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directors' reports

Writing about the activities of the first half of 1984 at the museum several months later has a distinct advantage for me: I have an impressionistic recall, and happy occasions stand out in colorful strokes against a background which has obligingly absorbed most of the stressful events.

The many pleasant occasions include several fine exhibitions, many special lectures, gala Museum Associates receptions, visits and calls from cherished museum donors and friends, a banquet and all-day symposium in honor of retiring Professor of Art History Homer Thomas (my graduate advisor), and a tour of historic Ste. Genevieve, led by Art History Professor Osmund Overby. (I have almost forgotten the unnumbered hours of digging for statistics and other information required by the committee for the UMC Program Review, and the anxieties accompanying the task.)

Recognition of the museum's high standards and commitment to quality came during those months in several forms: grants for \$40,600 for general operating support and for \$6,200 for conservation project support from the Institute for Museum Services, a Federal agency; two awards for excellent publication design from the American Association of Museums; and reaccreditation by the same organization. We were first accredited in 1973, when the museum was located in a corner of the fourth floor of Ellis Library. In 1982 the museum again began the lengthy, time-consuming reaccreditation process, involving every staff member, much paperwork, and a thorough on-site visit by an AAM-appointed evaluator. We are proud to have passed with high marks.

Finally, I would like to express my respect and affection to each staff member, past and present. They have all been wonderful colleagues. Working at the museum with them was always a daily adventure, full of discovery, delight, sometimes dismay, but it was never dull! With their continued imaginative efforts, with Forrest McGill's unflagging energy, and with the loyal support of all its friends everywhere, I believe the future of the museum is bright. May it ever be so!

RUTH E. WITT
Interim Director to June 30, 1984

1984 was a year of transition and change for the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Assistant Director Ruth Witt served as interim director through the first half of the year, while the search for a new director was going on. Having been fortunate enough to be chosen, I started work in July. Ruth kindly agreed to stay on as assistant director for several more months to teach me the ropes and smooth the transition. She retired in October, after eleven years with the museum, seven of them as assistant director. On behalf of the museum, and for myself personally, I would like to express to Ruth our deep gratitude.

I have also received sensible advice, support, and warm friendship from my other predecessors, Osmund Overby, Edzard Baumann, and Saul Weinberg. Saul took me in hand last fall as we made the rounds of dealers, donors, and other friends of the museum in New York City. It was a great pleasure to meet some of the people who have nurtured our collections over the years, and I look forward to future visits with them. I owe a great debt to Gladys Weinberg, who took time to supervise the production of this issue of *Muse*, the journal she founded in 1967. Without her help, this annual would probably not have made it to press.

A staff reorganization and reallocation of resources were undertaken in the summer of 1984. David Butler, formerly coordinator of education and registrar, became the assistant director. Jeffrey Wilcox, the chief preparator, assumed additional duties as registrar. James Rehard joined the staff as quarter-time preparator to assist Jeff. The responsibility for the museum's bookkeeping had been divided among several staff members; to improve efficiency and regularize procedures, a half-time bookkeeper, Kathy Patti, was hired. The appointment of Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, was increased from half-time for ten months to half-time for twelve months.

These changes were brought about by rearranging existing resources. Unfortunately, except for a modest cost-of-living adjustment, the museum's budget did not increase. Two important improvements were obtained, however, by special assistance from the provost's office: the museum's security systems were updated and strengthened, and the hours of opening to the public were extended. Formerly, the museum was open 12-5 p.m. Tuesday through Sunday. Now it is also open 8-12 a.m. Tuesday through Friday, and is thus more accessible to university students and the community. The grants from the Institute for Museum Services mentioned in Ruth Witt's report contributed

greatly to the museum's well-being. They supported several publications, permitted special conservation treatments and the hiring of expert consultants to sort and evaluate the African and Pre-Columbian collections, as well as underwriting the purchase of an IBM-PC XT computer and printer for fast, high quality word processing and other clerical tasks. No longer does Secretary Anna-Margaret Fields, now an expert word processor, have to type similar letters one by one, or revise manuscripts with scissors and tape.

The appearance of several galleries changed in 1984. The Eilenberg Gallery of South Asian art, named for one of the museum's most important donors (whose 1983 gifts of fine Javanese sculptures and vessels are listed elsewhere) was completely redesigned and reorganized. The other displays of Asian art were also redone to highlight the most significant works. In the ancient art gallery, the large photomurals were removed and the light levels lowered. The row of flat display cases was taken out of the corridor gallery to make it more flexible. This corridor is the museum's only real temporary exhibition space; for large temporary exhibitions the twentieth-century art gallery must be emptied each time. One of the most pressing problems continues to be shortage of space. Exhibition areas, as well as work and storage areas, are more than full, and now truly inadequate.

A number of interesting, modest exhibitions were organized by the museum staff in 1984, and several were brought in from other museums. Among the former were "Of Places Far Away: Drawings from the Permanent Collection," organized by Curator Richard Baumann, and "The Cosmic Pantheon: Art of South and Southeast Asia"; among the latter, "Art of a Changing Society: British Watercolors and Drawings, 1775-1900."

As always, these special exhibitions were accompanied by lectures, gallery talks, tours, and performances to provide a rich educational and cultural experience for university students and the general public. The museum takes its primary mission as an educational institution very seriously, and every effort is made to work with university faculty to encourage students' use of the museum. We coordinate special study projects for specific classes in the museum and provide a wide range of general educational events. In addition, many tours and school presentations, ably scheduled by Secretary/Tour Coordinator Elizabeth Windisch, are led by our thirty-five well-trained volunteer docents. In 1984 they and the staff gave 307 tours for 4,337 persons - truly a remarkable accomplishment. Included in the tours were all the fifth-graders in the Columbia public school system. For each fifth-grade class a docent provided a preparatory lesson in the classroom. Until recently, the volunteer docent program had been a subdivision of Museum Associates; in 1984, to reflect its special status and its importance, it was established as a separate organization directly linked to the museum.

As always, Museum Associates, our membership organization, has aided the museum in many ways, providing much-needed funds, volunteer work, and creative ideas for activities. Important publica-

tions and acquisitions were possible only because of support from Museum Associates. Special thanks are due Luann Andrews and Betty Parrigin, the past and current presidents, for all their efforts on the museum's behalf.

The museum continued its support of and involvement in archaeological research. A report of the season's excavation at Mirobriga in Portugal will be found in this issue of *Muse*. Also continuing was the conservation of objects in the collection. Conservator Maura Cornman cleaned, stabilized, or repaired nearly fifty works, ranging from prints to textiles to bronzes. Maura also joined Curator Jane Biers and the UMC team at Mirobriga to carry out the conservation of the murals in the bath complex and of excavated finds from earlier campaigns.

In the fall, John Huffstot redesigned the museum's newsletter, which is published with funds provided by Museum Associates. The newsletter was also renamed, and its content made more substantive. As Ruth has noted above, two of John's designs won awards in the Publication Competition of the American Association of Museums: the invitation for "Photography Plus" won an Award of Distinction, and *Muse* 16 an Award of Merit.

The development of the collection proceeded rather slowly in 1984, but several notable acquisitions stand out. Two areas in which the museum has both breadth and depth, the archaeology of the ancient world and South Asian art, were further enriched by a group of Palestinian antiquities acquired through the Weinberg Purchase Fund and by the gifts of Gandharan sculpture from Eric Neff and Alan Wolfe. A red chalk drawing by Renoir, the bequest of Paul D. Higday of Columbia, was a most welcome addition to the museum's holdings in nineteenth-century art, which are in great need of strengthening. Other 1984 acquisitions will be listed in next year's *Muse*. We are thankful to our donors (all of whom can not be mentioned here) for their generosity. We rely on them.

A most unusual gift from Mr. and Mrs. Mark A. Turken and Mr. and Mrs. Paul L. Miller—an over-life-size terracotta winged figure that once adorned the recently demolished 1905 Title Guaranty Trust Building in St. Louis—represents a new area of collecting. We hope eventually, if funding can be secured, to create an appropriate setting for this sculpture that could accommodate future gifts of this sort as well. An outdoor display of architectural sculpture would be a valuable record of lost monuments and an important resource for teaching the history of American architecture.

The year saw many transformations. Some important tasks have been completed, others just begun. The museum's needs and the difficulties in meeting them sometimes seem daunting. However, the museum is blessed with a capable and hard-working staff, enthusiastic volunteers and supporters, faithful donors, and a helpful university administration. Much progress can be made.

FORREST McGILL
Director

report of the museum associates

Museum Associates continued a tradition of providing much-needed support for the museum and its operations and sponsoring interesting and educational programs in 1984. We started the year running with the members' annual meeting in January. After a brief business session in which the new officers were introduced, an overflow crowd heard Patricia Crown of the Department of Art History and Archaeology talk about the exhibition "Art of a Changing Society: British Watercolors 1775-1900." A members' reception and viewing of the show followed.

Much of the work of Museum Associates is carried out by hard-working committees (members are listed at the end of this issue), who did an admirable job organizing the events listed below, working closely with the museum staff. The Educational Programs and Activities Committee generated many useful ideas and assisted the staff with a number of successful ventures. One of the most noteworthy was the February lecture series entitled "Turning Points: Key Dates in the History of Art." Six illustrated lectures by faculty members from the Department of Art History and Archaeology were organized around pivotal events in the history of Western civilization from the end of antiquity to the twentieth century. The series, conceived by Professor Vera Townsend, was dedicated to Professor Homer L. Thomas who retired after thirty-three years of service to the university. Proceeds were designated to assist graduate students in art history and archaeology with incidental expenses incurred for research and professional travel.

A film series featuring Hollywood heavies, "Tough Guys," took place in the spring under the committee's aegis, as did "Museum Adventures for Young People," which gave children in grades one through six the opportunity to spend two Saturdays at the museum and learn more about cultures represented in the collections. The children, who chose among three sessions—the civilizations of Egypt, Greece, and India—worked in the galleries and undertook a variety of projects relating to their chosen culture. The committee underwrote expenses for a series of noontime gallery concerts throughout the year.

The Travel Committee of Museum Associates organized an enjoyable May excursion to historic Ste. Genevieve, led by Professor Osmund Overby, who has worked closely with the Foundation for the Restoration of Ste. Genevieve. In October came a trip to the St. Louis Art Museum. Professor Edzard Baumann, another department faculty member, led the group through a special exhibition of paintings by German artist Max Beckmann. The group also saw an exhibit of European and American art glass.

The Social Committee of Museum Associates, as always, provided refreshments and pleasant settings for the activities held at the museum. In April, this committee was busy with an Appreciation Party given by the Board of Directors of Museum Associates for museum volunteers in recognition of their many and varied contributions. A preview of the exhibit "Prairie Printmakers," live music, champagne punch, and hors d'oeuvres made for a festive evening. Another major project of this committee, and a highlight of 1984, was the annual Museum Associates Birthday Party in November, at which members were given the opportunity to vote for one of three objects selected by the museum staff. Each member was entitled to one vote upon presentation of an invitation, and additional votes could be purchased for one dollar throughout the evening. The winner, the 1984 Museum Associates' gift to the museum, was *Blown Glass Form*, a contemporary glass sculpture by David Schwartz. The runner-up, a 1921 lithograph by George Bellows, was later purchased for the museum by a small group of generous Museum Associates.

The Museum Shop Committee continues to be run by hard-working and dedicated volunteers. The shop offers a wide variety of museum-related items for sale, with a selection of reproductions from other museums, as well as postcards, books, prints, and porcelain. It is an important source of revenue for the museum.

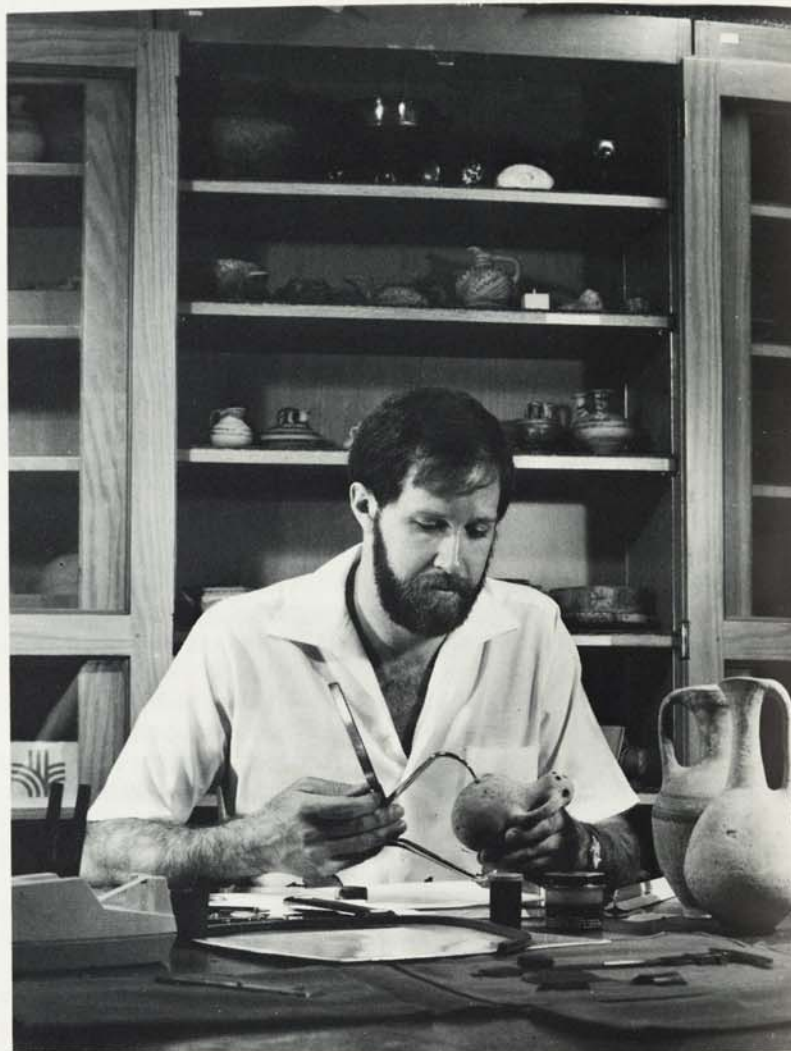
1984 has been a year of transition for the Membership Committee of Museum Associates. With plans for a membership campaign in the fall of 1985, the committee has been busy reformulating levels of membership and accompanying benefits.

It is always gratifying to report on the direct support given to the museum. The 1984 annual gift has already been mentioned. Museum Associates makes funds available for other special needs as well. For instance, a reception desk, designed to enhance the appearance of the museum's entrance hall, was presented to the museum in 1984. On weekends the desk is staffed by volunteers, who greet visitors and provide information about the galleries. Museum Associates also contributed a substantial sum to be used as matching funds for a federal grant that enabled the museum to carry out some vital conservation work.

I am also happy to report that the board of directors of Museum Associates unanimously elected University of Missouri President Emeritus Elmer Ellis and Mrs. Ellis to honorary membership on the board, in recognition of their long and distinguished career and service to the museum.

Finally, I want to thank all Museum Associates members for their continued support. On behalf of the Board of Directors of Museum Associates, I want especially to thank the committee chairmen and their committee members. Without their hard work, many of the activities of Museum Associates could not be presented.

LUANN ANDREWS
President, Museum Associates



Graduate student James Rehard of the Department of Art History and Archaeology examines a ceramic vessel for a forthcoming scholarly catalogue of the museum's extensive Palestinian collection. The catalogue will be funded by contributions from the friends of the late Harold Riback, one of the earliest and most enthusiastic supporters of the museum. Such research by students, staff, and faculty is an integral part of the museum's educational function.

exhibitions 1984



Thai shadow puppets, exhibited in "The Cosmic Pantheon: Art of South and Southeast Asia."

"Art of a Changing Society: British Watercolors and Drawings 1775-1900," January 15 - February 19. This exhibition, organized by the Wichita Art Museum, surveyed the development of watercolor painting and drawing with works by Benjamin West, Thomas Rowlandson, Charles Eastlake, and others.

"Contemporary American Prints," February 25 - March 25. Graphic works from the permanent collection by major artists, including Red Grooms, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, and James Rosenquist, provided an overview of printmaking of the last twenty-five years.

"The Eclectic Age of John Nash (1752-1835): Prince of Architects," March 27 - April 1. Aesthetic theory, landscape design, and town planning in Regency London were the subject of this small exhibition of architectural pattern books and treatises from a local private collection, organized in conjunction with a lecture on Nash's Royal Pavilion at Brighton.

"Prairie Printmakers," April 7 - April 29. The forty-five prints in this exhibition (organized by the Iola, Kansas Fine Arts Center), created between 1930 and 1965, document the production of the Prairie Printmakers Society, a coalition of artists dedicated to the creation of high-quality and affordable works of art.

"Hiroshi Yoshida and Kawase Hasui: Modern Masters of the Japanese Woodblock Print," April 6 - May 6. This exhibition of color woodblock prints selected from the permanent collection showed the continuation of traditional Japanese forms in the twentieth century.

"Glass from Karanis," from April 11. Glass vessels from a typical Roman site in Fayum, Egypt, on loan from the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, are on exhibit indefinitely in the gallery of Early Christian and Byzantine art.

"The Lay of the Land: Landscape Photography from the Hallmark Collection," May 10 - July 8. "Old Masters" such as Ansel Adams, Imogen Cunningham, and Paul Strand, as well as young, avant-garde photographers, were represented in this exhibition organized by the curator of the Hallmark collections in Kansas City.

"Of Places Far Away: Drawings from the Permanent Collection," July 10 - September 23. Thirty landscape drawings dating from the sixteenth century through the twentieth were selected for this exhibition.

McLorn Gallery Renovation, from August 22. The permanent installation of Asian art was refurbished and rearranged to include examples of Chinese, Japanese, Himalayan, and Southeast Asian art.

"The Cosmic Pantheon: Art of South and Southeast Asia," October 16 - January 10, 1985. Works from the museum's extensive holdings of art from India and nearby areas were spotlighted in this didactic exhibition, which presented the basic tenets of Hinduism as they are expressed in the visual arts.

Eilenberg Gallery Renovation, from October 16. The refurbished gallery of Indian art now displays choice Gandharan, Pala, and South Indian sculpture.

A view of the new installation in the Eilenberg gallery.



loans out 1984

To the Washington University Gallery of Art, St. Louis, a painting by Samuel Lancaster Gerry, *Lake of the Avernus*, for "The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque," February 19 - April 8.

To the Edith C. Blum Art Institute, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, a painting by Thomas Hart Benton, *Portrait of a Musician*, for the traveling exhibition "Thomas Hart Benton: Chronicler of America's Folk Heritage," November 8 - July 14, 1985.

To the Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, two Gandharan sculptures, on indefinite loan.

To the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, four Hellenistic and Roman ceramic vessels, on indefinite loan.

Lake of the Avernus,
1851, oil on canvas, by
Samuel Lancaster Gerry,
American, 1813-1891
(75.85). 69 x 85 cm.



acquisitions 1983

Central and South American Art

Colombia

Anthropomorphic vessel with applied features, ceramic (203*), Tairona culture, 100-500, gift of Mr. Herbert S. Podell.

Left: *Ceramic anthropomorphic vessel with applied features, Tairona culture, 100 - 500 (203). H. 17 cm.*

Mexico

Seated female figure, terracotta (201), western Mexico 300-600; standing male figure, terracotta (202), Vera Cruz, 200-400; both the gift of Mr. Herbert S. Podell.

Right: *Terracotta female figure, western Mexico, 300 - 600 (201). H. 38.6 cm.*

Polishing tool, basalt (225), Olmec, ca. 1500-1000 B.C., gift of Mr. Herbert H. Sternlieb.



* The numbers in parentheses are museum accession numbers and normally are given in full, as 83.203.

Peru

Bottle with panels of incision, ceramic (226), Chavin culture, ca. 1000-700 B.C., gift of Mr. Herbert H. Sternlieb.

East Asian Art

China

Embroidered silk panel with floral motif (69), ca. 1900, gift of Mrs. Amy D. Preckshot.

Embroidered silk shawl and panel (74, 75), early 20th c., both the gift of Mrs. Pauline Heinberg.

Sixteen embroidered silk textiles (244-259), early 20th c.; two hanging scrolls (260-261), 19th-20th c., ink and color on silk; ink on paper, all the gift of the estate of Mrs. D. David McLorn.



*Silk and cotton
embroidered panel,
China, early 20th c.
(259). 99 x 52.8 cm.*

South and Southeast Asian Art

Indonesia

All the following objects from Java are the gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg:

Vessel with dragon-head spout, bronze (84), East Java, 13th-14th c.

Four bowls, two with beaded border, bronze (80-83), Java, 11th-12th c.

Head of deity, porphyritic basalt (79), Central Java, Dieng Plateau, Shailendra period, ca. 8th c.

Cylindrical relief with three human figures, pumice (78), East Java, Majapahit period, late 13th c.

Relief with three human figures and a stag, volcanic stone (77), East Java, Majapahit period, late 13th c.

Ganesha, volcanic stone (76), East Java, ca. 14th c.

Left: *Bronze vessel with dragon-head spout, East Java, 13th - 14th c. (84). H. 28.1 cm.*

Right: *Volcanic stone relief with three human figures and a stag, East Java, Majapahit period (77). 28 x 21 cm.*





Schist relief showing a noblewoman on a balcony with three other figures, Gandhara (57). 17 x 18.5 cm.

Pakistan

Relief with gargoyle, hornblende schist (222), Gandhara period, 2nd-3rd c.; five panels with figures in relief, garnet schist (223.1-5), Gandhara period, both the gift of Mr. Alan D. Wolfe.

The following reliefs are the gift of Mr. Eric Neff:

Relief panel with dancer, schist (58), Gandhara period, ca. 4th c.

Narrative relief fragment showing two figures under a flying celestial, schist (59), Gandhara period, 3rd-4th c.

Narrative relief fragment showing a noblewoman on a balcony with three other figures, schist (57), Gandhara period.

Five garnet schist panels with figures in relief, Gandhara (223.1 - 5). 12 x 6.9 cm. (panel on far left)



West Asian Art

Anatolia and Caucasus

Two bronze pins (72-73), Kuban culture, Caucasus, ca. 2000 B.C., Weinberg Fund purchase.

Tankard in red ware (194), Lake Van, eastern Anatolia, Urartu, 9th-7th c. B.C., Weinberg Fund purchase.

The god Men, bronze figurine (68), probably 2nd c. (see article, pp. 55-61), Weinberg Fund purchase.

Red-ware tankard, Lake Van, eastern Anatolia, Urartu, 9th - 7th c. B.C. (194). H. 21.6 cm.



Palestine

Ceremonial axe-head, bronze (190), Middle Bronze, ca. 1850 B.C., Weinberg Fund purchase.

Juglet, black-slipped pottery (191), Iron II C, 800-586 B.C., gift of Mrs. Hazel Riback.

Syria

The following ceramic vessels are the gift of Mr. James Warnhoff: 25 bottles (85-108, 113), EB III-MB I, ca. 2200-2000 B.C.; 19 jars (109-112, 114-124, 126, 179, 181-182), EB III-MB I, ca. 2200-2000 B.C.; one-handed cup (125), EB III-MB I, ca. 2200-2000 B.C.; 2 goblets (160-161), MBA, ca. 2000 B.C.; 35 bowls (143-159, 162-178, 180), EB III-MB I, ca. 2200-2000 B.C.; 16 mold-made lamps, terracotta (127-142), 4th-8th c.

Representative group of Syrian Bronze Age vessels (85 - 182).



Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art

Greek

Hermonax, Red-figure Nolan amphora (187), Attic, ca. 460 B.C., Side A: Woman running, holding a fillet; Side B: Standing youth, holding a spear, gift of Museum Associates and Weinberg Fund.

Finger ring, glass (239), Hellenistic, gift of Mr. Gawain McKinley.

Two silver coins, one of Ephesus (18) ca. 415-394 B.C.; one of Knidos (33), ca. 387-300 B.C., Weinberg Fund purchase.

Four billion tetradrachms of Alexandria, Maximianus (210-211), 289; Diocletian (212-213), 284-305, anonymous gift.

Two views of red-figure Nolan amphora by Hermonax, Attic, ca. 460 B.C. (187). H. 33.1 cm.



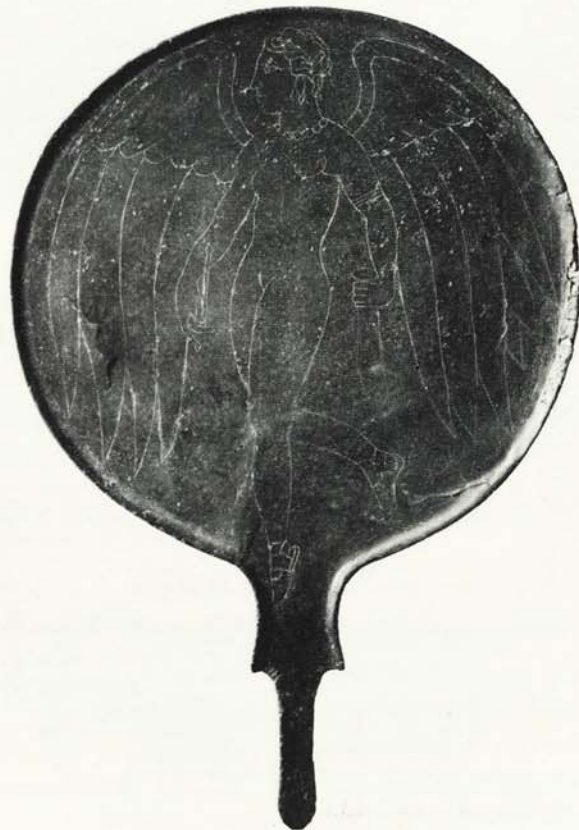
Four bronze coins, one of Sardis, (Lydia) Imperial (60); one of Saitta (Lydia), Septimius Severus (61), 193-211; one of Laodiceia-ad-Libanum (Coele-Syria), Caracalla (62), 198-217; one of Julia (Phrygia), Aemilian (63), 252-253, the gift of Mr. Frank L. Kovacs.

Four bronze coins, Metropolis, Ionia (183-186), 1st c. B.C., gift of Mr. John Huffstot.

Forty-eight bronze coins: Macedonia, Thrace, Aegean Islands, Mysia, Aeolis, Ionia, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Cyprus, and Egypt (2-4, 6-17, 19-32, 34-45, 70-71, 214-218), dating from 415 B.C. to 268 A.C., Weinberg Fund purchase.

Etruscan

Mirror engraved with winged female figure (Lasa), bronze (224), 4th c. B.C., gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks.



Bronze mirror engraved with winged female figure (Lasa), Etruscan, 4th c. B.C. (224). H. 22.2 cm.



Roman

Front panel of marble sarcophagus for a child, showing Eros racing chariots in a circus, Eastern Roman Empire, ca. 200 (65). L. 1.38 m.

Sarcophagus for a child (front panel): Eros racing chariots in a circus, marble (65), Eastern Roman empire, ca. 200, Silver Anniversary Gift of the University of Missouri-Columbia Development Board and the Boone County Community Trust.

Flask with two handles, blown glass (189), 4th or 5th c., Weinberg Fund purchase.

The following are the gift of Mr. Gawain McKinley:

Ten fragments of glass vessels showing Early Roman techniques (227, 229-237); red glass fragment (228), 1st c. B.C.-3rd c. A.C.; three spindle whorls, glass (240-242), 1st c.; two bracelets and a bracelet fragment, glass (243.1-2, 238), Roman, or possibly Islamic.

Ring bezel with intaglio bust, bronze (221), Weinberg Fund purchase.

Five silver coins of Gallienus (205-209), 253-268; one silver coin of Salonina (204), 260-268, anonymous gift.



Byzantine Art

Belt buckle, bronze (1), with three relief medallions on the plate: bust of Christ radiate, two busts of saints in smaller medallions, 6th c. or later, gift of Dorothy and Charles Mullett.

Eleven bronze coins: Justin I, Leo VI, Constantine VII, John I Zimisces, Romanus III, Constantine IX, Anonymous, Alexius III (46-56), 518-1203, Weinberg Fund purchase.



Bronze belt buckle with three relief medallions, Byzantine, 6th c. or later (1). Shown actual size.

European and American Art

Drawings

Pierre Alechinsky, Belgian, b. 1927, *Femme assise (Seated Woman)*, 1960 (64), black ink on Chine marouflé, gift of Mrs. Mary C. Hazard in honor of Leland Hazard, 1893-1980.

The following are the gift of Katherine and Nicholas McKinin in memory of their father, Lawrence McKinin:

Lawrence McKinin, American, 1917-1982, *Mountains, Fields and Sky*, 1961 (193), carbon pencil; *Harbor Scene*, ca. 1948 (192), gouache and ink on paper.

Femme assise (Seated Woman), by Pierre Alechinsky, Belgian, b. 1927 (64). 1.53 x 1.04 m.



Graphics

Grant Wood, American, 1891-1942, *March*, 1941 (188), lithograph, gift of Professor and Mrs. Chester G. Starr in honor of President Emeritus and Mrs. Elmer Ellis.

The following are the gift of the Museum Associates:

Frederick E. Shane, American, b. 1906, *Cripple Creek*, 1946, (66), lithograph.

Die Biene (The Bee), 1966 (67.1-10), a portfolio of works in relief, intaglio, planographic and screen techniques on paper by eight contemporary German artists: Horst B. Baerenz, Thomas Bayrle, Bernhard Jäger, Oswald Michel, Wolfgang Schlick, Reiner Schwarz, Hans J. Zeidler, Walter Zimbrich.



March, by Grant Wood,
American, 1891 - 1942
(188). 22.6 x 30 cm.



Tote Biene (Dead Bee),
by Hans J. Zeidler,
German contemporary
(67.9). 24.8 x 42.9 cm.



The Dozing Duck: A Rare Plastic Vase

In modern times so much emphasis is put on the study of ancient Greek representations of human beings that we tend to forget that other forms from nature were often subjects for Greek artists. Indeed, one of the most famous creations of the great fifth-century artist Myron was a cow or heifer.¹ Birds, which held an important place in Greek life and culture, were also represented, although primarily in the minor arts.² In the late seventh and sixth centuries B.C. various bird shapes were adapted to serve as small vessels. These so-called "plastic vases," often wholly or partially formed in a mold, were produced in a variety of shapes including helmeted heads, female busts, hares, rams, sirens and other subjects from real life or mythology.³ These little vases are more elegant versions of the common round aryballos or elongated alabastron and share the same shape of vase mouth. It is generally accepted that plastic vases served as containers for oils or special perfumes and were apparently freely exported in ancient times, probably for their contents, which were advertised by the elegant and unusual "packaging."⁴

Plastic vases in avian shapes are well known and among these, various types of waterfowl are represented. A number of vases that resemble ducks have been identified; some of these are generally ascribed to East Greece and/or Rhodes. They come in a variety of shapes, but most are shown standing, facing forward, as in the well-preserved example in the Mildenberg collection (Fig. 1).⁵

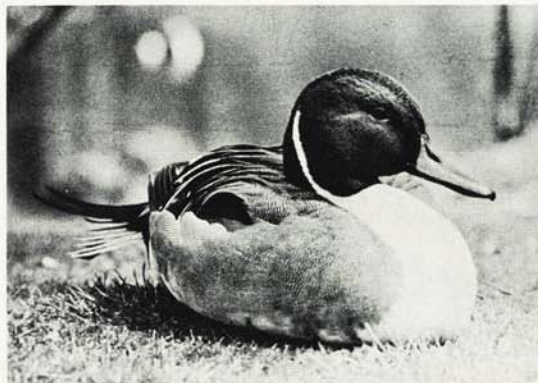
Scholars have paid little attention to the possibility of determining whether specific species of water birds are represented. The general term, duck, is used or, if the neck is particularly long, the bird is called a swan. The proportions, wing design, and to a certain extent the coloration of the duck in Figure 1 suggests that a Northern Pintail (*Anas acuta acuta*) is represented (Fig. 2);⁶ its winter range is well within the Eastern Mediterranean area.

A rare variant of the duck vase portraying the bird with its head reversed, resting on its back, is in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia (Fig. 3).⁷

The vase is complete and in good condition, with the exception of a small chip between the creature's eyes, which had been broken away and has been glued back into position, and a missing portion of the vase mouth immediately above the restored patch. It would seem



1. Plastic vase in the form of a standing duck. Photo courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art, by permission of Dr. Leo Mildenberg.



2. Northern Pintail. (Reprinted from *Waterfowl: Their Biology and Natural History* by P. A. Johnsgard, by permission of the University of Nebraska).

that this damage was caused at some time by a downward blow. The body of the duck was made in a two-part mold, joined on its long axis. The neck, head, and long, narrow, slightly concave feet were separately modelled and added on.

The decoration is done in the technique of the vase painter, using black glaze-paint, added white, and incision. The incised decoration appears only in the sixteen buds, which encircle the top of the black-glazed vase mouth, their narrow ends facing the opening. The edge of the vase mouth is further decorated with vertical white lines. The duck's eye is a black dot surrounded with white, within a black circle, the whole enclosed by an unusual series of black dots. A similar chain of dots curves behind the head, below the vase mouth, under the eyes and across the base of the spatulate bill. The folded wings, set off from the body, are covered with black glaze-paint, with white lines and dots added at the shoulders. The plumage is indicated by three



3. Two views of the resting duck vase in the Missouri collection, shown here at actual size. See also page 26.

tiers of wing bars, the large feathers (the primaries) laid diagonally back toward the rear, meeting at a center line that extends from the bill to the tail. The underside of the tail is similarly black, with alternating long and short white lines. The rear portion of the feet and the flanks are further decorated with strokes of black glaze-paint (representing vermiculation); the painter was careless and dropped a spot of paint on the top of the right foot (as well as allowing the black glaze-paint to



4. Egyptian Goose in the Kansas City Zoological Park. Photo by author.

cover part of the bill). The rest of the body is unpainted, in contrast to the spotted decoration on the bird in Figure 1. The color scheme—largely black paint, highlighted with white, and the reserved areas of a light reddish tone—provides a clear and relatively careful representation of a waterfowl.

Although it is difficult to read much into particular details of decoration, given the freedom allowed a craftsman, it is interesting that the line of dots around the eye is a detail not found on the forward facing duck vases and may indicate a different species. It is possible that the artist was inspired by the Egyptian Goose (*Alopochen aegyptiacus*), which is the only Old World bird of this type with a definite dark area surrounding the eye (Fig. 4). In nature, a brown band encircles the neck, and the dark tail, light belly and chest are also similar to the plastic vase. Egyptian Geese range over most of Africa and at least in the 50s were said to be endemic in Palestine, Syria, and perhaps Greece. Earlier reports indicate that they were formerly to be seen as far north as the Danube Valley. Although there are other characteristics on the plastic vase that are decidedly “un-goose-like,” such as the narrow feet, it is possible that the Greek artist was reproducing, at least in part, a creature he had observed.⁸

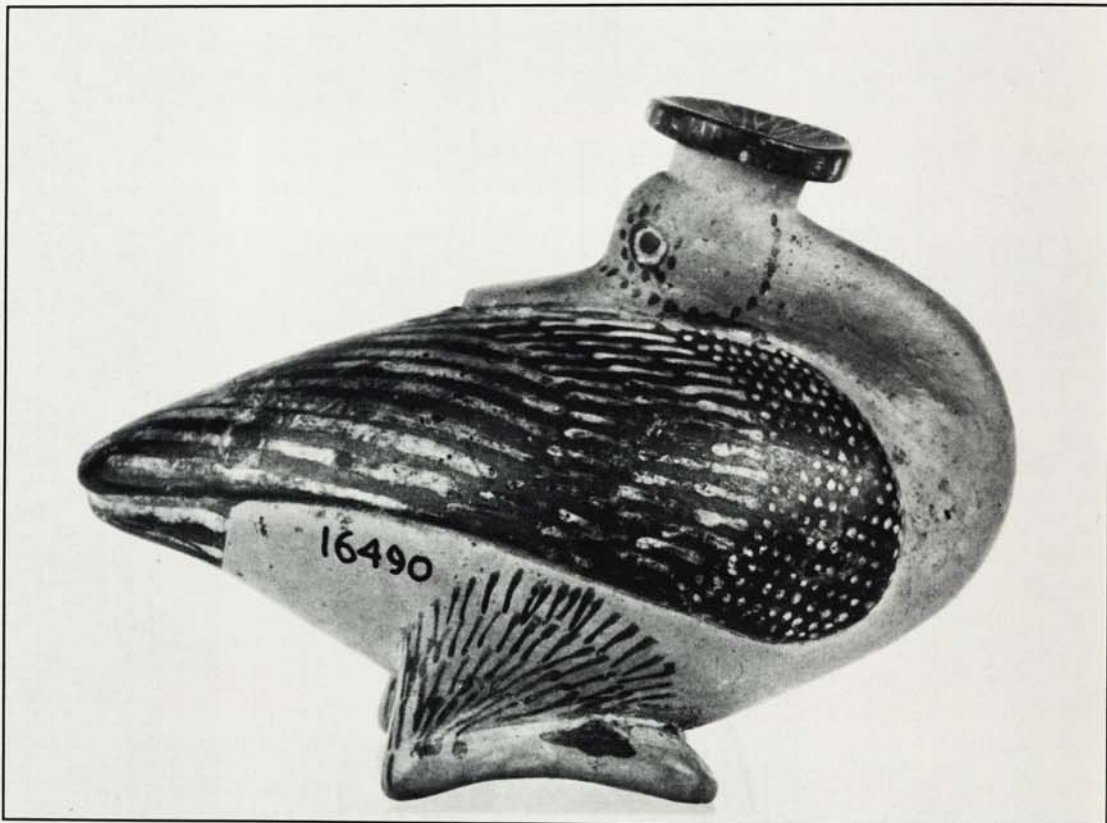
It is, of course, possible that the artist could have been inspired by other objects of the same general shape. The form of a resting waterfowl with an everted head was used for weights in the Near East

from the third millennium onward, and it seems to have lasted at least to the end of the seventh century B.C.⁹ Egyptian duck weights, evidently derived from the Near Eastern type, were simplified in form, without a separate head or neck; they became rare by the Saite period (26th Dynasty, 664-525 B.C.). Other representations of ducks in this pose are known from Egypt, both as cosmetic dishes, in which they perhaps represent trussed fowl, and as vases.¹⁰

A resting duck vase almost identical to the one in Missouri is in the Vatican Collections (Fig. 5).¹¹ As can be seen, the two objects are alike in general shape and color scheme. The coloration of the plumage is better preserved in the Vatican vase, and its neck is slightly thicker, resting wholly on the back, in fact, joined to it on the right side. This results in slightly less protrusion in the curve of the neck toward the front than is evident in the Missouri example. Apart from this, and slight differences in state of preservation, the two vases are essentially identical, and it is probable that they came from the same mold.

The resting duck vase in Missouri, the Vatican example, and the forward-facing duck in Figure 1 belong to a single group. This group was first assembled in a pioneering study by C.M. Robertson in 1938

5. Resting duck vase in the Vatican collections. Photo courtesy Musei Vaticani.



and has thereafter been known as "Robertson's Group."¹² Robertson gathered together some nineteen plastic vases, animal busts (or protomes), and full figures, which he considered similar, on the basis of fabric, technique, and style of decoration. Characteristic is a reddish, well prepared clay, shiny black glaze-paint of good quality and the use of black dots and strokes in the decorative scheme. The origin of this group of vases is as yet unsettled. Robertson first suggested Etruria under Greek influence, but later began to lean to an Eastern origin.¹³ The general term "East Greek" is usually accepted for this group, which has held together throughout the years while adding new members, although the date has consistently risen from Robertson's suggestion of around 530 B.C. to Ducat's 600-580 B.C.¹⁴

The Vatican and Missouri vases are apparently the only two examples known of this variant of a resting bird among the waterfowl of "Robertson's Group" (Ducat's Type C), which now numbers at least ten examples.¹⁵ Ducat, however, distinguished some six types (groups) of plastic vases in the form of waterfowl, totalling only fifteen examples, and within these there is at least one other resting bird (Fig. 6), belonging to a group that he dates slightly later than "Robertson's Group" ("vers 560?").¹⁶ As is evident from the illustration, the pose is

6. *Resting duck vase in the National Museum, Syracuse. Photo courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica - Siracusa.*



more compact than in the resting ducks of "Robertson's Group," with the head and neck included in the body mold. The vase mouth is heavier and the wings are more clearly articulated from the body. The decoration, although poorly preserved, can be seen to be similar; the wing plumage is incised and traces of black indicate the beak was dark, as on the example shown in Figure 1.

These three examples, then, are the only East Greek plastic vases in the form of a resting duck that are known to me, although there may be more.¹⁷



7. Resting duck vase in the National Museum, Taranto. Photo courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica - Taranto.

No matter what models might have inspired an East Greek artist to produce the resting duck type of plastic vase, Italy and Sicily in the sixth century B.C. received a flood of East Greek and mainland Greek decorated pottery, which did serve as inspiration to local potters and painters who produced copies and adaptations of the imported wares.¹⁸ Such a copy, now in the National Museum in Taranto, is shown in Figure 7.¹⁹ The clumsy proportions (note the size of the wings and the long pointed bill) and the unnatural placement of the head on the left wing share with Etrusco-Corinthian painting a distortion of forms from nature and indicates that this vase is surely a local product.²⁰

Thus, the East Greek plastic vases in the form of a resting duck show not only an observation of nature and a sophisticated concept of "packaging," but were themselves imitated.

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¹For the literary evidence of Myron's creation, see J.J. Pollitt, *The Art Of Greece, 1400-31 B.C., Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1965) 63-64. No examples of his work have been identified so far, but almost every ancient Greek sculptural representation of a cow has at one time or another been claimed for this master.

²For a general overview, see J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (London 1977).

³For a selection of these vases, see R.A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, 2. Plastic Vases of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.* (London 1959) and M.I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité*, trans. M. Carsow (Paris 1927). J. Ducat has studied those from Rhodes, *Les vases plastiques rhodiens* (Paris 1966) and laid the groundwork for the Corinthian examples, "Les vases plastiques corinthiens," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 87 (1963) 431-458.

⁴Perfumes and unguents were important in the life and economy of ancient times; see R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 3 (Leiden 1965) 1-47.

⁵H. 10.1 cm.; L. 14.3 cm. A. Kozloff, ed., *Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection* (Cleveland 1981) 118, no. 99. Thanks go to Dr. Kozloff for courtesies offered me and to Dr. Mildenberg for permission to reproduce the photo of his vase.

⁶J. Delacour, *The Waterfowl of the World* 2 (London 1956) 131-132, pl.14. I must thank Prof. Leigh Fredrickson of the School of Forestry, Fisheries and Wildlife of the University of Missouri-Columbia for discussing the identification of the species represented by the Mildenberg and Missouri ducks (see below).

⁷Acc. no. 82.424, gift of Columbia Clinic. L. 10 cm.; H. 6.7 cm. Color of clay, *Munsell Soil Color Chart* (Baltimore 1973) 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow, read by fluorescent light), slightly micaceous.

⁸For the Egyptian Goose, see Delacour, *Waterfowl* 1: 235-238, pl.13. Earlier comments on distribution may be found in R. Meinertzhagen, *Nicoll's Birds of Egypt* 2 (London 1930) 462-463. The Egyptian "Goose" is a member of the Tribe Tadorini and is technically classed as a duck, so the latter term is used in this paper, see Delacour, *Waterfowl* 1: 195-198. David Murphy made the original suggestion of the possible identification of the vase with the Egyptian Goose, and Figure 6 illustrates a living specimen in the Kansas City Zoological Park. It is a pleasure to thank the Curator of Birds, Bruce Bohmke, for arranging a photo opportunity, and Anne Silveri and her colleagues for their practical help when it came to handling the living creature.

⁹A set of weights in this form was found in Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, which was finally sacked in 612 B.C. D. Oates, "Fort Shalmaneser - An Interim Report," *Iraq* 21 (1959) 109. One weight is illustrated in M.E.L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains* 2 (New York 1966) 421, fig.350; also see B. Kisch, *Scales and Weights* (New Haven and London 1965) 117, fig.75.

¹⁰For Egyptian weights, see W.M.F. Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1926, reprint ed., Warminster 1974) 6 and pl.7, nos. 77-80. Stone vases are also known, for instance the blue marble example from Abydos, published as belonging to the Intermediate Period but perhaps of the previous 12th Dynasty; T.E. Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* pt.2, 1911-1912 (London 1914) pl.12, fig.14. For the later dating, T.G. Allen, *A Handbook of the Collections* (The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago 1923) 95.

- ¹¹Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 16490, probably from Vulci. L. 9.3 cm.; H. 6.5 cm. Color of clay, Munsell 5YR 7/8 (reddish brown, read by incandescent light). *Musei Etrusci . . . Monumenta* (Rome 1842) ed.A, vol.2, pl.3; M.I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques* 1:96; 2: pl.19, no.76; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* (Rome 1925) 41, pl.9, no.120; J. Ducat, *Vases plastiques*, 92, C-5; A. Cavoli, *Profilo di una città etrusca—Vulci* (Pistoia 1980) 13. I must express appreciation to the Vatican authorities and particularly to Prof. Francesco Roncalli for providing information and allowing me to study this vase and others in the Vatican collections.
- ¹²C.M. Robertson, "A Group of Plastic Vases," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 58 (1938) 41-50. Robertson records the rim decoration of the Vatican vase as being "white crenelation with red dots" and uses this as one criterion for forming his group (p.44). Although the group holds together on other grounds, the Vatican duck can not be added to it on this basis alone, for the rim decoration consists rather of simple black, red, and white strokes, unevenly arranged.
- ¹³Robertson, "A Group," 45-50, 255.
- ¹⁴Higgins, *Cat. Terracottas* 2, 32, suggests an Ionian city in contact with Lydia. Ducat, *Vases plastiques*, 158-160, argues for a Rhodian origin for "Robertson's Group" and discusses the evidence for higher dating.
- ¹⁵Ducat, *Vases plastiques*, 92, lists six examples. To these should be added the Mildenberg bird (Fig.1), the standing duck (Vulci inv. 64209, G. Riccioni and M.T. Falconi, "La Tomba della panatenaica di Vulci," *Quaderni di Villa Giulia* 3 (1968) 17, no.4), and the Missouri duck. Ducat's no.6, a long-necked bird, probably a swan, is in the Toledo Museum of Art (acc. no. 64.54) and has recently been published, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* U.S.A. 20, Toledo 2 (Toledo 1984) 5-6, pl.69. A unique unpublished vase in the Melba Greenlee Whatley collection, Portland, Oregon (see CVA U.S.A. 20, p.5) in the shape of a crane could also be added to the group. In the case of the swan and the crane, the same basic "duck" body is used for each creature, with added details to specify the different species. By placing the body vertically and adding legs, beak and a base, an upright bird can be produced, such as the odd owl in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts, 80.599; Ducat, *Vases plastiques*, 148, pl.22.4).
- ¹⁶Ducat, *Vases plastiques*, 93, E-3, 94. Syracuse no. 50917 from Tomb 33, Giardino Spagna. *Notizie degli Scavi* 1943, 62, fig.22. L. 8.8 cm.; H. 6.4 cm. Color of clay, Munsell 10YR 8/4-8/6 (very pale brown to yellow, read in daylight), non-micaceous. I would like to thank Soprintendente Giuseppe Voza for permission to study this and other objects in the National Museum, Syracuse. Special thanks go to Sig. Tranchina for her unfailing courtesy and assistance.
- ¹⁷It has been suggested that a fragmentary bird vase from Cerveteri (*Monumenti Antichi* 42 (1955) 715, no.63), which is apparently in a resting pose, might be another member of "Robertson's Group." See M.M. Cristofani in "La ceramica greco-orientale in Etruria," *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident*, Centre Jean Bérard, Naples, Colloques Internationaux du CNRS, no.569 (Paris 1978) 205, no.10. This object was not available for study, but I would like to thank Dott. Francesca Boitani for her understanding and assistance.
- ¹⁸Notable among these are the vases painted in the Etrusco-Corinthian style; these include plastic vases, both in original forms as well as copies and adaptations of imported types. A good short survey of this painting style can be found in J. Szilágyi, "Entwurf der Geschichte der etrusco-korinthischen figürlichen Vasenmalerei," in A. Alföldi, *Römische Frühgeschichte: Kritik und Forschung seit 1964* (Heidelberg 1976) 183-193. For Etrusco-Corinthian vases in the Museum of Art and Archaeology see W. Biers, "An Etruscan Face: A Mask Cup in Missouri," *Muse* 13 (1979) 46-53.
- ¹⁹Taranto IG 4753. L. 9 cm.; H. 6.7 cm. Color of clay, Munsell 10YR 8/2-8/3 (white to very pale brown, read in daylight), non-micaceous. I would like to thank Prof. Ettore De Juliis, Soprintendente Archeologico delle Puglie, for permission to study the plastic vases on display in the Taranto Museum.
- ²⁰The neck is largely restored and may not have had the exact curve it does now. The head is clearly original. The painted decoration is mostly missing, but close examination reveals traces of black on the head, wings, tail (together with purple), and feet, and a dot field in a strip on the back between the wings and under the tail.

Mirobriga: A Portuguese-American Project in Southern Portugal

In 1981, the faculty of the Department of Art History and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia was invited by Dr. Caetano de Mello Beirão, Director of Antiquities for Southern Portugal, to collaborate in archaeological field work in Portugal.¹ This was the first time that an American archaeological team was to work in Portugal. The aim of the collaboration was the investigation of a Portuguese site by modern field techniques, both to provide practical experience for young Portuguese and American archaeologists, and to generate international scholarly interest in ancient Portugal. The site chosen for the project was Mirobriga, a small town or sanctuary of Roman times, about 140 km. southeast of Lisbon, which had been founded on an earlier settlement.

Located near the junction of two major roads which have been in existence at least since Roman times, Mirobriga offered the possibility of significant contributions to archaeological research in the Iberian peninsula, where investigations had previously been directed primarily to the larger Roman *coloniae*. Random investigations which had been carried on at Mirobriga since at least the sixteenth century, suggested that in Roman times the site extended over as much as two square kilometers and included a temple area, a large bath complex, and a circus (= hippodrome), as well as streets and houses. Extensive digging by the late Dr. João Cruz e Silva of nearby Santiago do Cacém in the late 1940s and by D. Fernando de Almeida from 1959 until his death in 1979, partially exposed these areas.² Although these investigations revealed major monuments and the finds provide a guide to the occupation periods, detailed examination and reinvestigation were necessary to correct inaccuracies in the plans and restorations and to provide a sound basis for knowledge of the site. Four seasons of archaeological field work by the University of Missouri have now been concluded and the final report will be published in *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*.

The site is most easily entered by a modern road from the northwest, where rock-cut drains, paved roads and stepped cross-streets, as well as a series of houses with Roman wall paintings of geometric style *in situ* (south of Area 1) have now been added to the plan of the site. Area 1 is the abandoned chapel of S. Brás, which was given to the project for a field house and storage area by the Antiquities Service. To the south of the chapel of S. Brás, Professor Caeiro undertook, in 1982 and 1984, the excavation of one of the houses previously known but unexcavated. Imported pottery and bronze coins of the middle of the first century after Christ are associated with the construction of the house, and third-fourth century coins and pottery found lying on the floors may provide evidence for the abandonment of the area.

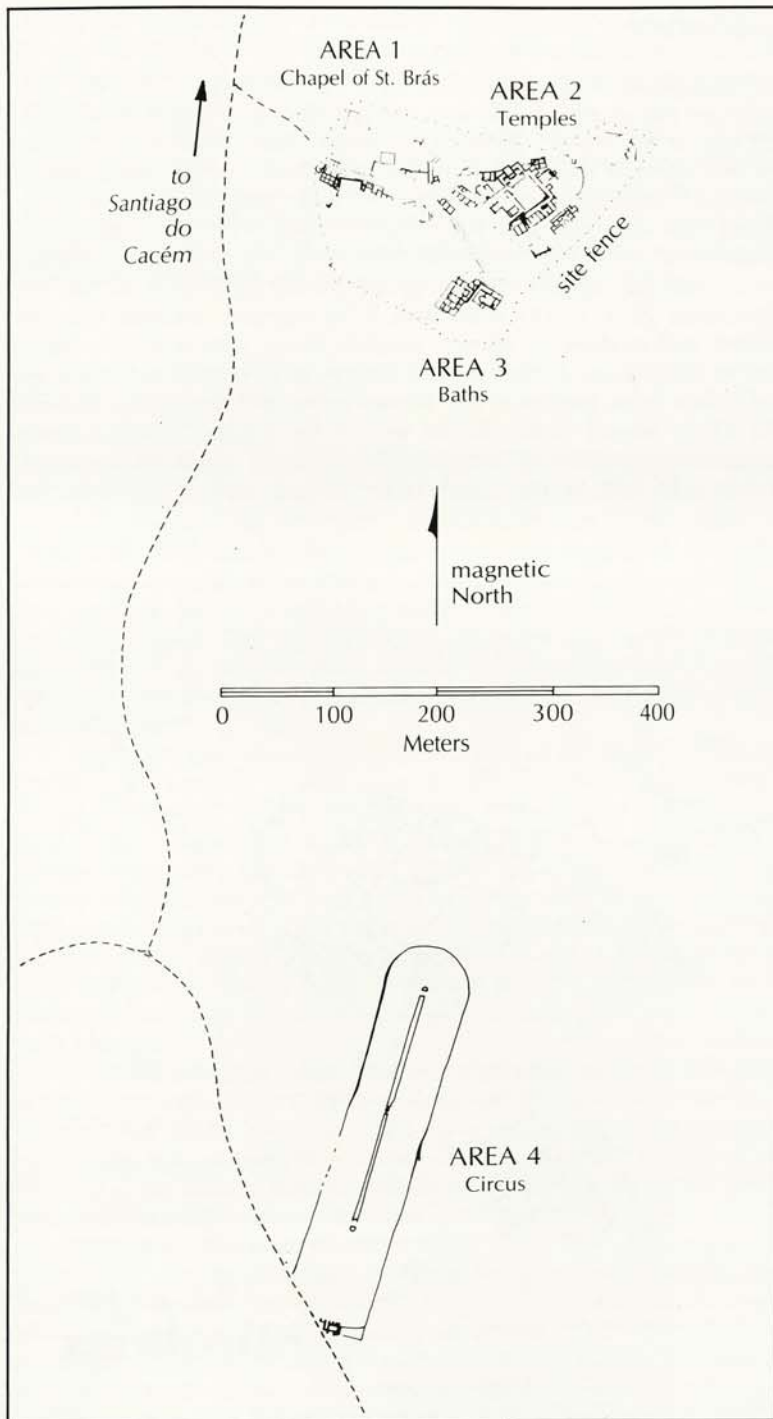
Area 2, on the promontory to the east, is the monumental acme of the Roman site and the location of a fortified Iron Age settlement. On the top of the hill (Castelo Velho) is a temple which was identified by de Almeida as a sanctuary of Aesculapius.³ Nearby is the Iron Age building investigated by Soren (1982 and 1983) and tentatively identified as a temple. Below the floor of this structure were found vessels, placed upside down, which contained bird bones. The vessels are dated by our Portuguese colleagues to the late first century B.C.⁴ Preliminary studies of the Roman wall paintings already exposed in a large building on the south slope of the hill (the "Taverna") were also undertaken, and in 1982 it was possible to remove some of the paintings and display them in the museum of Santiago do Cacém.⁵

Below Area 2 a path leads down in front of another terraced structure to Area 3, where a Roman bath complex is situated in a deep ravine beside a Roman bridge (Figs. 1 and 2). Investigations of the Baths by William and Jane Biers in 1982-1984 have revealed a double bathing establishment, described below (p.42). Large fragments of a collapsed tile vault over a plunge bath excavated in 1983 preserved extensive remains of another wall painting, which was restored in 1984.

Almost a kilometer to the south of Areas 2 and 3 are the remains of a circus (Area 4), the only such structure yet found in Portugal; one recalls that Lusitania was a famous source of horses during the Roman empire. A plan of the structure, which had been extensively excavated and restored by de Almeida, was produced by Albert Leonard in 1981 and supplemented in 1984; the final version will show at least two phases of construction. The survey conducted by Kathleen Slane in 1983 and 1984 shows that the circus was an isolated structure lying at a distance from the ancient settlement, which was probably confined to the hills and ravine of areas 1-3.

The 1984 Season

The fourth campaign of archaeological field work was carried out at Mirobriga in June and July, 1984.⁶ The campaign got off to a flying start with a visit from the Research Committee of the National Geographic Society on May 27th. Jane and William Biers completed the excavation of the Roman Bath Complex, while Maura Cornman cleaned and preserved the wall painting which was discovered *in situ* in 1983. The topographical survey begun in 1983 by Kathleen Slane was extended to the south beyond the Circus and the archaeological reconnaissance of the area was completed. José Caeiro continued his excavations in the West House, where he had worked in 1981 and 1982. Reports of the American excavators are presented individually below. In addition to this work, excavations were carried out in Roman and Iron Age levels in Area A by Carlos Tavares da Silva, director of the archaeological museum in Setúbal.

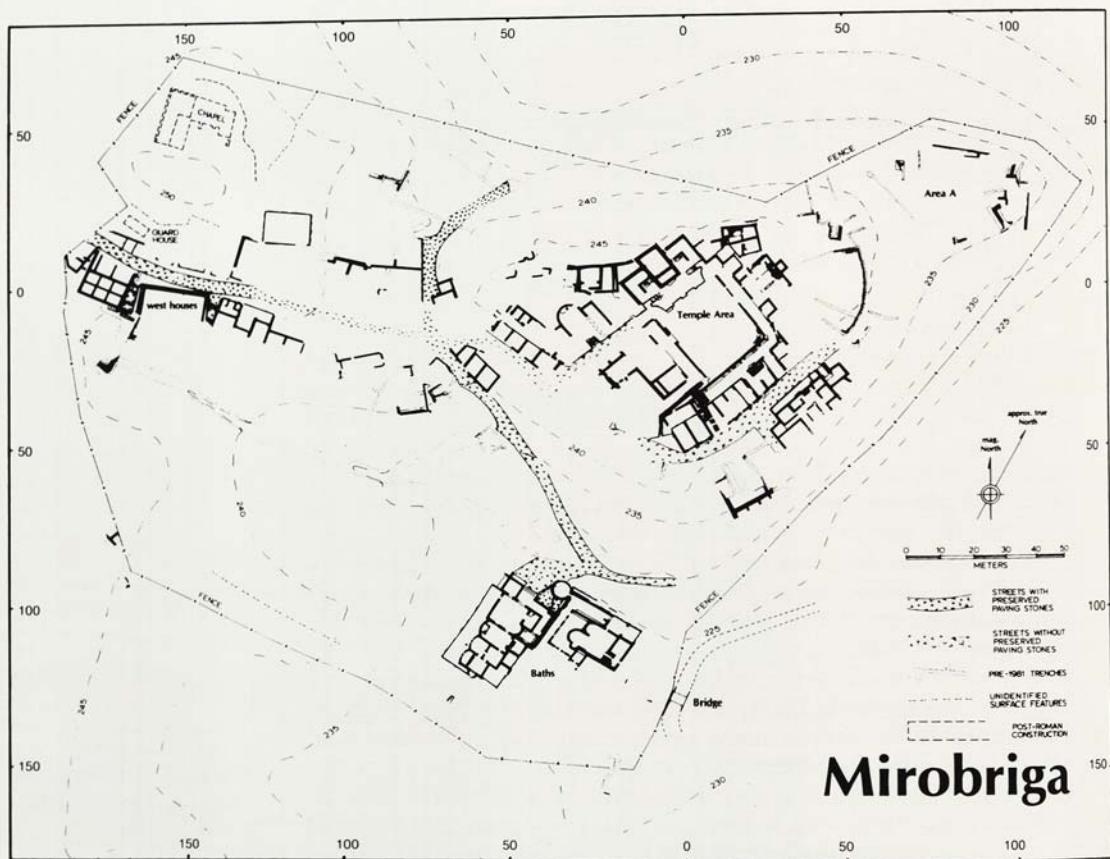


1. Map of areas of Mirobriga: 1. Chapel of S. Brás; 2. Temple area (Castelheiro Velho); 3. Roman baths; 4. Circus

The Survey

The topographical and archaeological survey begun in 1983 was continued this season. Work was concentrated on the area to the south and east of the fenced zone of Mirobriga. Rainy weather during the first two weeks of the season and loss of a team member due to illness hampered our progress, but the project was completed almost as designed. The topographical survey was carried 1300 m. south of the datum point on the Roman temple terrace (i.e., ca. 300 m. south of the circus) and the details of the ravine to the southeast of the site were filled in; a 1:500 map with 1 m. contour intervals showing ancient and modern structures, property lines, and water sources is now in preparation. Archaeological surveys were carried out in plowed and fallow fields between the Roman baths and the circus (Areas 3 and 4), in several fields to the east of the Chãos Salgados where dressed limestone blocks suggested the existence of ancient structures, in the large field to the south of the circus, and in a field to the

2. Topographical map of the fenced area of the Mirobriga excavations.



west of the modern road bordering the site.⁷ In addition to the surveys, black-and-white and infra-red photographs were taken in a spiralling flight over the site and the circus, and these are now being studied both in the U.S. and in Portugal.⁸

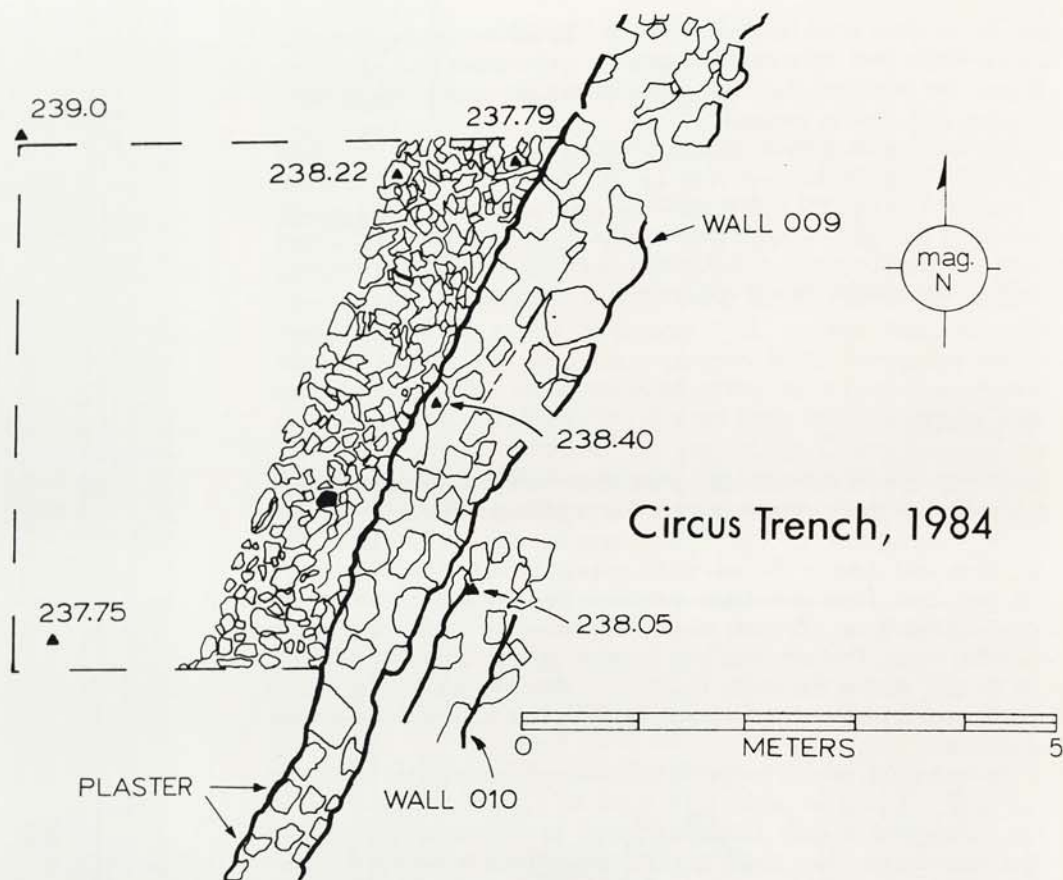
Only the slopes outside the fence below Area A (Fig. 2), the field north of the circus, and the upper and lower fields below the limestone bluff to its east produced pottery certainly Roman in date. We can say provisionally that the concentration of material in the two latter areas is approximately the same as that found over the main part of the site. Elsewhere, the pottery found was recent to modern in date.

The Circus

A trench (Fig. 3) was opened against the exterior of a curving section of the west wall of the circus to answer two questions which remained after the excavations of 1981.⁹ Its purpose was 1) to clarify the relationship and date of the two walls exposed here by de Almeida's excavation, and 2) to investigate whether the circus had permanent seating supported on concrete piers, or temporary seating supported on wooden posts. The intention was to open also a narrow trench for 2 m. to the east across the walls, in order to determine if the floor(s) of the track were preserved at this point, but this had to be abandoned for lack of time.

The wall (009) which forms the east side of the trench is a sinuous rubble wall, varying in width from 0.50 to 1.25 m., constructed of rough, undressed quarry blocks of local limestone and limestone rubble and mortar. Just south of our trench large patches of rough plaster, apparently similar to that used in the Chapel of S. Brás, are preserved on the west face of wall 009. To the east of the trench, wall 009 cut through and partly removed an earlier, straight wall (010), 0.60 m. wide, which may have been the original west wall of the circus. These walls had been exposed by the excavations of de Almeida; his dump formed low mounds parallel to the walls on both east and west.

Within the trench, excavation revealed little stratigraphy; most of the divisions into loci are artificial, designed to reveal variations in the pottery. The upper levels (loci 001-004) are all within de Almeida's dump. The soil was slightly compacted, dark brown or reddish brown in color, with few stones and little or no pottery.¹⁰ Locus 005 below the dump revealed stones (locus 006) running parallel to and 1.0/1.20 m. west of wall 009 at an elevation of 237.7 m. Locus 006, which is a bedding (?) of small rubble stones with a greenish decomposed material above and between them, slopes to the east and runs under wall 009 and an intervening layer of earth. Locus 008, over the remainder of the trench to the west of 006, revealed that 006 is at least 0.41 m. high; it contained the same greenish decomposed material as in 006 and only one fragment of ancient pottery.¹¹ Excavation stopped



3. Plan of Circus trench, after excavation, 1984.

at an elevation of 237.75 m. throughout the trench (bottom of locus 012) without revealing any traces of permanent or temporary seating.

Interpretation: Although wall 009 is founded on earth above locus 006, the two loci should probably be associated because they are parallel to each other. Locus 006 may, therefore, be a guttering intended to catch water run-off from the natural slope to the west. The relationship, if any, between locus 006 and the west circus wall 010 was not revealed. Judging from the plaster exposed on the west face of wall 009, this wall (and the associated feature 006) may well be post-antique. If so, locus 012 is still above the Roman ground level and further excavation might reveal traces of seating. If not, wall 009 must be a second-phase west wall of the circus, and there was no provision for seating in this area, either permanent or temporary. No dating evidence was found.

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University of Missouri-Columbia

¹The Mirobriga Project was initially jointly directed by William R. Biers, Albert Leonard, Jr., and David Soren of the University of Missouri-Columbia, with José Caeiro of the Archaeological Service of Southern Portugal and the University of Evora. Soren continued as a co-director of the project when he moved to the University of Arizona in 1982. In the same year Kathleen Warner Slane of the University of Missouri-Columbia joined the staff as co-director.

²Some of the finds have been published. For a comprehensive list of earlier publications on Mirobriga and finds from the site, see "Investigations at Mirobriga, Portugal in 1981," *Muse* 15 (1981) 38, notes 2 and 3.

³De Almeida, *Ruínas de Miróbriga dos Célticos* (Setúbal 1964) 71.

⁴"Excavations at Mirobriga, The 1982 Season," *Muse* 17 (1983) 39-40; "Mirobriga: The 1983 Season," *Muse* 18 (1984) 54-59.

⁵*Muse* 17 (1983) 38 and note 7; *Muse* 18 (1984) 59-62.

⁶The 1984 season was directed by Kathleen Warner Slane (UMC) and José Caeiro (Evora). The staff included Jane C. Biers, field director; Maura Cornman, conservator; Donald Nicholson, surveyor and draughtsman; Nancy Heugh (Nelson Gallery, Kansas City), assistant to the conservator; António de Salas Ribeira (Evora), pottery draughtsman; and three field assistants, Amélia Canilho, Lisa Kahn, and Maria da Luz Velloso da Costa (all from UMC). José Manuel Mascarenhas, of the University of Evora, was a consultant on the topographical survey and took aerial photographs.

Funding for the 1984 season was provided by the National Geographic Society, the Crosby-Kemper Foundation, the Fulbright Foundation and the Luso-American Commission in Lisbon, and the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia. Rooms for the excavation crew were partially subsidized by the municipality of Sines, and further support for the project was provided by the town of Santiago do Cacém. The city of Columbia, Missouri granted three weeks leave of absence to Donald Nicholson and the Lietz Company again lent the project an electronic distance meter and other equipment. We are most grateful for their support.

We also wish to thank Dr. Caetano Beirão, José Caeiro, and Dr. Carlos Penalva of the Archaeological Service of Southern Portugal and D. Maria Amália Guerreiro of the Municipal Museum of Santiago do Cacém for their help, advice and kindness.

⁷The last is one of the alternative positions of the "Villa" Periquito excavated by D. Fernando de Almeida. The position of the "Villa" shown in *Ruínas de Miróbriga dos Célticos* (Santiago de Cacém) (Setúbal 1964) fig. 5 does not correspond to de Almeida's verbal description of its location on p. 38. Since the latter corresponds as well to the topographic description of the "Villa's" location, it is likely to be correct, and the "Villa" Periquito probably lies in the small valley immediately south of the East Baths. The field investigated in the survey produced no trace of ancient occupation.

⁸José Manuel Mascarenhas of the University of Evora organized the flight, took the aerial photographs, and is now studying them in Portugal. His conclusions will be incorporated in the final report on the survey.

⁹For a report on the 1981 excavations, see *Muse* 15 (1981) 34-37.

¹⁰The first pottery encountered was in locus 004, a rim and a base of coarse ware 3, undatable; since this locus is below the preserved top of wall 009, it may represent the modern surface which existed before de Almeida's excavation.

¹¹A body sherd of coarse ware 3, again not precisely datable.

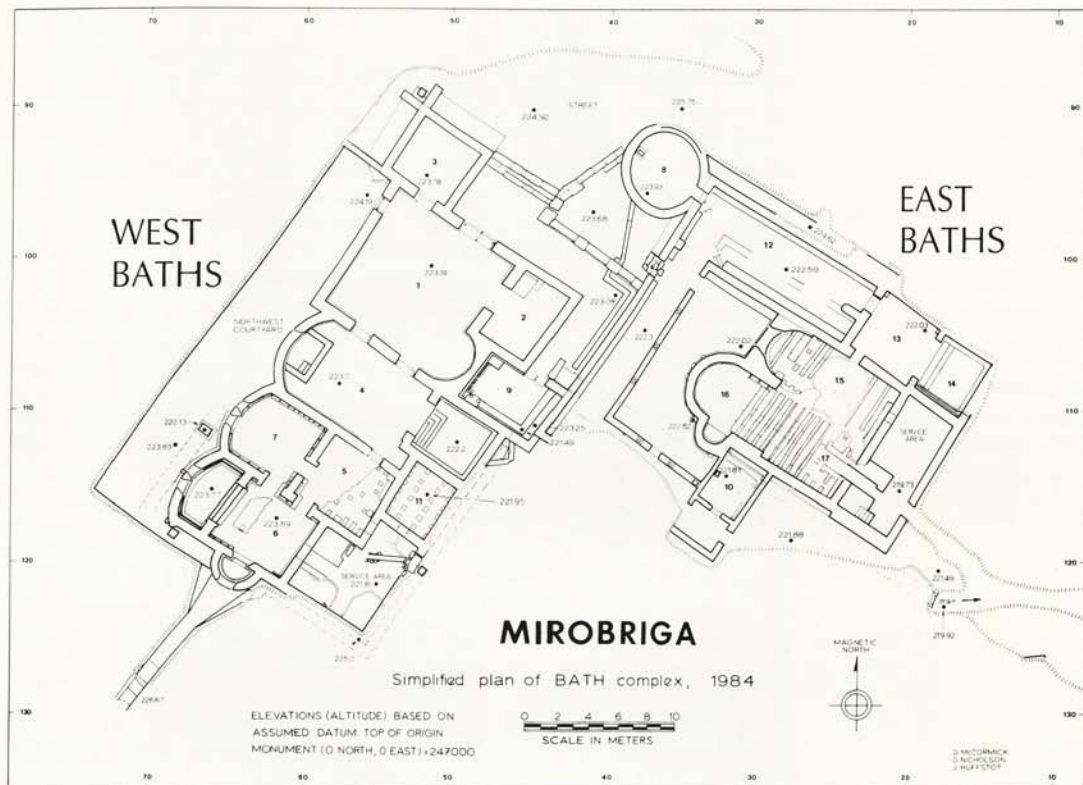
The Bath Complex at Mirobriga, 1984

The Baths, which consist of two separate buildings now called the East and West Baths, lie in a natural hollow south of the temple area (see p. 38 above). Both buildings contain the usual sequence of rooms found in bath buildings throughout the Roman world: reception rooms at the entrance for dressing, massage, or lounging (Rooms 1-3, 8 and 12), unheated rooms, *frigidaria*, with cold water pools (Rooms 4 and 13-14), and heated rooms, *tepidaria* and *caldaria*, some with heated pools (Rooms 5-7, 11, 15-17). A room from which the furnaces for the heated rooms were serviced lies at the south corner of the West Baths, and another is to be found at the southeast end of the East Baths. A large latrine (Room 9) may have served both buildings.¹ A porticoed courtyard forms part of the public area of the East Baths, whereas the courtyard associated with the West Baths (the Northwest Courtyard) seems to have served only to provide an open area between the walls of the building and the hillside which rises steeply to the northwest. The construction of a courtyard here protected the building from damp, allowed light into Rooms 4, 6 and 7, and provided an area from which a water channel that runs beneath the floor of the courtyard could be cleaned and repaired.

Water was needed in bath buildings for the pools and to flush the latrines. The Baths at Mirobriga seem to have had plenty of water, which was supplied from a source that must lie to the southwest of the West Baths and which was channeled around this building and beneath the courtyard of the East Baths. During heavy rainstorms the runoff from the surrounding hills must have been considerable, and the many drains beneath the floors and waterproofing constructions against the walls of Room 3 and part of the courtyard wall of the East Baths attest to the precautions necessary to cope with excessive rainwater.

1. Entrance to water channel beneath the Northwest Courtyard, from northwest.





Excavations in the Baths in 1984 were carried out in both buildings.² In the West Baths test trenches were confined to the exterior of the northwest side of the building. At the southwest corner of the building a second entrance to the water channel that runs beneath the Northwest Courtyard was discovered in the courtyard floor (Fig. 1).³ Its presence here indicates that water channels surrounded the southwest portion of the Baths, and that the channel beneath the Northwest Courtyard was fed by the water channel that approaches the area from the southwest, as was also the channel that skirts the building on the southeast side (Fig. 2). The newly found entrance (L. 0.61 m., W. 0.55 m.) is constructed largely of flat stones—sandstone and pink dolomitic limestone—with some schist and occasional bricks. Fill was removed from within the opening for a depth of 0.86 m. below the courtyard floor, sufficient to expose the top of the arch of the channel.

A second area investigated in 1984 lies north of Room 3 in a triangular area formed by short walls projecting from the building (see Fig. 2). Here was found a floor paved with fragments of schist and small flat stones, on which were set the two projecting walls. A manhole, 0.49 m. x 0.47 m., lined with brick and stone, opens through this floor; it is now partially surrounded by a stone coping

2. Plan of the Roman Baths, 1984.

3. Manhole north of Room 3, West Baths, from northeast.



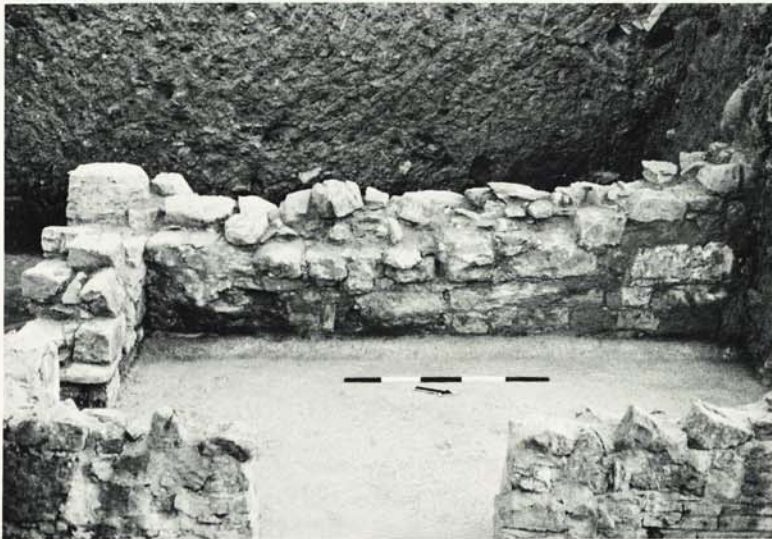
standing to a height of 0.26 m. above floor level (Fig. 3). Traces of mortar on the floor indicate that the coping once surrounded the manhole completely. Modern china was found in the fill over the floor and walls, and for a depth of 0.10 m. within the manhole. Below this level, however, the fill contained Roman pottery, including fragments of a two-handled wide-mouthed jar (Inv. no. 811). Excavation could proceed only to 1.00 m. below the floor level, because of the narrow diameter of the manhole, the purpose of which is therefore unknown, but a sequence of construction can be provided. The floor, with the manhole set into it, was laid first, followed by the construction of the walls forming the triangular area mentioned. The coping around the manhole rests against these walls and is thus the latest construction in this area.

4. East Baths, Room 16, hypocaust as partially cleared in 1984, from northwest.



South of the West Baths, the retaining walls over the water channel that approaches the building from the southwest were cleaned to expose their construction, and some fill was removed from over the arch of the water channel at the southwest end, revealing the stone structure.

In the East Baths, the hypocaust of Room 16 was partially cleared this season (Fig. 4). No datable pottery was found in the ash levels over the hypocaust floor, but evidence for the roofing of the room was recovered in the form of bricks fallen from the vault. These are similar to those recovered in 1983 in Room 14,⁴ but they are notched at the top, a feature which indicates that the vault, as well as the walls, was heated.



5. East Baths, Courtyard wall, south corner, from northeast.

Southwest of Room 10 a trench was laid out over the southwest wall of the courtyard, in order to discover the extent of the court in this area. The southern corner of the wall was reached, and bedrock was found to the southwest (Figs. 2, 5), indicating that the farthest extent of the East Baths has been reached in this area. In the ashy fill that lay over bedrock the latest datable material was pottery of the 4th c. A.C.⁵ and a bronze coin that appears to date to the 3rd century.⁶

In Room 14 (the pool of the frigidarium, Room 13) the painted wall plaster discovered *in situ* in 1983 was treated,⁷ and a roof constructed for its protection. About 0.20 m. of the fill remaining in the northeast half of the pool was removed, revealing a thick layer of fallen plaster fragments. These were plotted and lifted in groups, and will now be cleaned and studied. The fill from beneath the layer of fallen plaster contained little pottery; the only datable fragments were African Red Slip Ware of the 3rd-4th centuries.⁸

In Room 12 three trenches were dug through the floor. Remains of an earlier wall of the building were uncovered, running parallel to the northeast wall of the room, at 2.30 m. distant from it (Figs. 2, 6). The earlier wall (0.48-0.50 m. wide) was constructed of stones and mortar, with courses of bricks at intervals; only two of these are partly preserved. At the northwest end the wall turns to the southwest, where it is cut by a later drain. This early wall, which was apparently replaced by the present southwest wall of Room 12, was set into fill containing pottery dating to the Flavian period, thus providing a

6. East Baths, Room 12, test trenches exposing earlier wall beneath the floor, from northwest.



terminus post quem for the wall's construction—the second half of the first century.⁹ The wall went out of use probably some time between 155 and 200. A bronze coin of Antoninus Pius, dating to 155/6-157/8 A.D., lay on top of the destroyed wall and below the present floor of Room 12.¹⁰

The 1984 season concluded excavation in the Baths. In the summer of 1985 we intend to clean, conserve, and study the wall plaster fragments. A final publication of the Baths is now in preparation.

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¹The previous excavator considered that Room 10 was the latrine for the East Baths. At present, it is thought that this room must have served some other function. See *Muse* 17(1983) 49-50.

²For accounts of the previous seasons' work, see *Muse* 16(1982) 30-35 and 17(1983) 46-52.

³For the discovery of the first entrance, see *Muse* 16(1982) 32, fig. 3.

⁴See *Muse* 17(1983) 51.

⁵Inv. nos. 788, 789, African Red Slip Ware. See J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London 1972) Form 50, ca. 230/240-400+.

⁶Inv. no. C-55. AR Antoninianus.

D. 20 mm. Axis

Obv. Radiate head r.

Rev. Standing figure to front, holding staff in l. hand, object in outstretched r. hand.

Insc. C P. N in field r. Beaded border.

⁷Conservation efforts were concentrated on the northeast and southeast walls. The protective layer of soil, applied at the end of the 1983 season, was first removed, lichen growths were killed with gasoline, and the walls were aired for several days. Dry soil clumps were brushed off with a stiff brush, and a calcium carbonate layer was removed with scalpels. The areas where paint is preserved were consolidated with acrylic resin Paraloid B-72 in toluol. Blind cleavage of the *arriccio* was consolidated with a saturated aqueous solution of casein in lime water, injected behind the wall through holes drilled in the *arriccio*. The exposed *trusillatio* and *arriccio* were consolidated with a dilute aqueous solution of casein in lime water. Holes in the *arriccio* and areas that were badly undercut were filled with a mixture of one part casein, two parts slaked lime, and six parts sand. Where the painted design is preserved, the *arriccio* was capped with the same mixture to weather-proof it and prevent any further deposition of soil at the *arriccio/trusillatio* interface. Small gaps were filled with one part casein and two parts slaked lime putty. The filled areas were then given a coat of saturated aqueous solution of casein in lime water, and were toned with acrylic colors to give continuity to the design.

⁸Room 14, Locus 007, body sherds.

⁹Locus 003, inv. nos. 785, 803, 804-806, Terra Sigillata Gallica, Dragendorff Forms 33, 24/25, 18, 35, 15/17 or 18; inv. nos. 772, 790, Terra Sigillata Hispanica, Dragendorff Form 27. Locus 006, inv. nos. 775a and b, 778, 780, 783, Terra Sigillata Hispanica, Dragendorff Forms 27, 37, 33(?) , 27.

¹⁰Inv. no. C-56. Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-161.

AE sestertius. D. 30 mm. Axis . Rome A.D. 155/6-157/8

Obv. Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, r.

ANTON(INVS AVG) PIVS(P P IM)P II

Rev. Annona, standing l., holding corn ears in r. hand downwards over modius with corn ears, and cornucopiae. S C to l. and r. H. Mattingly, *The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* IV (London 1940) 334, 339, 344; A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet* II (London 1971) xci.

Studies of Material from Mirobriga

A short study season was sponsored by the University of Arizona in 1984, resulting in various kinds of information concerning life in this provincial center.*

Wall Frescoes

In the structure tentatively called the "Taverna," on the slope of the Castelo Velho, a number of important wall frescoes were found. The building, which was centrally located below the forum, across from what may have been a large market complex, and above the Baths, was perhaps a Roman *stabulum* such as those known at Pompeii - that is, a sort of motel, with a broad passage for carts opening into the street, and with bedrooms and dining rooms.¹ Painted walls were common in such buildings.²

Janina K. Darling has studied the frescoes of Rooms 3 and 7 in detail. Her preliminary conclusions are that the rooms were contemporaneous and show strong affinities with the latest Pompeian painting, a date confirmed by study of the pottery (by Luisa Ferrer Dias and Lucinda Neuru).

The frescoes display a certain provincial simplification and seem to have been executed rapidly, emphasizing formalism and visual continuity over plasticity of form and Italian naturalism. The artist was familiar with Third and Fourth style developments in Italian painting, and particularly with the vogue for illusionistic devices.

The fresco in Room 7 has a marbled baseboard, and the socle above is decorated with a row of blue and green rhombuses on a light maroon ground. Also preserved is part of the main zone with its large red panel bordered on the left by a pale yellow vertical divider.

The decoration on the baseboard is continuous, with yellow ovoids outlined in black and/or brown against a dark red to red-brown background. Continuous marbled designs and yellow ovoid highlights are particularly common in the Fourth style.³ A parallel at Merida, in Spain, can be dated roughly between 50 A.D. and the early second century.⁴

By contrast, the socle appears to be a unique arrangement using contrasting colors in what would normally be an area of a single color. The frieze of repeated rhombuses is also unique, but it falls within the possible repertory of the Third style.⁵ The main zone features a

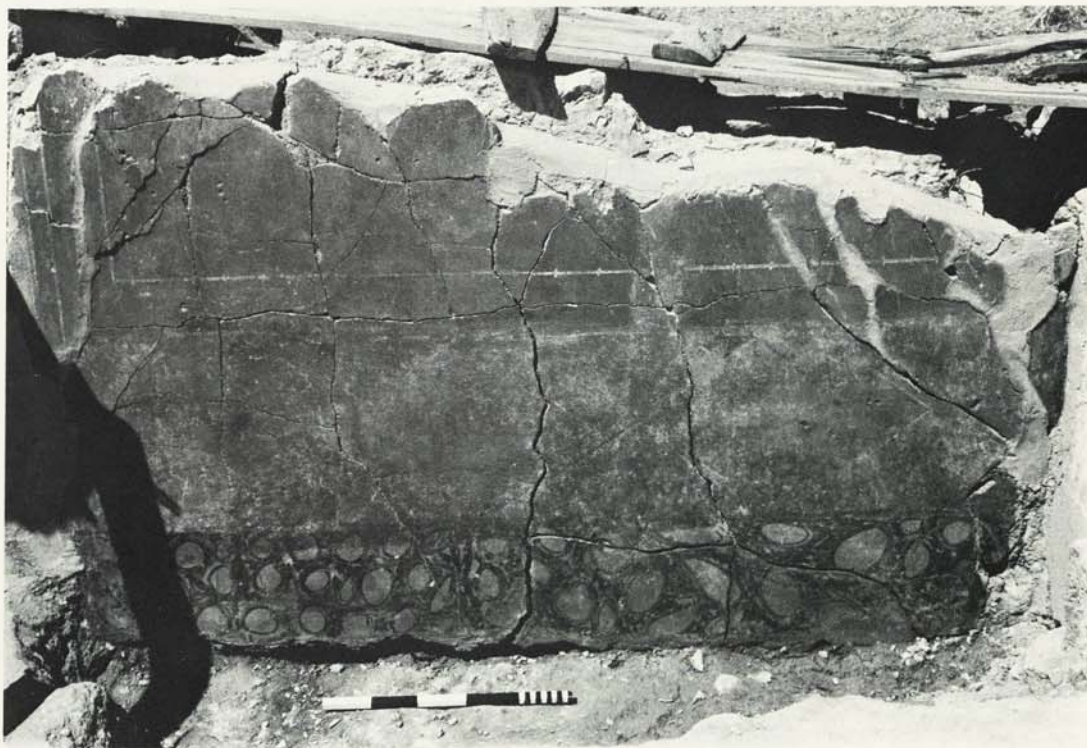
*The authors wish to express appreciation to the following individuals for their support and counsel: Jane and William Biers, Kathleen Slane, Albert Leonard, Ruth Witt, Homer Thomas, José Caeiro, Caetano Beirão, Luisa Ferrer Dias, Inês Vaz Pinto, Paula Pote, Chloe MacMillan and Dona Amália Guerreiro.

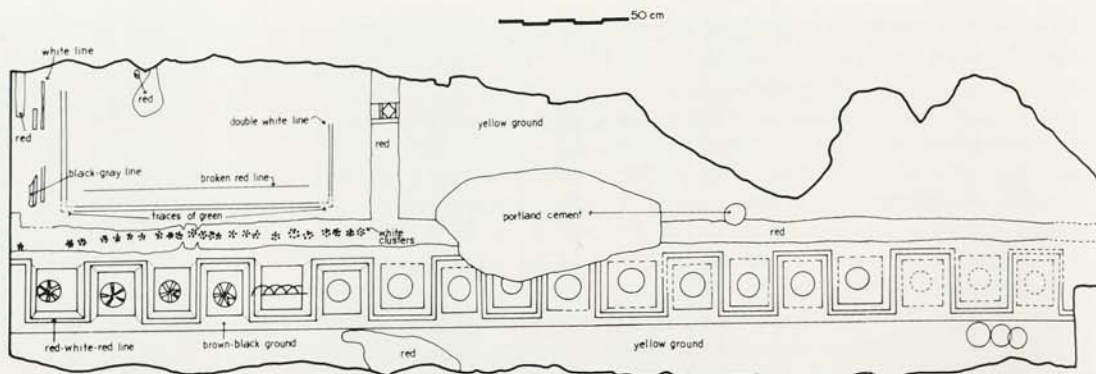
T-shaped arrangement of dots at the corners of the major panels, a provincial device particularly popular in the Flavian period but in fact known as late as the fourth century.⁶

In Room 3 there is fresco painting on two walls. The arrangement here is comprised of a socle, predella (intermediate zone before the main zone), and a main zone. The socle is simply a yellow band splashed and spotted with black in a quick marbling effect, a technique popular in the Second and Fourth styles at Pompeii,⁷ ranging in the provinces from the first century to the early second.

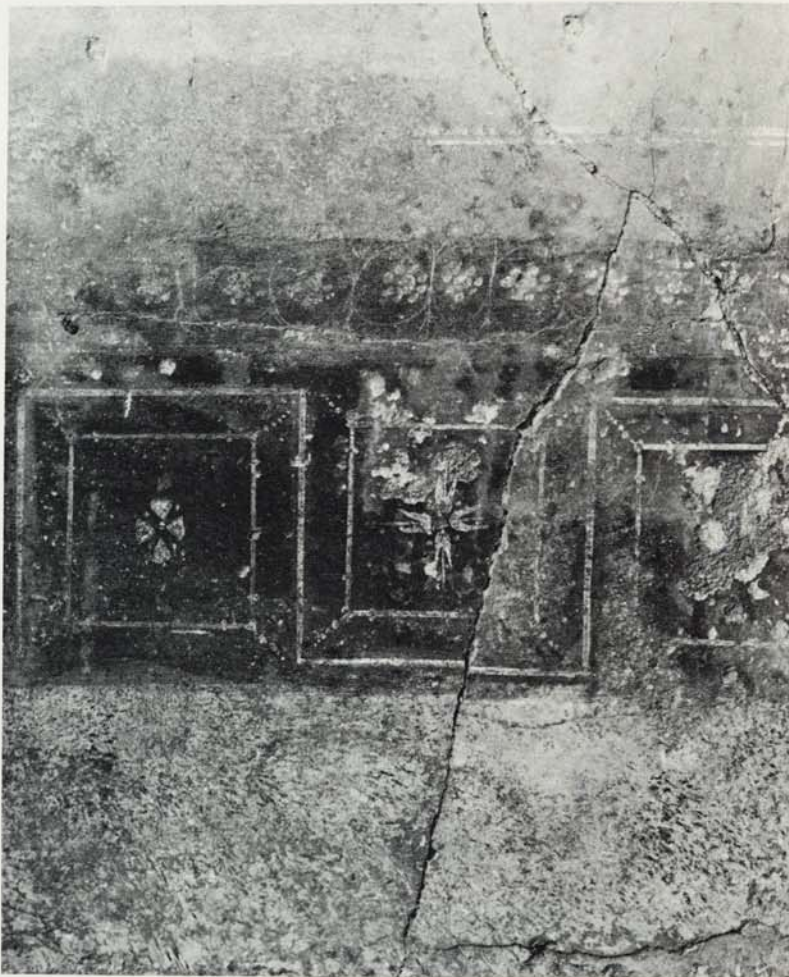
Above the socle the predella contained a Third-style arrangement of squares outlined with white, placed in the interstices of a meander and linked to it with diagonal lines of white dots. The attractive and unusual effect resembles Roman coffering, especially since a central floral element appears similar to the sculptured decoration on the interior of the Arch of Titus in Rome.⁸ This predella thus gives both a two- and three-dimensional effect akin to the coffered illusionism found in the Villa Imperiale (41-62 A.D.) at Pompeii.⁹ For the alternating white and yellow discs divided into six wedges in the squares, there are Vespasianic parallels, and the motif of the four joined lotuses on the side wall has a Fourth style parallel as well, even though only two of the lotuses are joined.¹⁰ The small, isolated

The fresco in Room 7 in situ, before its removal and installation in the Municipal Museum in Santiago do Cacém.





Above: Line drawing of the fresco on the northwest wall of Room 3 of the "Taverna." Drawing by Jane Carpenter, Marian Kaminitz, and Noelle Soren.



Right: A detail photograph of the fresco on the southwest wall of Room 3 of the "Taverna." Note the delicate rincau motives surrounding the rosettes, not indicated on the drawing above.

poppies that alternate with lotuses on the side wall (except in one instance) are common Third-style elements which normally became more complex by the Fourth style.¹¹

Just above the meander is a row of uneven, asymmetrically placed rosettes. Further inspection disclosed that the rosettes were actually enclosed within a delicate Third-style rinceau arrangement. These thin tangent circles have triple-branched narrow leaves in fork shape, filling the spaces above and below the points where the circles intersect. There are Vespasianic and earlier parallels, and an example from Merida dates between 50 A.D. and the early second century.¹² The simple main zone of yellow panels bordered in red proved to have traces of green finials at the corners of the frames; these are not shown in the drawing above.

The "Taverna" seems to take its place as part of the massive late Neronian or early Flavian urban development of the Castelo Velho. The style of the frescoes shows that Mirobrigan artists were more in touch with mainstream Italian vogues than one might have expected, while still exhibiting creative provincial twists. Such a pattern is also evident in the architecture, where such arrangements as the winged principal temple, baroque rostrum and multi-level South Building display a unique if simplified interpretation of mainstream ideas.

The current excavations have begun to provide some idea of what life in this fascinating ancient community was really like.

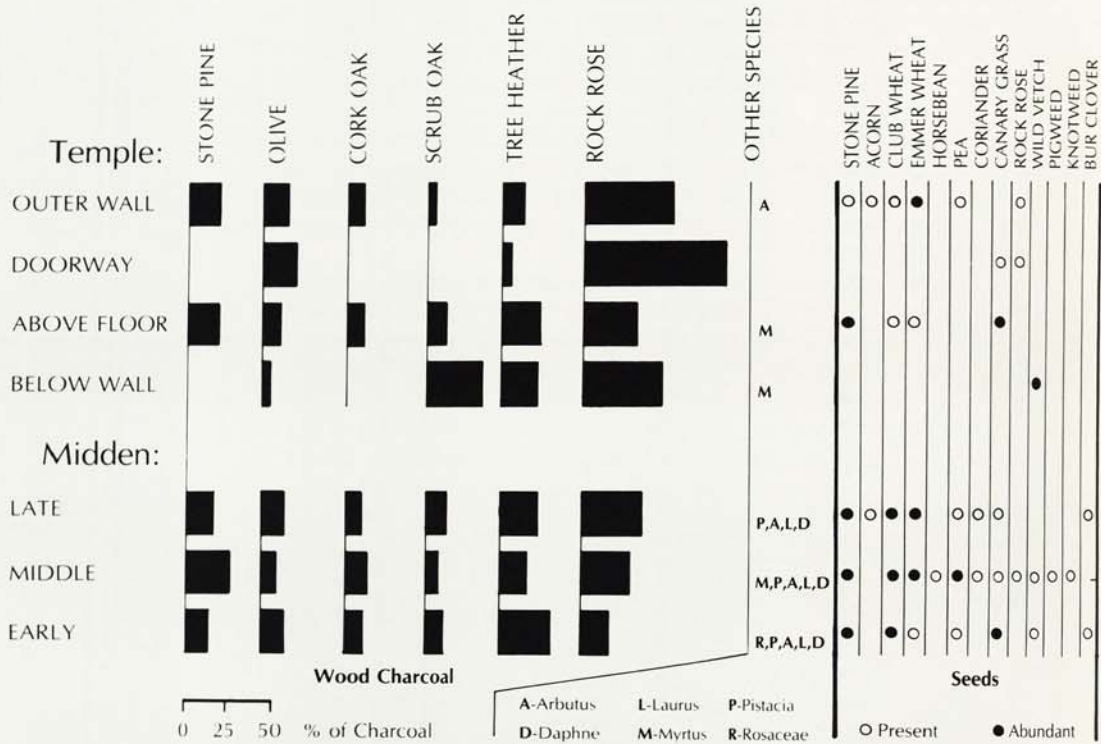
Iron Age Environment and Diet

Before the Roman occupation of Mirobriga, there was a considerable Second Iron Age settlement (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.).¹³ While study of the remains of this settlement has not yet been completed, valuable information about the environment and diet of the inhabitants was revealed in the midden below the Roman street at the northeast corner of the "Taverna" and from the so-called Iron Age temple.¹⁴ Charles Miksicek, of the University of Arizona Office of Arid Land Studies, has examined twenty twelve-liter flotation samples from this settlement: 345 seeds and 535 charcoal fragments.

Stone-pine nuts (still eaten today in Mediterranean countries) were common, along with field peas, but only one Celtic bean was found. Two cereals — club and emmer wheat — were cultivated. A coarse, leavened bread seems to have been prepared from canary grass. The people ate acorn nuts, knew the herbs coriander and laurel, and had staples such as pulses and pork.

What was *not* found was also of interest. Olive trees existed but no pips were recovered. Olive oil may therefore have been a Roman contribution to this region. They may also have introduced chick peas, figs, almonds, grapes, pomegranates and walnuts. None of these were present in the Iron Age midden.

Carbonized Plant Remains Late Iron Age



Plant Species Associated with the Iron Age Occupation at Mirobriga

<i>Common Name</i>	<i>Scientific Name</i>	<i>Common Name</i>	<i>Scientific Name</i>
Woodland Trees:		Crop Plants:	
Cork Oak	<i>Quercus suber</i> L.	Club Wheat	<i>Triticum compactum</i> Host.
Laurel	<i>Laurus nobilis</i> L.	Coriander	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i> L.
Olive	<i>Olea europaea</i> L.	Emmer Wheat	<i>Triticum dicoccum</i> Schubl.
Stone Pine, Umbrella Pine	<i>Pinus pinea</i> L.	Horsebean, Celtic Bean	<i>Vicia faba</i> L.
Strawberry Tree	<i>Arbutus unedo</i> L.	Pea	<i>Pisum sativum</i> L.
Matorral, Maquis, or Chaparral Plants:		Field Weeds:	
Daphne, Mezereon	<i>Daphne gnidium</i> L.	Bur Clover, Medick	<i>Medicago</i> sp./ <i>Melilotus</i> sp.
Kermes, Holly, or Scrub Oak	<i>Quercus coccifera</i> L.	Canary Grass	<i>Phalaris canariensis</i> L.
Lentisc, Mastic Tree	<i>Pistacia lentiscus</i> L.	Knotweed	<i>Polygonum</i> sp.
Myrtle	<i>Myrtus communis</i> L.	Pigweed	<i>Amaranthus</i> sp.
Rock Rose, Cistus	<i>Cistus ladanifer</i> L. and <i>C. clusii</i> Dunal	Wild Vetch	<i>Vicia</i> sp./ <i>Lathyrus</i> sp.
Tree Heather	<i>Erica arborea</i> L.		

Measurements on Carbonized Seeds from Mirobriga

(in millimeters, Standard Deviation in parentheses)

<i>Species</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Breadth</i>	<i>Thickness</i>	<i>Species</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Diameter</i>	<i>Hilum Length</i>
Emmer Wheat	21	3.2 (0.4)	1.9 (0.3)	1.6 (0.4)	Pea	7	3.1 (0.4)	indeterminate
Club Wheat	24	4.1 (0.3)	2.8 (0.4)	2.4 (0.4)	Wild Vetch	40	1.4 (0.2)	0.9 (0.1)
Celtic Bean	1	6.3	5.3	5.2				

Flotation samples of the temple area revealed that before the fourth century B.C. structure was built, the natural vegetation of the area was rock rose, a chaparral species common to rocky, shallow soils. No stone pine, wheat or peas were present before the Second Iron Age settlers came to this spot. In the third or second century B.C. there was a period of disuse followed by the construction of a second temple upon the ruins of the first. This was indicated by rock rose and heather, natural vegetation growing in the ruined temple. The rebuilt temple (2nd century B.C.) showed evidence that the climate in the area had remained stable and was little different from that of today.

Our chart shows four samples from the Iron Age temple: the north outer wall area (4th century B.C.), the temple doorway and the first temple floor debris (3rd-2nd century B.C.) and the area below the last temenos wall (2nd century B.C.). The midden ranged in date all through the 3rd century B.C. for the area sampled.

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¹J. Packer, "Inns at Pompeii: A Short Survey," *Cronache Pompeiane* 4 (1978) 44. The latest discussion of these structures is an unpublished dissertation by S. M. Ruddell, *The Inn, Restaurant and Tavern Business in Ancient Pompeii* (University of Maryland 1964).

²Cf. Pompeii *stabulum* VII.12.34-35, Rooms 3-5, 8 and the Inn of Salvius, Room 2. Packer, *Inns*, 45. For a good, brief survey of the four styles of Pompeian painting, see A. Stenico, *Roman and Etruscan Painting* (New York 1963) 31-32.

³For ovoid marbling carefully done in the Second style, versus mechanical fashioning in the Fourth, see H. Eristov, "Corpus des faux-marbres peints à Pompeii," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome—Antiquité* 91 (1979) 696. Yellow ovoid decoration imitating marble is variously called brocatel, breccia, and Chemtou marble (from northwestern Tunisia). The dates of the Fourth-style examples cited by Eristov range from 54 to 79 A.D.

- ⁴For the Casa del Mitreo of Mérida, see L. Abad Casal, "Pintura romana en Mérida," *Augusta Emerita, Actas del Simposio Internacional Commemorativo del Bimilenario de Mérida, 1975* (Madrid 1976) 174 and 173, nos. 7-9. The Room 7 baseboard imitates the yellow ovoid marble of the Fourth style. As in the Italian prototypes, the marble pattern is painted in dark red and red-brown over a yellow ground. A slight variation in color is introduced with the inclusion of brown and purple-umber, but this does not alter the similarity to Fourth-style patterns. The designs are mechanical and repetitive and the reserved centers of the egg shapes have no modulation in color.
- ⁵In socles of the Third style, geometric forms can be inscribed upon a solid background color. For example, cf. Cubiculum B of the Villa Imperiale near the Porta Marina at Pompeii, where geometric forms are inscribed in alternating pattern; see also F. L. Bastet and M. de Vos, *Archeologische Studien van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, 4, Il Terzo Stile Pompeiano* (The Hague 1979) pl. 8, 15.
- ⁶Flavian examples include Temple II at Elst (Holland), a villa at Boxmoor and a timber-framed shop in Insula V at Cirencester. A fresco in the Casa del Anfiteatro at Mérida has this feature as late as ca. 300. For these locations see J. Bagaers, *De gallo-romeinse Tempels te Elst in de Over-Betuwe* (The Hague 1955) pls. 21-23; N. Davey and R. Ling, *Wall-Painting in Roman Britain* (Gloucester 1982) 82, no. 2, fig. 5; *ibid.* 97, no. 8; L. Abad Casal, "Las imitaciones de crustae en la pintura mural romana en España," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 50-51 (1977-78) 177, fig. 5.
- ⁷A good parallel is the Second-style socle in Cubiculum B of the House of Trabius Valens at Pompeii. See Eristov, "Corpus," 709, no. 59.
- ⁸The development of the ornamented predella is a characteristic of Italian Third-style mural composition. Various designs can appear in this position, and it seems that the meander and coffer pattern is an original scheme which combines two- and three-dimensional elements of early Pompeian Third style. The two-dimensional component can be compared to the socle of Aula IIIa in the Casa del Citarista, where a meander composed of double lines is elaborated by the insertion of unframed geometric and floral motives into the spaces, or bays, between the vertical elements. Exedra G in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati provides a more complex ornamentation in the predella, which is two-dimensional yet contains a frieze of decorated squares resembling coffers. Cf. O. Elia, *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia, Pompei*, sec. 3, fasc. 1, *Le pitture della "Casa del Citarista"* (Rome 1937) fig. 5; A. Sogliano, "Relazione degli scavi fatti dal dicembre 1902 a tutto marzo 1905," *Notizie degli Scavi* 5 (1908) 27ff. and figs. 1, 3, 4 for the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.
- ⁹For the Villa Imperiale, see Bastet and de Vos, *Arch. Studien*, 37-39 and pls. 6, 10; 7, 13; and 10, 19. For second-century examples at Cirencester and Virunum see Davey and Ling, *Wall Painting*, 98, no. 9, pl. 35 and fig. 14, and H. Kenner, *Der Baderbezirk von Virunum* (Vienna 1947) 196, no. 8270, pl. 2 and no. 8271, pl. 3.
- ¹⁰Close parallels for the discs at Mirobriga occur in a number of Fourth-style Vespasianic decorations at the bottoms of walls: Room b of the Casa delle Pareti Rosse, Room e of the house at 9.5.11, Room 42 of the Casa del Centenario, Room t of the House of the Vettii — all at Pompeii. For these and the dating see K. Scheffold, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (Bern 1962) pls. 118, 125, 127 and 133; and Scheffold, *Die Wand Pompejis* (Berlin 1957) 5 f. The joined lotus occurs in the Fourth-style vault in 9.2.10 at Pompeii, shown in Scheffold, *Vergessenes*, pl. 110.
- ¹¹Most important for the stylistic analysis of Room 3 are the poppies alternating with rosettes as central motives in the coffers in the predella of Aula A in the Villa Imperiale. See Bastet and de Vos, *Arch. Studien*, pls. 6, 10 and 7, 13.
- ¹²The Vespasianic examples are more elaborate but still similar; they come from the Casa delle Vestali and Casa degli Amorini Dorati at Pompeii. See Scheffold, *Die Wand*, 92, 154. For the Casa del Mitreo at Mérida see Abad Casal, *Augusta Emerita*, 166 and pl. 67, b.
- ¹³In *Muse* 16 (1982) 38, a case was made that the settlers of the site during the Second Iron Age (4th-3rd centuries B.C.) were Celts or a people strongly influenced by Celts. On the possible identification of the Second Iron Age settlers as the Celtic people known as the Sefes to Avienus in his *Ora Maritima* see J. Soares and C. Tavares da Silva, "Cerâmica pré-romana de Miróbriga," *Setúbal Arqueológica* 5 (1979) 174.
- ¹⁴See the plan of the Iron Age Temple (Celtic Temple) in *Muse* 17 (1983) 54 and the "Taverna" in *Muse* 16 (1982) 36.

Two Portrayals of the Moon-God Men

The moon-god Men is comparatively unknown even to students of antiquity, although he was one of the most important of Roman times in Anatolia—the area roughly corresponding to present-day Turkey. Comparatively few of his monuments have been found elsewhere. Unlike many of the other “oriental” cults which flourished during the Roman empire, the cult of Men was an official cult of many of the provincial cities. This is shown by the many coins depicting the god, which of course reflect the official policies of the authorities which issued them. Men is almost always shown in so-called Phrygian costume: cap, chiton bound at the waist, chlamys (cloak or mantle), and boots. He is usually standing, or riding on horseback,¹ less commonly seated, occasionally in bizarre poses—riding on a chicken or reclining as a river-god. He is always identifiable by the crescent moon placed at his shoulders. Usually he has one hand outstretched, holding either a bowl (phiale) for libations, or a pine cone, a common symbol of immortality which is also associated with other divinities, such as Sabazius. In his other hand he usually holds a staff or scepter. Frequently Men has his foot on a bucranium (bull’s skull) or on a figure of a whole bull, as if vanquishing it as a spirit of evil. The bucranium is combined with a figure of Victory on a coin-type characteristic of Antioch in Pisidia (south-central Turkey). This type appears to imitate a cult statue set up in that city when a Roman colony was established there in the time of Augustus.² It is at Pisidian Antioch that there exists the only temple of Men so far investigated archaeologically, and this has provided us with a large number of votive inscriptions.³ It would appear that the Romans deliberately fostered this cult at Antioch⁴ by, for example, giving Men the epithet *Askaenos*, reminiscent of Aeneas’ son Ascanius.

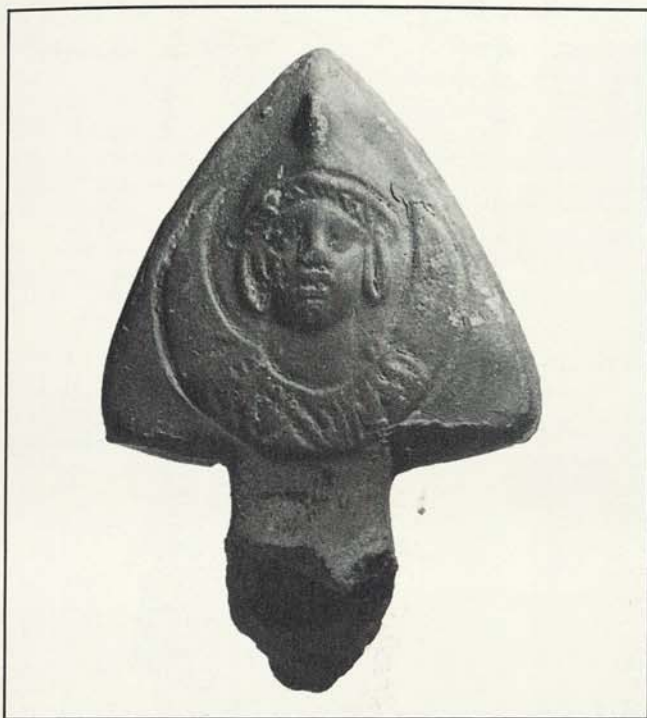
Other interesting local variations of the Men cult involve the so-called confessional steles of Lydia, and the role of Men (often paradoxically called *katachthonios* = subterranean) as protector of graves, particularly in Lydia and Lycaonia. The confessional steles (Fig. 1) record a belief which attributes all suffering to some offense, known or unknown, against the divinity, which must be expiated. There is also a procedure of placing a scepter on an altar; this calls upon the gods either to catch the perpetrator of a crime or to prevent a crime’s commission. In the example shown in Figure 1 a scepter had been set up in order to keep property from being stolen from a bath-house. Nonetheless, a himation was stolen. The god then ordered through an angel (presumably in a dream) that the garment be sold (perhaps because the owner no longer wanted it). On the stele, we see the god standing in the upper field with the garment beside him; below him is the thief, raising his hands in a gesture of adoration.⁵

Men is a loner among gods, most of the time eschewing the company of other divinities, either male or female. When he is shown with a goddess, however, it is frequently with Artemis Anaeitis, that is, the Hellenized form of the Persian divinity of the waters, Anahita. This association is particularly close in the Lydian inscriptions just discussed.⁶ Together with other indications, such as the fact, reported by Strabo, that the Iranian kings of Pontus swore their oath of office by Men Pharnakou (of Pharnaces), this points to a probable Iranian origin of the god. Men has no known mythology, but two inscriptions published within the last decade, such as the one illustrated, mention his mother (*Menos tekousa*). The one stele, however, which illustrates her makes her an iconographically bland mother-goddess, to whom no specific name can be assigned. It has been suggested that she is indeed Artemis Anaeitis, but this remains speculative. A unique (now lost) terracotta of Men as a baby (Fig. 2) points to a myth concerning Men's childhood.⁷

1. Left: Confessional stele (from E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentum Religionis Dei Menis*, Vol. 1, pl. 29).

2. Right: Drawing of terracotta statuette of Men as a child (Lane, *CMRDM*, 1, pl. 26).





It is against this background that we can assess two new acquisitions of the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia. The first is a thumbplate from a terracotta lamp (Fig. 3).⁸ No other representation of Men on lamps is known. The lamp is reported to have come from Egypt but this is unlikely, as Men is not known to have been worshipped there. Lamps traveled far and wide in antiquity, as well as at the present day. On the other hand, the presence on a lamp of a divinity who protects graves is appropriate, as lamps were frequent grave offerings. This portrait shows Men with a rather thick-lipped fat face and with long flaps of his cap hanging down over his ears. The lamp from which the handle comes was clearly Bailey's Type D.⁹ Although Bailey deals exclusively with lamps of probable Italian manufacture, such lamps are found everywhere in the Roman world. Type D lamps are dated from Augustan to Trajanic times. Crescent-shaped thumbplates, such as the one illustrated (Fig. 4), are common on several types of lamps. Some have crescents incised within the crescent outline of the handle itself, and may be adorned with representations of divinities, such as a bust of Isis (?) with a crescent on her head, which appears on a Carthaginian lamp.¹⁰ Ours, however, is not crescent-shaped, but a triangular thumbplate on which there is a crescent surmounted by a bust of Men. For this I have found no parallel.

3. Left: *Thumbplate from a terracotta lamp, with bust of Men in relief (Museum of Art and Archaeology). Illustrated at actual size.*

4. Right: *Lamp with crescent-shaped handle, first century (from D. M. Bailey, *Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, 2, pl. 29, no. Q 1007, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum).*



5. Two views (actual size) of the bronze statuette of Men (Museum of Art and Archaeology).

Also recently acquired by the Museum is a full-length bronze statuette (Fig. 5).¹¹ Men is shown standing frontally, with the right foot swung back, the weight resting on the left foot. The left hand held a scepter, the right hand holds, instead of the usual pine cone or patera, a bowl of fruit. The clothing is of the usual kind, except that he is wearing the tight-fitting pants called *anaxyrides* as well as boots, and his chiton is double-belted.



6. Left: *Bronze statuette of Men in the Leiden Museum (Lane, CMRDM, 1, pl. 62).*

7. Right: *Bronze statuette of Men in the Fogg Art Museum (Lane, CMRDM, 1, pl. 63).*

Bronzes representing Men are extremely scarce, as one might expect of a divinity worshipped primarily by people of limited financial means. A couple of bronze busts, apparently from the same mold, now in the Antalya Museum and the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, have recently been published.¹²

Of full-length statuettes of Men, only two have previously been known. These are a fine example in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden (Fig. 6) and a badly damaged piece in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Fig. 7).

In the Fogg example, on which Men is lacking his left hand and right foot, he is shown in the usual Phrygian costume, holding a pine cone in his right hand. His general appearance is quite similar to a damaged marble life-size statue of Men in the Museum of Afyon Karahisar, Turkey. In the Leiden example the left foot rests on a bucranium and the left hand holds a pine cone, whereas the right hand held a staff. The clothing is as usual, except that the chlamys is drawn around from behind his right leg and is held up by his raised left leg. This results in a resemblance to the Antiochene coin-type mentioned above. Again, there is a marble analogue, a damaged statue now in the Ankara Museum.¹³

The Missouri bronze is closer in iconography to the Fogg statuette and the Afyon statue than to the others. Thus, it seems not to have been influenced by the Antiochene type. The Missouri figure, however, differs from the one in the Fogg in that the chlamys forms a V-fold in front below the neck, indicating a garment which had to be passed

over the head, whereas in the case of the Fogg statuette the pieces from the two sides seem to be held together by a clasp. The Afyon marble, even in its decapitated and armless state, shows a chlamys like that of the Missouri bronze. The latter, however, differs from both these in that the chiton is belted very high, and then gathered up in a second fold at hip-level. Men is also clearly wearing tight-fitting pants, as in the Afyon marble. (This is unclear on the Fogg bronze.)

8. Marble relief plaque formerly in the British Museum (Lane, *CMRDM*, 1, pl. 66, right).



The pronounced double drawing-in of the chiton makes the Missouri Men most closely resemble the representation of the god on the coins of Lydian Nysa, a city where Men was extensively worshipped, and where there is numismatic evidence of the existence of a temple. (The same double-belted feature also occurs on the coins of certain other cities, such as Sagalassus and Saittae.)

The most unusual feature, however, of the Missouri statuette is the bowl of fruit which he holds in his outstretched right hand, replacing the usual patera or pine cone. It is impossible to tell what fruits were intended, but the implication is that Men is portrayed as the giver of agricultural wealth. The idea is not unparalleled, however. On a coin of Apollonia in Pisidia¹⁴ Men appears to be holding a bunch of grapes. One is reminded of the now-lost relief of the British Museum, dedicated *Meni Soteri kai Ploutodotei* (to Men, savior and wealth-giver), in which a bust of Men is placed above a field incredibly cluttered with almost every conceivable useful product of land or sea (Fig. 8).¹⁵

To sum up: The two recently acquired objects shed new light on this interesting cult. The lamp-handle shows Men in a new medium. The statuette is, if not unique, at least one of the two best-preserved such objects thus far published. It seems to confirm the influence of a cult-statue at Nysa on Men-iconography, and with its bowl of fruit gives further evidence of Men's function as a god of fertility.

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¹For Men in his various poses, see E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* (= CMRDM) 3, *Interpretations and Testimonia* (Leiden 1976) 99 ff.

²D. Salzmänn, "Neue Denkmäler des Mondgottes Men," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 30 (1980) 261 ff., esp. 288.

³Published by E. N. Lane, CMRDM 4, *Supplementary Men-Inscriptions from Pisidia* (Leiden 1978).

⁴E. N. Lane, "The Italian Connection, and Aspect of the Cult of Men," *Numen* 22 (1975) 235-239.

⁵See Lane, CMRDM 3, 20 ff. (confessional steles) and 51-54 (protector of graves).

⁶I. Diakonoff, "Artemidi Anaëiti Anestesen," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 54 (1979) 139 ff.

⁷Lane, CMRDM 3, 113 (Persian affinities) and 81 f. (Men as a baby).

⁸Acc. No. 82.326. P.L. 8.7 cm., W, 5.7 cm. Color, *Munsell Soil Chart* (Baltimore 1973) 2.5YR 6/8 — light red clay, 2.5YR 6/4 - 6/6 — light red slip, slightly micaceous (read by daylight).

⁹D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum, 2, Roman Lamps Made in Italy* (London 1980).

¹⁰J. Deneauve, *Lampes de Carthage* (Paris 1976) pl. 69, no. 569.

¹¹Acc. no. 83.68. H. 12.2 cm.

¹²Good illustrations of these objects are to be found in Salzmänn, "Neue Denkmäler," pls. 101, 109, and 113.

¹³For these marbles, see Salzmänn, "Neue Denkmäler," pls. 107, 110-111.

¹⁴Lane, CMRDM 2, *The Coins and Gems* (Leiden 1975) 105, Apollonia 2.

¹⁵Lane, CMRDM 1, *The Monuments and Inscriptions* (Leiden 1971) 90-91, no. 142.

An Unpublished *Caricatura* by Domenico Tiepolo

As is well known, Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770) was one of the greatest painters of the eighteenth century and the last of the many distinguished artists who worked in the tradition of Italian fresco-painting which began with Giotto. Giambattista had two sons, Lorenzo (1736-1776) and Giovanni Domenico (1727-1804), both of whom assisted their father in the creation and execution of his scintillating and sumptuous decorative cycles. Lorenzo seems never to have become an independent artist. Domenico did, however, achieve autonomy, and recent studies have made progress in describing the distinct character of his work.¹ He is now, after a long period of relative obscurity, praised not only for his frescoes, such as those formerly in the Tiepolo villa at Zianigo (now in the Ca'Rezzonico, Venice) but for his etchings and, above all, his drawings, particularly the series depicting scenes from the life of Punchinello, a humorously bumbling character derived from the *Commedia dell'arte*.² Still, because of their close association, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish with absolute certainty his work from that of his father. This is especially true in the case of the many caricatures attributed to the two artists.

According to the original Italian definition, a caricature is a *ritratto caricato* (exaggerated portrait), a term which has its etymological source in the words *carico*, meaning "load," and *caricare*, meaning "to overload or exaggerate for the sake of humor."³ The Venetian artist Antonio Maria Zanetti, the Elder (1680-1767) is probably responsible for introducing caricature in Venice.⁴ Zanetti's caricatures, the earliest of which is dated 1708, are, indeed, "exaggerated portraits" of specific people. Giambattista Tiepolo, who was a friend of Zanetti, began drawing caricatures at some time after 1740, and Domenico began even later. Unlike Zanetti, however, the two Tiepolos seem not to have made caricatures of specific people. Rather, they created epigrams of particular types of humanity, such as the hunchback, the tall, thin person, or the excessively fat person.

In 1943 a volume of over 100 caricatures, most of them by Giambattista, but a few, it has been said, signed by Domenico, was broken up and sold at auction.⁵ The caricatures in this volume, titled *Tomo terzo de caricature*, have been dated by George Knox⁶ to the period between 1754 and 1762. The precise provenance of the *Tomo terzo* is uncertain, but a catalogue of 1854 listing the contents of the collection of Conte Bernardino Cornian Algarotti, nephew of Francesco Algarotti, a friend of the Tiepolos, mentions "two large books" containing "a copious collection of humorous drawings by Tiepolo" as well as some drawings "in cartelle," that is, single sheets.⁷ Not all of the caricatures by the Tiepolos known to scholars today, however,

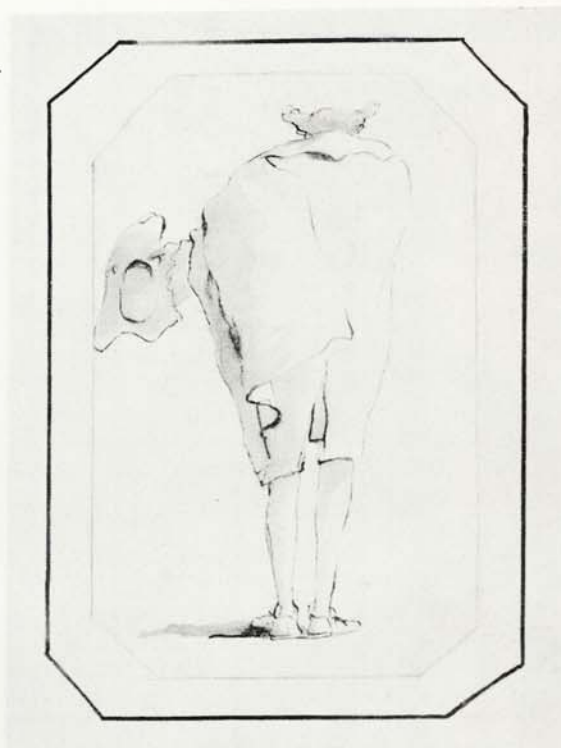


1. A Gentleman. Pen and ink drawing by Domenico Tiepolo. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

originally belonged to the *Tomo terzo*. Moreover, some of them, such as the *Gentleman* now in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia (Fig. 1),⁸ seem to have been created after 1762.

In this drawing we see a portly gentleman in a coat with pleated tails, from beneath which protrudes an *épée*, knee-breeches, hose and shoes with square buckles. The tail of his wig trails down his back, and two curious horn-like tufts project outward obliquely from his head. His plump cheeks are described by simple, pear-shaped curves. His tricorne hat is tucked beneath his left arm, while his right arm, hand resting on a walking stick, points downward and slightly outward, with the laced cuff of his shirt extending beyond the sleeve. His feet are pointed outward at amusingly improbable angles. Before discussing the attribution of this drawing, we might do well to look first at examples of Giambattista's and Domenico's caricatures and try to extract some elemental principles of their draughtsmanship and expression.

2. A Gentleman Holding a Hat. Pen and ink drawing by Giambattista Tiepolo. Robert Lehman Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Giambattista's virtuosity is clearly seen in his caricature of a gentleman holding a hat in the Robert Lehman Collection, New York (Fig. 2). Here the pronounced verticality of the design has been established by the swift diagonal lines of the cloak, which, together with the strong gesture of the figure's left arm and the attenuation of its body, impart a sense of animation and vitality characteristic of all of Giambattista's drawings. The fluent, rhythmical lines have been drawn quickly and with unerring control, rippling suddenly to describe the undulation of cloak and hat, but elsewhere swept across the page in a "long, living arc." The masterful way in which Giambattista varies the thickness and density, even the quality of the lines, the sure use of washes of various tones, and the luminous, untouched highlights that appear to be not simply spaces void of ink but radiant projections illuminated by a light brighter than the paper itself—all of these produce a deft chiaroscuro effect which describes a figure of three-dimensional masses, existing in a space which we clearly perceive as ambient in spite of the absence of any background. In unison with Giambattista's brilliant clarity of form, these qualities have endowed the figure with a virile plasticity which reflects the artist's life-long interest in sculptural forms and ideas.

Domenico's style, as we encounter it in a signed work in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 3), is markedly different from



that of his father. Here we see a line which is broken, nervous, almost fretful, and even where the artist makes a long, sweeping line with his pen, such as in the profile of the figure's paunch, he does so without the spontaneity and control of gesture found in his father's drawings. Moreover, Domenico's forms, although they are shaded with pen and wash, have none of the vivid plasticity of his father's figures. Even so, the figure does possess a sense of weight not usually present in Giambattista's work. The pose of Domenico's figure seems static when compared to those of his father's figures. In Giambattista's *Gentleman* (Fig. 2), for example, there is a sense of momentary rest, as if the figure in the next instant will bow or step forward. Domenico's figure, by comparison, seems earthbound, almost rooted to the ground and incapable of animation.

In spite of its differences from that of his father, Domenico's style is of a quality that demands appreciation. His caricatures convey a sense of nervous tension which places them beyond the realm of the playfully humorous drawings of Giambattista, who brilliantly exaggerates human features for comic effect, and yet retains in those very exaggerations a certain spirited gracefulness.⁹ Domenico's ungainly figures, on the other hand, convey a sense of what might be called the awkwardness of human existence. Giambattista's caricatures gently mock not only physical features but a kind of pompous elegance and

3. Left: *A Gentleman and Other Studies*. Pen and ink drawing by Domenico Tiepolo. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Rogers Fund), New York. Reproduced courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

4. Right: *A Fat Nobleman*. Pen and ink drawing by Giambattista Tiepolo. Robert Lehman Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Reproduced courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

self-importance. Indeed, he brings grace and elegance, two extremely important qualities of eighteenth-century art and society, into the sphere of the ridiculous. Domenico's caricatures seem ambiguous in intention. He does exaggerate physical features, but we do not smile, at least not for long, at these distortions. Rather, we feel a sympathy for his figures, and the element of mockery is almost immediately lost. In Domenico's hands caricatural drawing has a far greater depth of expression. The style is for him a vehicle for conveying a vision of the world and the human beings who inhabit it, a vision which reaches its clearest delineation in his Punchinello series and in some of his drawings of Venetian society.

Although the Missouri caricature was offered to the Museum as a work by Giambattista, it was immediately recognized as by Domenico.¹⁰ This attribution can be demonstrated by a comparison between the caricature and Giambattista's *Fat Nobleman*, also in the Robert Lehman Collection (Fig. 4). In the latter are all of those qualities of style that we have noted in the first caricature by Giambattista discussed here (Fig. 2). The line, masterfully varied in thickness and density, is vibrantly assured, its movement fluid and gracefully rhythmical. In the Missouri drawing line is distinct and precise, yet it is also hesitant and tremulous, and the artist seems to have reworked the contour in several places. Moreover, in spite of the obesity of Giambattista's figure (Fig. 4), the drawing has a light, airy and fantastic quality which is absent from the Missouri drawing where the figure's bulk, in spite of the flatness of form, seems to possess weight and to respond to gravity.

That the Missouri caricature is the work of Domenico is easily seen when we compare it to the artist's signed caricature mentioned earlier (Fig. 3), in which we encounter the same broken, almost nervous line, especially in the coat of the figure. There is also a similar touch of realism, manifested not only in the illusion of the figure's weight but in the careful, almost obsessive attention to the particulars of objects such as the folds of the coat-tails in both drawings. It should be noted too that Giambattista's fanciful exaggeration of physical features is not found in either of Domenico's works, for unlike his father, he seems to have based his exaggerations of form more closely on the direct observation of nature.

Domenico's caricature (Fig. 1) at the time of purchase was said to be a portrait of Sebastiano Ricci, a Venetian painter who was overly fond of cheese. This description of the subject is probably due to the figure's resemblance to Giambattista's *Fat Nobleman* (Fig. 4), which, according to Antonio Morassi, was probably inspired by the caricature of Ricci by Pier Leone Ghezzi now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (MS. Ottob. Lat. 3116, f.85).¹¹ Giambattista's figure, however, does not seem to be a caricature of a specific person, as Ghezzi's certainly is, and is therefore probably not a portrait of Ricci. Even if Giambattista's figure was inspired by Ghezzi's, it nevertheless seems to be a humorous portrayal of a particular type. Likewise, Domenico's figure (Fig. 1), in spite of its relative realism, also represents a type of middle-aged Venetian gentleman of the eighteenth century.



That the figure in the Missouri caricature is simply an anonymous specimen of humankind may be gathered from its relationship to Giambattista's *Fat Nobleman* (Fig. 4), which served as a model for many figures appearing in drawings of Domenico's later years. In a scene of everyday life, the *Country Walk* (Fig. 5) formerly in the collection of Dr. O. Wertheimer of Paris, the figure on the left imitates Giambattista's *Nobleman* except for the addition of a large bow-knot and flowing tail to the wig.¹² This figure reappears in a rare multi-figured caricatural drawing by Domenico at Turin (Fig. 6) as the second figure from the left. Here it is rather a more faithful rendition of Giambattista's original. Also the fourth figure from the left is almost identical with the one already mentioned in the *Country Walk*, and both are not far from the Missouri figure. A further case of a figure similar to the father's caricature is found in the *Cardplayers* in the Paul Bernat Collection, particularly the hunchback on the left.¹³ It is clear, then, that Domenico was fascinated by Giambattista's *Fat Nobleman* and made numerous variations of it in his own drawings, one of which is the Missouri caricature.

Aside from accentuating the exemplary position of Giambattista's work in Domenico's imagination, the above comparisons also establish a frame of reference for dating the Missouri caricature, otherwise a

5. *Country Walk*. Pen and ink drawing by Domenico Tiepolo. Formerly in the Otto Wertheimer Collection, Paris. Reproduced courtesy of Sotheby and Company.



6. A Group of Gentlemen. Pen and ink drawing by Domenico Tiepolo. Photo courtesy of Biblioteca Reale, Turin.

difficult task. The similarity in type and treatment of the Missouri drawing to the above-mentioned works may indicate a like relative date. The *Country Walk* (Fig. 5) and the *Cardplayers*, as well as the *Gentleman* in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 3) each bear a signature, and, as Byam Shaw proposes, such signatures almost always occur on drawings of the second half of Domenico's career.¹⁴ On the basis of this circumstantial evidence, a date after 1790 can be considered most likely.

An unusual feature of the Missouri drawing is the treatment of the border, which is composed of canted inner corners washed and edged within in pen—(we are not aware of a precisely similar handling in other caricatures associated with the two Tiepolos). The border is clearly a contrivance, almost a *trompe l'oeil* imitation of a mounting common to many Tiepolo caricatures (see, for example, Figs. 2 and 4). In the case of many of these, the corners of the drawing were clipped and, after it was attached to the mat, was then edged with ink panned on the mat. This sort of mounting is found in many instances with Giambattista and may have been used by Domenico as well. The Missouri caricature presents a rare copy of that practice. In addition, the drawing is attached to a mat which is to be seen at the edges of the illustration (Fig. 1). This framing device is the kind of afterthought

which can be conceived as a logical follow-up to the standard practice, a circumstance which tends to confirm the date proposed above. Likewise, the device connotes just the finality which we expect of Domenico. The vast majority of his later drawings in series have at least a margin-line and many of them a wash border. Apparently, such margination is the exception with Giambattista.

Domenico Tiepolo is at times seen as a timorous sort who deferred to the specter of his father's genius. Such a psychological characterization might account for his apparently obsequious attachment to his father's figurative vocabulary. His seeming servitude, however, is based on practicality more than anything else. His father's art or, in other instances, his father's figures, sufficed conveniently for the accomplishment of his own artistic goals. As student, co-worker and devoted son, his amenability to his father's direction during his early years is quite understandable. Following Giambattista's death in 1770, Domenico succeeded him as the leading *frescante* in Venice. He held this position for the remainder of the century, owing to the endorsement of the arbiters of official taste, who in Venice were very conservative, and accordingly he was expected to carry on his father's "grand manner" in history painting. This obligation he discharged with diligence, but his most valuable works, from the point of view of the history of art, are his drawings, and among these his caricatures hold an important place.

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¹See especially J. Byam Shaw, *The Drawings of Domenico Tiepolo* (London 1962); A. Mariuz, *Giandomenico Tiepolo* (Venice n.d.); and G. Knox, *Giambattista and Domenico Tiepolo, A Study and Catalogue Raisonné of the Chalk Drawings*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1980).

²For Domenico's Punchinello series see the exhibition catalogue, *Domenico Tiepolo's Punchinello Drawings* (Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington 1979).

³J. Schultz, ed., *Caricature and Its Role in Graphic Satire* (Department of Art, Brown University and Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence 1971) 8.

⁴Ibid.

⁵G. Knox, *Tiepolo, A Bicentenary Exhibition, 1770-1970* (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge 1970) no. 87.

⁶Ibid.

⁷M. Levey, "Two Footnotes to Any Tiepolo Monograph," *Burlington Magazine* 104 (March 1962) 118-119.

⁸Acc. no. 74.194. 18 x 11.3 cm. (within border).

⁹For an excellent study of Giambattista's caricatural style see M. Kozloff, "The Caricatures of Giambattista Tiepolo," *Marsyas* 10 (1960-61) 13-33.

¹⁰N. E. Land first made, verbally, the attribution to Domenico. Edwin Sledge, "Tiepolo Caricatura," (unpublished undergraduate term paper), concurs with that attribution.

¹¹A. Morassi, *Disegni veneti del settecento nella collezione Paul Wallraf* (Venice 1959) 59, no. 87.

¹²The *Country Walk* was recently sold at auction. See Sotheby's catalogue, *Old Master Drawings*, (New York, January 16, 1985) no. 199.

¹³For an illustration of the *Cardplayers* see Knox, *Tiepolo* no. 103.

¹⁴Byam Shaw, *The Drawings*, 63-64.

A Bronze Ushebty of Pharaoh Psusennes I



1. Three views of the bronze ushebty of Pharaoh Psusennes I in the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

One of the more spectacular, though relatively poorly publicized, archaeological discoveries in Egypt is that of a number of nearly intact royal burials of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties in the Delta city of Tanis.¹ Unfortunately for the excavator, Pierre Montet, the find was made just at the outbreak of the Second World War. This fact contributed to the lack of publicity concerning the discovery and also led to the situation which played a role in our story with regard to the *ushebty* of Psusennes, the subject of this article.

The tomb which housed Psusennes I (fl. ca. 1025 B.C.) and others was a rather crude underground stone structure within the courtyard of the great temple at Tanis.² Among the finds were gold and silver coffins, jewelry and other items made of costly materials. The small size of the burial chambers limited the number and variety of grave

goods, and the dampness of the Delta area was detrimental to their preservation, especially in comparison with the enormously wealthy funerary trappings of Tutankhamun of the 18th Dynasty, roughly three centuries earlier.³ The political and economic decline during those intervening years was also a factor adding to the contrast which these royal burials exhibit.

Our concern here is with a small, solid cast, bronze funerary figurine (ushebty) of Psusennes in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology.⁴ It is mummiform in shape and dress, with its arms crossed (right over left) over its stomach. A hoe is held in each hand and on the back of the figurine is a roughly incised basket. On the front, just beneath the crossed arms, is a brief vertical inscription which identifies the owner (Fig. 2). The translation is as follows: "(The) Osiris, King, Beloved of Amun, The-star-rising-in-Thebes." As is common to both royal and non-royal funerary figurines, the deceased is identified with the foremost deity of the dead, Osiris. Pharaoh Psusennes is also identified as "king" and has the common royal epithet "Beloved of Amun" within his cartouche. The king's name, "The-star-rising-in-Thebes," is the translation of Psibkhaemne or, more simply, Psusennes, the latter following the later Greek spelling of the name (Ψουσέννης).⁵

During the course of the New Kingdom (18th-20th Dynasties, ca. 1560-1085 B.C.) and afterward, the number of such figurines placed in the tombs increased considerably, leading to the emergence of two distinct types: overseers and workers.⁶ The former wear the garb of the living; the latter are mummiform and are provided with the tools necessary for their potential labors. The hoes and the basket, plus the mummiform shape of the Psusennes figurine under discussion identify it as a workman. Both worker and overseer types in bronze were found in Psusennes' tomb.⁷

Owing to the world situation at the time of Montet's discovery, only the more valuable items were moved to the Cairo Museum for safekeeping. Other artifacts, including the ushebty, were merely stored at the site. Several years later, when Montet returned to Tanis, it was discovered that the storehouse had been rifled and that a number of figurines were missing. Soon thereafter many items were recovered, but others were still unaccounted for and have since found their way into museums and private collections.⁸ As a result, the exact number of figurines interred with Psusennes will probably never be known.

Bronze funerary figurines, except for the Psusennes collection, are relatively rare.⁹ Knowledge of 225 bronze worker figures and fifteen bronze overseer figures for Psusennes was once claimed by Clayton, who has been tracking down bronze ushebty.¹⁰ A few years later, Aubert cited Clayton's tally as 232 workers and fifteen overseers in bronze.¹¹ The present publication of a Psusennes figurine brings the total of the bronze worker ushebty to at least 233, and that figure may be increased by one more if another piece in a British collection was not among those included in Clayton's count.¹² With the addition of



2. A drawing by the author of the inscription on the ushebty in the Missouri collection.

the fifteen overseers, the total of bronze ushebty for Psusennes reaches either 248 or 249 known and accounted for, out of a total originally close to 400.

The history of the Psusennes ushebty in the Museum of Art and Archaeology can be roughly reconstructed. It was surely one of the hundreds found in Psusennes' burial chamber at Tanis by Montet and stolen from the storehouse during the early years of the Second World War. From that point it can be assumed to have changed hands a number of times until it became part of a private collection in the United States in the early 1960's.¹³ In 1969 it was presented to the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia.

Several observations on Psusennes I and his era are in order. While the finds at Tanis yielded some quantities of gold and silver, the nature and scarcity of other monuments associated with the 21st Dynasty indicate that Egypt was in decline. For example, while Psusennes' inner coffin was of silver and he was provided with a gold mask comparable to that of Tutankhamun, the outer sarcophagi had been usurped from others.¹⁴ Aside from the tomb at Tanis, monuments of Psusennes are rather scarce, and he is considered one of the more significant characters in what is generally viewed as an obscure era of Egyptian history.

Egypt in the 21st Dynasty was a land split into two kingdoms: the north with Tanis as its capital and the south under the control of the priest-kings of Thebes.¹⁵ Despite this partition, the two kingdoms were at peace with each other. Throughout much of ancient Egyptian history the breakdown of the central authority often resulted in a less prosperous condition, which is reflected in part by a marked decrease in the size and number of monuments which were constructed. But one area in which the 21st Dynasty surpassed its more illustrious predecessors was in the selection of safe hiding places for royal mummies. At that time in Thebes, remnants of the mummies and funerary furnishings of the plundered tombs of the kings of the New Kingdom were gathered up and hidden in several well chosen tombs, where they remained safely concealed until the latter part of the nineteenth century of our own era.¹⁶ At Tanis, the courtyard of the great temple likewise served as a safe resting place until Montet's excavations. The final resting place (or places) of some of Psusennes' contemporaries, the priest-kings of Thebes, has yet to be found. Their discovery may be one of the next spectacular archaeological finds in Egypt.

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¹P. Montet, *Le nécropole royale de Tanis*, 3 vols. (Paris 1947-1960). The second volume, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psusennes à Tanis*, deals specifically with the materials from Psusennes' tomb.

²Montet, *Tanis 2*: passim.

³In recent years the Tutankhamun treasure has been the subject of numerous works, but the best account is that of H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, 3 vols. (London 1923-1933).

⁴Acc. no. 71.19, H. 7.6 cm. Ex coll. John Townsend. An "ushebty" means literally an "answerer." In the period prior to and into the New Kingdom these figures were known as *shawabty*, a term of uncertain meaning and origin. At that time their original function was to serve as a substitute for the mummy, should the body be damaged or destroyed. They may have continued in that capacity in the New Kingdom and later, but their prime function became that of substitute laborers in the next world. They were to answer "I will do it!" should the deceased be called upon to perform any conscript labor in the netherworld. It would appear that pharaoh, by reason of his rank and standing with the gods, would have been immune from forced labor, but apparently it was better to be safe than sorry. The figurines were generally made of wood, glazed faience, stone or (more rarely) of bronze. For general discussions of Egyptian funerary figurines, see L. Speleers, *Figurines funéraires égyptiennes* (Brussels 1923), W. M. F. Petrie, *Shabtis* (London 1935), J. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes* (Paris 1974) and H. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden 1977).

⁵H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois de l'Égypte* 3 (Cairo 1914) 289 ff.

⁶The Egyptians' love of organization was such that a large force of workmen (even magical workmen) without proper supervision was utterly unthinkable, hence the division of functions. An overseer was provided for each gang of ten workers. The numbers of figurines found in intact collections vary. Petrie (*Shabtis*, 13), for example, cited tallies of 365, 368, 394 and 403. The tendency was to have one worker figurine for each day of the year and ten percent of the total as overseers. A relatively recent publication of a bill of sale for a set of figurines gives the ideal count: 365 workers and 36 overseers, making a total of 401 figurines. See I. E. S. Edwards, "Bill of Sale for a set of Ushebty," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (JEA)* 57 (1971) 120-124.

⁷Several bronze and faience types are illustrated in Montet, *Tanis* 2, pl. 63. A bronze foreman figure is illustrated in P. A. Clayton, "Royal Bronze Shawabty Figures," *JEA* 58 (1972) pl. 34 (bottom right).

⁸Montet, *Tanis* 2:23 ff. Aubert, *Statuettes*, 154 ff., discusses the Psusennes materials from Tanis.

⁹Clayton, "Shawabty Figures," 167-168.

¹⁰P. A. Clayton, "Two Royal Bronze Figures," *Antiquaries Journal* 50 (1970) 347-348 and pl. 61. In this article Clayton published a privately owned Psusennes ushebty which is much like the Missouri specimen in size, style and decoration.

¹¹See Aubert, *Statuettes*, 154. Despite this discrepancy, he does not cite any publication later than the article mentioned in note 10 above. In 1974 the number of Psusennes figurines in the Cairo Museum was given as 188. Thanks to a donation from Steven Contoursi of Newport Beach, California, I was able to carry out various mini-projects in Egypt during the summer of 1984. While there, Edwin Brock (Director of the Canadian Institute in Egypt) and I counted 181 workers and 8 overseers in bronze, a total of 189. Dr. Mohammed Saleh, Director of the museum, assured me that all of the Psusennes figurines in their collection are on display.

¹²J. Bourriani, "Museum Acquisitions, 1977," *JEA* 65 (1979) 153 and pl. 26.4, published yet another Psusennes bronze which was among recent acquisitions of a museum in the United Kingdom. My guess is that Clayton was probably aware of it.

¹³The last private owner is thought to have purchased it from a dealer in the United States.

¹⁴Psusennes' outer sarcophagus of red granite had belonged to King Merneptah (fl. ca. 1215 B.C.) of the 19th Dynasty, while the inner sarcophagus of black stone was usurped from a non-royal burial. Cf. Montet, *Tanis* 2: 111 ff. and pls. 75-94, and 126 ff. and pls. 95-109 respectively. Psusennes' silver coffin and gold mask are illustrated on pls. 100-103 and 104-105.

¹⁵For several general accounts of the period, see J. Czerny, "Egypt from the Death of Rameses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *Cambridge Ancient History* 2, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 1975) 643-657 and A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (London 1961) 317 ff.

¹⁶The tomb of King Amenophis II (KV-35) in the Valley of the Kings and Tomb 320 at Deir el Bahari each contained caches of royal mummies. An extensive bibliography may be found in B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* 1, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1964) 554-555 (KV-35) and 658-667 (DB 320).

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