iolaos as suggested by Simon and Bonfante.

¹¹Supra, note 6.

¹²M. Del Chiaro, op. cit., pl. 81, figs. 14 and 15.

¹³*Ibid.*, 283ff. See also J. Bayet, *Etude critique des principaux monuments relatifs à Hercule étrusque* (Paris 1926) 162-186.

¹⁴See also U. Fischer-Graf, op. cit., 121ff.

¹⁵D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, op. cit., 153ff.

¹⁶U. Fischer-Graf, op. cit.

A Daedalic Sampler

In the seventh century B.C., Greek art passed through a phase between Geometric and Archaic, a phase first defined by R. Jenkins and named by him the "Daedalic style," a style which is best understood by the modeling of the human face.¹ Jenkins was able to identify four great centers of production: Corinth, Rhodes, Crete, and Sparta.² It is now recognized that the style was not confined to Dorian communities, but rather was widely spread throughout the Greek world during the seventh century.³ The Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, is fortunate in having several examples of Daedalic art which illustrate not only developments in the treatment of the human face but also a diversity of objects made in the Daedalic style.

Among the more common objects in the Daedalic style are relief amphoras whose decoration of sphinxes reflects Daedalic art. Missouri has acquired three excellent pieces which have already been published in detail.⁴ To these we can now add a terracotta plaque, a lekanis, and a limestone stele. While these several objects have quite divergent iconographical scenes, they do form a unity when considering the development of Daedalic art.

The plaque (Fig. 1) shows a standing female figure with hands down along her thighs; the toes of her feet are barely visible at the hem of her skirt.⁵ She wears a long skirt but appears nude from the waist up. Brownish-black paint has been added for the background color, the hair, the pupils of her eyes, and dots on the skirt; some dots between the waist-band and thigh areas are also in a reddish color.⁶ The hair hangs in braids, four to the right of her face, three to the left. The face is very worn but does show raised eyebrow ridges with the rim of the



1. Figurine plaque in the Missouri collection (71.12), illustrated two-thirds actual size.

right eye itself more clearly preserved than the rim of the left. The mouth is almost indistinguishable but appears to be formed by two parallel lines. The chin retains some of the angularity characteristic of the early phase of the Daedalic style and is not fully rounded as in the later stages, suggesting a date of Middle Daedalic, ca. 650-625 B.C. The nose is well formed and prominent but is not excessively broad at the base of the nostrils; in profile, it projects straight out from the face and does not curve down over the upper lip.

It will prove useful as a comparison in examining the rendering of the face on the plaque to recall the treatment of the faces of the sphinxes from the relief-amphora fragments. The relief-amphora fragments are from Crete and the treatment of the faces corresponds to the characteristics of the Cretan school as outlined by Jenkins.⁷ From the griffin-sphinx fragment we can examine a detailed view of a



2. Above: detail depicting a sphinx on an amphora fragment at Missouri (67.49).

3. Right: sphinxes on another amphora fragment in the Missouri collection (73.283). Both fragments are from Crete.



sphinx (Fig. 2) to see these features. The fragment is dated to Early Daedalic (ca. 670-655 B.C.) because of the pronounced angularity of the chin. They eyes are clearly marked with a rim; the hair hangs in the Egyptian wig style, the "Etagenperücke."⁸ The nose is quite broad. Similar features are observable on another relief-amphora fragment (Fig. 3) with the only significant change occurring in the softened angularity of the jaws and chin, a change which categorizes this example as Middle Daedalic style.

The terracotta plaque, said to be from Tarentum, might easily be thought to fall into the Spartan or Laconian school since Tarentum was a Spartan colony.⁹ Jenkins is quite specific in describing the features of the Spartan school: the features have a coarse and bumpkinish appearance in comparison with the aristocratic Corinthian type; the eye is only summarily modeled with details in paint; the nose is the worst feature: "broad, heavy and long, overhanging the mouth and dominating the face in a manner by no means attractive."¹⁰ While some of these qualities, particularly the treatment of the eyes, are evident on the plaque, it does not fully conform to the Spartan school.¹¹ In discussing

the characteristics of the Corinthian school, on the other hand, Jenkins observes:

The eyes, after the Early Daedalic phase, are with the brows delicately outlined with a thin band of raised clay, and the eyeball is a similar plastic circle within. The nose is generally short, and always delicate, straight and narrow, as is that of no other school. The mouth is straight, with thin, sharp lips. The chin is from the Early period pronounced, but always beautifully modelled, and the appearance of excessive angularity is not obtruded. The technique on the whole is first rate.¹²

When we turn to another example also said to be from Tarentum, we are confronted with some additional discrepancies. At a conference on Tarentum held in 1970, R. A. Higgins reported that "the earliest surviving terracottas bear unmistakable traces of its [the colony's] Laconian origin."¹³ To illustrate his point, he refers to what he calls a "Daedalic plaque" (plate XLII. 1) which he dates to the third quarter of the seventh century. The object pictured is a figurine of a standing female in a long garment whose hair is in braids. She exhibits the broad Laconian nose but the rounded chin suggests a date closer to 600 B.C. than that which Higgins proposes and that feature, in fact, classifies the object as "post-Daedalic." Higgins continues to say that finds of imported pottery indicate that

Laconian influence was replaced by Corinthian around 600 B.C.¹⁴ To the contrary, Boardman has pointed out that the earliest tomb at Tarentum contained Corinthian vases of the late eighth century and that fine Spartan ware occurs in sixth century tombs.¹⁵ If the example given by Higgins can be regarded as "native," then our plaque cannot be regarded in the same manner and must owe something to Corinthian influence.

In discussing the fabric of terracotta, Higgins notes that the clay from Corinth is by far the finest in texture of any used in antiquity, containing little or no mica, and is always pale in color.¹⁶ Tarentine clay is also fine in texture but usually contains much fine mica; the color is always pale and varies between cream, green, yellow ochre, and pale orange.¹⁷ Since some mica is observable on this plaque (see note 6 above), we can assume that the fabric was acquired locally. Such plaques were generally mold-made, as indeed was much that is in the Daedalic style, but it should be evident that the plaque is not entirely within the Laconian sphere of influence. Our plaque can, therefore, be regarded as locally made but using an imported Corinthian mold. In discussing western Greek colonial art, Boardman comments that for minor works in clay such as figurines and votives, Corinthian models were those which were most often copied.¹⁸

The female figure on the plaque is probably a goddess, suggesting that the plaque may be some sort of votive offering. But since a precise find spot is not recorded for this piece, a positive conclusion about its function is impossible to reach. Some see in this type of plaque "a local adaption of the Syrian Astarte Plaque."¹⁹ An example in the Ashmolean Museum, from Knossos, certainly bears strong similarities to our example from Tarentum with only "Cretan" variations, such as the hair arranged in layers to either side of the face and the presence of a *polos* (high headdress).²⁰ Corinth was producing fully molded plaques, although the figures generally had their arms raised; this type was never common, however. Sparta was also a center of

production, although occasionally the Spartan versions were cut off at the waist.²¹ The facial features are obviously Laconian and do not conform with our example from Tarentum.²² No examples of terracotta plaques are actually listed by Higgins as coming from Tarentum; he does, however, mention that plaques with female figures are known from Metapontum.²³ The example he illustrates appears to be broken at the waist. It is certainly Daedalic but the hair, treatment of the eyes, and the *epiblema* (shawl) over the shoulders are quite unlike the Tarentum plaque.

FEMALE FIGURES IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY are also found accompanied by two animals. This type is often referred to as the *Potnia Theron* ("Mistress of Animals"), a type well known since the Bronze Age. In Figure 4, the goddess appears standing on a small platform, flanked by two animals (perhaps goats). The object is a *lekanis*, said to be from Crete and perhaps used as the lid of a cinerary urn.²⁴ The goddess has turned her head to her right and is no longer frontal. One of the basic characteristics of the Daedalic style as proposed by Jenkins is that all heads "are conceived as entirely or almost entirely frontal."²⁵ She wears a high *polos* and her *peplos* is decorated on the bodice by an X pattern while the skirt portion is adorned by a vertical row of tangent circles with a small knob more or less in the center of each circle. The animal on the right side of the Mistress of Animals is upside-down with its head turned as though looking up at the goddess; the animal on the left is restored in a similar position. They are not symmetrically arranged. She does not appear to be holding them or even touching them at all. It is customary for the goddess to express her control over the animals by holding them, grasping them either by a hind leg or around the neck. An example from Arkades, however, shows the goddess holding branches in each upraised hand while two long-necked wading birds stand upright beside her.²⁶ Such a combination implies a realm of control over both plants and animals.²⁷



4. Photo of the lekanis at the University of Missouri (73.212), illustrated here slightly less than half actual size.

While a lekanis is, by definition, a dish or a pan, its use as the lid of a cinerary urn is not unusual. Several instances of such a use are reported from the Cretan site of Arkades.²⁸ The iconography of this piece, however, is quite singular. Representations of the Mistress of Animals on Crete can be observed during Minoan times, where she is often accompanied by lions or birds or even by griffins; the representations continue into the seventh century. On the Arkades example, mentioned above, she is depicted frontally with a molded head, which is missing. In this case, the goddess is not winged although she is occasionally shown with wings, as in an Archaic example from Olympia.²⁹ As Martin Nilsson pointed out some years ago, the Mistress of Animals in Archaic art is often, but

certainly not exclusively, winged; in Minoan art, the goddess is never represented as winged.³⁰ What is peculiar about the Missouri example (in addition to its profile view at a time when such a view was not common) is that the goddess is neither holding the animals nor holding anything in upraised arms. What at first glance may appear to be her upraised arms are actually wings decorated with a chevron pattern (Fig. 5).³¹

While it can be argued that since the figure on the lekanis does not present us a frontal head it cannot technically be considered in the Daedalic style, the piece nonetheless can be recommended as early seventh century and seems to belong to the Proto-Daedalic period. Jenkins did not elaborate on the bodies which went with the Daedalic heads and Higgins makes only a superficial



5. Drawing of the lekanis at Misouri. Solid black indicates surviving cream-colored paint. Drawing by John Huffstot.

attempt to do so.³² Since his remarks are confined to figurines or, at best, plaques in higher relief than is the lekanis, he does not offer many pertinent observations. The representation is more allied with painted decoration, such as the aforementioned Mistress of Animals from Arkades, than with sculptured objects, even though the decoration is in low relief (apparently mold-made).

An even stronger parallel is observed by Beyer in an engraved bronze belt from Fortetsa together with the well-known female figure from Dreros.³³ With these parallels, Beyer proposes a date for the lekanis of the eighth century. The main points of comparison are the stances of the figures, the *polos*, and particularly similar vertical designs on their skirts. These designs, it

should be emphasized, are not identical.³⁴ The Mistress of Animals from Arkades Beyer dates ca. 700-680 and does not regard as a parallel.

The chronology put forth by Beyer for the Proto-Daedalic is certainly high, much higher than the 680-670 B.C. date suggested originally by Jenkins.³⁵ Criticism of his higher dates in regard to other objects in his chronology has already been leveled by J. N. Coldstream.³⁶ It should also be pointed out that while Beyer dates the Fortetsa belt as ca. 800 B.C. (predecessor of the lekanis), Boardman merely regards it as "likely to be wholly of the eighth century."³⁷ While we can follow Beyer's lead and place the lekanis in the Proto-Daedalic period, a conservative date of the early seventh century seems more appropriate.

TO COMPLETE THIS PRESENT DISCUSSION of Daedalic art is a limestone stele from Prinias in Crete (Fig. 6).³⁸ The stele is by no means unique: ten stelai were discovered at Prinias during excavations between 1906 and 1908 under the supervision of the Italian School; fourteen more were excavated in 1959 by the Greeks under the direction of Nicholas Platon. Two, of which this is one, have turned up recently without the benefit of controlled excavation.³⁹ The scene depicts a hoplite armed with helmet, spear, and shield, striding to his right with his right hand raised in a gesture of greeting or farewell. His legs, face, and right arm are indicated by a double line.

Among the other stelai known from Prinias are two which are parallels for the Missouri example. One is identified as A6 and is dated by Miss Lebessi ca. 630-620 B.C.⁴⁰ Although it is broken approximately at the figure's waist, what survives is most of the hoplite's shield and his legs; he strides to his right. The shield device consists of five small circles, one of which is in the center of the shield, and five rectangular sections running vertically up the center of the shield. The legs are treated in the same double-line pattern as on the Missouri example except for the indication of the knees. The Missouri example employs three connecting circles, suggesting connecting spirals, whereas A6 uses one simple circle. More of the thigh is also visible on A6 than on the Missouri example (Γ2).

The second parallel is identified as B7 and is dated ca. 620-610 B.C.⁴¹ The stele is virtually intact, showing the full hoplite. Fully armed with helmet, spear, sword, and shield, he moves to his right with his right hand upraised. As with our example, the double line is used to set off his face, arm, and legs. His knees are indicated by two circles; the contours of his thighs are marked



6. Cretan stele in the Missouri collection (72.58).

by the double line. The shield device is unlike our example, having four small circles around the edge, a large central one, five rectangular sections placed on the vertical axis of the shield, and a crescent in the upper half. The figure is well positioned in the space, with room for his crested helmet. In contrast, the Missouri example seems crowded with his body shortened to fit the space.

The technique employed on the Missouri stele, as well as on the others from Prinias, is not truly relief work but rather is more closely allied to incision. The incised lines are accented by

color which then conveys a relief-like quality. Metalworking is the likely prototype for this technique.⁴² The metalwork takes the form of incised pieces or bronze appliques in which all or part of the figures are accented by a double line.⁴³

There is no external evidence for dating any of the Prinias stelai since none was found *in situ*. Miss Lebessi has offered dates ranging within the seventh century for the various examples, concluding with the Missouri stele (Γ2) which she places ca. 610-600 B.C., in the Late Daedalic period.⁴⁴

The function of the Missouri stele, as well as the others, is unclear. The general size and thinness, the roughly worked back surface and the full use of the top (front) surface for the figure have been factors which led Miss Lebessi to conclude that the stelai must have been intended originally for an architectural setting.⁴⁵ The find spots of the first group (in 1906-1908) remain vague, but for the second discovery, Nicholas Platon (in 1959) records that they were recovered from a cemetery. Since the stelai are all similar, Lebessi concludes that they were all grave monuments, possibly installed in a small enclosure wall around a cremation burial.⁴⁶ The figures represented would then be mortals.⁴⁷ The gesture of the warrior's upraised right hand would be interpreted as farewell although this is a bit peculiar. If the gesture were farewell, we might reasonably expect that his head would be turned back in the direction opposite to which he was walking. On the other hand, it is also postulated that the stelai were simply part of a public building or an altar, either installed between wooden posts or as part of an orthostat course.⁴⁸ Other scholars are also hesitant in labeling the Prinias stelai as gravestones.⁴⁹

The study of the Daedalic style has expanded considerably from Jenkins' first investigations of heads and facial features to include the entire body and to reach beyond the four major schools which he identified. The style has now emerged as a transition between the sharp, unnatural angularity of the Geometric period and the awkward, stiff treatment of the Archaic which, nevertheless, contains elements of naturalism in representing the human form. It is still recognized as flourishing in the four major schools, three of which we have been considering, but it is also seen as far more universal in the Greek world of the seventh century B.C. than Jenkins foresaw. Crete was one of the leading centers and our examples of relief-amphora fragments, the lekaniis, and the stele from Prinias illustrate this admirably. The relief-amphora fragments can be regarded as "traditional" Daedalic, the stele as perhaps second-rate or, at best, the last vestiges before the Archaic trends take over, and the lekaniis as an early variation on the traditional Mistress of Animals, but in a unique manner which does not seem to have become acceptable. The plaque from Tarentum enables us to perceive a complex relationship between centers, in this case Sparta and Corinth, and to detect faint indications of the movements of artists and/or molds of the Daedalic style.

Daedalic art will never capture the western imagination as have other periods of Greek art because it is neither fully Geometric nor truly in a naturalistic stage. Aesthetically, it does not provide the realism we have come to expect from things Greek. A study of the Daedalic style, nonetheless, enables us to examine the artist in transition.

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¹R. Jenkins, *Dedolica: A Study of Dorian Plastic Art in the Seventh Century B.C.* (Cambridge 1936). The term "Dedalic" derives from the legendary artisan Daedalus although he is in no way associated with any of the so-called "Dedalic" objects. Jenkins' spelling of the term is not used by a number of scholars.

²*Ibid.*, xii. See pp. 57-59 for the individual characteristics of these schools.

³R. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London 1967) 26. One major center of production to remain relatively free of the Daedalic style was Attica, even though Higgins has managed to identify a few examples of terracotta figurines mainly from the Acropolis and the Kerameikos as Daedalic (pp. 42-44).

⁴N. R. Eals, "Relief Amphoras of Archaic Crete," *Muse* 5 (1971) 26-34. The three pieces are discussed together with four additional pieces which were on loan at the time from the Marks Collection. Two have since been given to the Museum: Acc. Nos. 73.282 and 73.283.

⁵Acc. No. 71.12. Height 0.157 m.; max. width 0.046 m.; thickness 0.017.

⁶On the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the fabric corresponds to Hue 7.5 YR—7/6 "reddish yellow." There is some mica visible on the top surface but none is visible in the broken cross-section near the head.

⁷Jenkins, *op. cit.*, 58-59.

⁸This is a particularly Cretan characteristic, according to Jenkins. See *Dedolica*, 59.

⁹According to Eusebius, Tarentum was founded in the last decade of the eighth century B.C. The earliest pottery from the tombs appears to be Corinthian. See J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade* (London 1980) 184 and J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (New York 1977) 239.

¹⁰Jenkins, *op. cit.*, 59.

¹¹In an early discussion of the Spartan school (R. Jenkins, "Laconian Terracottas of the Dedalic Style," *BSA* 33 [1932-1933] 66-79), Jenkins comments that we might expect seventh century figurines of Laconian style to be found at Tarentum but since little had been published yet of the Archaic terracottas, a final decision was not yet possible. In plates 7-11, he offers examples of the Laconian school, all with broad noses.

¹²Jenkins, *Dedolica*, 57.

¹³R. Higgins, "Tarantine Terracottas," in *Taranto nella Civiltà della Magna Grecia*, ed. by P. Romanelli et al. (Atti Del

Decimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1970: Napoli, 1971) 268.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Boardman, *op. cit.*, 184.

¹⁶Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 48.

¹⁷R. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London 1954) 336.

¹⁸Boardman, *op. cit.*, 196. He goes on to mention that an important school of coroplasts was flourishing in Tarentum by the sixth century (196f.). The example he gives (fig. 233) is of a nude male figurine, ca. 560 B.C.

¹⁹Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 26. This type is quite common on Crete, a point which causes Higgins to conclude that the Syrian Astarte Plaque evolved into the Greek Daedalic plaque on Crete itself (p. 28). J. Boardman (*The Cretan Collection In Oxford* [Oxford 1961] 109) had previously noted that the plaques, particularly those showing facing nude women, do indeed suggest an origin in the Astarte plaques.

²⁰For an illustration, see Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. 10D—Ashmolean Museum No. G 484. The same plaque is illustrated by Boardman, CCO, No. 497. The plaque is 15.1 cm. high.

²¹Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 51

²²For an illustration, see Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. 21 D—Ashmolean Museum, excavated at Sparta in the Orthia Sanctuary, No. 1923.163. Height 5.1 cm.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 55 and pl. 22 B. The example cited above as coming from Tarentum (note 13) was a figurine, not a plaque.

²⁴Acc. No. 73.212. Width of lid rim 0.035 m.; diameter 0.25 m.; height of figure 0.22 m.; including the platform; thickness of flat lid surface 0.012 m. Coloring is buff terracotta with brownish slip adhering to the background; there are traces of cream-colored rosettes and other geometric patterns around the central figure. On the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the terracotta registers Hue 10 YR—8/4 "very pale brown." The lower left portion, including the animal, is restored. The object has been discussed previously in a chronology of Cretan art in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. by I. Beyer, *Die Tempel von Dreros und Prinias A und die Chronologie der kretischen Kunst des 8. und 7. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Freiburg 1976), especially pp. 53, 57, and 157-159. Illustrated in the forthcoming *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia*, edited by Osmund Overby, cat. no. 48.

- ²⁵Jenkins, *Dedolica*, 16. He goes on to suggest on p. 18 that religious preferences may have forbidden a profile view of the goddess.
- ²⁶D. Levi, "Arkades," *ASAtene*, 10-12 (1927-1929) 330, fig. 431.
- ²⁷This version of the goddess may, in fact, represent a view of Artemis as Mistress of Wild Nature and of the animals. See M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd edition (New York 1971 [originally 1950]) 509.
- ²⁸Levi, op. cit., 108f., 120f.) and figures 85, 86a-b, 100a-b. These examples are terracottas with painted designs of geometric patterns. The diameter of the Arkades examples (with handles) averages 0.34 m. while the Missouri example (with handles) is 0.282 m. It has been pointed out, however, that in the rim above the female figure are two pierced holes which suggest that the Missouri lekanis might have been hung up as votive offering (Beyer, op. cit., 158).
- ²⁹H. Hans-Volkmar, *Olympia: Heiligtum und Weltkampfstätte* (Munich 1972), fig. 55. Here the goddess appears in profile, facing her right, holding two upside-down lions each by a hind leg. The piece is dated ca. 600 B.C.
- ³⁰Nilsson, op. cit., 507.
- ³¹The drawing, by John Huffstot, distinguishes clearly the wings from the arms which are held at the goddess' sides.
- ³²Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 26.
- ³³Beyer, op. cit., 53. The engraving he reproduces as plate 46.1. He regards it as a predecessor of the lekanis figure, dating it ca. 800 B.C. The Dreros figures he reproduces as plate 48 and refers to them as parallels with a date of ca. 750 B.C. An example on a pithos from Fortetsa, which he gives as plate 34.1, showing a female and a warrior he dates to the second half of the eighth century. This he regards as an "echo" of our lekanis.
- ³⁴The design on the lekanis (as mentioned earlier) consists of a vertical row of tangent circles with a small knob in the center of each; on the bronze belt from Fortetsa the design consists of a zigzag up each side and a double zigzag up the center; from Dreros the design appears to be two vertical bands up the center of the skirt in each of which runs a vertical line of dots.
- ³⁵Jenkins, *Dedolica*, 61f.
- ³⁶J. N. Coldstream, "Review of Beyer's *Die Tempel von Dreros und Prinias A und die Chronologie der kretischen Kunst des 8. und 7. Jhs. v. Chr.*," *AJA*, 85 (1981) 345f.
- ³⁷Boardman, CCO, 134. He points out that since its context is vague, the date is general as well.
- ³⁸Acc. No. 72.58. Max. height 0.654 m.; max. width 0.378 m.; thickness 0.12 m. Outline of the figure is marked in red, as is the entire right hand, the omphalos of the shield, and the spear. The back is roughly finished; there is a horizontal groove across the back about 0.21 m. up from the bottom. Illustrated in color in *Illustrated Museum Handbook*, cat. no. 51. See note 24.
- ³⁹For a full discussion of all the stelai of Prinias, see A. C. Lebesse, *Οι Στήλες τῶν πρίνια* (Athens 1976). The Missouri example is catalogued as Γ 2 and described on p. 36 without an illustration. The other example found by chance, Γ 1, is now in the Herakleion Museum. It shows a portion of a man wearing a mantle or similar garment. He does not seem to be a hoplite.
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 24, 168 and pl. 8-9. This was among those found in the 1906-1908 excavations.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, 30-31, 168 and pl. 26-27. This was among those discovered in 1959.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, 167 and B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1977) 164.
- ⁴³See P. Demargne, et al., *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Hamburg 1970). Plate 6 illustrates a warrior's head incised in profile on a helmet with the double outline for the face, not the back of the head; ca. 620 B.C., in the Norbert Schimmel Collection. Plate 12 shows a bronze appliqué with two men facing each other; ca. 620 B.C., in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- ⁴⁴Lebesse, op. cit., 168. She adds that this stela, along with A6 and B7, is a work "of little artistic merit."
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 169.
- ⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 170.
- ⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 175.
- ⁴⁸Ridgway, op. cit., 164. Based on what is known of Cretan architecture in the seventh century, Ridgway tends to support this hypothesis. She also draws attention to a Ph.D. dissertation from Harvard (1974) by L. T. Adams entitled "Orientalizing Sculpture in Soft Limestone from Crete and Mainland Greece" in which the funerary purpose is doubted but an architectural use is supported. Certainly the gesture on the Missouri example (which is similar to that on B7) can be interpreted as a greeting or a farewell. We must not overlook the fact that Platon did find the second group in a cemetery. The stelai, however, were not *in situ* and might have been reused blocks.
- ⁴⁹D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971) 220. The only explanation given is that their function as gravestones has not been adequately demonstrated.

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DAVID SOREN is Chairman of the Art History and Archaeology Department at the University of Missouri–Columbia. "Search for Apollo," a film produced by the University under the direction of David McAllister about the Kourion excavations on Cyprus where Soren has been co-director (see *Muse* 14), has won a number of awards: the Ciné International Golden Eagle; two Angenieux awards from *Industrial Photography Magazine* and the Midwestern Regional Case Award. Soren's first volume on the excavations at Kourion is being published by the University of Pennsylvania Museum. He has also excavated at several sites in Tunisia.

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