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A N N U A L O F T H E M U S E U M
O F A R T A N D A R C H A E O L O G Y

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BETTY J. CROUTHER



Curator of European and American Art Patricia Condon (center) and graduate students Claudia Schuck and David Montgomery track down paintings from 1839, the year when the university was founded. They and other graduate students are participating in the research for a major exhibition and catalog marking the university's sesquicentennial.

director's report

High among our museum's purposes is to help prepare graduate students for careers as museum professionals, art historians, and archaeologists. Every fall a seminar taught by the museum staff under my coordination gives graduate students a thorough grounding in museum practices. Topics range from the care of fragile objects to organizing educational programs to ethical problems to exhibition design.

In 1986 graduate students had an additional opportunity—a very special one—for museum-related study. The curator of European and American art, Dr. Patricia Condon, offered a seminar on the art and culture of the Western world in 1839. In that year the University of Missouri was founded, and Condon is organizing an ambitious exhibition to mark our sesquicentennial in 1989. As the photo on the facing page suggests, students were, and will continue to be, closely involved in the scholarly research necessary for the exhibition and catalog. They are simultaneously learning a great deal about how major exhibitions are conceived, developed, organized, and paid for.

Undergraduates and the general public are of course also important constituencies, and a variety of educational programs are designed for their needs. Academic coordinators Lois Shelton and Ann Guell sought out professors in designated departments, encouraging and assisting them to integrate use of the museum's exhibitions and collections into their courses. A particularly successful joint effort was a minicourse, cosponsored with the history department, on the civil rights movement and the arts. The course was taught by Professors Walter Daniel and Arvarh Strickland, and made use not only of the exhibition "Tradition and Conflict: Images of a Turbulent Decade, 1963–1973," but also of the special lectures, symposia, and films presented with it.

The docent program was enriched in 1986 by the graduation of seventeen trainees to full docent status. The docents gave a remarkable total of 230 tours for 5,870 primary and secondary school students and adults. Congratulations and hearty thanks are due the docents for their dedication and hard work.

The museum hosted several important temporary exhibitions in 1986. The highlight of the spring was "American Impressionist Paintings from the Phillips Collection," which featured works by Winslow Homer, Childe Hassam, J. Alden Weir, John Twachtman, and Maurice

Prendergast. The fall's primary exhibition was the "Turbulent Decade" show mentioned earlier. Organized by the Studio Museum in Harlem, it exemplified how black artists responded to the struggle for civil rights. Few visitors will forget such works as Mel Edwards's *Lynch Fragments* of 1963. Its iron chains, ax heads, and other threatening objects evoked the tortures to which the slaves and their descendants had sometimes been subjected.

A successful cooperation with the art department faculty members organizing the "Heart of America National Print Exhibition" allowed this large group of contemporary works to be divided between the Fine Arts Gallery and the museum for display. Two modest exhibitions from our own collection, chosen and organized by Patricia Condon, rounded out the year's schedule. These were "Works by the UMC Art Faculty" and "European Art since 1945."

Nineteen eighty-six also saw Dr. Condon's thorough rethinking and reinstallation of our gallery of European and American art. Several fine art works were borrowed from the Toledo Museum of Art, the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to help fill gaps in our collection. Some of our paintings were returned to storage, and others brought forth. In the resulting rearrangement, as visitors move through the gallery they not only proceed from the fifteenth century to the twentieth, but find southern European works on the right and northern on the left. The new scheme helps clarify the history of art for students.

Both the temporary exhibitions and the gallery reinstallation were accompanied by a variety of public educational and cultural events. Notable among these were an interdisciplinary symposium on impressionism in art, literature, and music; a special lecture on the collections of the Toledo Museum of Art by Toledo's senior curator, William Hutton; and a lecture by Mary Schmidt Campbell, director of the Studio Museum in Harlem.

Visitors to the museum are struck by how small our galleries are. They may not be aware that the staff work spaces and art storerooms have for years been overcrowded and inadequate. We struggle to make the best use of the space available. In 1986 pedestals, cases, and exhibition supplies were moved to an off-campus warehouse, freeing a little additional space in the museum. Conservator Maura Cornman masterminded a major rearrangement of the art storerooms to make them more efficient and to gain eighty square feet for paintings.

Overcrowding in storage was also slightly alleviated by the continuing process of careful removal from the collection of objects not useful for display, research, or teaching. In 1986 the executive committee, acting on the recommendations of the staff, voted to deaccession over 300 pre-Columbian, African, Oceanic, and North American Indian artifacts, and European and American decorative objects.

The development of the collection, to fill gaps and add works of very high quality, continued. Funds from the sale of deaccessioned objects were used to buy a fine eleventh-century central Indian sculpture. The European collection's lack of neoclassical paintings was

in part filled by the purchase of Antoine-Jean-Joseph Ansiaux's *Alexander, Apelles, and Campaspe*.

Because we are all too seldom able to buy a significant work, we rely heavily on the generosity of our donors. Among the most notable gifts of 1986 were an Ernest Trova sculpture from Mr. and Mrs. Adam Aronson, a third or fourth century image of the bodhisattva Maitreya from Alan and Ann Wolfe, an early south Indian stone sculpture of the goddess Durga from Mrs. Carol Brewster, a group of pre-Columbian Peruvian textiles and other objects from an anonymous donor, and a landscape by Frederick Oakes Sylvester from Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever. Dozens of other art works given by our friends enriched the collections. We cannot thank them all individually here. The works they have given are sincerely appreciated, however, and will be studied and enjoyed by thousands of visitors.

Like improving the collection, the task of researching the works it includes is ongoing. Every year, the object files, holding student papers, correspondence, and the curator's notes, get thicker. Also, whenever we can, we take pleasure in facilitating the research of our campus colleagues. In a recent instance we borrowed from the J. Paul Getty Museum two small ancient Corinthian vases in the shape of hares for Professor William R. Biers of the Department of Art History and Archaeology. Professor Biers is investigating what such vases originally contained. Working with Scott Searles, professor of chemistry, and Klaus Gerhardt, research chemist in the College of Agriculture, he employs a non-destructive method of extracting samples of organic material from the ceramic body of such vases. The samples are then subjected to gas chromatography/mass spectrometry. Professor Biers will report his findings in Copenhagen in the fall of 1987.

The conservator and her assistants had a busy year. First, they completed the cleaning and rematting of the Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney painting collection in Jesse Hall. Then they carried out major or minor treatments on seventy-four museum objects, from ceramic vessels to stone sculptures. Finally, they undertook the first complete conservation survey since 1979 of the more than 11,000 objects in the museum's collection. This survey provides the information needed to allow both short-term and long-term conservation priorities to be set properly.

Several staff members moved on in 1986, and others joined us. Assistant Director David Butler decided to pursue a Ph.D. in art history at Washington University. David was a highly talented writer, museum educator, and administrator, and we have missed him both as a coworker and as a friend. Also much missed is Betsy Windisch, secretary and tour coordinator. For seven years Betsy worked effectively with the docent program while performing a myriad of other tasks, and always maintained her pleasant good humor.

New staff members included Howard Wilson, chief preparator and graphics designer, and Kristin Diener, who replaced Jim Rehard as assistant preparator. To our outgoing staff members we wish the best of luck, and to the new, welcome.

An extremely tight budget made 1986 a rather difficult year. Also, though small improvements have been made, no long-term solution to the museum's acute shortage of space is in sight. Somehow, though, with the help of our many supporters inside and outside the university, we continue to make modest progress. We look to the future with hope and enthusiasm.

FORREST MCGILL
Director

report of the museum associates

Nineteen eighty-six was a banner year for Museum Associates. We opened the evening of January 9 with a gala dinner at the chancellor's residence, after which we moved to the museum for dessert and a preview of "American Impressionist Paintings from the Phillips Collection," a dazzling exhibit that made the museum's walls shimmer with color and excitement. It was an unforgettable evening befitting one of the finest exhibits the museum has ever had.

The annual meeting on Sunday, April 13, 1986, featured a report on the museum by Forrest McGill and a discussion on "Museum Associates and the Community." A reception followed. Throughout the year we were hosts for a number of receptions at the museum, including one for the opening of the "Heart of America National Printmaking Exhibition" and one for Mary Schmitt Campbell, the lecturer for the opening of "The Turbulent Decade" on Sunday, November 2. We were hosts to the Central Columbia Association at a small reception preceding their meeting at the museum on September 17. The annual birthday party was on November 14, and a grand time was had by all.

The year saw the departure of three active and strong supporters of Museum Associates from the museum. Betsy Windisch left to accept another position on the campus, and David Butler, the assistant director, left to begin work on his Ph.D. at Washington University in St. Louis. Carol Inge, the secretary of Museum Associates, resigned to accept a position with the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City. We will miss all of them and wish them well in their new endeavors.

The popular "After Hours at the Museum," the informal get-togethers held on Friday afternoons to celebrate the end of the work week, continued to be very successful. The social committee did a grand job in providing exquisite refreshments, and Jeannette Thompson obtained excellent speakers who both informed and entertained. They will be continued in 1987.

The trip to Washington was a resounding success enjoyed by all who went. The trip to New York planned for the fall had to be cancelled when not enough signed up to make it possible. Patricia

Atwater and Jane Biers, co-chairs of the Travel Committee, are planning trips for 1987 and beyond, including one to Portugal. Watch for the announcements.

The museum shop is a major source of funds for us, and sales were up in 1986. Proceeds from the sale of jewelry, reproductions of works of art, books, postcards, and note paper—all related to the museum's collection—go into our acquisition fund. A large number of volunteers give generously of their time in staffing the shop. In the absence of Florene Fratcher from Columbia, Barbara Carr served as shop manager, and we thank her and all her volunteers for their assistance.

Museum Associates was able to assist the museum with a one-time emergency grant towards its current operating expenses when the museum found itself in a financial exigency. While we prefer to provide funds for new acquisitions and projects which the university cannot give, keeping the lights on and the doors open is necessary, albeit unglamorous. The board very graciously responded to the request by Forrest McGill for help in this emergency.

The board voted to forgo the purchase of an annual gift and instead to accumulate revenue in our acquisition fund to be used for the purchase of a major gift at some time in the future. Our goal is that by 1988 the fund, augmented with interest from the Gilbreath-McLorn endowment, will amount to over \$100,000. An auction to raise a substantial amount is planned for the fall of 1987. We are confident that we will exceed our goal. The Tax Reform Act of 1986 will doubtless cause a drop in gifts-in-kind to the museum, and Museum Associates must make efforts to develop and find new sources of financial support in our community and state.

Museum Associates' income is up. We still need, however, to increase our membership and grow. The museum needs to become better known in the community. We encourage all to come and enjoy its treasures and participate in the social and cultural events here. It is the jewel of the Columbia campus. New members are wanted and welcome.

I want to express my appreciation and gratitude to all the members of Museum Associates, the board of directors, officers, committee chairs, and staff of the museum for their warm and enthusiastic support of Museum Associates. Their contributions of time, talents, and monies to the museum enable it to grow and serve the university and community effectively. Our future is bright, and we look forward to 1987 and the years beyond.

ELIZABETH E. PARRIGIN
President

exhibitions

"American Impressionist Paintings from the Phillips Collection," January 10–February 23. Sponsored by the Missouri Arts Council and the National Endowment for the Arts through their participation in the Mid-American Arts Alliance; IBM; and the Columbia Commission on the Arts. The exhibition featured works by American impressionists and their predecessors and successors, such as Winslow Homer, Childe Hassam, John Twachtman, and Maurice Prendergast.



A view of the installation of "American Impressionist Paintings from the Phillips Collection," January 10–February 23.

“UMC Department of Art Faculty Exhibition: Works from the Permanent Collection,” February 27–March 16. Highlighted were paintings, sculptures, drawings, and prints by present and former art department faculty from the museum’s collection.

“Heart of America National Printmaking Exhibition,” March 29–April 27. The prints in this exhibition—by artists from around the country—were chosen by Ofelia Garcia, president of the Atlanta College of Art. The exhibition was organized by the Department of Art and shared with the Fine Arts Gallery.

European and American Gallery Reinstallation, from September 6. The arrangement of the gallery was completely rethought to make it increasingly useful for teaching. Paintings and sculptures on loan from the Toledo Museum of Art, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art were included.

A view of the reinstalled gallery of European and American art.



"Tradition and Conflict: Images of a Turbulent Decade, 1963–1973,"
November 1–January 4, 1987. Works by forty-two black American
artists on themes related to the civil rights movement brought to life a
decade of unrest, violence, and slow progress.

*A view of the installation
of "Tradition and Conflict:
Images of a Turbulent
Decade, 1963–1973."*



loans out

To the Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology, a Hellenistic Homeric bowl, for the exhibition "Poets and Heroes" November 1986–February 1987.

To the Washington University Gallery of Art, seven ancient Egyptian objects including a bronze model of a sacred boat and a female mummy mask, for the exhibition "The Mummy Returns" June 15–August 24, 1986.

To Laumeier Sculpture Park, St. Louis, Frank Stella's print *Puerto Rican Blue Pigeon*, for an exhibition of Stella's works June 15–August 31, 1986.

To the Edith C. Blum Art Institute, the Bard College Center, Annondale-on-Hudson, New York, a Greek bronze handle attachment with the head of Herakles, for the exhibition "Herakles, the Celebration of a Classical Hero" March 1–May 31, 1986.



Handle Attachment with Head of Herakles, Greece, late 4th c. B.C., bronze (58.2).

events

Lectures

February 18

Patricia Condon, curator of European and American art, "Sincerely humble before the great masters, J. A. D. Ingres, Peintre d'Histoire."

April 5

Ofelia Garcia, president of the Atlanta College of Art, "Heart of America National Printmaking Exhibition," co-sponsored by the UMC Department of Art and the University Lecture Series.

September 5

William Hutton, senior curator of the Toledo Museum of Art, "The Collections of the Toledo Museum of Art."

October 15

Forrest McGill, director and curator of Asian Art, "The Eight-Petaled Lotus and the Nine Gems: Thoughts on Buddhist Art and Cosmology."

October 22

Roger Ward, curator of European art of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, "Looking at Frames for Old Master Paintings."

November 2

Mary Schmidt Campbell, director of the Studio Museum in Harlem, "Images of a Turbulent Decade."

Midday Gallery Events

January 29

Lecture by Carol Inge, assistant curator, "American Impressionist Paintings."

February 5

Lecture by Barbara Johnson, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Minor Art in the Roman World."

February 12

Lecture by Deborah M. Pearsall, Department of Anthropology, "Pre-Columbian Peruvian Textiles."

February 19

Lecture by Frank Stack, Department of Art, "American Impressionism Seen through a Painter's Eyes."

February 26

concert: Esterhazy Quartet.

March 5

Lecture by Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, "Early Cultures in Anatolia: A Look at the New Installation in the Weinberg Gallery."

March 12

Lecture by Moses Moore, Department of History and Department of Religious Studies, "The African/Afro-American Connection."

March 26

Concert: Edward Thaden, harpsichord.

April 2

Lecture by Brooke Cameron, Department of Art, "The Techniques of Printmaking #1."

April 9

Concert: Missouri Arts Quintet.

April 16

Lecture by Brooke Cameron and students, Department of Art, "The Techniques of Printmaking #2."

April 23

Lecture by Brooke Cameron and students, Department of Art, "The Techniques of Printmaking #3."

April 30

Lecture by Laurel Wilson, Department of Clothing and Textiles, "Greek Textiles and Costume."

September 17

Lecture by Patricia Condon, curator of European and American art, "A Rationale for the Reinstallation of the European and American Gallery."

September 24

Lecture by Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, "Three Legs and a Horse's Head: A Bronze Blazon from a Greek Shield."

October 1

Lecture by William Bondeson, Professor, Department of Philosophy, "These Are a Few of My Favorite Things...."

October 8

Lecture by Vera Townsend, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Contemporary European Art in the Modern Gallery."

October 15

Lecture by Carole Myscowski, Department of Religious Studies, "Symbols in Goddess Religions in Old Europe."

October 22

Concert: Lynn Wosilait, fretted dulcimer.

October 29

Lecture by Maura Cornman, conservator, "The Art of the Craquelure."

November 5

Lecture by Patricia Condon, curator of European and American Art, "The Turbulent Decade Exhibition as Art."

November 12

Lecture by Amparo Torres, graduate student, Department of Clothing and Textiles, "Pre-Columbian Textiles: Ancient Peruvian Weaving Techniques."

November 19

Lecture by Horace Peterson, executive director, The Black Archives of Mid-America, "Civil Rights and Black Culture."

December 3

Lecture by Lois Bryant, Department of Child and Family Development, and Frances Jones Sneed, Graduate School, "Aunt Jemima: Women Confronting Black Stereotypes."

Lunchtime Getaways

June 11

Lecture by Peter Gardner, Department of Anthropology, "Pausing in Ancient Japanese Gardens: A Photographic Account."

June 18

Lecture by Claudia Barbero, graduate student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Francis John Wyburd's *Lallah Rookh*: A Turkish Delight."

June 25

Lecture by Forrest McGill, director and curator of Asian Art, "Art and Architecture of Southeast Asia."

July 9

Lecture by Laurel Wilson, Department of Clothing and Textiles, "Historic Costume: A Reflection of the Times."

July 16

Lecture by Patricia Condon, curator of European and American art, "European Art Since 1945: Highlights of the Current Exhibition."

July 23

Lecture by Osmund Overby, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "The Architecture of China."

Films

January 9

In Open Air: A Portrait of the American Impressionists.

July 2

Meaning in Modern Art.

November 23

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. . . . An Amazing Grace.

Symposium

February 9

Interdisciplinary symposium, "Impressionism in Art, Literature, and Music." Richard Hocks and Thomas Quirk of the Department of English; Michael Budds of the Department of Music; Patricia Crown and Osmund Overby of the Department of Art History and Archaeology; and Patricia Condon of the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

Panel Discussion

November 9

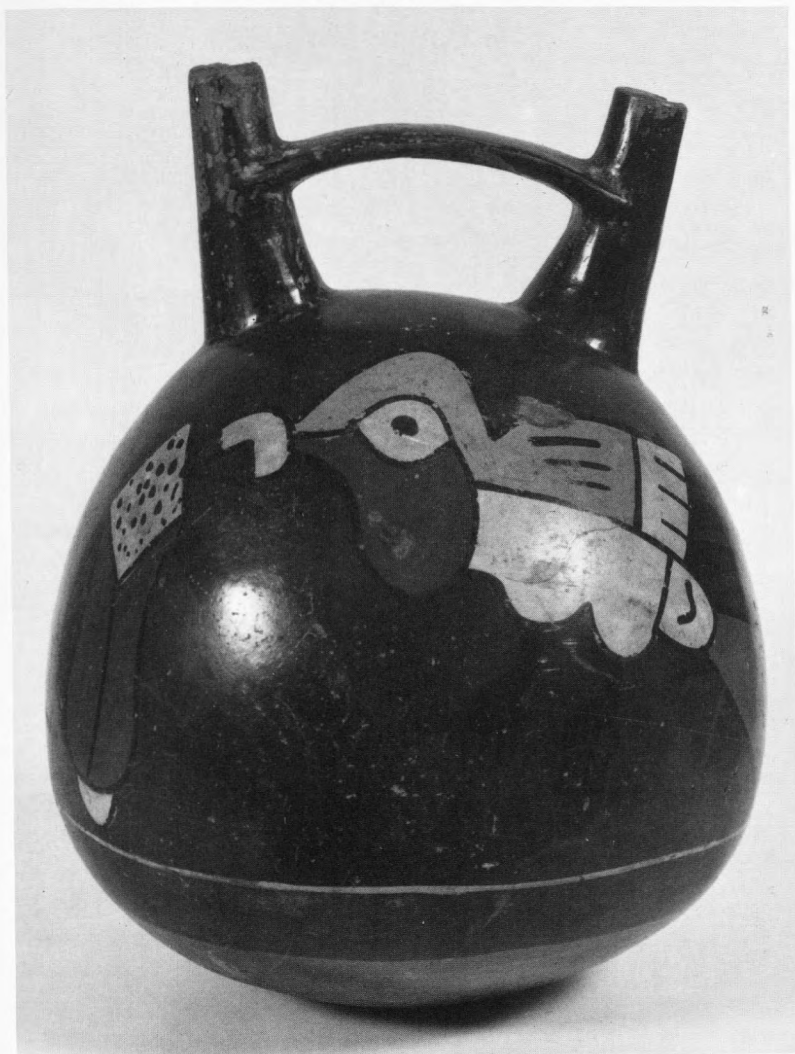
"The Civil Rights Movement in Columbia," Wynna Faye Elbert, George Brooks, and SarahBelle Jackson.

acquisitions 1985

South American Art

Peru

Double-Spouted Vessel with Bird Motifs, Central Coast, Nazca culture, ca. 200, ceramic (219), Anonymous gift



Peruvian vessel (219).

Fragment of a Garment, Central Coast, late Nazca culture, ca. 800, wool and cotton (218), Anonymous gift

Fragment of a Garment, Central Coast, late Nazca culture, ca. 800, wool and cotton, Anonymous gift

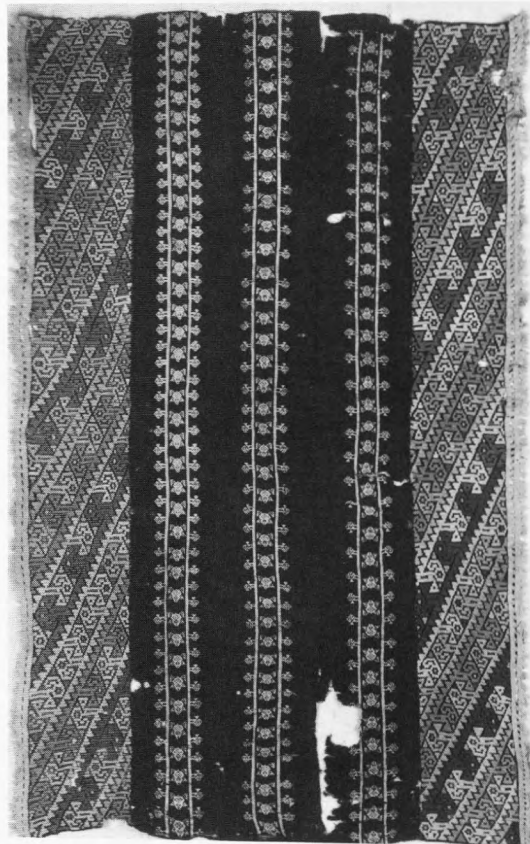
Six Fragments of a Garment or Garments, Central Coast, late Nazca culture, ca. 800, wool and cotton (216), Anonymous gift

Fragment of a Textile Depicting a Fanged Deity, Central Coast, probably Carwas, Chavin culture, ca. 800 B.C., cotton (210), Anonymous gift

Three Plumes, South Coast, ca. 1000, feathers, strings, and leaves (207–209), Anonymous gift

Two Mummy Masks, South Coast, ca. 1000, wool, feathers, hair, and copper (205,206), Anonymous gifts

Multicolored Textile with Bird and Frog Motifs, Central Coast, Chancay culture, ca. 1200, cotton and wool (204), Anonymous gift



Peruvian textile (204).



Ecuador

*Figures from Ecuador
(211–215).*

*Three Heads of Figures and Two Upper Portions of Female Figures,
Valdivia, ca. 3000-2000 B.C., terracotta (211–215), Anonymous gift*

East Asian Art

China

Hsieh Chih-Kuang (Xie Zhiguang), 1899–1977, *Landscape*, ink and pigment on paper (19), gift of Gladys and Saul Weinberg in honor of Ruth Witt on her retirement

Chia Chin-teh, *Calligraphy*, 1957, ink on paper (134), gift of Margaret Carney Long and Howard Rusk Long in memory of the Boone County Long family



Hsieh Chih-Kuang, Landscape (19).

Yu Ju-jen, *Calligraphy*, 1957–58, ink on paper, gift of Margaret Carney Long and Howard Rusk Long in memory of the Boone County Long family

Con Teh-cheng, *Calligraphy*, 1957, ink on paper (135), gift of Margaret Carney Long and Howard Long in memory of the Boone County Long family

Anonymous, *Calligraphy*, 20th c., ink on rice paper (103), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

South Asian Art

Pakistan

Bracket Terminating in a Winged Female, Gandharan, 2nd–3rd c., terracotta (165), gift of Alan and Ann Wolfe

Head of a Woman, Gandharan, 2nd–4th c., terracotta (164), gift of Alan and Ann Wolfe



Head of a woman from Pakistan (164).

Islamic Art

Two Isnik Style Tiles with Floral Designs, probably Syria, Ottoman, late 16th–early 17th c., said to have come from Louis Comfort Tiffany's home, Laurelton Hall, glazed earthenware (161, 162), gift of David T. Owsley

Anonymous, India, *A Nobleman (Khet Singh?) Holding a Falcon*, India, Mughal period, 17th–18th c., paint on paper (127), gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever

Anonymous, India, *A Nobleman (Kusal Singh?) Holding Three Roses*, India, Mughal period, 17th–18th c., paint on paper (126), gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever

Anonymous, *Text Page from the "Shahnama" by Firdausi*, Iran, probably 18th c., ink and gilding on paper (128), Anonymous gift in memory of John-Ross Berneche

West Asian Art

Anatolia

Vessel Handle in the Form of a Human Head, Neolithic, Hacilar VI, ca. 5670–5600 B.C., ceramic (26), Weinberg Fund purchase

Monochrome Red Jar with Lid, Early Chalcolithic, Hacilar V(?), ca. 5600–5550 B.C., ceramic (27), Weinberg Fund purchase

Small Jar, Early Chalcolithic, Hacilar V, ca. 5600–5550 B.C., ceramic (24), Weinberg Fund purchase

Small Carinated Bowl, Early Chalcolithic, Hacilar IIA, ca. 5400–5325(?) B.C., ceramic (25), Weinberg Fund purchase

Large Carinated Bowl, Early Chalcolithic, Hacilar I, ca. 5250–5000 B.C., ceramic (28), Weinberg Fund purchase

Oval Carinated Mug, Early Chalcolithic, Hacilar I, ca. 5250–5000 B.C., ceramic (23), Weinberg Fund purchase

Axehead, Hacilar (?), stone (40), Weinberg Fund purchase

Two Miniature Tripod Jugs, Yortan culture, EB I-II, ca. 3500–2700 B.C., ceramic (29,30), Weinberg Fund purchase

Four-Legged Jar and Lid, Yortan culture, EB I-II, ca. 3500–2700 B.C., ceramic (31), Weinberg Fund purchase



Hacilar vessels from Anatolia (23, 24, 25, 27, 28).

Tripod Jar, Yortan culture, EB I-II, ca. 3500–2700 B.C., ceramic (32), Weinberg Fund purchase

Miniature Bird-shaped Vase, Yortan culture, EB I-II, ca. 3500–2700 B.C., ceramic (33), Weinberg Fund purchase

Red Slipped Jug with Flanged Rim, Yortan culture, EB I-II, ca. 3500–2700 B.C., ceramic (34), Weinberg Fund purchase

Black Polished Jug with Cutaway Spout, Yortan culture, EB I-II, ca. 3500–2700 B.C., ceramic (35), Weinberg Fund purchase

Small Dish, Yortan culture, EB, ca. 3500–2000 B.C., stone (39), Weinberg Fund purchase

Three Spindle Whorls, Yortan culture, EB, ca. 3500–2000 B.C., terracotta (36–38), Weinberg Fund purchase

Fibula, Iron Age, bronze (55), Weinberg Fund purchase

Seal, 8th–7th c. B.C., stone (54), Weinberg Fund purchase

Palestine

Two-Handled Bag-Shaped Jar, EB I, 3100–2900 B.C., ceramic (16), Weinberg Fund purchase

Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware Juglet, MB IIB-C, 1730–1550 B.C., ceramic (15), Weinberg Fund purchase

Carinated Bowl, MB IIB-C, 1730–1550 B.C., ceramic (7), gift of Dan P. Barag

Juglet, MB II, 2000–1550 B.C., ceramic (13), Weinberg Fund purchase

Painted Jar, MB II, 2000–1550 B.C., ceramic (12), Weinberg Fund purchase

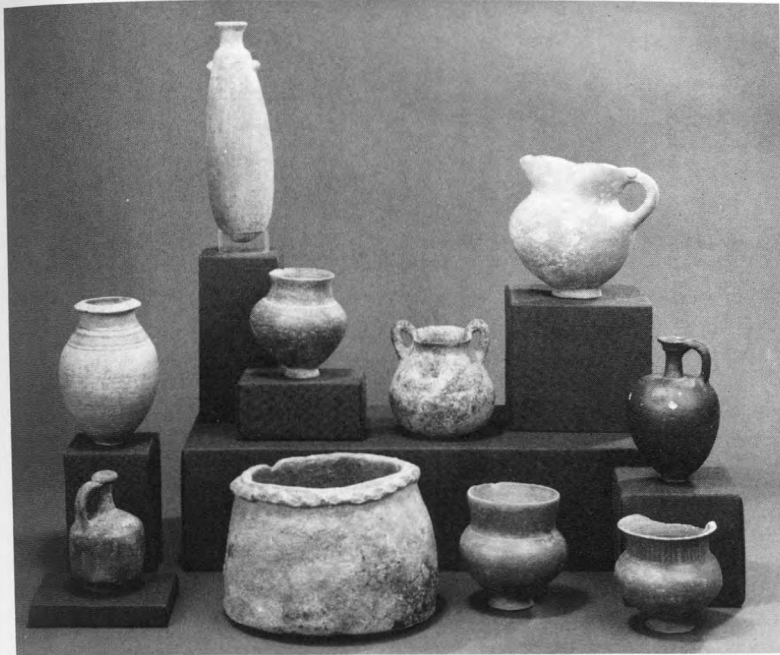
Cooking Pot, MB II, 2000–1550 B.C., (said to have been found with #14), ceramic (11), Weinberg Fund purchase

Jug, MB II, 2000–1550 B.C., ceramic (14), Weinberg Fund purchase

Three Red Burnished Carinated Bowls, MB II, 2000–1550 B.C., ceramic (8–10), Weinberg Fund purchase

Footed Bowl (chalice), Kataret es-Samra, Jordan, LB II, 1400–1200 B.C., ceramic (61.1), gift of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Footed Bowl, Kataret es-Samra, Jordan, LB II, 1400–1200 B.C., ceramic (61.2), gift of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan



Vessels from Palestine
(8–17).

Carinated Bowl, Kataret es-Samra, Jordan, LB II, 1400–1200 B.C., ceramic (61.3), gift of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

One-Handled Biconical Bichrome Ware Jug, Kataret es-Samra, Jordan, LB II, 1400–1200 B.C., ceramic (61.4), gift of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Lamp, Kataret es-Samra, Jordan, LB II, 1400–1200 B.C., ceramic (61.5), gift of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Large Dipper Juglet, Kataret es-Samra, Jordan, LB II, 1400–1200 B.C., ceramic (61.6), gift of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Painted Amphoriskos, Kataret es-Samra, Jordan, LB II, 1400–1200 B.C., ceramic (61.7), gift of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Alabastron, ca. 6th c. B.C., ceramic (17), Weinberg Fund purchase

Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art

Greek

One-third Stater, Lydia, late 7th–6th c. B.C., electrum (1), anonymous gift

Obol, Athens, ca. 500 B.C., silver (2), gift of Museum Associates and Weinberg Fund purchase

Obol, Syracuse, 480–470 B.C., silver (3), gift of Museum Associates



Greek figure of Pan (59).

Hemidrachm, Syracuse, 420–400 B.C., silver (4), gift of Museum Associates

Obol, Syracuse, 295–289 B.C., gold (5), gift of Museum Associates

Coin, Pisidia, Sagalassus, Hellenistic–early Roman, bronze (202), Weinberg Fund purchase

Core-formed Alabastron, Turkey, mid 6th–early 4th c. B.C., glass (44), Weinberg Fund purchase

Core-formed Amphoriskos, Turkey, mid 6th–early 4th c. B.C., glass (43), Weinberg Fund purchase

Two Core-formed Aryballoi, Turkey, mid 6th–early 4th c. B.C., glass (41,42), Weinberg Fund purchase

Snake Ring, Turkey, Late Hellenistic, gold (46), Weinberg Fund purchase

Sheet Metal Fragment, Turkey, Archaic period, bronze (60), Weinberg Fund purchase

Pan, Turkey, 5th–3rd c. B.C., bronze (59), Weinberg Fund purchase

Weight (one quarter of a *mina*) with bull and inscription in relief, Syria, Seleucid, late 3rd to early 1st c. B.C., bronze (6), Weinberg Fund purchase

Unguentarium, Hellenistic, 2nd c. B.C., ceramic (173), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin



Seleucid weight (6).

Male Head (Zeus), Turkey, Hellenistic, terracotta (56), Weinberg Fund purchase

Female Head, Turkey, Hellenistic, terracotta (57), Weinberg Fund purchase

Standing Woman Holding a Child, Greek, terracotta (189), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

South Italian

Miniature Echinus Bowl, Campanian, end of 4th c. B.C., ceramic (196), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Miniature Black-Glazed Lekanis and Lid, Campanian, 2nd c. B.C., ceramic (195), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Nine Sherds, Campanian, 2nd c. B.C., ceramic (277.1–9), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Youth Holding a Libation Vessel, South Italian, Hellenistic, terracotta (188), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Etruscan

Bucchero Ware Kantharos, ca. 630–620 B.C., ceramic (172), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Skyphos, Cerveteri, Italy, 7th–6th c. B.C., ceramic (198), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Bucchero Ware Kylix, 7th–6th c. B.C., ceramic (171), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Alabastron, Etrusco-Corinthian, ca. 600 B.C., ceramic (174), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Aryballos, Etrusco-Corinthian, 6th c. B.C., ceramic (175), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Footed Plate, Genucilia Group, 4th c. B.C., ceramic (170), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Bucchero Ware Footed Bowl, ceramic (185), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Altar with Dolphins in Relief on Sides, Cerveteri, Italy, terracotta (191), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Roman

Flask, 1st or 2nd c., glass (200), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Flask, 1st or 2nd c., glass (199), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Flask, 2nd c. B.C., glass (201), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Intaglio Gem with Ritual Scene and Inscription, Turkey, Imperial period, jasper (53), Weinberg Fund purchase

Hair Pin, 1st or 2nd c., silver (203), Betsy Worrell Memorial Fund purchase, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Steve Archer and Steven, Richard G. Baumann, Professor Joel Brereton, John and Pam Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Marc deChazal, Miriam Dyak, Mrs. Anna Margaret Fields, Mrs. William F. Fratcher, Phoebe and Bob Goodman, Mrs. Henry W. Hamilton, Katharine C. Hunvald, Mrs. Emma Jean McKinin, Clotilde M. Moller, Mrs. Barbara Nowell, Catherine Neal Parke, Mrs. Charles Proctor, Mrs. John Randolph, Hazel Riback, Dr. Neil Riley, Arthur J. and Betty D. Robins, Veva and Rob Spier, Professor Carla Waal, Saul and Gladys Weinberg, and Mrs. Arthur Witt, Jr.

Pair of Earrings, Turkey, probably 2nd c., gold (51), Weinberg Fund purchase

Pair of Earrings, Turkey, mid 3rd c. (?), gold, glass, and garnets (48), Weinberg Fund purchase

Pair of Earrings, Turkey, 3rd c., gold and sapphires (49), Weinberg Fund purchase

Pair of Earrings, Turkey, 3rd c., gold and glass (50), Weinberg Fund purchase

Intaglio Pendant, Turkey, probably 3rd c., gold and carnelian (52), Weinberg Fund purchase

Necklace, Turkey, 3rd–4th c., gold and sapphires (45), Weinberg Fund purchase

Lamp, 1st c., terracotta (184), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Lamp with Horse and Human Bust on Discus, 1st c., terracotta (180), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Lamp with Dolphin on Discus, late 1st–early 2nd c., terracotta (179), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Lamp with Deer and Hounds on Discus, 2nd–3rd c., terracotta (181), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Lamp, 3rd–early 5th c., terracotta (182), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Pair of Cymbals with Greek Inscriptions and Parts of Chain, 2nd c. (?), bronze (124), gift of Mr. Robert Haber in honor of Saul and Gladys Weinberg

M. Perennius Bargathes, *Arretine Ware Bowl with Relief Decoration*, Augustan period, 30 B.C.—A.D. 14, ceramic (130), gift of Mr. Joseph Audi, Renee E. and Robert A. Belfer Philanthropic Fund, Mr. Gawain McKinley, Mrs. Thomas O. Mabbott, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas M. Mier, Charles and Dorothy Mullett, Hazel Riback, Arthur J. and Betty D. Robins, and Mr. Irwin Vladimir



M. Perennius Bargathes,
Arretine ware bowl (130).

Unguentarium, 1st c. B.C.—2nd c. after Christ, ceramic (176), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Unguentarium, 1st c. B.C.—2nd c. after Christ, ceramic (177), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Vase, ceramic (186), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Juglet, ceramic (187), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Amphora Base, ceramic (190), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Coarse Ware Bowl, ceramic (194), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Eighteen Sherds, Imperial period, ceramic (268.1—276.5), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Mask, Turkey, terracotta (58), Weinberg Fund purchase

Fragmentary Animal, terracotta (192), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Pyramidal Loom Weight, terracotta (197), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Byzantine Art

Lamp, 7th–8th c., terracotta (183), gift of Dr. Allen A. Heflin

Pair of Earrings with Granulation, Turkey, 10th c. or later, gold (47), Weinberg Fund purchase



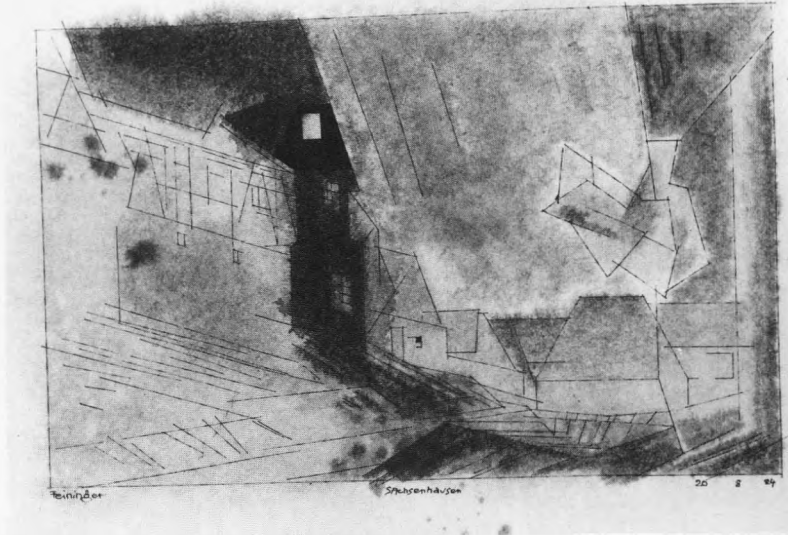
Byzantine earrings (47).

European and American Art

Paintings

Walter Barker, American, b. Germany, 1921, *Far Away*, West Southport, Maine, 1975, watercolor and ink on paper (114); *High*, West Southport, Maine, 1975, watercolor and ink on paper (112); *Island*, West Southport, Maine, 1975, watercolor and ink on paper (115); *Maine Space*, West Southport, Maine, 1975, watercolor and ink on paper (113), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Dusti Bongé, American, b. 1906, *Forgotten Dynasties*, oil on masonite panel (91), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation



Lyonel Feininger, Sachsenhausen (18).

Cosado, *Post War*, watercolor and ink on paper (94), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Joy Egnel, Swedish, *Happy Morning*, 1965, oil on paper (63), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Lyonel Feininger, American, 1871–1956, *Sachsenhausen*, 1924, watercolor and ink on laid paper (18), gift of the Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee

José Guerrero, American, b. Spain, 1914, *Blue Mutations*, 1958, oil on canvas (93), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

D. Harfield, *The Hill Is Full*, watercolor on paper (68), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Marjorie Liebman, American, *Acapulco Nite Theme*, 1958, watercolor on paper (79); *The Actress*, oil on canvas (70); *Baroque Passages*, 1958, gouache, magic marker on gouache, and charcoal on paper (73); *Holy Week Fantasy in Santa Semana*, 1958, watercolor and gouache on artist's board (71); *Holy Week in Taxco, Candlelight Procession*, 1958, oil on paper (77); *Holy Week in Taxco, Santa Semana Theme*, 1958, oil on paper (81); *Of Domes and Arches*, 1958, oil on paper (74); *Of Sun and Water*, 1958, oil on paper (78); *Penitentes*, 1958, gouache on artist's board (75); *Sylvan Abstraction*, watercolor, pastel and charcoal on paper (83); *Taxco Revisited*, 1957, watercolor (69); *Untitled*, 1948, gouache and charcoal on artist's board (72); *Untitled*, 1958, watercolor on paper (80), gifts of the Betty Parsons Foundation



Ary Marbain, *Untitled*, 1947, oil on paper (66); *Untitled*, 1947, oil on paper (67), gifts of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Conrad di Marca-Relli, *Untitled* (92).

Conrad di Marca-Relli, American, b. 1913, *Untitled*, oil on canvas (92), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Jeanne Owens, American, d. 1981, *Monkey with Parrot*, acrylic on panel (221), gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever

Luigi Parzini, Italian, b. 1925, *Untitled*, 1964, oil on canvas (96), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

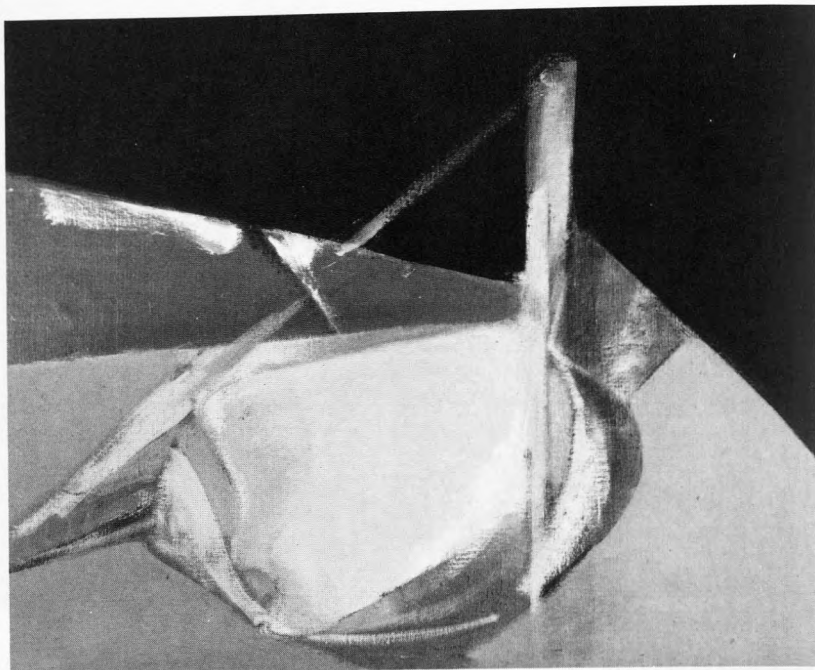
Leslie Powell, American, b. 1906, *Untitled*, watercolor, ink, and pencil on paper (105), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Thomas Stokes, *Untitled*, 1963, oil on canvas (89), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Michael Stuart, *Three Untitled Works*, 1948, ink and resin on paper (116–118), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Hugo Weber, American, b. Switzerland, 1918–1971, *Untitled*, 1953, oil on wood panel (97); *Untitled*, 1958, watercolor (98), gifts of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Luigi Parzini, *Untitled*
(96).



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Robert Bussabarger, American, b. 1922, *View of Mexico City*, 1967, pastel on paper (132), gift of the artist

Paulo, *Nativity*, 1965, pastel on paper (86), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Anonymous, *Untitled*, pastel on paper (86), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Anonymous, *Untitled*, paster on paper (87), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

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Marjorie Liebman, American, *Street in the Rain*, 1958, collage with gouache, watercolor, paper, and foil (82), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Elizabeth McFadden, American, *Untitled*, Collage with cloth, cardboard, paint, and paper (99), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Berry Weissman, *No More but Alot*, 1971, collage with watercolor, ink, colored pencil, and paper (65); *Tonically Speaking*, 1971, collage with watercolor, ink, colored pencil, and paper (64), gifts of the Betty Parsons Foundation

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Kenneth M. Adams, American, 1897–1966, *Francisca*, 1957, lithograph (136); *Taos Indian*, 1957, lithograph (137), gifts of Harry and Ann Cohen

Grace Albee, American, b. 1890, *Out of Warren...*, 1958, wood engraving (138), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Richard Black, American, b. 1932, *Candy Mountain: Two*, 1982, lithograph (223); *Color Fragments*, 1982, soft ground etching (229); *English Tea Cup*, 1983, lithograph (225); *Feather Watch*, 1983, lithograph (224); *Quantum Two*, 1982, soft ground etching (228); *Totem Tablet: Purple Wing*, 1982, soft ground etching (227); *Totem Tablet: Red Cloud*, 1982, soft ground etching (226), all gifts of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Peter Bodnar, Czechoslovakian, b. 1928, *Untitled*, 1982, lithograph (230); *Untitled*, 1983, lithograph (231); *Untitled*, 1983, lithograph (232); *Untitled*, 1983, lithograph (233); *Untitled*, 1983, lithograph (234); *Untitled*, 1982, soft ground etching and aquatint (235); gifts of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Fiske Boyd, American, 1895–1975, *Concept*, 1951, woodcut (139), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Alexander Brook, American, 1898–1980, lithograph (140), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

John Cage, American, b. 1912, *Haiku*, 1952, zinc line cut (102), gift of Betty Parsons Foundation

Greg Constantine, Canadian, b. 1938, the series *Van Gogh Visits New York*, including "Vincent Painting Coney Island on a Sunday Afternoon" (236), "Vincent Goes Bar Hopping Early Sunday Morning" (237), "Vincent Paints July 4th Fireworks over Manhattan" (238), "Vincent Defends New Wave Art" (239), "Vincent Sees Kirk Douglas at the Premiere of 'Lust for Life'", "Vincent Attends 'Homage to Van Gogh' Exhibit at MOMA" (241), gifts of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Stevan Dohanos, American, b. 1907, *After Snowfall*, 1932, linocut (144); *Backyards*, 1932, linocut (146); *Circus Elephants*, 1932, lithograph (142); *Connecticut Yankee*, 1932, lithograph (143); *Onions in Basket*, 1932, linocut (147); *Venice Gondolas*, 1932, linocut (148); *Winter Morning*, 1932, linocut (145), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Annie Dowhie, American, *Los Fuegos Artificiales*, 1982, lithograph (249), gift of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Leonard Edward Dowhie, Jr., American, b. 1948, *Dos Equis and Alewives for Jane*, 1982, lithograph (250), gift of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Philip Evergood, American, 1901–1973, *Joyous Song*, 1964, lithograph (167); *Self-Portrait with Hat*, 1961, lithograph (168), gifts of Mr. Warren Robbins in honor of President C. Peter Magrath

Micheal Farrell, Irish, b. 1940, *Transfiguration*, 1966, etching (109), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Ernest Fiene, American, 1894–1965, *Fisherman's Cove Maine*, ca. 1930, lithograph (141), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Robert Gibbings, American, 1889–1958, *The Lost Anchor*, 1936, wood engraving (152), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Hendrik Glintenkamp, American, 1887–1946, *Market Place, Cholula, Mexico, I*, 1938, wood engraving (149); *Market Place, Cholula, Mexico, II*, 1938, wood engraving (150), gifts of Harry and Ann Cohen

George Golinken, American, *At Chicago*, ca. 1938, lithograph (151), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Irwin Hoffman, American, b. 1901, *Winter Feeding*, 1939, etching (153), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Norman Kent, American, b. 1903, *Michelangelo*, 1945, woodcut (156), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Rockwell Kent, American, 1882–1972, *Casanova*, 1925, engraving (160); *Greenland Swimmer*, 1932, wood engraving (157); *Madonna and Child*, 1922, wood engraving (159); *Reveries*, ca. 1932, wood engraving (158); gifts of Harry and Ann Cohen

Michael Kidner, British, b. 1917, *Untitled*, 1966, serigraph (110); *Untitled*, 1967, serigraph (111), gifts of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Kenneth Kilstrom, *Polymorphic Pianos*, 1947, etching (84), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Luigi Lucioni, American, b. Italy, 1900, *Shadows Slanting*, 1972, etching (154), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Jim McCormick, American, b. 1936, *Comstock #5: Silence*, 1975, lithograph (155), gift of Harry and Ann Cohen

Édouard Manet, French, 1832–1883, *Le Guitarrero (The Spanish Singer)*, 1881, etching (166), gift of Dorothy Small

Boris Margo, American, b. Russia, 1902, *She*, 1962, woodcut, lithograph, and embossing on paper (104), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

E. de Myer, *Lizard Print*, 1973, lithograph (123), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Gabor Peterdi, American, b. Hungary, 1915, *Untitled*, 1969, lithograph (21), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Witt, Jr., in memory of Eric and David Witt



Édouard Manet, *Le Guitarrero* (166).

FREDERICK DOUGLASS



Ben Shahn, "Frederick Douglass" (169).

Will Petersen, American, b. 1928, *Cracked Stone /oh*, 1969–70, lithograph (22), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Witt, Jr., in memory of Eric and David Witt; *Dancer Sculptor*, 1983, lithograph (242); *Desert Dancer*, 1983, lithograph (243); *Double Witness*, 1983, engraving (248); *Hat at Dusk*, 1983, lithograph (244); *Musing*, 1983, lithograph (245); *Thamyris*, 1983, lithograph (246); *Witness*, 1983, soft ground etching and rouletting (247), gifts of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Thomas Phillibrown, English, 19th c., *Southwark Fair* (after original by Hogarth), steel engraving (125), Anonymous gift

Etienne Ret, American, b. France, 1900, *Untitled*, multicolored aquatint (119); *Untitled*, etching and drypoint (120); *Untitled*, aquatint and drypoint (121); *Untitled*, etching and drypoint (122), gifts of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Ben Shahn, American, b. Lithuania, 1898–1969, *Frederick Douglass*, 1965, serigraph (169), gift of Mr. Warren Robbins in honor of President C. Peter Magrath

Frank Stack, American, b. 1937, *Betty*, 1981, lithograph (251), gift of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Adrian van Auchtelen, American, b. Indonesia, 1941, *Adolescent*, 1982, lithograph (252); *Edge of the Forest*, 1982, lithograph (255); *Europa*, 1982, etching (260); *High Flyer*, 1982, etching (261); *In Celebration of Spring*, 1981, lithograph (253); *Nautilus*, 1981, lithograph (254); *P.O.W.*, 1982, etching (262); *Sanctuary*, 1982, lithograph (256); *Snow Country*, 1981, lithograph (257); *Totem*, 1981, etching (259); *Velour Shirt*, 1982, lithograph (258), gift of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Richard Tuttle, American, b. 1941, *Untitled*, book with felt binding (90), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Stow Wengenroth, American, 1906–1978, *Black Cape*, 1931, lithograph (20), gift of the Arts and Science Student Government

Amy Worthen, American, b. 1946, *Court Avenue Underpass*, 1982, engraving (264); *Sankt Gottard, Mainz,I*, 1982, engraving (265); *Sankt Gottard, Mainz,II*, 1982, engraving (266); *Sankt Gottard, Mainz,III*, 1982, engraving (267); *Terrace Hill with Engraving of Sankt Gottard, Mainz*, 1982, engraving (263), gifts of Dr. Christopher A. Graf

Sculpture

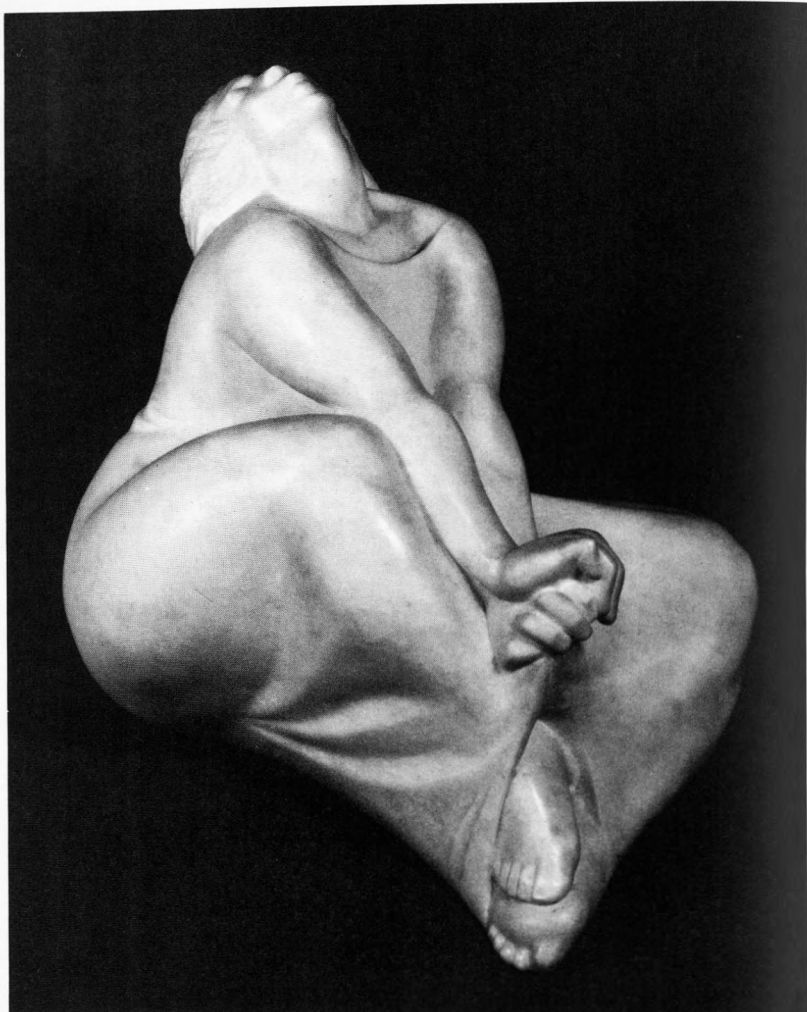
Robert Bussabarger, American, b. 1922, *Equestrian Romance*, ca. 1965, stoneware (131), gift of the artist

Lawrence Fane, American, b. 1933, *Awakening*, ca. 1960, marble (220), gift of Bernice S. Fane in memory of Irvine Fane

Michael Gillen, *Untitled*, 1979, painted sheet metal and wire (95), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Adeline Kent, American, 1900–1957, *Untitled*, ca. 1945, painted plaster (100); *Untitled*, plaster (101), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Jerome Kirk, American, b. 1923, *Black Nimbus*, 1981, painted aluminum (222), gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever



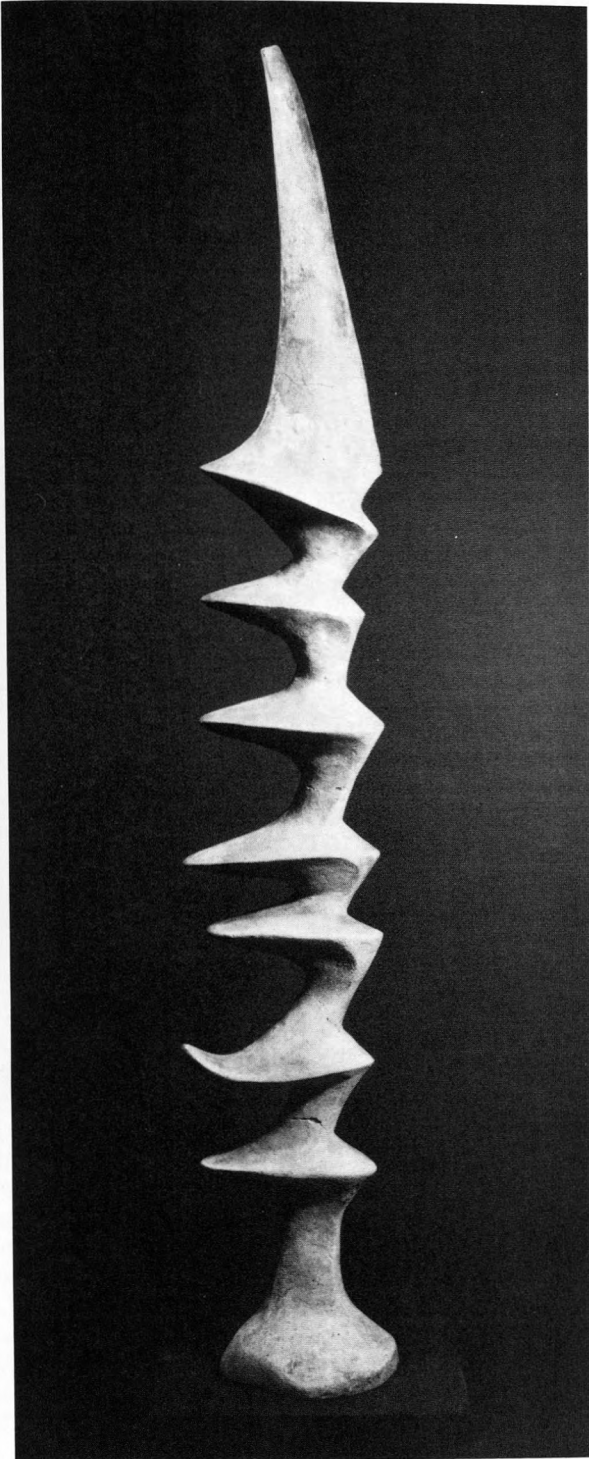
Lawrence Fane, *Awakening* (220).

John Rogers, American, 1829–1904, “*Ha! I Like Not That!*” (from *Othello*, Act III, Scene 3), 1882, plaster (129), gift of Mr. Holme Hickman

Anonymous, *Untitled*, steel with blue patina (88), gift of the Betty Parsons Foundation

Decorative Arts

Jean A. Mann, American, *Five Blessings Bowl*, 1983, porcelain (62), gift of the artist



Adeline Kent, Untitled (101).

A Signed Roman Glass Juglet

GUSTA LEHRER JACOBSON
Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv

Glass vessels, like most other objects in everyday use, are usually produced by anonymous craftworkers. On occasion, however, products within certain categories—glass vessels among them—bear the signature of the maker, or the “trademark” of the workshop in which they were manufactured. In the history of glassmaking, the signing of glass pieces by the artisans who made them is connected with the increasing use of the blowing method, and particularly with the use of the mold blowing technique.

Signed pieces are relatively abundant among the mold-blown drinking vessels made by the so-called “Sidonian” artists.¹ These bear the names of their makers, in Greek, conspicuously and prominently displayed.

Another group of “Sidonian” vessels in which signatures are sometimes found comprises free-blown handled cups (*skyphoi*). These were signed on the thumbrests of their handles in Greek and sometimes also in Latin by their self-styled Sidonian makers: the signatures of Artas, Neikon, Philippos, and several others are proudly followed by the epithet “the Sidonian.”

A third such group is made up of plain utilitarian containers such as jugs, bottles, and jars specially designed and mass-produced for storing and transporting liquids. These were blown in cylindrical or prismatic molds; the latter were mainly square or rectangular, but hexagonal or octagonal shapes were not uncommon. When they were signed, the signatures in Latin or Greek were discreetly impressed on their bases.

To this latter class belongs a small juglet of the second century after Christ acquired in Israel a few years ago by the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia.² The vessel is square in section, 5.5 cm on a side at the base, and stands 12.4 cm high. The rim, 4.3 cm in diameter, is outspayed, folded upward, inward, and horizontally flattened;³ the neck is cylindrical, the ribbon handle wide and angular. The body is mold-blown; the base is impressed with a geometric pattern and an inscription, and bears a large ring-shaped pontil mark (figs. 1–3).

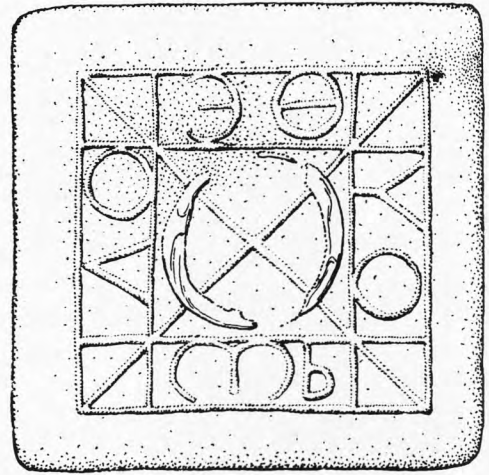


1. Glass juglet in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, Acc. no. 71.82.

The Pattern

The pattern (fig. 3) consists of two squares, one within the other. The sides of the inner square extend to connect with those of the outer square, thus forming four small squares in the corners; the whole is cut diagonally by two intersecting lines creating triangles within the squares. This particular pattern of a square and triangles within a square is, so far, unique. The most common patterns on this type of juglet are made of concentric circles or combinations of straight or curved lines. A grid pattern is known from Dura Europos and Karanis⁴ and a pattern of intersecting lines only, on another bottle from Dura,⁵ but none has this interplay of squares and triangles.

Inscribed between the two squares is the name *Theodoros* written in the genitive case in Greek characters. The word is divided symmetrically in four groups of two letters each, appearing in retrograde, ΥΘ-ΡΩ-ΔΟ-ΞΘ (ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ) carefully written in the round Greek alphabet.



2. *Left: Bottom of juglet.*
3. *Right: Drawing of bottom of juglet.*

While the arrangement of the base inscription in four groups of letters is not unique, it is less common than a circular arrangement. A similar division of the inscription into four symmetrical groups appears on a square bottle in the Haaretz Museum collection.⁶ Theodoros is a common Greek name and offers no clue to the origin of its bearer. But the fact that the bottle was acquired in Israel, where three more prismatic jugs, signed in Greek by two different glassmakers, have surfaced—also in the local trade—may point to Syria, Israel, or nearby areas as its probable place of origin.⁷ The Missouri juglet presents for the first time, however, the name of the glassmaker Theodoros, and adds one more name to the small group of artisans known by name who produced this type of glassware in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

The Technique

Certain pottery or stone plaques found in different parts of the Roman Empire like Germany, Dacia, and Asia Minor may be connected with the production process of this type of square jug.⁸ If these plaques were indeed molds for bases, then we may assume that the body of the juglet was blown—as has been suggested—in wooden molds, but without bottoms.⁹ A separate pottery or stone plaque on which the inscription was impressed or cut was attached as a bottom to the wooden mold while the vessel was being blown.

On the Missouri bottle there is also a very clear ring-shaped pontil mark. In an article dedicated to this particular type of mark, Mavis Bimson showed that the ring was the result of using the “post” technique (a disk of molten glass on the pontil) on vessels with concave bases.¹⁰ One may add that the post technique was also used on the decorated bases of some prismatic vessels in order to spoil the decoration as little as possible.

- ¹On the role of the Sidonians in the early history of glass blowing, see Donald B. Harden, *Glass of the Caesars* (Milan 1987) 88–91.
- ²Acc. no. 71.82. Listed in “Recent Important Acquisitions,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 15 (1973) 188, no. 8. I am grateful to Dr. Jane C. Biers, curator of ancient art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, for permission to publish this juglet.
- ³For the typology and chronology of this bottle, see Dorothy Charlesworth, “Roman Square Bottles,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 8 (1966) 26–40; her rim Type 1a, of the 1st and 2nd centuries.
- ⁴Christoph W. Clairmont, *The Excavations at Dura Europos: The Glass Vessels* (New Haven 1963) pl. 15: 623–626; Donald B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* (Ann Arbor 1936) 249, no. 752.
- ⁵Clairmont, *Glass Vessels*, pl. 14: 607.
- ⁶An article about this bottle, written in Hebrew, will appear in *People and Land, The Yearbook of Eretz Israel Museum* 4 (22). An English version will be published in the *Journal of Glass Studies*.
- ⁷The above-mentioned bottle, signed by Magnos, from the Haaretz Museum collection, and two octagonal jugs signed by Priscos, one in the Israel Department of Antiquities and the second in the Newark Museum (see Susan H. Auth, *Ancient Glass at the Newark Museum* [Newark 1976] 111).
- ⁸Germany: Fritz Fremersdorf, “Die Anfänge der römischen Glashütten Kölns,” *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor-und Frühgeschichte* 8 (1965/66) fig. 2:9; Dacia: C.L. Băluță, “Fond de moule romain pour la fabrication des bouteilles carrées trouvé à Apulum,” *Annales du 8e Congrès de l’Association Internationale pour l’Histoire de Verre* (London 1979) 113, figs. 1,2; Asia Minor: Y. Akat, N. Firatli, H. Kocabaş, *Catalogue of Glass in the Huseyin Kocabaş Collection* (Istanbul 1984) 55, fig. 45.
- ⁹Fremersdorf, *Römischen Glashütten*, 29.
- ¹⁰Mavis Bimson, “Ring ‘Pontil Marks’ and the Empontiling of a Group of Seventh Century Anglo-Saxon Glass,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 22 (1980) 9–11.

Victorious Durga, The Buffalo Slayer

MICHAEL RABE
St. Xavier College

Before you the gods humbly bow.
Your arm has never known defeat.
You are the wisdom of the Book of Books.
*How came you to appear,
Robed in a tiger skin, standing
on the black head of a wild buffalo...?¹*

One of the primary deities of Hinduism is the Goddess, the embodiment of shakti or cosmic energy. She has many names and forms such as gentle Parvati, heroic Durga, or bloodthirsty Kali. These various forms, though they may seem to Westerners separate and distinct, are all properly understood as multiple manifestations of the supreme Goddess.

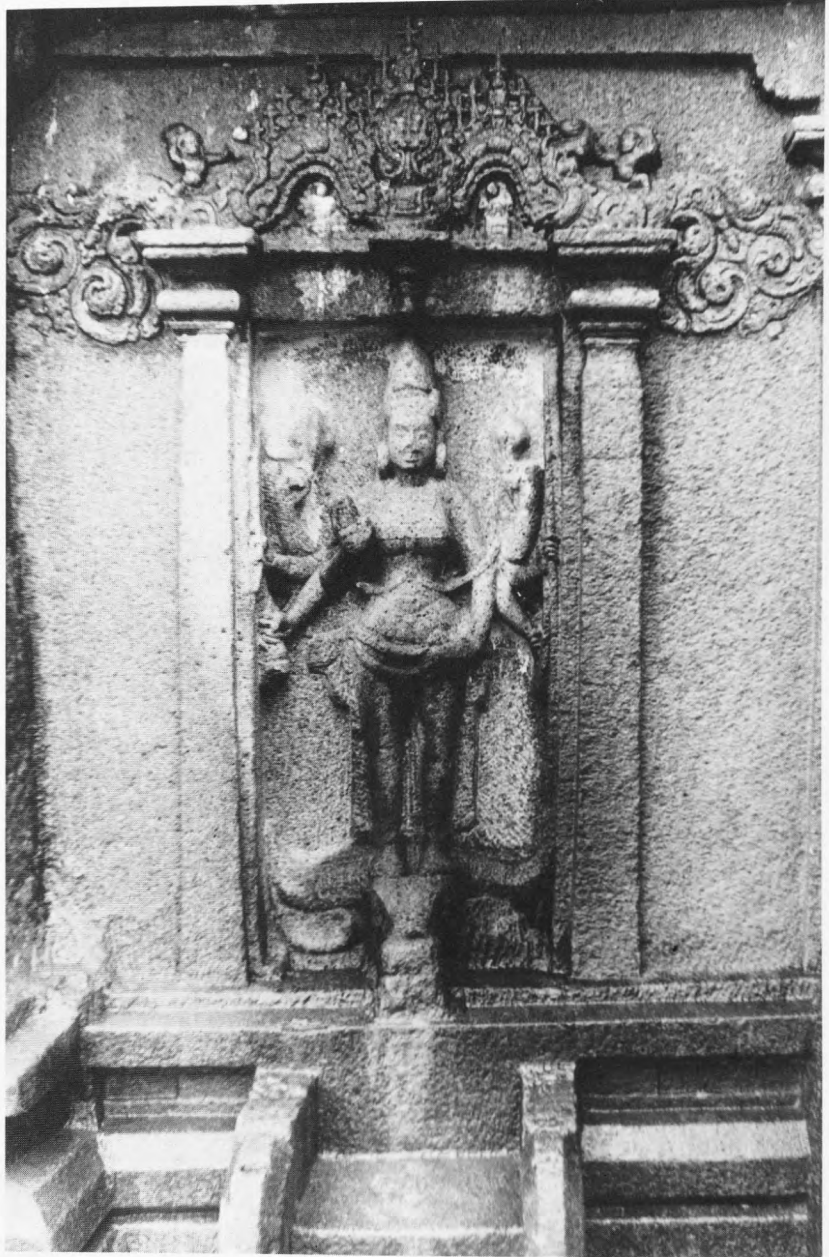
A sculpture of Durga has recently been acquired by the University of Missouri–Columbia, one that exemplifies an icon type of great antiquity and importance in Tamilnadu in South India (fig. 1). Standing with both feet firmly planted in the *samapāda* pose reserved for sovereign deities, the female warrior is said to embody the collective fiery substance (*tejas* or shakti) of the entire Hindu pantheon as externalized and directed against Mahisha—“Buffalo,” the prince of demons.² Durga’s autonomous character as denoted by this hieratic posture is in marked contrast with her alternative, perhaps better known, identity as the subservient Parvati, Shiva’s quiescent wife. Insofar as the sculpture depicts her triumph as a *fait accompli*, it exemplifies what art historians have called the Victorious Durga type, one of four iconic variations on the theme of Mahishasuramardini, literally, Crusher-of-the-Buffalo-Demon.³

The great antiquity of this particular configuration, Durga standing in victory upon Mahisha’s head, is evident from two unmistakable references to it in the *Śilappadikāram*—the one quoted above, and another which speaks of Korravai, literally “the goddess of victory,”⁴ standing over the defeated buffalo’s bleeding neck.⁵ Since the text dates no later than ca. 450,⁶ and is thought to contain material that is several centuries older still,⁷ this iconographic convention must have been established long before the oldest extant images of the type were



1. Victorious Durga, 9th–11th c., h. 1.410 m, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, Acc. no. 86.81, gift of Mrs. Carol Brewster.

carved, in the seventh century. The apparent nonexistence of pre-seventh-century icons in Tamilnadu, whether of Durga or any other deity, has been explained by the hypothesis that only ephemeral materials were employed so long as the use of stone for icons was forestalled due to overriding funerary connotations that stone had carried in the region since megalithic times.⁸



2. Victorious Durga, *Trimurti Mandapam, Mahabalipuram, 630–668.*

The oldest extant prototypes of the Victorious Durga at Columbia date from the reign of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (630–668).⁹ They consist of nine rock-cut images—seven at Mahabalipuram (e.g., figs. 2,3) and one each at Tiruchirapalli (fig. 4) and Singavaram (fig. 5).¹⁰ Both their substantial number and iconographic variety seem to

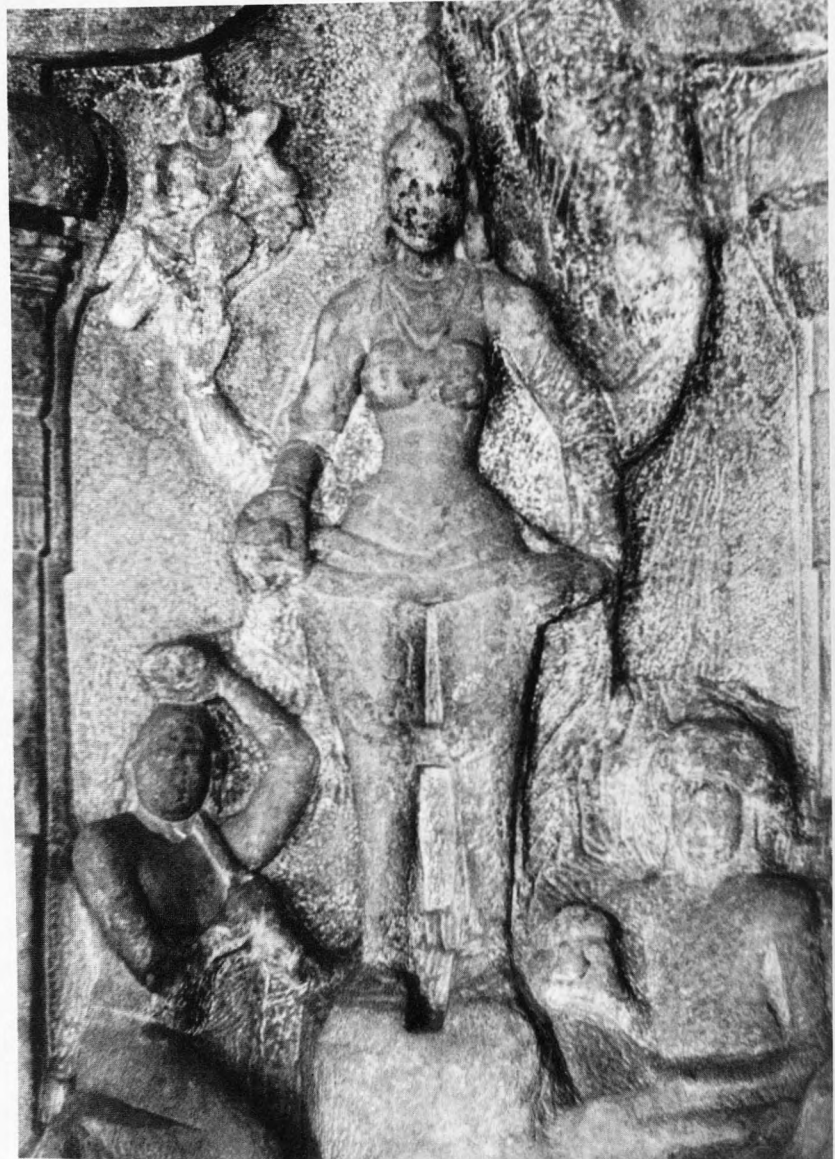


3. Victorious Durga with Attendants, *Adi Varaha Mandapam*, Mahabalipuram, 630–668.

confirm the impression derived from literature that the cult of Durga as guarantor of victory had risen to prominence in the region over the course of many earlier centuries.

In addition to the pedestal-like employment of the buffalo head, a second feature of the Victorious Durga iconography of Tamilnadu that distinguishes it from Mahishasuramardini depictions elsewhere in India is its frequent association with self-immolating attendant figures. In both the *Adi Varaha* cave at Mahabalipuram and at Singavaram the devotee kneeling to Durga's right is shown drawing a blood-offering from his own wrist (figs. 3, 5). Even more frequent and macabre are representations of the ultimate sacrifice, self-decapitation. As in the lower cave at Tiruchirapalli (fig. 4), a figure gripping his topknot in the left hand while drawing a sword to his neck with the right is shown kneeling before Durga in the *Draupadi Ratha*, the *Varaha Mandapam*, and on the north wall of the eighth-century *Shore Temple*, all at Mahabalipuram, and also in north-facing niches of several Chola period temples.¹¹ Again, both the regional specificity and great antiquity of these sanguinary offerings to *Korravai*, the *victrix*, are confirmed in Tamil literature. In the *Silapaddikaram* a warrior-clan's hymn beseeches her to:

accept the blood that flows from our severed young heads,
the price of a victory you granted
to the powerful and valiant Eiyans . . .
Accept the blood and flesh we offer you,
in thanks for the great victories
you showered on the Eiyans
when they adventured out on raids
to seize vast herds of cattle.¹²



4. Victorious Durga with
Attendants, *Tiruchira-
palli*, lower cave, late
7th c.

Similarly, in the *Maṇimēkalai*,¹³ a temple dedicated to Durga as Lady of the Forest is said to be surrounded by trees whose branches are “lowered by the weight of heads of men, who with unwavering mind have paid their ‘life debts’ by tying their heads to the branches and then cutting them off.”¹⁴

The earliest historical record of this grisly rite is dated to the year 20 of the last Pallava king, Kampavarman (c. 890). A memorial stone dated to that year at Mallam, Nellore District, depicts the kneeling donor in the final act of proffering his severed head by its hair.¹⁵ The accompanying inscription registers a gift of land to his heirs and characterizes the decapitation as the culmination of a nine-fold offering of one’s own flesh to Bhatari (Durga).¹⁶

While textual references to comparable acts of abnegation may be cited from elsewhere in India,¹⁷ in iconic form they are virtually



5. Victorious Durga with Attendants, *Singavaram*, late 7th c.

nonexistent beyond the borders of Tamilnadu and neighboring Karnataka. The only exception, to my knowledge, is a fifth-century terracotta from Mathura. It depicts a bearded ascetic about to sever his neck with a sword, but due to its fragmentary condition one cannot tell whether or not the goddess Durga was the intended recipient.¹⁸

The juxtaposition in Tamilnadu sculpture of these two motifs of decapitation, both in conjunction with Victorious Durga images, raises an unexpected question. Could they be related? Could there be on some—possibly subliminal—level, a correspondence in identity or role between the buffalo-demon Mahisha, as Durga’s archetypal victim in myth, and her most stalwart human devotees in practice? Before attempting to formulate an explanation, it may be helpful to review first the significance of Durga’s other attributes, as presented by the Columbia image.

Another standard attribute of a sovereign deity, in addition to the rigid *samapāda* stance, is supernumerary limbs.¹⁹ In contrast to the standard two-armed appearance of a goddess-as-consort to a superior male deity, independent manifestations of the Great Goddess in her own right have four or more attribute-displaying arms. The actual number of additional arms on a particular image is inconsequential: just a single extra pair is sufficient to recall to the text-informed eye an entire *viśva-rūpa*, or cosmic manifestation. According to the “Devi Māhātmya,” for example:

[The demon Mahisha] saw the Devi filling the three worlds with her splendor, bending low the earth with the force of her strides, scratching the sky with her pointed diadem, shaking the nether worlds with the twang of her bowstring and standing there filling the ten directions of space with her thousand arms.²⁰

Yet with equal authority other texts describe her alternatively as having four, eight, ten, eighteen, or twenty arms.²¹ The variance is only quantitative. The number of *āyudhas* (“weapons”) that she can be shown as wielding, eighteen of which are enumerated in the “Devi Māhātmya,” is only a matter of artistic convention, not theology.²² However, when only two of them can be shown, as in the Columbia image, they are invariably the *cakra*, or discus, and the *śaṅkha*, or conch-trumpet. Significantly, neither of these “weapons” figures in the subsequent narrative of actual combat with Mahisha and other demons, so they must be purely attributive in purpose.

Because they also happen to be two of the primary attributes of Vishnu, on one level they are clearly intended to proclaim Durga’s sibling relationship to him. According to theogonies of the late epic period,²³ most notably the *Harivaṃśa*, Durga in her alternate form as Kali (i.e., Darkness or Sleep) was once born as the cross-uterine sister of Vishnu’s dark avatar, Krishna. This came about when Vishnu decided to descend to earth as Krishna in order to oppose the evil King Kamsa. Vishnu planned to be born to Devaki, Kamsa’s cousin. Kamsa, however, having heard that an offspring of Devaki’s would kill him,

had each of her babies slain. To protect himself, Vishnu persuaded the goddess Sleep (Kali) to incarnate herself simultaneously in the womb of another woman. After the embryos were secretly exchanged, Devaki's surrogate daughter was killed instead of her actual son Vishnu-as-Krishna. For the assistance of the goddess Durga-Kali-Sleep, Vishnu blessed her as follows:

. . . I will do a favour for you to make your glory on earth equal to mine; you will be goddess of the whole world. . . . You will obtain an eternal place in the sky. . . . You will be dark like my own skin. . . . You will have four stout arms like my arms. . . . Your shining face will be the rival of the moon. A triple diadem will bind your shining hair. . . . You will be attended by throngs of grotesque ghosts, and by my command you will take a vow of eternal chastity and dwell in the triple heaven. . . . You will adorn the earth with thousands of residences [shrines dedicated to her]. With your retinue of ghosts you will receive an offering of sacrificial beasts on the ninth day of each month, for you will always be fond of sacrifices of flesh. . . . When men worship you you will protect them from capture, painful slaughter, the death of sons, loss of wealth, and danger of disease or death.²⁴

Even the Tamil *Śilappadikāram*, a text at least coeval with the *Harivaṃśa*, refers to Durga as Vishnu's younger sister,²⁵ so it is perfectly understandable that they should share the discus and conch in South Indian iconography. But far less certain is the underlying connotation of these attributes, particularly when held by Durga.

In a thorough study Wayne Begley has concluded that an actual discoid weapon, in use in India until the nineteenth century, gave rise to *cakra* symbolism in Vaishnava iconography; solar, imperial, temporal, and other philosophical connotations were secondary accretions.²⁶ But is this conclusion equally relevant for Shakta circles, in which supreme deity is ascribed to Durga, the Great Goddess independent of her brother Vishnu or husband Shiva? Considering that she favors other weapons in her contest with Mahisha and his legions—a Shaiva trident first, with bow and arrows, sword, and club being mentioned next in frequency—why is the *cakra* given such prominence? Might it not be reminiscent of the quintessential aniconic symbol of Shaktism, the *śri-cakra*?

From the Shakta point of view, reabsorption in the Absolute as Mahashakti ("Great shakti") may be attained by awakening one's microcosmic *śakti* that lies dormant in the lowest of six *cakras* (or nodes) along the spinal column. Geometric diagrams or *yantras* are employed to visualize these *cakras* while others, and above all the *śri-cakra* or *śri-yantra*, are employed as meditational aids for generating the "intimate inner experience of the polar play and logic-shattering paradox of eternity and time."²⁷ Because the *śri-cakra*, engraved on a metal plate, is frequently enshrined in South India as an aniconic object for worship of the Goddess,²⁸ the ubiquitous appearance of a *cakra* in the hand of images of the Goddess may be

considered a didactic double entendre, signifying not only her kinship with Vishnu but her inherent identity as Mahashakti as well.

Likewise, it would be chauvinistic to insist that Durga's brother Vishnu be awarded initial proprietorship of the *sankha* or conch. In addition to its familiar heraldic significance as a trumpet of warriors²⁹—curiously, Durga is never credited with using the one presented to her by Varuna—the *śaṅkha* is also said to symbolize, among other things, “the origin of existence . . . because of the longitudinal form of its opening, [to] signify the yoni [vagina], this especially when carried by Śiva or Pārvatī [i.e., Durga] and when used as an independent cult object.”³⁰

In short, both *cakra* and *śaṅkha* may be considered primary attributes of the Goddess in her own right. In form, both are congruent with universal associations of the circular with the maternal. In function, they are also instruments of liberation: while the flaming discus (created by the god Agni, “Fire”) incinerates the forces of darkness, the sounding conch is said to dispel illusion.³¹ Together they proclaim their wielder's identity as Source and Culmination, Mother-Ground of all being.

The next (and penultimate) attribute of the Columbia Durga which must be deciphered before the sculpture's overall significance may be ascertained is the lion-head clasp of her girdle. This also is an attribute she shares with Vishnu in South Indian iconography generally, and by extension with many other regally dressed figures, including temple guardians.³² Without any of the denotative ambiguity that surrounds the *cakra* and *śaṅkha*, and as obviously as the crown which Durga and Vishnu share, the lion-head clasp alludes to sovereignty. The “king of beasts” has been prevalent in Indian art since the third century B.C. when the Maurya Empire drew freely upon Persian imagery, if not upon Persian workmanship as well, following Alexander's conquest of Persepolis. Still more pertinent is the fact that the lion is in puranic literature (though not yet in the epics) identified as Durga's *vāhana* or vehicle.³³ The likelihood that this was a relatively late development—at least in South India—is hinted at in the same hymn of the *Śilappadikāram* that was quoted at the outset:

You came wondering on a stag
that proudly bears black antlers.
You hold in your bracelet-laden hands
a sword dripping with blood
after you killed the buffalo demon. . . .
Why must you stand on a fierce lion
whose eyes shoot darts of flame,
holding in your frail hand
a discus and a conch?³⁴

Clearly by the mid fifth century, at the latest, a conflation was apparent between the indigenous or southern convention of a stag vehicle and Durga's northern, ultimately Mesopotamian, lion vehicle. The indigenous tradition did not easily capitulate. Twice during the seventh

century at the southern site of Mahabalipuram, in sculptural contexts that otherwise may be considered imbued with northern ideas, the deer and lion both wait upon Durga (e.g., fig. 3). A sculpture from Tanjavur District dated to the ninth century persists in showing exclusively the stag behind the goddess (fig. 6), and still in the mid tenth century both vehicles were being shown together.³⁵

Though association of the warrior goddess with a lion may have been a relatively late intrusive element in South India, paradoxically,



6. Victorious Durga with Deer Vahana, from Tanjavur District, 9th c., Madras Government Museum.

its origin may be traced back to the very beginnings of civilization further west. Surely it is not coincidental that the most powerful goddess of Mesopotamia, Ishtar—patroness of warriors and of love—also rode a lion (fig. 7). The ancient Egyptians varied the theme only slightly by visualizing their goddess of war as a woman with a lion's head.³⁶ Several millenia earlier, in about 6000 B.C. at prehistoric Çatal Hüyük, a mother goddess was depicted seated upon a lion throne, while hunters besought her blessing by wearing talismans of leopard skin.³⁷



7. Ishtar on Lion, from Tell Ahmar, 8th c. B.C., Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The final characteristic of victorious Durga icons which figures in this interpretation is their orientation to the north. Of course images removed from their original architectural context have lost this attribute. However, among images still in situ without known exception after the eighth century, when Durga appears among the images that ring the external walls of a Shiva temple, she is assigned a niche on the north wall of the *ardhamañḍapa* or antechamber.³⁸ While textual prescriptions for the orientation of all the images of deities in niches are known,³⁹ the rationale for their distribution is far from clear. With respect to Durga, Tartakov and Dehejia have observed that, given the easterly orientation of most Hindu temples, her position on the north wall is in keeping with her place as consort, to the proper left side of Shiva within the inner sanctum.⁴⁰ However, it has recently been found, in a survey of forty-six early Chola-period temples, that Durga faces north even on occidented, or west-facing, temples.⁴¹ It is clear, therefore, that absolute directional placement overrides other considerations such as consort alignment or the sequence of circumambulatory encounter.

What, then, might the north orientation of the Goddess of Victory mean? Might it simply reflect consciousness of her alter-identity as Parvati, daughter of the Himalayas? Or with equal validity, might it not correspond to the epithet by which she is known in the Agama that specifies her north orientation, Vindhyavasini, lady of the Vindhya mountain range that lies to the north of the Deccan?⁴² Perhaps. But another, not incompatible, explanation is suggested by analogies drawn from directional symbolism in other pan-Indian contexts. It may be recalled, for example, that for the performance of Vedic sacrifice one of the three fire altars was designated the *dakṣiṇāgni*,⁴³ or south-fire, and that its function, in part, was to protect the sacred precinct from threatening forces, whether spiritual or human, that were perceived as emanating from the south. With similar logic, Indra, when still the most powerful deity of the Indo-European “invaders” of the subcontinent, was designated regent of the south.⁴⁴ Later, presumably after all of India was more thoroughly Aryanized, Indra’s place was changed to the direction of dawning—east. Yet a lingering stigma was still associated with the south, as evidenced by the fact that Yama, god of death and buffalo-rider(!), became its regent.⁴⁵

When the two directional gestalts are juxtaposed, a possible connection is suggested. Given the overwhelming evidence of Durga’s Dravidian origins—at least insofar as she is Korravai, goddess of victory⁴⁶—might not her north orientation in South Indian temples mirror exactly the defensive posture taken by early Aryans toward the South? Might not the conceptual face-off between Yama and Korravai be a vestige of the age-old conflict between the northern Aryans and the southern Dravidians?

Though not conclusive, the appearance of a buffalo motif in the iconography of both Yama and Durga provides a tantalizing link, particularly in view of the buffalos’ antithetical meanings. While Durga’s archenemy is the buffalo demon Mahisha (in sacerdotal terms,

the buffalo has always been the victim of choice for blood sacrifice), Yama, the Aryan “controller” of death, is symbolized by a buffalo, insofar as Hindu *vāhanas* have totemic significance.⁴⁸ This is not to suggest that Yama and Mahisha were ever consciously equated—their mythic contexts are too far removed—but they may have had a common source in the realm of mundane and ritual observance. The dark water buffalo, if for no other reason than its contrast in color with the typically white *bos indicus*, the sacred animal of India par excellence, has long endured perceptions of being the specter of death.

Speaking of the obvious contrasts in color, species, and association with deities between water buffalo and *bos indicus*, it must be stressed that they have not passed unnoticed by the authors of puranic myth. In fact, the Victorious Durga image appears in an entirely different light when one reflects upon the dichotomy between Durga’s victim Mahisha and her husband Shiva, whose vehicle is the bull Nandi. According to David Shulman in a study of South Indian myth of unprecedented comprehensiveness, conflation of victim and husband does in fact sometimes occur.⁴⁹ In more than one retelling of the essential myth, after Durga cuts off Mahisha’s head, she is horrified to find a linga (the phallic symbol of Shiva) tied to his neck and must perform austerities to expiate the crime. Unwittingly, she had murdered a Shaiva devotee, if not Shiva himself in a temporary manifestation, as at least one version baldly surmises.⁵⁰

Without beginning to reckon with the numerous ramifications of this perplexing role reversal, nor another by which Mahisha’s contest with the goddess begins with a sham courtship, it is sufficient for our purposes here to recall as a sort of validating paradigm the later and much-better-known Tantric images of Kali dancing upon Shiva’s corpse.⁵¹ Furthermore, sometimes Kali dances on the corpses of her devotees. This brings us back full circle to the early Tamil images of head-offerings to Korravai, both literary and sculptural. The recurrent association of self-decapitation with images of Durga standing on Mahisha’s head cannot be fortuitous. The two decapitations are, I submit, virtually interchangeable. In the words of a Calcutta respondent to the question of what Mahisha stands for metaphorically, the contemporary reply rings true to ancient (perhaps forgotten) archetypes: “he is us.”⁵²

- ¹Prince Ilangô Adigal, *Shilappadikaram* (The Ankle Bracelet), trans. Alain Daniélou (New York 1965) 80. Emphasis supplied.
- ²The most definitive of several puranic tellings of the myth is the “Devī Māhātmya,” chapters 81–93 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. For a complete translation, see V. S. Agrawala, *Devī Māhātmyam: The Glorification of the Great Goddess* (Varanasi 1963). For excerpts, see Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, *Hindu Myths: A Sourcebook Translated from the Sanskrit* (New York 1975) 247–249; Cornelia Dimmitt and J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Classical Hindu Mythology: A Reader in the Sanskrit Purāṇas* (Philadelphia 1978) 237–238.
- ³M. Seshadri, “Mahiṣāsūramardīnī; Images, Iconography and Interpretation,” *The Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University* 22/2 (1963). For a recent and even more thorough study, see Gary Michael Tartakov and Vidya Dehejia, “Sharing, Intrusion, and Influence: The Mahiṣāsūramardīnī Imagery of the Calukyas and Pallavas,” *Artibus Asiae* (1984) 287–345. See also Heinrich von Stietencron, “Die Göttin Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, Mythos, Darstellung und geschichtliche Rolle bei der Hinduisierung Indiens,” *Visible Religions* 2 (1983) 118–166.
- ⁴“... from Korṇam, victory, but assumed by [the Tamil Lexicon] to come from the root Kol, kill, which gives a more sinister aspect to the goddess’; C. G. Diehl, “The Goddess of Forests in Tamil Literature,” *Tamil Culture* II (1964) 313.
- ⁵*Śilappadikāram* 20: 34–35; *Shilappadikaram*, trans. Daniélou, 127. “Korṇavai must have been an indigenous [Dravidian] goddess, at least in her character as a goddess of war and victory who lives in a forest and dances the tuṇaṅkai. Certainly the northern goddess Durga is not associated with victory, and none of her names has that meaning’; George L. Hart, III, *The Poems of Ancient Tamil* (Berkeley 1975) 23–24. For other even earlier references to Korṇavai, see K. R. Srinivasan, “Some Aspects of Religion as Revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South,” *Madras University Journal* (1960) 151–154; C. G. Diehl, “Goddess of Forests” 308–316; T. V. Mahalingam, “The Cult of Śakti in Tamilnad,” in D. C. Sircar, ed. *The Śakti Cult and Tārā* (Calcutta 1967) 17–33.
- ⁶Kamil Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (Wiesbaden 1974) 132.
- ⁷The epic’s concluding narrative is synchronous with the reign of Sri Lanka’s Gajabāhu I (c. 171–193 A.D.), but some passages may well predate the Christian era. See Kamil Zvelebil, *The Smile of Murugan* (Leiden 1973) 37–38.
- ⁸See K. R. Srinivasan, “Āndhras, Ikṣvākus, and Literary Sources,” in Michael Meister, ed., *Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture* (New Delhi 1983), I:13. See also his “Some Aspects of Religion,” 131–143.
- ⁹The dating of Pallava antiquities is still disputed. For two recent alternatives, see Marilyn Hirsh, “Sources for the Figural Sculpture of Mamallapuram,” Ph.D. diss. New York University 1986; Michael Rabe, “The Monolithic Temples of the Pallava Dynasty: A Chronology,” Ph.D. diss. University of Minnesota 1987. For still earlier examples of the Victorious Durga type, with, however, less relevance because of regional differences, cf. a third-century terracotta fragment from Sannatti, Karnataka, and a fifth-century stone figure from Besnagar, Madhya Pradesh (Tartakov and Dehejia, “Sharing,” figs. 27–28).
- ¹⁰Those not illustrated here include the cult figure and three exterior images on the Draupadi Ratha (Tartakov and Dehejia, “Sharing,” figs. 42–43; Meister, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pls. 1–2), and a simpler variation of our fig. 3 at the Varaha Mandapam (Tartakov, pl. 45).

- ¹¹J.Ph. Vogel, "The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London* 6 (1932) 539–543; Douglas Barrett, *Early Cola Architecture and Sculpture: 866–1014 A.D.* (London 1974) pls. 32,53,60; Aschwin de Lippe, *Indian Mediaeval Sculpture* (Amsterdam 1978) pls. 240, 241, 253.
- ¹²*Shilappadikaram*, trans. Daniélou, 83.
- ¹³A companion and slightly later epic poem by Cittalai Cattanar, as yet untranslated.
- ¹⁴*Mañimēkalai* 6.55; Diehl, "Goddess of Forests" 315.
- ¹⁵V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, *South Indian Inscriptions*, 12 (*The Pallavas*, 1943) pl. 6 no. 106.
- ¹⁶Venkatasubba Ayyar, *Inscriptions* 50.
- ¹⁷Heinrich von Stietencron, "Suicide as a Religious Institution," *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 27 (1969) 7–24; Robert J. Del Bonta, "Brahmasiraschedakamurti, Brahmahatya and Ritualistic Suicide in Medieval Karnataka," *Chhavi* 2 (Varanasi 1981) 119–122.
- ¹⁸George Michell et al., eds., *In the Image of Man: The Indian Perception of the Universe through 2000 years of Painting and Sculpture* (New York 1982) fig. 256. Fig. 255 illustrates another solitary decapitant, but from Tamilnadu (said to date from the tenth century).
- ¹⁹Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Indian Images with Many Arms," *The Dance of Shiva* (rev. ed., New York 1957) 79–84.
- ²⁰*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 82.37–38; Agrawala, *Devī Māhātmyam* 51.
- ²¹T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (1914; reprint Varanasi 1971), vol. 1, 2, 341–354.
- ²²*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 81.19–31. After the male deities had conjured her out of their collective shakti they each presented her a weapon, viz., a trident from Shiva, a discus from Krishna, a conch from Varuna, a śakti from Agni, a bow and two quivers full of arrows from Vayu, a lightning bolt and the elephant Airavata's bell from Indra, the time-rod from Yama, a noose from Ocean, a rosary from the creator Prajapati, a jug from Brahma, a sword and shield from Time, an axe from Vishvakarma, lotuses from the Lord of Waters, and a cup of wine from Kubera. In addition she received a lustrous complexion from the Sun, imperishable garments and jewelry from the Milky Ocean, a lion mount from Himalaya, and a serpentine necklace from Shesha, lord of snakes.
- ²³I.e., the third through fifth centuries, during which the two great epics, the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, probably received their final interpolations, including two hymns to the goddess Durga in the latter (IV.6; VI.23), which are not accepted as part of the critical edition.
- ²⁴*Harivaṃśa* 47; O'Flaherty, *Hindu Myths* 208–210.
- ²⁵*Shilappadikaram*, trans. Daniélou, 77–78.
- ²⁶Wayne Begley, *Vishu's Flaming Wheel: The Iconography of the Sudarśanacakra* (New York 1974).
- ²⁷Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York 1946) 140.
- ²⁸Gopinatha Rao, *Elements*, 1:2, pl. 97; 327–332. Aniconic cakras exemplify the first of three shakta image types according to one South Indian tradition: viz., yoga (the *pitha*, altar or pedestal of Shiva, often containing a geometrical diagram); *bhaga* ("pleasurable" consort images at Shiva's left side); and *vīra* ("valiant" independent goddesses, generally installed along outer walls of a Shiva temple); H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses* (Madras 1916) 185–186.

- ²⁹Cf. the catalog of conches in the opening chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*, starting with Krishna's named Pancajanya.
- ³⁰Gösta Liebert, *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions* (Leiden 1976) 252–253.
- ³¹According to the *Mahābhārata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* respectively; cf. Begley, *Flaming Wheel* 13, 24.
- ³²The oldest extant example belongs to the proper right door guardian of the Pallava cave temple at Mandagapattu, c. 600, De Lippe, *Mediaeval Sculpture* pl. 141.
- ³³“... when Durga mounts the lion in the Puranic age she does so to establish her sovereignty over minor theophanies of the mother-goddess”; Sukumari Bhattacharji, *The Indian Theogony: Comprehensive Study of Indian Mythology from the Vedas to the Purāṇas* (Cambridge 1971) 169.
- ³⁴*Shilappadikaram*, trans. Daniélou, 80–81.
- ³⁵De Lippe, *Mediaeval Sculpture* pl. 253; Barrett, *Cola Architecture* pl. 32.
- ³⁶Robert Graves, intro. *New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*, new ed. (London 1968), fig. p. 35.
- ³⁷James Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (New York 1967).
- ³⁸K. R. Srinivasan, “Some Aspects” 152; J. C. Harle, “Durga, Goddess of Victory,” *Artibus Asiae* 26: 3, 4 (1964) 237–246.
- ³⁹K. R. Srinivasan, in “Some Aspects,” cites the *Vaikhānasa-Āgama*.
- ⁴⁰Tartakov and Dehejia, “Sharing” 316.
- ⁴¹Shantanu Phukan, “Analysis of Iconographic Changes in 10th Century Chola Temples” (seminar paper, University of Chicago 1986) 16.
- ⁴²I.e., in the *Vaikhānasa Āgama* the name Vindhyavasini is used in the context of her north orientation; above, n. 39.
- ⁴³Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta 1946) 1:23.
- ⁴⁴In the *Atharvaveda Saṃhita*, cited by J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta 1956) 521.
- ⁴⁵Banerjea, *Development* 522.
- ⁴⁶Above, n. 5.
- ⁴⁷A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (London 1963) 236.
- ⁴⁸“These vehicles or mounts (*vāhana*) are manifestations on the animal plane of the divine individuals themselves”; Zimmer, *Myths* 48. The best-known depiction of Yama upon his buffalo may be in the south gallery of Angkor Wat, where he is shown presiding over a vast “Last Judgment” scene. See also Susan Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (New York 1985) fig. 15.25.
- ⁴⁹David Dean Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myth: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in South Indian Tradition* (Princeton 1980) 177.
- ⁵⁰In the *Kālikāpurāṇa*; cf. Shulman, ch. IV.4, “The Murderous Bride,” esp. 185–186.
- ⁵¹E.g., Philip Rawson, *Tantra: The Indian Cult of Ecstasy* (New York 1973) pls. 17, 18, 22, 40–42, 44.
- ⁵²The anecdote is told by Edward Dimock, Bengal specialist at the University of Chicago.

The Baptism of Christ by Hans Rottenhammer

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In 1604, when Karel van Mander published the first critical assessment of the art of Hans Rottenhammer—then in his fortieth year—he emphasized those qualities of grace and refinement with which the artist's name has been associated ever since. "A good colorist," van Mander wrote, Rottenhammer makes "excellent compositions," has a "fine technique," and renders "in beautiful color . . . all kinds of beautiful details." Van Mander noted that his pictures were sought by many collectors, and concluded his brief account with the claim that Rottenhammer's "name is worthy of mention with the names of the most artistic painters."¹ *The Baptism of Christ*, acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology in 1971, well exemplifies these virtues, and in its eclectic style, typifies both the art of Rottenhammer and the international character of late sixteenth-century mannerism (fig. 1).²

Small in scale, measuring just 33 x 47 cm, the painting nonetheless encompasses a large visual scope. More than fifty figures fill a lush, verdant landscape, in which the principal incident, John's baptism of Christ, is enacted off-center in the middle distance. Two angels assist John in his ministrations. In the foreground, on either side of the River Jordan, are people who have come to be baptized. In preparation, some of the adults are partially nude or in the act of disrobing, while two mothers attend to the children they have brought to receive the rite. Along the distant riverbank a group of nude young women disport themselves, while overhead the heavens burst open in a glory of light and angels as the dove of the Holy Spirit descends, and God the Father speaks the words "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased," which mark the beginning of Christ's public ministry.

The whole effect of this complex interaction of elements is dynamic and grandly theatrical. Rottenhammer's exuberant delight in exploring all manner of figural poses, states of costume, physical types, and ages charges the scene with a playful energy. His lavish use of detail, especially in the minutely observed foliage, creates elegantly decorative surface patterns, while dramatic color accents punctuate the dark backdrop of trees and ground. The brilliant red of John's cape and the body suit of the Oriental, the shimmering magenta of the



mother's robe on the right, and the luminous, copper-orange of the drapery being pulled over the tree branch on the left provide the keynotes. Yet all of this is coordinated—indeed, the entire painting is orchestrated—by means of several classic devices.

The first of these devices is the use of a geometrical configuration for disposing the figures. A circular or oval arrangement is used to position those figures who gather at or near the vertical plane of the picture's front surface. A second oval is used to situate those figures who extend horizontally in depth, enclosing Christ and John as their compositional hub. Even more significantly, the painting is animated by the repeated rhythm—almost musical in its contrapuntal effect—of balanced oppositions. This play of contrasting forces flows from the very core of the picture, for the principle is established in its most complex form in the choreography of Christ and John. Together, their stances create a network of complementarities. Where Christ's body turns inward, contracts upon itself, has his left leg foremost, and arcs to the (viewer's) left, John's body turns outward, opens up, has his right leg foremost, and arcs to the right. One is closed, passive, receptive; the other open, assertive, giving. Many such pairings occur throughout the painting. The most conspicuous are those in the foreground. Thus, Rottenhammer contrasts the two mothers and their children. The left

1. The Baptism of Christ. Oil painting by Hans Rottenhammer. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

mother is tense, rising, with her seated son clothed and huddled, while the right mother is relaxed, seated, with her son nude and positioned frontally. Or, compare the standing male figure adjacent to each woman. Both men are nude from the waist up and pull at a cloth overhead, but whereas the one on the left is seen from the front and leans into the picture toward the right, the one on the right is seen from the back and leans in toward the left. And so on. Such paired oppositions, not only among the figures but also in colors, values, and spatial relationships, regulate the entire work.

The miniaturist quality of the Missouri panel—its small scale, abundant detail, polished execution—is a result of Rottenhammer's adoption of the Netherlandish method of *Feinmalerei* ("fine painting"). In 1588 at the age of twenty-four,³ Rottenhammer left his native home in Munich and traveled, like most ambitious artists of the day, to Rome, where he lived and worked in the late 1580s and early 1590s. In Rome, he befriended and began collaborating with two Flemings, Paul Bril and Jan Brueghel. From them Rottenhammer acquired his proficiency in *Feinmalerei*. They were probably responsible as well for introducing him to the art of painting on copper panel, which is the support of the Missouri painting. Copper plates, used in great quantity by printmakers, had begun to be used by Netherlandish painters during the 1570s. Brueghel and Bril were among the early practitioners. For the desired qualities of refinement and intimate scale, copper proved to be an exemplary material. Its smooth surface, almost like enamel, facilitated precision of detail yet at the same time a free and fluent application of paint. Moreover, copper plates were widely available, and their small scale made them easy to work and convenient to transport (for artists who, like Rottenhammer, tended to be itinerant). In addition to copper, Rottenhammer may have experimented with painting on materials even more precious and suited to diminutive work. Helga Wagner has recently suggested that the artist, like several Italian mannerists of the period and the Nuremberger Johannes König, occasionally painted on stone. She attributes to Rottenhammer several small religious works, one on polished quartz and another on alabaster.⁴

From Brueghel, Bril, and perhaps others in the community of Northern artists in Rome, Rottenhammer also acquired his mode of painting landscape. Through collaboration and close contact, he quickly assimilated from these colleagues the landscape language of Gillis van Coninxloo, which in the 1590s represented the height of fashion and was favored in many of the leading circles. The dense woodland setting of the Missouri *Baptism*, its palette of greens and soft blues, its creamy lighting and exploitation of foliate detail for ornamental effect all reveal Rottenhammer's debt to conventions established by Coninxloo (fig. 2; cf. also fig. 7 below).⁵

Although he left Rome in the mid-1590s to settle in Venice, where he remained for ten years (1596–1606), Rottenhammer maintained contact and even continued to collaborate with Bril and Brueghel. Through them, and with the help of new artistic friends in Venice, such

as Palma Giovane, the artist's circle of patrons and collectors grew to include such influential figures as Cardinal Borromeo of Milan, the Duke of Mantua, and buyers from Venice, Verona, Amsterdam, Ulm, Utrecht, Besançon, and elsewhere. For the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II, Rottenhammer began to act as an agent, buying (and even "restoring") Old Master paintings for his collection in Prague. Venice was good to the artist. There he achieved success and fame; his studio became the training center for many German artists (including, briefly, Adam Elsheimer); and he married a Venetian woman. When he departed in 1606 to take up residence in Augsburg, where he lived out the remainder of his life, he left behind the city that had been most decisive in shaping his art.

This fact has been recognized since the artist's lifetime. When in 1916 Rudolf Peltzer wrote that Rottenhammer was "a true epigone of the Venetian Renaissance,"⁶ he was restating in modern art historical parlance what critics had long realized. Thus, one could cite Roger de Piles's (exaggerated) claim of 1699 that Rottenhammer was a pupil of Tintoretto, or Carlo Ridolfi's recognition, expressed in 1648, of the importance of Tintoretto's Scuola di S. Rocco canvases for the artist's development.⁷ Venetian art is clearly a dominant influence in the *Missouri Baptism*. This supports the recent opinion of Ekkehard Mai

2. A Wooded Landscape. Oil painting by Gillis van Coninxloo. Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz.





3. The Baptism of Christ. Oil painting by Paolo Veronese. The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

that Rottenhammer's Baptism pictures date to around 1598, early in his Venetian period.⁸

The theme of Christ's baptism, though common throughout European art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gained considerable currency in Venetian painting during the second half of the sixteenth century. Combining landscape, an opportunity for the display of nudity, and the occasional inclusion of a turbaned Oriental as a kind of marker to situate the scene in the East, it was a subject particularly attuned to Venetian sensibilities. In the Missouri painting, the poses of Christ and the Baptist show affinities to works by Veronese. A *Baptism* in the Courtauld Institute in London, for example, portrays Christ in the same humble configuration, expressed through essentially identical body language (fig. 3). The pose of the Baptist is closer to another Veronese (fig. 4), dating ca. 1570–80, in which the elements of John's



4. The Baptism of Christ. Oil painting by Paolo Veronese. Private collection, London.

conspicuously strained posture—torso arched backwards, head inclined sharply over the right shoulder, right arm outstretched and bent, and body weight shifted to the right leg—match the stance of the Missouri Baptist in all respects save angularity. Other Venetian Baptisms, particularly by Tintoretto, employ similar poses, so that it is clear we are dealing with a figural vocabulary that was becoming conventionalized.⁹ Yet specific sources do exist. In confirmation of Ridolfi's claim, the Sala Grande in the Scuola di S. Rocco is one such source. In Tintoretto's *Baptism* of 1579–81 (fig. 5), the placement of the baptism event in the middle distance, the Caritas-like figure of the mother embracing her son, the man removing his shirt, and the turbaned witness all establish precedents for the importance accorded these elements in Rottenhammer's work.

5. The Baptism of Christ.
Oil painting by Jacopo
Tintoretto in the Sala
Grande, Scuola Gran-
de di San Rocco, Ven-
ice.



More distant Central Italian sources lie behind other figural conceptions. Their origins derive ultimately from the art of Michelangelo and Raphael. Thus, Rottenhammer's emphasis upon mothers with children recalls the prominence given to the mother-child motif in Raphael's Vatican frescoes, where it appears with conspicuous frequency as if a kind of signature.¹⁰ Or, consider the Michelangelesque torsion of the "Turc": even if mediated by figures drawn from Tintoretto, its archetypal model nonetheless is the *Ignudi* in the Sistine Chapel. The figure of God the Father, too, has a Michelangelo paternity, in this case the Vatican *Conversion of Paul*—though here it is probably inspired by the subsequent derivation in Taddeo Zuccaro's altarpiece of the same subject in the church of S. Marcello al Corso in Rome.¹¹

Because the Baptism of Christ affords such natural opportunities for



6. Detail of fig. 1.

the portrayal of the nude, in Renaissance iconography (which tended to place increasing emphasis upon this aspect)¹² the subject occasionally took on an erotic connotation. In the Missouri panel the eroticism is undeniably present. It is most obvious in the group of nude female attendants along the riverbank who gather around a reclining figure (fig. 6), a grouping that evokes the theme of Diana and her nymphs at the bath. Usually set within an expansive, Coninxloo-style forest, this subject was common among artists in Rottenhammer's circle. A slightly later painting (ca. 1610–1620) of Diana and Callisto, in which the figures are painted by Hendrik van Balen and the landscape by Jan Brueghel, can be taken as typical (fig. 7).¹³ But what are we to make of the activity of the man on the left who is shown pulling a drape over the branch above him? It is not a garment that he has removed, and even if it were, his placement of it on a branch is puzzling. The van Balen–Brueghel painting makes it clear that such a tree-suspended drape, in general, is appropriate to the genre of landscape erotica, but the specific answer to the question may be that the man is acting like an assistant who prepares an enclosure for lovers meeting in the



7. Diana and Callisto. Oil painting by Hendrik van Balen and Jan Brueghel the Elder. Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, The University of Texas at Austin, Archer M. Huntington Museum Fund, 1982.

woods. Such a motif is known from images of amorous mythological assignations. In an engraving by Giorgio Ghisi, for example, Cupid plays just such a role as he obligingly installs a draped canopy in a bower of trees to provide privacy for the rendezvous of Venus and Adonis (fig. 8). A similar motif occurs in Bartholomeus Spranger's *Venus and Adonis* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and in Jean Mignon's engraving of *Venus, Mars, and Cupid*.¹⁴ The origin of the outdoor canopy for lovers probably derives from the Renaissance practice of depicting the lover's bed as outfitted with a tester, in which the drapes suspended from the canopy provide varying degrees of privacy or exposure for the amorous encounter. The tester bed figures almost as prominently in outdoor scenes of lovemaking as in indoor ones (fig. 9). This iconography of lovers, together with its thematically related variant of the banquet of the gods (gathered outside under a massive canopy for feasting and lovemaking), was widely current in the centers of mannerist production—Rome, Venice, Prague, Fontainebleau, Haarlem.¹⁵ Rottenhammer's painting, thus, was created in an environment in which this motif was both commonplace and à la mode. If, as seems likely, the artist intended the drapery to allude to lovers, then the figures under the canopy in the *Missouri Baptism* should be read as having a sexual as well as biblical significance.

Indeed, given the park-like setting of the landscape, it is not claiming too much to see the emphasis in the foreground upon the gathering of "couples" (two male-female sets of figures on the right and two on the left) as a kind of incipient *fête galante*.¹⁶

Such a commingling of sacred and profane, of traditional religious iconography and amorous innuendo, is characteristic of the aristocratic, worldly culture of the *maniera*.¹⁷ Though Rottenhammer did produce religious images for churches and for private devotional use, the small size, technical virtuosity, and decidedly worldly air of the Missouri



8. Venus and Adonis. Engraving by Giorgio Ghisi (after Teodoro Ghisi). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953.

Baptism make it clear that it is a cabinet picture. That is, it was intended for the personal enjoyment of a connoisseur and sophisticated friends within the privacy of a *Kunstkammer*.¹⁸ Rottenhammer was a specialist in such cabinet pieces, for which in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was an immense international appetite. In such an environment, copies and multiple versions were inevitable.

This applies to the *Missouri Baptism*, which is known in another version and in several copies. Copies exist in Antwerp, Munich, Prague, Weimar, and Murau,¹⁹ while an identical version, differing only slightly in size (44 rather than 47 cm wide), is in the collection of



9. Venus, Ceres, and Bacchus. Engraving by Jan Saenredam (after Hendrick Goltzius). Rijksprentenkabinett, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



the Deutsche Barockgalerie in Augsburg (fig. 10). It is this painting that has always been regarded as Rottenhammer's original, in the past because the existence of the Missouri panel was unknown (it first appeared on the art market in the 1960s).²⁰ Recently, Ekkehard Mai has studied both works. He concurs with the older opinion in regarding the Augsburg painting as the autograph version. Whether, however, the Missouri panel is a faithful copy, as he suggests,²¹ or an identical version by the artist himself, hinges upon a judgment of connoisseurship that involves characteristics of paint handling, color tonalities, and value relationships, qualities which can only be truly evaluated through a first-hand examination of each of the works. Until such a comparative analysis is made, the question of the Augsburg-Columbia relationship will have to remain unsettled.

What is certain, however, is that Rottenhammer's importance in the history of art rests upon the kind of work represented by these two panels. For although the artist successfully worked in fresco and large-scale religious and mythological painting, and was an accomplished draughtsman, it was his adaptation of the monumental, decorative Italian style to the small-scale *Feinmalerei* of the Northern cabinet picture that was his enduring achievement. Among German

10. The Baptism of Christ. Oil painting by Hans Rottenhammer. *Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Deutsche Barockgalerie, Augsburg.*

artists, he was the earliest exponent of this new tendency, which has been called the "*Kleinmeisterstil*." And it was this artful synthesis of nobility, grace, and intimacy that so endeared Rottenhammer's cabinet pictures to the collectors and connoisseurs of the eighteenth century,²² and that remains the basis of appeal today for a work such as the *Missouri Baptism*.

- ¹*Het Schilderboeck* (Haarlem 1604); see Carel van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, trans. Constant van de Waal (New York 1936) 409–410.
- ²Acc. no. 71.5. Oil on copper. Provenance: unknown prior to its acquisition in the 1960s by H. Schickmann Gallery, New York (sales advertisement reproduction: *Apollo* 84 [1966] lxxvi). Published: Ekkehard Mai, "Bemerkungen zur 'Taufe Christi' Hans Rottenhammers," *Pantheon* 34 (1976) 122–125, fig. 2.
- ³Rottenhammer was born in 1564. His trip to Italy is now known to have occurred by 1588 rather than 1589 as previously thought (see Mai, "Taufe Christi," 124, fig. 7). Though outdated and unreliable in some respects, the most extensive biography of the artist remains the monographic study by Rudolf Arthur Peltzer, "Hans Rottenhammer," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 35 (1916) 293–365. A good modern summary of the artist's career is given in Heinrich Geissler, *Zeichnungen in Deutschland: Deutsche Zeichner, 1540–1640* (Stuttgart 1979–80) 240–243.
- ⁴Helga Wagner, "Zwei unbekannte Andachtsbilder von Johann Rottenhammer," *Pantheon* 28 (1970) 519–520, fig. 6.
- ⁵On Coninxloo, see H. Wellensiek, *Gillis van Coninxloo* (Bonn 1954); and Heinrich Franz, *Niederländischen Landschaftsmalerei im Zeitalter des Manierismus* 1 (Graz 1969) 270–288.
- ⁶Peltzer, "Rottenhammer," 340.
- ⁷Roger de Piles, *Abregé de la vie des peintres* (Hildesheim 1969 [facs. of 1699 Paris ed.]) 392; Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell' arte* (Rome 1965 [facs. of 1648 Venice ed.]) 84. Since Tintoretto died in 1594, Rottenhammer, who arrived in Venice two years later, could hardly have been his pupil.
- ⁸Mai, "Taufe Christi," 125.
- ⁹For example, consider the *Baptism* by Tintoretto in the Chiesa di San Silvestro, Venice, the composition of which Jacopo and Domenico both repeated (versions in Cleveland, Madrid, London). See Rodolfo Pallucchini and Paolo Rossi, *Tintoretto, Le opere sacre e profane* 2 (Milan 1982) figs. 521, 550, 675, 684. Mai ("Taufe Christi," 122–124) gives a detailed but somewhat different accounting of Rottenhammer's sources, though equally centered in the work of Tintoretto and Veronese; he also discusses relevant drawings.
- ¹⁰Invariably in the foreground; see: *Expulsion of Heliodorus and Mass of Bolsena*, Stanza d' Eliodoro; *Fire in the Borgo*, Stanza dell' Incendio; *Donation of Rome*, Stanza di Costantino.
- ¹¹S. J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600* (Harmondsworth 1970) fig. 211.
- ¹²An excellent discussion of Renaissance baptism iconography is Edit Pogány-Balás, *The Influence of Rome's Antique Monumental Sculptures on the Great Masters of the Renaissance* (Budapest 1980) 58–65, Appendix I: "On the Problem of Mantegna's Destroyed Fresco in Rome Representing the 'Baptism of Christ.'"
- ¹³Cf. Mai, "Taufe Christi," 122, who makes the same point, suggesting Rottenhammer's iconographic ties not only with van Balen but also Denis van Alsloots.
- ¹⁴Reproduction, respectively: *Art History Museum, Vienna* (Montreal 1978) 125; Henri Zerner, *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings* (New York 1977) J.M. 38. Other examples of the juxtaposition of outdoor lovers and suspended drapery include Goltzius's drawing in the British Museum *Bacchus and Ceres*, and Müller's engraving after Spranger *Lot and His Daughters* (C. T. Eisler, *Flemish and Dutch Drawings from the Fifteenth to*

Eighteenth Century [Boston 1963] 86, pl. 55; *Mannerism and the Northern European Tradition: Prints from c. 1520–c. 1630* [London 1974] no. 173, respectively).

- ¹⁵In addition to the tester bed, drapery suspended from foliage above cushions and sheets also functions as an outdoor “bed.” See, for instance, Perino del Vaga’s *Neptune and Doris*, copied in an engraving by Caraglio, or Toussaint Dubreuil’s *Cybele and Morpheus* at Fontainebleau. Reproduction in R. W. Lee, *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art* (Princeton 1977) 51, fig. 35; and *Fontainebleau: Art in France, 1528–1610* 1 (Ottawa 1973) 198, fig. 188, respectively. Such subjects as the Feast of the Gods, the Feast Before the Deluge, the Marriage Banquet of Peleus and Thetis, among others, popularized by artists like Abraham Bloemaert, Cornelis van Haarlem, Joannes Sadeler, and Fontainebleau painters, helped to establish the genre of the gods feasting and lovemaking outdoors. Finally, it is worth noting that in the earlier Northern tradition outdoor lovemaking often occurred inside or in front of tents, a clear harbinger of the drapery association. This motif runs throughout the work of Bosch, not only as an element in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych (Prado, Madrid), but in individual panels such as the *Allegory of Gluttony and Lust* (Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven) and the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* (*Luxuria* scene; Prado, Madrid). It is also used by Lucas van Leyden in *Lot and His Daughters* (Louvre, Paris).
- ¹⁶This relates Rottenhammer to the tradition of Venetian fêtes which first emerged in the sixteenth century, best exemplified by Giorgione’s famous *Fête Champêtre* (Louvre, Paris). The outdoor fête—descending from the medieval love-garden iconography and subsequently brilliantly reformulated by Rubens—also developed later that century in northern Europe. See, for instance, David Vinckboons, *Fête in the Park*, drawing (private collection, USA); John Hand et al., *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, D.C. 1986) 310.
- ¹⁷The classic account of *maniera* sensibility is John Shearman’s study, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth 1967).
- ¹⁸A *Kunstkammer* was a domestic room, generally small (hence, a “cabinet”), that was specifically used for the display of an art collection. The forerunner of the modern museum gallery, it came into vogue during the sixteenth century as part of the secular, aesthetic orientation of mannerism. A recent introduction to the subject is James Welu, *The Collector’s Cabinet: Flemish Paintings from New England Private Collections* (Worcester, MA 1983).
- ¹⁹Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 883; Munich, Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. no. Bstg. 4826; Prague, Nationalgalerie, inv. no. 0–9581; Weimar, Private Collection; Murau in der Steiermark, Parish Church (copy dated 1645).
- ²⁰Cf. above, note 2. On the Augsburg painting, see Peltzer, “Rottenhammer,” 336, 343, fig. 28.
- ²¹Mai, “Taufe Christi,” 124. It should be emphasized that his knowledge of the *Missouri Baptism* is based solely upon a photograph.
- ²²Margaret Stufmann, “Les tableaux de la collection de Pierre Crozat, Historique et destinée d’un ensemble célèbre, établis en partant d’un inventaire après décès inédit (1740),” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 72 (1968) 93–94, cat. nos. 307, 307bis, 308–309; J. B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais* (Paris 1753) 243–44; D. d’Argenville, *Abregé de la vie des plus fameux peintres . . .* (Paris 1762) 188–190.

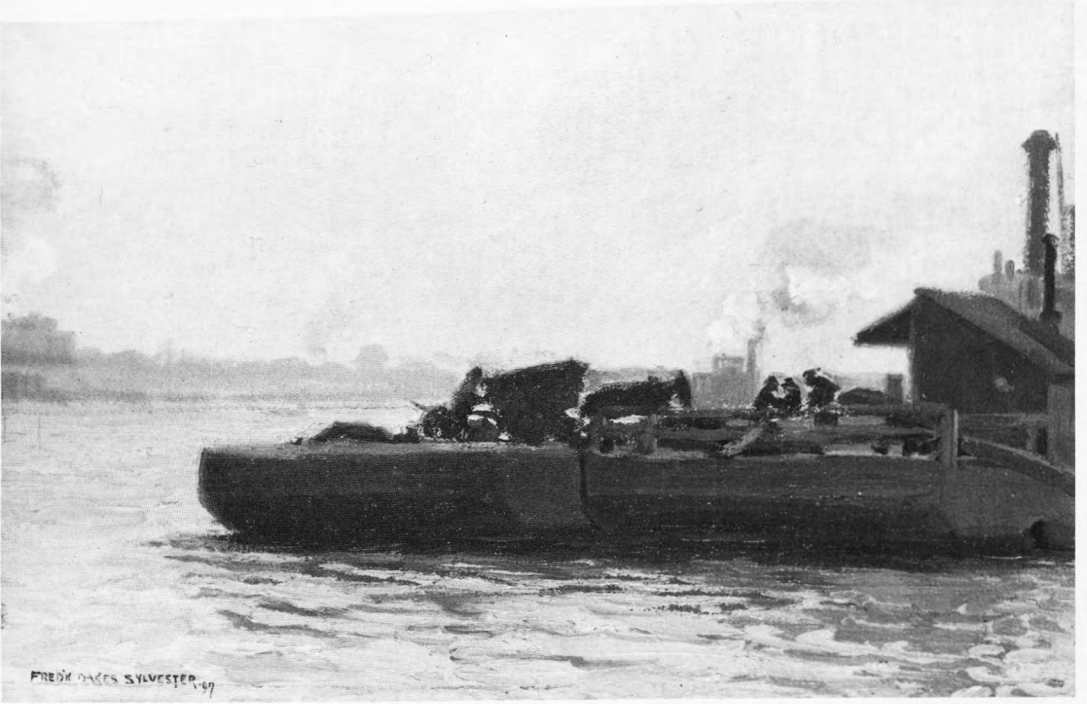
Deciphering the Mississippi River Iconography of Frederick Oakes Sylvester

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When Frederick Oakes Sylvester (1869–1915) arrived in St. Louis in 1892 he brought with him an imagination already piqued by the mysteries of the Mississippi River. He became acquainted with the river in 1891 while working in New Orleans at Newcomb College, the women's division of Tulane University. From that introduction he proceeded to entwine intimately the iconography of the river with his own quest for meaning in life and his search for the purpose of human existence. The effects of his investigation are reflected in his creative output of paintings and poems. Four paintings in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, as well as several poems, will be considered here.

In his earliest riverscapes Sylvester painted a harmony between man, industry, and the river. At the time these were painted he believed that such a harmony could exist in America and that the artist could have a hand in creating it; indeed he must exercise a responsibility to bring it about. If this were not the mission of every artist, at least it certainly was his mission. These early works often depict barges and workmen along the river. Some acquire a sense of genre, and all are free of filth and decay. Smokestacks emit a steamy mist rather than airborne pollutants. In these paintings his color was generally subdued and often gray with a juxtaposition of pale yellow and blue.

No paintings from Sylvester's stay in New Orleans are extant, but in St. Louis he began to develop scenes of the Eads Bridge and the Mississippi River waterfront as subjects. One of his earliest barge scenes is *Mississippi River, Loading* from 1897 (fig. 1). The composition shows a foreground of quietly rippling water accented by barges and smoke-belching tugs in the middle ground. The boats at right overlap a thin strip of land seen on the horizon at left. Color is tempered. Brown and bluish-brown boats separate a blue and tawny



stream from a partly cloudy and smoky blue sky. Boatmen, looking like abstract parts of a composition, sit quietly on shore. They may be playing cards, calling to mind George Caleb Bingham's raftsmen. Another workman uses a horse to load wares onto the flatboat. No doubt this scene was typical of activities Sylvester observed during his frequent walks along the riverfront. He was often to be found there at sunrise and sunset, studying the river and its environment before and after a day spent teaching at Central High School.

Sylvester used the river to establish his own personal vision of nature. His search for a beauty that could exalt the spirit revealed arresting images of the river to him. *The Mississippi at Elsah* of 1903 (fig. 2) is one of the finest of these images. It is one of four dated tonalist paintings from his early period, 1890–1904. This painting is suffused with a cool, enchanted, morning light that uncovers the river as it meanders past islands and along level plains. The breadth of the river fills the lower half of the canvas and is painted in elusive shades of gray. Low-lying, mist-shrouded bluffs occupy the background. In tone this landscape comes close to Sylvester's luminist paintings and illustrates his interest in light. Sylvester's tonalist paintings are frequently very close in style to the luminist ones but differ from them by having a basically matte surface and an opaque, pervasive tone. Since they lack the translucence and dazzling brilliance of surface that characterize classic luminist landscapes, we cannot at once look at them and through them as we can his luminist paintings. Sylvester never tired of studying the iridescent, mirror-like surface of the Mississippi River. In mastering its reflectivity he created some of his most elusive tones.

Important new trends appeared in paintings produced by Sylvester between 1906 and 1910, his second period. F. L. Stoddard's departure from St. Louis in 1905 created a vacancy for a muralist, which Sylvester endeavored to fill. He produced his largest works after this date. His trip to Europe in 1906 may have given him grandiose ideas and may have been undertaken to study the great murals and frescoes of the past. Certainly it brought him into direct contact with European history paintings and literary landscapes. On Sylvester's return to America his contemporaries reported a change in his style. The paintings of his middle period are rich in romantic elements, sunsets, and golden light, and are devoid of people and signs of human industry. Instead, brown tones and river bluffs predominate. The larger paintings show a loss of definition and sense of paint texture. Some are dull. Typically they feature a view into depth, seen through a portal of trees atop bluffs overlooking a lake-like Mississippi River. They are heavily reliant on classical landscape idioms. If at any point Sylvester's ideas understripped his abilities it was now.

A very ambitious painting from this period is *The Stream of the Ancient Arrowmaker* of 1909 (fig. 3). It was illustrated in *The Great River*, Sylvester's book of poetry published in 1911, and is not only indicative of his grand ideas but also of his relationship to the river. It shows a placid view across the Mississippi River seen through a portal of trees. Sycamore and oak trees stand straight and tall on both sides of

1. *Opposite, above: Mississippi River, Loading. Oil painting by Frederick Oakes Sylvester. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever.*

2. *Opposite, below: The Mississippi at Elsah. Oil painting by Frederick Oakes Sylvester. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever.*



3. The Stream of the Ancient Arrowmaker. Oil painting by Frederick Oakes Sylvester (before conservation). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

the composition and are statically balanced. The river here is particularly lake-like and the bluffs across it are low and gently rolling. The framed view has a long history in western landscape painting evolving primarily from Claude Lorrain.

An important theme of Sylvester's poetry is the personification of the river as a primeval being. The title *The Stream of the Ancient Arrowmaker* may refer indirectly to this theme. The river, quietly detached and alone, has witnessed and observed man's development as the "ancient arrowmaker" on the North American continent. The artist, as is clear from his poetry, respects this river being for its age, its wisdom, and its unique history:

O river, river, never yet
Was half your glory sung;
And never skill of painter's brush
Nor praise of poet's tongue
Shall half reveal the majesty,
The charm, the primal grace
That clothe you and attend your ways
And shine from out your face.¹

In this untitled poem, the river, existing in a state of innocence and blessedness, is a metaphor of the pre-civilized earth. It stirs a sense of ageless history in Sylvester. As an intellectual, he would have been aware of Darwin's theories of evolution and could possibly envision a new world being slowly populated by intelligent life. Since the river

long predated mankind in evolution on this continent, it was closer to the Creator and more privy to his wisdom than youthful and tainted humankind. This closeness to the Creator also gave the river power—"Great River" and "Mighty Stream" Sylvester called it²—and imparted a greater dignity to its earliest settler and namer, the "ancient arrowmaker," than to twentieth-century humanity. The portal of sycamore trees which frames Sylvester's painting invites his contemporaries to look upon a world ancient, primordial, blessed, knowing, and with its essence revealed when stripped of any hint of human industry. This was the view available to the Native American before the continent was settled by Europeans. How much easier and simpler it must have been for one in such a state of innocence to interpret the character of the Creator and to respond to God revealing himself.

In another poem Sylvester suggests that the spirit of the "ancient arrowmaker" is still alive in the trees that grow along the Mississippi's riverbanks. He calls these trees arrows. Whether as ancient human spirits or discarded arrows, the remnants of a long displaced race of native men, the trees frame the painter's vision of the world and of heaven.

Were arrows names for all the trees
That grow along the river,
A dozen shots would soon exhaust
My modest little quiver.

The arrows are of common use,
Heavy and blunt and olden,
Cedar and oak and pine they are,
But each is winged and golden;

For each doth bend a bow of praise,
Doth leap the stars and capture
The painter's vision of the world
And all the skies' sweet rapture.³

We get a hint of a deeper symbolism in Sylvester's poetry and paintings when we become aware that many words in his poems are capitalized seemingly without logic. To understand the logic underneath we must examine Christian Science, the powerful faith that so affected Sylvester's life. A cursory reading of *Science and Health*, Mary Baker Eddy's manual of Christian Science, her exposition of the scriptures, shows a similar capitalization of words. These words are often the same that appear in Sylvester's poetry. In *Science and Health* they usually refer to God.

Another feature that is central to understanding Sylvester and his art is the imagery of the Mississippi River. An examination of the following poem will help us better understand that imagery.

The Great River
By the red man's grave and the ancient trail,
By cabin and camp I glide.

Dark pines o'er which the eagles sail
Stand guardians at my side.

In a cradle of gentle hills I wake,
I nurse and sleep on the breast of a lake—
I tremble in my pride.

By the fields of wheat and the fields of corn,
By forest and isles I flow.
Now shadowed by dusk, now mirror of morn,
Far down to the sea I go.
I join the mirth of a thousand rills
That laugh in the meadows and dance on the hills,
My song the path of the springtime thrills
And the tide of the pathless snow.

By the great gray cliffs and the prairies wide
By valley and farm I speed.
Fair Heaven I clasp, a willing bride,
to my ocean home to lead;
Her garments of gold and azure light
I fashion anew in our onward flight,
I double the jewels she wears at night,
Her every mood I heed.

By the fiery kilns and the noisy marts,
By city and town I race,
The smiles and tears of a million hearts
Are mirrored in my face;
The kiss and the curse, the sob and the song,

The cry of the weak and the shout of the strong—
I gather them all as I hurry along,
And scatter them all apace.

By the deep bayou and the broad lagoon,
By the ranch and the range I roll;
The silver sheen of the southern moon
I offer the sea as toll.
I throw the delta gateways wide
In my rush to the deep, and, side by side
And hand in hand with the welcoming tide
I reach my journey's goal.⁴

In this poem the river is both personified and used as a metaphor. The poem traces the life of a man from birth through childhood and marriage, until finally he and his beloved reach their eternal home. It also follows the course of the river to the sea. The river, as a presence whose waters are givers and takers of mortal life, existed before the birth of humankind in a state of happiness and exuberant harmony with the earth and heaven. It was respectfully guarded by ancient pines, its very important personage watched over by eagles. It became aware yet heedless of humanity, scattering their joys and tears in its

wake, and at last merged with the endless ocean. Like the man, the river rejoins the sea; that is to say, they both merge into the eternal. Humanity's insignificance is especially poignant when we realize that the river becomes aware of humankind only near the end of its course just before it enters the Louisiana bayou country and makes a joyous rush to the sea. At its mouth, just before the river empties its waters into the deep, it offers the sea—eternity—a tribute, the beautiful reflection of the silvery light from a southern moon. Here the metaphors join because the man also offers the sea a tribute, his light, the beautiful light of a life well lived. The man is the artist whose own virtuous life earned him the admiration of his contemporaries. His poetry suggests that he felt himself infinitely linked with the Mississippi River.

Christian symbolism is apparent in Sylvester's abundant usage of sycamore trees in his landscapes, for instance *The Stream of the Ancient Arrowmaker* and *The Call of Spring* (c. 1913, Fig. 4).⁵ The biblical sycamore, a type of wild fig, was abundant in the Holy Land during the reign of King Solomon.⁶ Sylvester may have used the American sycamore as an image unaware that it is a different species. The fact that he often painted it atop Mississippi River bluffs where it is not native is indicative of its symbolic usage. Typically American sycamores are to be found growing in lowlands and ravines where they thrive on moisture.

If large size suggests importance of subject matter in Sylvester's landscapes, then the dimensions of *The Stream of the Ancient*

4. *The Call of Spring*. Oil painting by Frederick Oakes Sylvester (before conservation). Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.



Arrowmaker and *The Call of Spring* (both 1.37m x 2.285m) indicate that they contain messages beyond the natural beauty of their sites. *The Call of Spring* is unique among Sylvester's landscapes. Exhibited in 1913, it was purchased by the University of Missouri in 1914. It is the most pronounced example of the reintroduction of the figure into paintings during his third period, 1911–1913. The composition uses a modified V-cleft motif made of Mississippi River bluffs and zigzagging cliffs eroded to form a bowl-in-the-landscape, a feature typical of luminist paintings by Sanford R. Gifford. Into the bowl the diamond shape of the river is snugly fitted. A broad, tree-framed meadow in the foreground accentuates the bowl as it slants downward towards the river. Maidens in this meadow celebrate the birth of spring. Dressed in long, gossamer frocks, three of them, reminiscent of the Three Graces, dance a ring dance. A fourth waves scarves like streamers just as she crests a hill. Framing the scene is a vault of arching sycamore branches. The predominant color throughout is green.

The inspiration for this large, ambitious painting is most likely Botticelli's *Primavera*, a painting Sylvester must have seen during his trip abroad in 1906. While in Florence, where the *Primavera* is housed at the Uffizi, Sylvester was so impressed with Michelangelo's *David* that he wrote a poem to it. Even if Sylvester did not see the original *Primavera* he might have bought a postcard of it. We know that Sylvester collected packets of postcards of the world's great art that he took home with him to St. Louis on his return from Europe.

One must wonder why Sylvester chose to paint *The Call of Spring* in c. 1913. Of his extant works it appears to be the swan song of his public career, his last great painting. The most logical explanation is that this is his paradise, an eternal spring underneath a cathedral of sycamore branches. The earth, which he once stripped of people in his growing disillusionment with industrialization, has now become a place where soil, sky, river, and humanity can coexist in harmony. The sycamore trees symbolize the good fruits of Christian living. Old Testament sycamore trees were abundant in their production of figs. Also, because of the conversion from avarice to generosity of the tax collector Zacchaeus, who climbed into yet another species of sycamore to get a look at Jesus as he passed through Jericho, the sycamore and Zacchaeus became, in traditional Christian thought, symbols of the power of Christ to change a sinful life into an exemplary Christian one.⁷

¹Frederick Oakes Sylvester, *The Great River* (Chicago 1911) unpagged.

²These are titles of murals painted by Sylvester on commission for the Noonday Club of St. Louis.

³Sylvester, *The Great River*.

⁴Sylvester, *The Great River*.

⁵According to Professor Ray Rothenberger, chair, Department of Horticulture, University of Missouri–Columbia, it is “safe to say” that the trees in these paintings are American sycamores.

⁶“And the king made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be as the sycomore trees that are in the vale, for abundance” (1 Kings 10:27). Also 2 Chronicles 1:15; 9:27.

⁷“And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho. And, behold, there was a man named Zacchaeus, which was the chief among the publicans, and he was rich. And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the press, because he was little of stature. And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycomore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and saw him, and said unto him, Zacchaeus, make haste, and come down; for today I must abide at thy house. And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully. And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, That he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner. And Zacchaeus stood, and said unto the Lord; Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold. And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house, forsomuch as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost” (Luke 19:1–10).

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