MVSE

VOLUMES TWENTY-THREE & TWENTY-FOUR 1989-90

ANNUAL OF THE MUSEUM
OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA

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MAURA F. CORNMAN
1951-1990

To the Memory of Maura F. Cornman,
Conservator, Museum of Art and
Archaeology, 1978-1990, this issue of
MUSE is respectfully dedicated.

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DIRECTOR'S REPORT

The Museum of Art and Archaeology moved to its present location in Pickard Hall, on the historic Francis Quadrangle, in 1976. This achievement was the embodiment of a splendid act of faith by its founder Professor Saul Weinberg and by many supportive administrators at the University of Misouri–Columbia. They believed that the Museum of Art and Archaeology was an essential element in the cultural life of the mid-Missouri community. This relocation and expansion of the museum made the collections more accessible and more visible to students, faculty, and visitors to MU.

The past fifteen years have witnessed the flowering of this commitment through the incremental additions of works of art to the collection, gradual expansion of the professional staff to care for the needs of the collection, academic and public educational programs, renovation of exhibition space and, most notably, exhibition programs of scholarly importance and public appeal.

With the implementation of *The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848* exhibition in 1989, the Museum of Art and Archaeology entered a new era in its history. Designed to coincide with the university's celebration of its sesquicentennial anniversary, this project provided the museum with the opportunity to organize its first major traveling exhibition. By far the most ambitious and complex project ever undertaken by the museum, with more than 220 works from twenty French and thirty American museums, *The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848* was also the first exhibition organized by the museum to receive more than $350,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), as well as an indemnity grant from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. The exhibition was the first anywhere to focus on the art and culture of France in the eighteen years following the Revolution of 1830, when the country was governed by the citizen-king Louis Philippe. And it encompassed a variety of styles from romanticism to realism and the compromise style called the *juste milieu*, the "golden mean."

The exhibition was complemented by a variety of related events, including a two-day symposium led by seven nationally recognized scholars, a mini-course on the theme of the exhibition taught in the department of art history and archaeology, film series, lectures, concerts, gallery talks, special tours in French (given by MU students in the department of romance languages), a series of educational programs for families and children, and a fully illustrated 400-page catalogue published by the University of Missouri Press. The success of these activities can be measured not only by the 20,000-plus visitors who viewed the exhibition and its various activities during its eight-week run in Columbia but also by the great success of a Corporate and Patron fundraising campaign organized by the museum's membership group, the Museum Associates, in conjunction with the exhibition. Thanks to the efforts of this organization, more than $25,000 was raised to support The Art of the July Monarchy, and additional monies funded the complete renovation of the Museum Shop.

Unfortunately, 1989 also marked the departure of Patricia Condon, the curator of European and American art and the principal curator for The Art of the July Monarchy, and Forrest McGill, director and curator of Asian art. As the museum's first full-time director, McGill, who came to Missouri in 1984, implemented many new, imaginative, and always scholarly exhibitions and educational programs. His creative energy and determined vision encouraged all at the museum to strive for higher and bigger goals.

The usual busy level of activities was greatly increased in 1989-1990; in addition to the implementation of The Art of the July Monarchy exhibition, which opened in Columbia in October 1989 and then traveled to the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester and the Santa Barbara Museum of Art in 1990, the museum generated an important statewide traveling exhibition, *Missouri Murals: Studies for the State Capitol Decoration*. Supported in part by grants from the Missouri Humanities Council and the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, this exhibition opened in the Missouri State Capitol in Jefferson City and was seen by more than 100,000 people from across the state. The state capitol's elaborate mural decoration in Jefferson City is considered one of the most important of U. S. capitols. The murals were executed from 1917 to 1928 by several well-known American painters and by the eminent English muralist, Sir Frank Brangwyn. The artists were chosen by a committee chaired by MU art history Professor

John Pickard. Most of the artists' preparatory and presentation drawings have been in the university's collections since that time but had never been exhibited. The exhibition was comprised of more than sixty works from this collection and others borrowed from museums in England, Scotland, Arizona, and New Mexico.

In March of 1990, I was officially appointed director of the Museum of Art and Archaeology after a national search. Among the many notable activities of the past year at the museum were the redesigning and reinstallation of almost all of the galleries (except the ancient gallery, slated for a major face-lift within the next three years); the continuing success of the Museum Associates' Corporate, Patron, and Fellow membership programs; the implementation of a pioneering educational project for Columbia Public Schools (a pilot discipline-based visual art curriculum program for grades kindergarten through twelve) funded by NEA; and the museum's excavation program in Cyprus led by Marcus Rautman, assistant professor, department of art history and archaeology. The Missouri expedition at the small early Byzantine site of Kalavasos-Kopetra began in 1987. Faculty and student archaeologists have worked at the site to reveal a previously unknown settlement of the sixth and seventh centuries. Although not a large city, Kopetra was representative of the many modest towns that marked the early Byzantine landscape.

Exhibition highlights of 1990 were: *Major to Minor: Reflections of Monumental Art in the Greek and Roman World*, organized by Susan Langdon, acting curator of ancient art, 1989-1990, while Jane Biers was on leave of absence in Greece; *Early Twentieth-Century Art Glass from a Private Collection*, a highly popular exhibition of Gallé, Moser, Müller Feres, Tiffany, Quezal, Steuben, and other glassworks illustrating a number of important stylistic and technical developments in the Art Glass movement; *African-American Art from the Evans-Tibbs Collection*, a SITES exhibition; and *Views and Vistas: Landscapes from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, organized by acting curator of European and American art, Claudia Einecke.

In 1990 the museum was also invited by the Missouri Arts Council (MAC) to organize the statewide Missouri Visual Artists' Biennial exhibition and its touring program. This two-year project (1991-1992), for which the museum received a $55,000 grant, was created by the Arts Council to recognize Missouri's outstanding contemporary artists. Our partnership

with MAC will add another dimension to the museum's exhibition programs.

In the past three years the number of works donated to the museum dwindled to about 400. However, the collections were enriched by a number of notable works. For the ancient collection we acquired a Laconian Archaic period kylix (gift of the MU Chapter of the Chi Omega Sorority on the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary), a magisterial Archaistic, Neo-Attic style portrait head of the Emperor Hadrian as a Young Man (Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates), a Protogeometric krater, ca. 900 B.C. (Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates), and a mid-sixth century B.C. chalice from Chios (Weinberg Fund). The south Asian and Central American collections once again benefited from the generosity of Alan and Ann Wolfe and Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks with a number of significant gifts.

New European and American works included paintings by Douglas Freed (gift of the artist), Stephen Sacklarian (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alan B. Furman), Daniel E. Chaffee (Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund), and a commissioned large painting by David Ligare (funded by University of Missouri-Columbia Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee); drawings and prints by Sir Frank Brangwyn, Thomas Hart Benton (gift of Fred Shane), Salvador Dali (gift of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Gaines), Paul Huet, Eugène Isabey, and Käthe Kollwitz (all Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund purchases).

In conjunction with The Art of the July Monarchy, two nineteenth-century medallions commemorating Louis-Philippe and the royal family, as well as an important French clock in the form of a cathedral, ca. 1830, were acquired for the exhibition (Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund).

In 1990 the museum's conservation activities were once again curtailed by the serious illness of Conservator Maura Cornman, who had so valiantly returned to work in 1989 from a year's leave of absence while fighting cancer. The year ended on a tragic note with her death at age thirty-nine. Maura Cornman had been with the museum since 1978. In the ensuing years, she initiated many programs, including developing courses in conservation practice for the Department of Art History and Archaeology. Her death was a great loss for the museum and her talent, diligence, and sense of humor will be greatly missed. 1990 also saw the departure of

Academic Curator Ann Guell. Ms. Guell, who also serves as a lecturer in the Honors College four-semester sequence, developed numerous important interdisciplinary educational projects in conjunction with the museum's exhibition programs and permanent collection.

On a brighter note, it is particularly gratifying to be able to acknowledge the excellent performance and dedicated service of the museum staff members. Individual creativity, professionalism, hard work, and unfailing dedication were vital components of the unified teamwork that has enabled us to accomplish so much during the past two years, especially considering that during most of this period we have been in the process of a search to fill three administrative and curatorial positions.

A special recognition must also be made of the financial support of the Museum Associates and the tremendous enthusiasm and commitment of docents, students, and museum shop volunteers. We must also commend Bette Weiss on her herculean efforts and dedication to managing an outstanding museum shop. Docent and public education programs under the leadership of Luann Andrews, curator of education, have reached a level of academic excellence not seen before in this museum. In 1989-1990 Museum of Art and Archaeology docents contributed more than 730 hours of service and gave tours to more than 10,000 students and adults.

In the Director's Report of 1988, Forrest McGill wrote "to bring to fruition a project of the magnitude of *The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848* at the level of excellence to which we aspire will require extraordinary efforts from our staff and the support and encouragement of our friends." I am delighted to report that we have indeed attained that major milestone in the museum's history and in the future will see the Museum of Art and Archaeology playing an expanded role in the cultural life of the university and of the Midwest.

MORTEZA SAJADIAN
Director

KALAVASOS - KOPETRA
1989 - 1990

MARCUS L. RAUTMAN
MURRAY C. McCLELLAN

The annual patterns of farming and herding in the Vasilikos Valley were again joined by archaeological fieldwork in the summers of 1989 and 1990. Located in the lower valley between the village of Kalavasos and the south Cypriot coast, the broad Kopetra ridge was home to a small and still anonymous settlement in the Late Roman period. The existence of this site at Kopetra was first noted over twelve years ago during valleywide reconnaissance of the Vasilikos area. During previous work, sponsored in part by the Museum of Art and Archaeology, the settlement's location was confirmed and excavations were undertaken at one part of the site. In our third and fourth annual campaigns we expanded the topographic survey of the central habitation zone and continued excavations in different parts of the Kopetra area.[1]

1. Kalavasos-Kopetra, central habitation zone viewed from Sirmata, looking northwest.

Since we began our survey in 1987, the nearby construction of houses and farm structures attests not only renewed occupation of the Kopetra area but also the rapidly disappearing record of earlier residents, from Chalcolithic times through the Middle Ages. Our first campaigns suggested the general outlines of occupation on the north, southeast, and south sides of the settlement. Good field conditions, following an early harvest of winter wheat, allowed us in 1989 to study the broad, rolling ridge top, with its commanding view of the lower valley (Fig.

2. Kalavasos, processing finds at the expedition laboratory.

1). While this area seemingly comprised the heart of the Late Roman community, the recovered artifacts were found not to extend evenly to the ridge summit but appeared concentrated in two or three places along the lower, eastern terraces. The lack of clearly defined boundaries or perimeter walls suggests that Kopetra's Late Roman residents were less concerned with defense than with maintaining ready access to the countryside.

The total area surveyed during our first four seasons exceeds 31,000 square meters, from which we have recovered a total of 7,749 (410 kg) potsherds and counted 8,625 fragments of brick and tile. The intensive sample of the entire survey area gives a current average of 0.61 (23.3 g) Late Roman sherds and 1.80 artifacts per square meter. The more heavily occupied central habitation zone, in contrast, is distinguished by peak densities of up to 1.83 Late Roman sherds (41.8 g) and 2.71 artifacts per square meter. During the course of the summer, each day's material is routinely processed and stored for future study in the expedition laboratory in Kalavasos (Fig. 2). All finds are washed, sorted, and recorded, and inventoried objects are ultimately turned over to the Department of Antiquities. The sheer abundance of information this material provides would be cumbersome to handle without our computer-assisted database, which was designed in the field by archaeologist and programmer William Andreas.

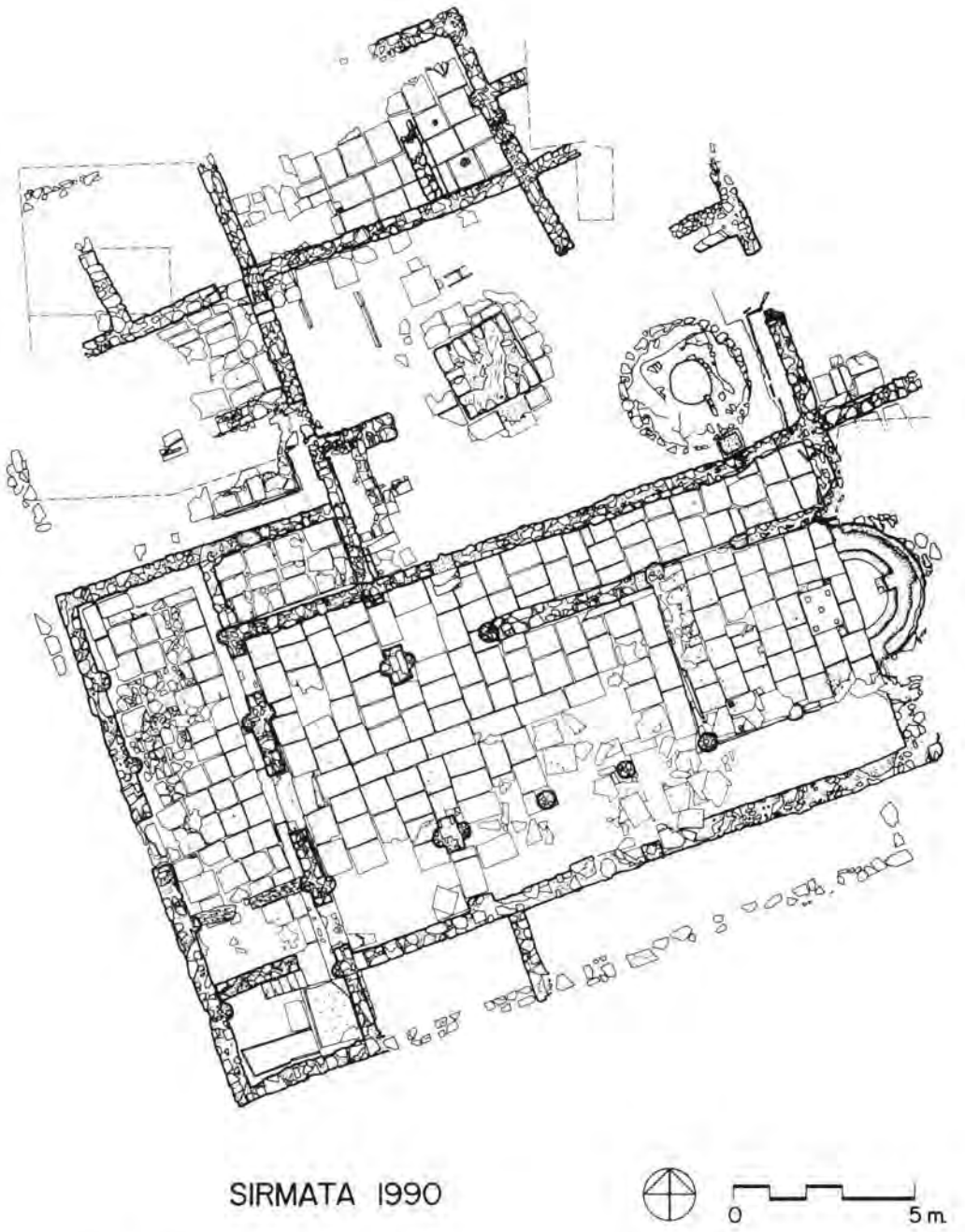
The recovered pottery and other artifacts provide us with a guide to

3. Sirmata, excavations, looking northeast.

individual parts of the site as well as an overview of the entire Late Roman settlement. Preliminary analysis of these finds supports our earlier impression that Kopetra enjoyed only a brief life in late antiquity. Over 90% of the recovered pottery dates from the fourth through seventh centuries; among other periods, only Chalcolithic (1.4%) and Geometric-Archaic (3.0%) material is present in any significant quantities. The site's Late Roman ceramics constitute the most diverse assemblage of post-Bronze Age pottery so far identified in the Vasilikos Valley. The fine wares comprise about 12% of all collected pottery and provide the most reliable evidence of date. As noted in earlier seasons, Cypriot Red Slip vessels of the late sixth and seventh centuries are the most commonly represented fine wares. Amphora sherds constitute almost half of all recovered pottery, reflecting the popularity of these containers for storage and transport.[2]

Any interpretation of survey material remains conjectural until verified by selective excavation, which we have undertaken in two separate areas. Our goal in excavating is to complement the broad surface perspective gained by field survey with detailed stratified study. In 1988 we began work at the low neighboring mound of Sirmata, where we discovered a small church complex. In 1989 and 1990 we concluded work at Sirmata and began excavations at Kopetra itself.

Three seasons of work have exposed most of the architectural remains at Sirmata. Before the end of the sixth century, a small basilica and its ancillary buildings crowned the hilltop (Fig. 3). Most of the ground plan survives in relatively good condition, or at least is attested by foundations (Fig. 4).



4. Sirmata, plan of excavation.

5. Sirmata basilica, central apse with altar base and synthronon.

Building materials include primarily fieldstones and fragments of gypsum set in a thick, fine-grained gypsum mortar. Bricks were rarely employed in construction, and tiles appear to have been used primarily in the roof.

Sirmata's most substantial structure, the basilica, comprises a rectangular hall with an interior length of 16.2 m. Its three parallel aisles are separated by cylindrical gypsum piers set at 2.3 to 2.5 m interaxial intervals. These piers would have supported the upper nave wall, probably with small clerestory windows, and a lightweight timber roof. At the nave's west end, a pair of large rectangular piers with engaged shafts may have supported a small raised gallery. Rounded shafts also conclude the nave colonnades on both east and west walls. Carefully laid slabs of gypsum, known locally as *marmara*, still cover much of the floor.

The east end of the basilica is now known to have originally presented three apses. The 4.0 meter wide central apse cuts into the natural marl of the hill (Fig. 5). Its well-preserved lower parts still contain a *synthronon*, a three-tiered semicircular bench for the clergy of the church, which opened onto the raised bema with the altar. The synthronon was constructed of closely fitted gypsum slabs with a projecting seat on the central axis. Symmetrically drilled holes at either end of the second tier may once have anchored a screen or canopy.[3]

An inscribed niche survives in the north aisle and may be similarly reconstructed to the south. A low wall built along the north colonnade at one time screened this aisle from bema and nave, perhaps forming a separate chapel. Toward the western end of this space, a flight of three steps leads through the north wall, which survives to a height of 1.2 m, to a small raised

6. Sirmata, court with cistern north of basilica, looking northwest.

court. The basilica's southern parts are more poorly preserved, having suffered from natural erosion and recent earth-moving activities. A parallel wall 2.0 m to the south once enclosed a lateral portico or chapel extending almost the full length of the nave and opening off its south aisle.[4]

Preceding the basilica is a broad narthex that extends 2 m beyond the basilica's north wall. Its paved floor stands 0.5 m below the nave and supports a continuous masonry bench at the north end. Four applied half-column shafts articulate both east and west walls. Three doorways open onto the nave, and a central entrance way stands in the outer, west wall. Few traces remain of the outside ground level.

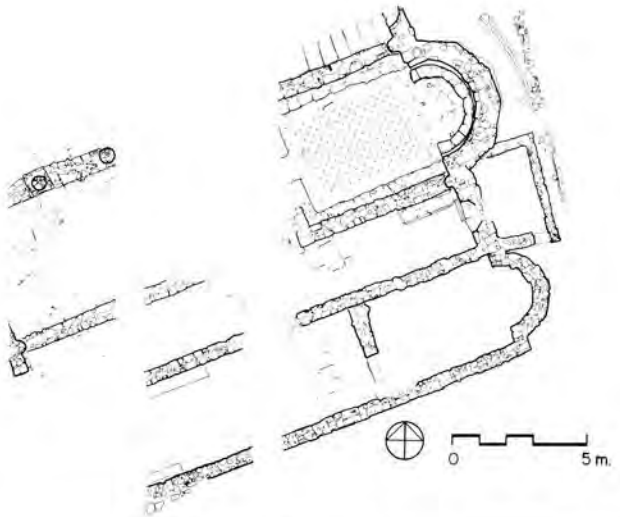
From the narthex's south end a steep narrow stairway descends into a small crypt. A gypsum-lined ossuary built against the east wall was cleared in 1988 and revealed the scattered remains of at least five occupants. In 1989, the excavation party discovered a second tomb, similarly constructed of carefully laid gypsum slabs and set against the south wall. This roughly contemporary tomb was occupied by no fewer than three individuals, whose articulated remains represent two adults and a juvenile of about eleven years. The population of the Sirmata crypt now totals at least eight.[5]

The courtyard stands north of the basilica about 1.0 m above the nave floor (Fig. 6). A few surviving slabs of marmara indicate that the area was once paved. Small rooms apparently surrounded the 8.5 x 12.5 m court on the three remaining sides. A solid mortared foundation, measuring about 2.2

m on each side, stands at the center and perhaps originally supported a basin or platform.[6] At the southeast corner is a large cistern, circular in plan and cut to a depth of 3.5 m.[7] The cistern's sturdy construction and hard hydraulic lining reflects its original importance to the life of this small religious community. A limestone catch basin and drain directed runoff from the northeast corner of the basilica's roof into the tank. Apparently, the cistern was filled with building debris in the mid-seventh century. While limited in quantity, pottery and associated finds belong to the late sixth and first half of the seventh centuries. The faunal remains are especially interesting and include snakes, dogs, and several large quadrupeds. Most startling was our discovery of at least six humans as well, including four or more children in addition to one adult male and one female skeleton. The summary disposition of bodies across the cistern's floor suggests that routine activities on this outlying hilltop came to a dramatic end. A mid-seventh-century date for this event at Sirmata would coincide with a tumultuous period in the island's history, when Cyprus first came under attack by the rising Arab states.[8]

In 1989 we also began excavating near the south edge of Kopetra's central habitation zone, located about 200 m west of Sirmata (Fig. 7). Visible wall fragments and surface artifacts suggested the presence of substantial

7. Kopetra, Area II before excavation, looking northwest.



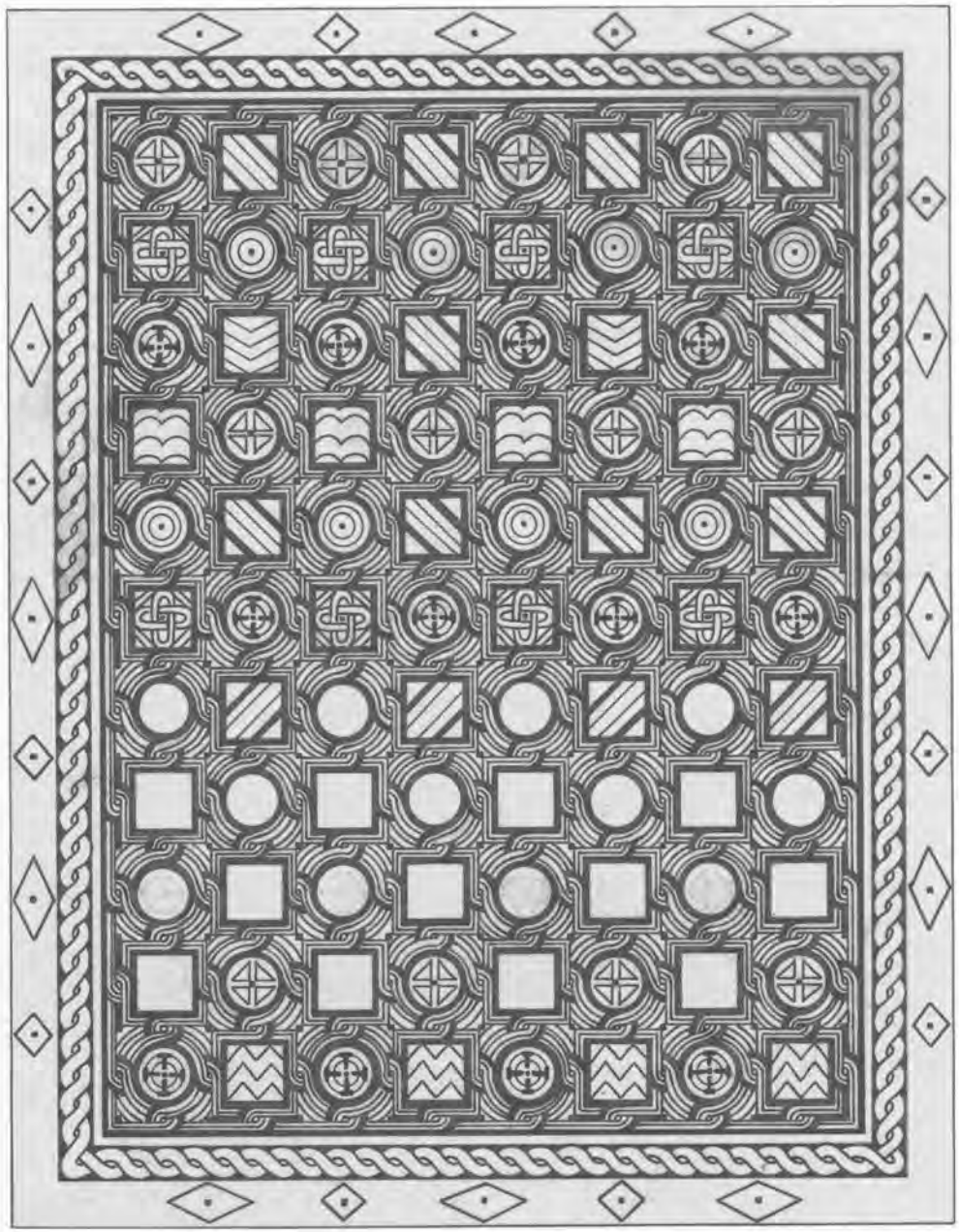
8. Kopetra, Area II, state plan of excavation.

9. Below: Kopetra basilica, central apse and edge of floor mosaic, looking north (1989).

building remains on this low, uncultivated mound. By the close of the 1990 season we had identified a second basilica at Area II, similar in many respects to that found at Sirmata.

While at present only partially excavated, the Kopetra basilica apparently presents a three-aisle plan with interior length of over 18 m (Fig. 8). The 4.8 m wide central nave was originally flanked by two rows of composite gypsum columns, apparently set at 2.7 m intervals, which were later replaced by low, irregular walls. The south aisle wall stands 2.2 m farther south. The 3.6 meter wide central apse contains a low rough stone bench and an uneven gypsum floor (Fig. 9). Inscribed niches terminate both side aisles. Behind the polygonally faceted apse is located a separate chamber that was accessible from the south. A small apsidal chapel originally stood at the southeast corner of the basilica.

The most striking aspects of the Area II basilica involve its furnishings and decoration. We found several fragments of imported marble at the sector, including the curved rim of a finely finished table top.[9] A small marble



11. Kopetra basilica, reconstruction drawing of floor mosaic (J. Ravenhurst).

molding or revetment fragment bears the monogram of one of the church's apparent patrons, Menelaou (Fig. 10).[10] The sanctuary also preserves parts of a floor mosaic, in which black, blue-gray, white, and red tesserae trace patterns of interlaced circles and squares (Fig. 11).[11] Numerous fragments of displaced polychrome mosaics apparently fell from the upper wall or semidome of the apse. The small size of individual stone tesserae and the use of gold-capped cubes reinforce the late sixth or early seventh century date of the mosaic.[12]

10. Kopetra, Area II, monogram on reverse of marble molding.

Throughout the collapsed debris we also recovered fragments of the building's extensive stucco decoration, or *gypsiplasia*. Identified elements include architectural moldings, vertically and spirally fluted column shafts, and capitals made of fine-grained, mold-made gypsum plaster. One large capital adorned with corner volutes and broad acanthus leaves gives some idea of the nave's former scale and appearance (Fig. 12). The most

12. Kopetra, Area II, molded gypsum capital.

13. Kopetra, Area II, molded gypsum panel of Theotokos.

significant fragment of this extensive stucco cycle is a small panel with a favorite religious image of late antiquity—the Virgin as Theotokos (Fig. 13). Despite the loss of her head and Christ's left hand, the panel's iconography is clear. The figure of the Virgin is seated on a high chair with zig-zag decoration suggesting woven wicker construction. She is turned to the viewer's left, holding the Christ child on her lap and resting her left hand on his shoulder. The child is presented frontally and holds up his right hand in a gesture of address; his left hand probably once held a scroll. Both figures wear long garments that fall in heavy folds. In contrast to many contemporary images, Christ appears not as an infant but as a child of some maturity, as is emphasized by his broad gesture of speech or blessing. The panel's significance lies in both its specific iconography and as a rare example of early Byzantine figural sculpture.[13] While architectural plaster was sometimes used for inhabited scrolls and capitals, this example appears to be its

first known use on Cyprus to depict religious figures.[14] The panel is roughly finished on the reverse and may originally have fitted into a wooden frame or stand, similar to painted panels or icons.

The Area II building resembles the Sirmata basilica in both plan and history. Both structures are oriented to the northeast and present similarly arranged building parts. The same construction techniques appear in the two buildings: floors are paved with slabs of marmara, and rising walls, piers, and columns are composed of mortared gypsum fragments. Contextual finds support approximately contemporary dates for the two structures. As at Sirmata, the Kopetra basilica also underwent a period of change, when its colonnades were closed and its main apse narrowed. This modified building similarly collapsed in the mid-seventh century but was later reoccupied by two small chapels erected amid the basilica's ruins. The south lateral chapel was apparently rebuilt and a second chapel occupied the former nave sanctuary, its lateral walls lined by facing benches that looked across the repaired mosaic floor. A battered Roman cippus or funerary marker, inscribed Demetrios Demetriou, was found nearby and may have supported the altar top in this late phase (Fig. 14).[15] A simple slab-lined tomb enclosing two adult males was installed against this chapel's outer south wall. Pottery from these reoccupied spaces suggests both a clear break in the seventh century and also resumed religious use of the precinct at a later date.

14. Kopetra, Area II, limestone cippus of Demetrios.

Four years of work at Kalavasos-Kopetra have brought our picture of this Late Roman community into sharper focus. The field survey suggests the outlines of a small settlement of perhaps 4-5 hectares that emerged suddenly in the late 500s to flourish until the mid-seventh century. Through trading contacts with Egypt, the Aegean coast and north Africa, Kopetra actively shared in the commercial networks of the Late Roman empire. Its two small basilicas attest the relative prosperity of a town that apparently lacked such traditional hallmarks of classical urbanism as public baths, theaters and fortifications. Finally, both excavated quarters suffered extensive damage during the mid-seventh century. The skeletons and building debris from the Sirmata cistern suggest that life in this outlying religious quarter ended in

violent destruction, an event that apparently was also felt at the nearby Kopetra basilica. While lacking direct evidence of external attack, such events may plausibly be related to the Arab raids on Cyprus that took place around mid-century. Whether other parts of the Late Roman settlement suffered a similar fate is a question that awaits our return to Cyprus next year.

MARCUS L. RAUTMAN is Assistant Professor of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia. His research interests in Late Roman and Byzantine archaeology have led to fieldwork in Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. He is codirector of the Kalvasos-Kopetra Project, which is now in its fifth year.

MURRAY C. McCLELLAN is currently teaching on the archaeology faculty at Boston University. He has excavated at various prehistoric and classical sites in Israel, Jordan, Libya, Greece, and Egypt. He is codirector of the Kalavasos-Kopetra Project.

NOTES

[1]The Kalavasos-Kopetra Project launched nine-week field campaigns from mid-May to July in both 1989 and 1990. In addition to the expedition codirectors, field staff for one or both seasons included survey coordinator Susan Langdon, physical anthropologist Sherry Fox Leonard, and archaeologists William Andreas, Lisa Benson, Larry Bruce, Jackie Eyle, Sotiri Hadjicharalambous, Maria Holt, John Leonard, Rena Nestoros, Danielle Parks, Lisa Rupp, Paul Scotton, and James Terry. Other participants in the 1989 season included volunteers organized by Earthwatch and the Brock Archaeological Practicum under the direction of Meg Morden and Bernice Cardy, and, in both seasons, field schools from Emory University. Financial support was provided by the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia; the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, the Center for Field Research; and private contributors, to all of whom the authors owe their appreciation. As in earlier years, special thanks are due the Department of Antiquities and its director Athanasios Papageorghiou. For reports of earlier seasons see "Cyprus at the End of Antiquity: Investigations at Kalavasos-Kopetra," MUSE 21 (1987): 45-54; "Kalavasos-Kopetra, 1988," MUSE 22 (1988): 51-63; and "The 1987 and 1988 Field Seasons of the Kalavasos-Kopetra Project," *Report of the Department of Antiquities* (Cyprus, 1989), 157-66.

[2]Cypriot Red Slip sherds constitute over half of the recovered fine wares by both count and weight; Late Roman C vessels from western Asia Minor make up between a third (by count) or a quarter (by weight) of the total. Amphora sherds are overwhelmingly of east Mediterranean origin, coming from the coastal areas of Cilicia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, as well as Cyprus. About 90% of all amphoras belong to a common category of sandy panel-ridged vessels with paired heavy handles (see D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy* [London, 1986], 185-87, class 44). This vessel type is represented in the Vasilikos Valley by at least four different fabrics.

[3]A. K. Orlandos, *He xylostegos palaiochristianike vasilike* II (Athens, 1954), 489-

97. Other examples of Cypriot synthronoi are discussed by A. Papageorghiou, "Foreign Influences on the Early Christian Architecture of Cyprus," *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident"* (Nicosia, 1986), 490-504, at 495. The Sirmata synthronon encloses a packed earthen core, similar to the contemporary acropolis basilica at Amathus; see A. Pralong and J.-M. Saulnier, "Rapport sur les travaux de l'École Français à Amathonte de Chypre: La basilique," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110 (1986): 884-99.

[4]Elsewhere in Cyprus the lateral *katechumena*, which served for the instruction of Christian converts, opened directly from the narthex; see Papageorghiou, "Foreign Influences," 494-95.

[5]Similar crypts and mortuary chapels are known elsewhere in Late Roman Cyprus and Syria; see Papageorghiou, "Foreign Influences," 495-96.

[6]Lacking pipes or other distinguishing hallmarks, this feature's original purpose remains unclear. The 0.5 m deep foundation could have supported a low platform or tower. While apparently unknown elsewhere in Cyprus, towers are found in some of the rural monasteries of south Syria; see J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), 236.

[7]Cisterns have been found at the Amathus acropolis basilica, Ayios Philon, Ayios Georghios at Peyia, and the extra-muros basilica at Kourion.

[8]A. Papageorghiou, "Les premières incursions arabes à Chypre et leurs conséquences," in *Aphieroma eis ton Konstantinon Spyridakin* (Nicosia, 1964), 152-58; J. des Gagniers, *Soloi. Dix campagnes de fouilles (1964-1974)* (Sainte-Foy, 1985), 115-25; A. H. S. Megaw, " 'Betwixt Greeks and Saracens,' " *Acts of the International Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident"* (1986), 505-19.

[9]These so-called sigma tables appear throughout the Late Roman empire; known Cypriot examples are discussed by G. Roux, "Tables chrétiennes en marbre découvertes à Salamis," *Salamine de Chypre IV. Anthologie Salaminienne* (Paris, 1973), 183-96.

[10]Our monogram was unscrambled by John W. Nesbitt of Dumbarton Oaks. Imperial monograms of this type are known from coinage, silverplate, and architectural sculpture.

[11]Similar patterns of nonrepresentational floor mosaics are found in Cyprus and Syria. Floor mosaics in Cypriot churches are discussed by D. Michaelides, "Mosaic Pavements from Early Christian Cult Buildings in Cyprus," in W. A. Daszewski and D. Michaelides, es., *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus* (Bologna, 1988), 81-153. For the interlaced circle and square pattern cf. C.H. Kraeling, ed., *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, 1938), pl. LXXXIIa (north aisle of Procopios church, ca. 526); R. and A. Ovadiah, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel* (Rome, 1987), 88, no. 139, pl. CI: 3, 4 (north chapel at Kafr Kama, second quarter of the sixth century).

[12]Cypriot churches with contemporary apse mosaics include the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomia, the Panagia Angelokistos at Kiti, and the Panagia tes Kyras at Livadia (sources summarized in D. Michaelides, *Cypriot Mosiacs* [Nicosia, 1987], 54-57); more fragmentary evidence comes from excavated churches at Amathus, Kourion, Polis, and Ayios Philon. Apse mosaics apparently appear outside the island's large cities only after the middle of the sixth century; see A. H. S. Megaw, "Interior Decoration in Early Christian Cyprus," *XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes. 1976, Rapports et co-rapports* 5, no. 4 (Athens, 1976), 1-29, at 25; and his "Mosaici parietali paleobizantini di Cipro," *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 32 (1985): 173-98.

[13]Related Cypriot images of the Virgin with Christ child appear in the Lythrankomi and Kiti apse mosaics; their iconography is analyzed by A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakariâ at Lythrankomi in Cyprus* (Washington, D.C., 1977), 66-76. The Kopetra Theotokos will be discussed at greater extent elsewhere.

[14]Stuccowork depicting animal-chase and hunting scenes has been found elsewhere in Cyprus at Amathus (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 86 [1962]: 410; fig. 106, 412-13) and Salamis (O. Callot, "Présentation des décors en stuc du bâtiment dit de 'l'huilerie' à Salamine," *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie* [Paris, 1980], 341-73). The technique is discussed by A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus. Metropolitan or Provincial?" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 57-88, at 69.

[15]Five cippi were found in the acropolis basilica at Amathus; see *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 111 (1987): 747. Similar markers from the Larnaca district are recently discussed in I. Nicolaou, "Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae XXVIII, 1988," *Report of the Department of Antiquities* (Cyprus, 1989), 141-50.

A HOMELESS BILLY GOAT IN MISSOURI

EMILY A. HEMELRIJK, JR.
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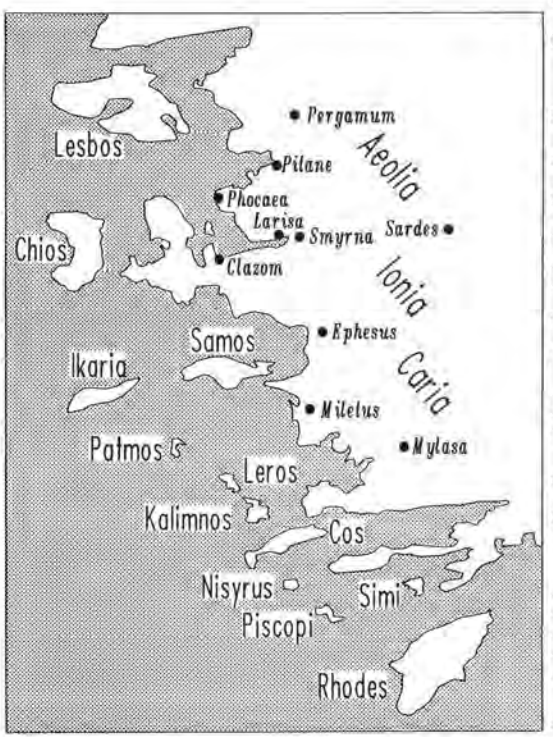
An important field of study and research for Classical archaeologists is Greek painted pottery. Many thousands of decorated Greek vases have been preserved. Some of them are of great technical and artistic perfection, especially the best vases made in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Other classes are more modest, though well made and, as a rule, quite pleasing.



1. Map of East Greece, courtesy of Geographic Resources Center, MU department of Geography.

Painted pottery was also made in East Greece, an area usually denoting the west coast of what is now Turkey (also called Asia Minor, or Anatolia by archaeologists) and the adjacent islands such as Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes (Fig. 1). The coast of present-day Turkey was occupied by Greeks from very early times (before 1000 B.C.), and the Greek-speaking population remained until the Greek-Turkish War of 1922-1923, after which many thousands of Greek-speaking Turks and Turkish-speaking Greeks were exchanged.

This region was the cradle of European poetry and art, and the birth place of Western philosophy and science. The main centers were, for a long time, Miletus, Ephesus, Samos, and sites that are now almost nameless but were famous cities in their time. Here, somewhere on the west coast or on one of the islands, around 700 B.C., Homer is supposed to have lived.[1] Here, European science was born when Thales predicted an eclipse of the sun in 585 B.C. and published a theory explaining the world in a secular, materialistic way.[2] His native town, Miletus, was the center of the civilized world,

c.

2 a-c. *East Greek oinochoe*, Museum of Art and Archaeology (71.113).

b.

a mighty city that is now a deserted hill surrounded by nauseating marshes.

It is somewhere on the west coast of Asia Minor, and about the time Thales developed his revolutionary way of thinking, that the trefoil oinochoe in the collections of the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia was made (Fig. 2 a-c). We would like to be able to tell where exactly, but this is for the time being impossible. The study of this jug raises considerable problems, in spite of more than 100 years of intensive archaeological research. But let us first look at the jug itself.

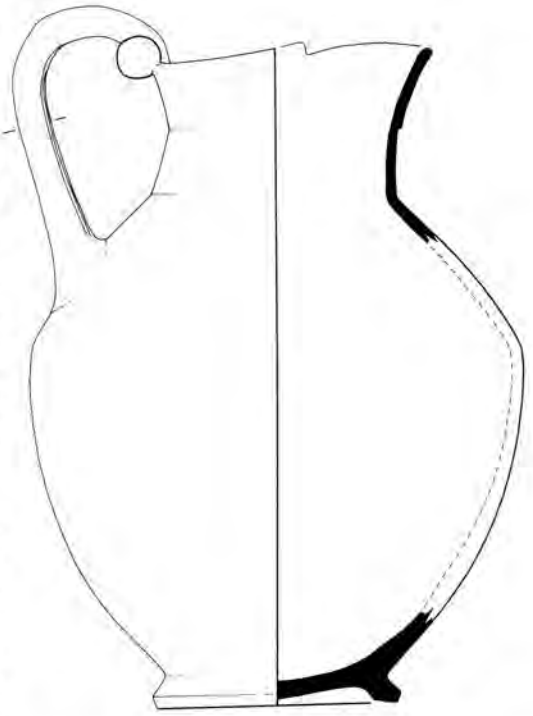
It is a sturdy pot with a low broad foot, oval body, very short, rather wide neck, and a trefoil mouth (bent into three curving lobes).[3] The handle was made of three rolls of clay joined alongside each other (a so-called three-reeded or triple-rolled handle, Fig. 2-c). It must have been hard to attach this rather thick handle to the thin upper edge of the lip and therefore, in close imitation of handles of bronze vases, a roll of clay was laid on the edge of the lip, ending in two thickenings (so-called rotelles), and onto this bar the upper end of the handle was attached. On bronze examples, the lower end of the handle is attached by means of a rivet plate; reminiscent of this is the rectangular panel painted under the lower attachment (filled with poorly drawn wavy lines, Fig. 2c).

The whole pot is 30 cm high and must have been thrown in one piece on the wheel from a single lump of clay.[4] As the section drawing of Figure 3 shows, there is no thickening or irregularity where the inside of the neck joins the upper part of the shoulder, so the neck and shoulders cannot have been made separately and then joined.

The foot, when seen from below, is a ring of clay, which must have been made in the following way. When the body, with the neck and lip, was thrown on the wheel, its base consisted of a thickish mass of clay. After some drying the vase was put back on the wheel, but now upside down, supported by a ring of clay (so-called "chuck") and the ring foot was formed by cutting, or rather shaving off, the unwanted clay of the bottom on the revolving wheel (this process is called "turning," as distinct from "throwing"). This is the reason that the clay wall at the bottom is thicker than above, as shown in the section drawing (Fig. 3).

Most East Greek ware was made of a rather coarse clay, with numerous micaceous particles in it, and fired to a reddish-buff color, so that the surface could not be properly used for painting. For this reason it was

usually covered with a thin clay wash, or slip, which formed a whitish cream painting ground. On this background the ornaments were painted with a thick clay slip that fired brownish black as a result of regulating the air entering the kiln, but where it was exposed to an accidental draft, it misfired red. So the paint on the body left of the handle is red. Over this dark clay slip a purple color was often painted to enliven certain details.



3. Section drawing of Missouri *oinochoe* (71.113).

The decoration of the oinochoe may seem intricate to the modern eye but was simple by Greek standards. The lip and foot are entirely black, while the lower part of the body is decorated with pointed leaves (usually called rays), suggesting the lower part (calyx) of a flower. The center of the body is girdled with three thick bands (with a purple stripe in the center of each), and the shoulder (which is only slightly set off from the belly by a curve) bears the main picture on its front (Fig. 2a). At either side, next to the handle, there is a series of five thin pendant rays (alternately painted black and covered with added red). The neck looks like a short, stiff collar and is adorned with a series of rather poorly drawn S-curves with dots. The lip is entirely black except for a reserved triangle in the indentations at either side of the frontal lobe, filled with a black triangle; these are rudimentary eyes common on the lips of East Greek oinochoai. Greeks felt a pot to be like a living creature and they referred to the various parts as foot, belly, shoulder, neck, lip, and "ears" (handles). The eyes suggests that this oinochoe was still felt to be vaguely reminiscent of a bird (an owl?).[5] The two outer bars of the triple handle are decorated with horizontal stripes, while the central one is painted brownish black (Fig. 2c).

The charm of this oinochoe, apart from its competent shape, is mainly based on the picture on the shoulder: the sturdy billy goat (its body and horns enlivened with spots and strokes of added red) grazing in a field full of ornaments. On either side the panel is framed by a vertical band with a so-called stopped meander (meander hooks attached to the borderline).

The one on the right was not well planned: the painter had to add half a pair of meander hooks at the bottom (Fig. 2a).

The billy goat walks on tiptoe (for only the tips of his hooves touch the ground) through a field with two flowery rosettes (concentric circles bordered with dots), a kind of swastika (meander cross), and, growing from the borderlines, a horseshoe-shaped loop or leaf (in the left upper corner) and three triangles: two crosshatched and one filled with three compartments with black cores. In the right lower corner a quarter rosette peeps out, like a sunflower looking in the window.

The goat in the panel shows that the oinochoe belongs to what has appropriately been called the "Wild Goat Style" (W. G. Style), a pottery fashion that flourished in East Greece from about 650 B.C. onward.[6] A good example of a less pretentious product of this style is seen in Figure 4a, an oinochoe of about 625-600 B.C., which in many respects seems comparable to ours but more refined and decorated with two rows of grazing goats, one above the other (a kneeling deer occupies the center of the shoulder where our goat panel is painted).[7] The handle is similar, but the body is more slender, with the shoulder set off from it at a marked angle; the neck is narrower, higher, and tapering, and the lip is relatively lower. The decoration of the vase is quite different, and around the base, there is a row of large flowers and buds.

The comparison of Figures 4a and 2a shows that our jug is of a provincial kind. A closer look at the two goats (Figs. 2a and 4b) further supports this assumption. In fact, the goat in Figure 2 is quite unusual. We know no parallels for the clumsy legs, and especially the strangely shaped forelegs that bend in the wrong direction (at the "knees"), the too-short body, and funny head: note the sharp double curve of the ear, the flat top of the head from which the horn springs, the curled nose, the two tiny strokes on the outline of the jaw under the eye, and the goatee pointed forward. The jaw is rounded and the neck is attached to it in a very awkward way. The proportions are ungainly, and the fact that the hooves are not black, but drawn in outline, is very unusual. Dotted belly stripes are not uncommon, both in early times and later, but here the stripe is clumsy and the dots are very emphatic.[8]

On the other hand, most so-called "filling" ornaments of Figure 2a are also found in Figure 4b: the dotted rosettes floating in the field, the variation

4a-b.
Amsterdam
784.

of the swastika or meander cross, and the triangular filling ornament attached to the borderline, divided in three compartments (though not with solid cores). There is also the quarter "sunflower" in the corner. The billy goat of Amsterdam 784 (Fig 4b) is traditional in all respects and that of our oinochoe (Fig. 2a) is, to our knowledge, unique.[9] What do we know of the regular Wild Goat Style and its provincial derivatives? And to what provincial school should the oinochoe in Missouri be attributed? To answer the former question is far beyond the scope of this note, but a sketchy indication of its problems must be given in order to explain why it is still impossible to answer the latter.

Our knowledge of the Wild Goat Style is confused and defective. Workshops producing this kind of pottery may have existed in almost every East Greek town as well as in scores of East Greek (mainly Milesian) colonies around the Black Sea. While some scholars believe it possible to attribute vases stylistically to supposed different production centers — Cos, Nisyros, Rhodes, Ephesus, Miletus, Samos, Chios, Smyrna, Larisa, Phocaea, Pitane, other Aeolian cities, Lesbos, Thasos, etc.—their claims have been based on

instinct rather than on empirical data.[10]

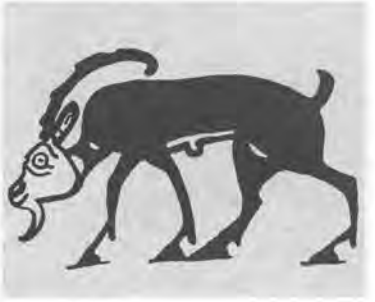
The "classical" Wild Goat Style, if one may use such a designation (which also comprises vases like that of Amsterdam 784), was usually assigned to Rhodes or Samos. Rhodes figures prominently in all handbooks because a great number of Wild Goat vases have been found there: its graveyards were excavated extensively by the Italians before World War II, and the results have been published.[11] Samos too has been fortunate. Its once famous sanctuary has been excavated with great care and skill by the Germans, and the (mostly fragmentary) pottery has been published extensively.[12] In general, grounds to attribute individual pots to individual towns are almost wholly lacking; with the stylistic method, very little progress has been made since World War II. Until recently it seemed that excavations and publications of many more cities and cemeteries would be needed before any reliable information could be obtained. In view of the weak economic situation of the region and the restrictions put on foreign study and excavations, it would take another fifty years or more to achieve this goal.

However, the application of new scientific techniques has recently come to the rescue: careful analyses of modern clay and of ancient sherds or pots have been made and published. An enumeration of some of the scientific technical terms and techniques may well sound like experimental poetry to the layman: atomic absorption spectrophotometry, differential thermal analysis, Mössbauer spectroscopy, nuclear magnetic resonance spectroscopy, optical emission spectroscopy, quadrupole splitting factor, thermoluminescence, scanning electro-microscopy, thermal remanent magnetism. The abbreviations of these terms look like an exercise in minimalist art: AAS, DTA, MS, NMR, OES, QSF, TL, SEM, TRM.

Very few archaeologists possess an adequate knowledge of these techniques, but those who do have recently made themselves eminently useful.[13] Thanks to them, a more historically asccurate picture is now beginning to emerge, which contradicts most theories regarding the production centers of the Wild Goat Style found in handbooks and discussions of the last seventy-five years or more. No doubt this new picture is incomplete and will be corrected and refined in the next few decades, but the present position is roughly as follows.

The classical W. G. Style was produced mainly in Miletus and so was

6. *Fragment of Chiot chalice*, from Catania (Samos vi.1, pl. 94, 744).

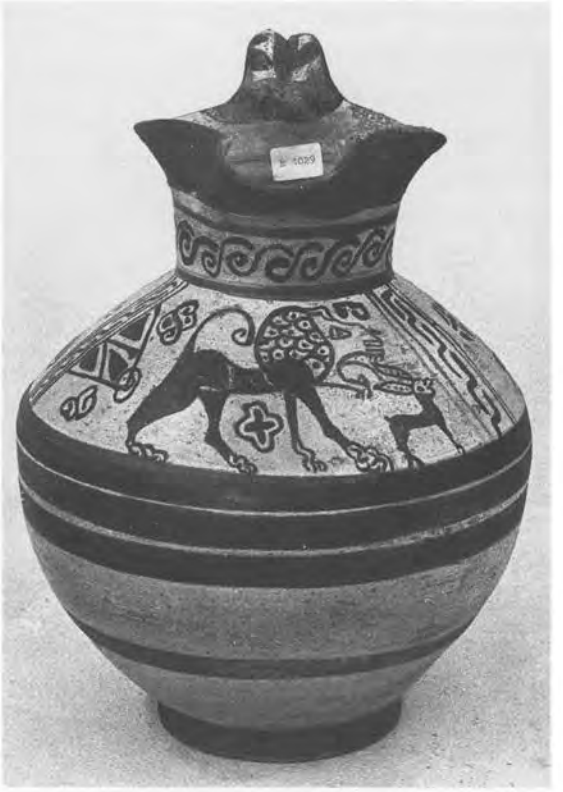


5. *Detail of Tübingen S101473 dinos, showing goat*, drawing by C. Kardara, *Rhodiaki Angeiographia*, p. 254.

7. *Amsterdam 3745.*

its later derivation, the so-called Fikellura Style (565-500 B.C.); Miletus was the main pottery center of South Ionia, but there must have been more such centers (e.g., Ephesus, Fig. 1). However, no W. G. Style pottery of any importance was produced, it seems, in Rhodes and Samos.

Pottery of a slightly cruder and somewhat later style was made in North Ionia (Fig. 5),[14] Clazomenae, and in another town in that region (perhaps Teos), while a special branch of this pottery was, as has always been assumed, made in Chios (Fig. 6). Pottery from Aeolia, such as found in Myrina, Phocaea, and Larisa may have been made in a single center,



8. *Staatliche Kunstsammlung Kassel*, Sammlung Dieriche Alg. 28.

9a-b. *Staatliche Kunstsammlung Kassel*, Sammlung Dierichs Alg. 33.

perhaps near Larisa (Fig. 7, stylistically regarded as Aeolian).[15] Apart from these examples, there must have been numerous other pottery centers of this animal style, some of them definitely more provincial. Animal style pottery was made in Phrygia,[16] and in Lydia (Sardis);[17] curiously crude pots and plates have been found on the island of Nisyros[18] and other examples of crude W. G. Style pottery may be listed.

One provincial group has become better known since the 1970s, when a large number of its vases came on the market in Germany and were dispersed to museums and collections (Figs. 8 and 9a-b).[19] This group was perhaps made in a Carian pottery center, which may have been somewhere near Mylasa, in the southwest corner of Asia Minor, to the west southwest of Miletus.[20] This group will have to be located by clay analysis.

This must suffice to indicate how disrupting the scientific analysis of ancient sherds has been for the existing theories of the production centers of W. G. Style pottery.

10. *Antikenmuseum Bochum S987.*

In the present state of uncertainty, it is, therefore, to be expected that we cannot attribute the Missouri oinochoe to a particular pottery center. It is surprising, however, that we are unable to find another pot that is clearly related to it and that can be seen to belong to the same ceramic tradition or school. Let us look briefly at its shape and decoration scheme.

The general shape of the Missouri oinochoe is thoroughly Greek, including its three-reeded handle, but the ovoid form with broad, short, stiff neck and wide foot is unknown to us in Eastern Greece in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Similar to some extent is a group of pots called "band-girdled jugs," which have more or less ovoid bodies, broad bands around the belly, and the main decoration on the shoulder; but the neck, mouth, and foot are much narrower.[21] Incidentally, it may seem that the Bochum oinochoe (Fig. 10) comes near in shape, but its neck is narrower and its shoulder more set off; in any event, it is unknown from which school

it originates (see below and n. 29).

The decorative scheme of our oinochoe is also nearly unparalleled. The three bands around the belly (note the absence of thin lines above and below them) are very rare indeed. Again the "band-girdled jugs" are similar, but their girdles consist in a pair of broad bands enclosing a narrow ornament.[22]

It is rare to find a single animal in a panel on the shoulder (Fig. 9a-b).[23] There is a group of two-handled amphorae found mostly in far-off colonies on the coast of North Africa and the Black Sea and on Delos[24] with a single goat on the shoulder (usually looking back) and bands (sometimes three or more) around the body; often there is a vertical frame band with an ornament on either side, but the goats are of "classical" elegance.

Panels on the shoulders framed with vertical ornaments, as seen on the Missouri example (Fig. 2a), occur on oinochoai of a very different shape and early date,[25] but not, as a rule (apart from the "Carian" group, see below and Fig. 9b), on oinochoai with trefoil lip (Fig. 2a and 4a). A central figure or ornament flanked by pendant rays is found on a number of squat oinochoai with trefoil lip[26] of the "classical" style, but the vertical frame is lacking. The combination of the inverted rays and vertical bands framing the shoulder panel is, however, frequent in the provincial "Carian school" mentioned above (Figs. 9a-b), a "school" that seems to have produced all kinds of styles and is far from uniform. Though the shape of the Missouri oinochoe and its sturdy rays around the base are lacking here and the pendant rays on the shoulder are split lengthwise (Figs. 2a and b vs. 9a and b), it is clear that the comparison is not quite meaningless.

So far we have hardly spoken of the style of the figured panel, and especially the goat of the Missouri oinochoe. The contrast with the elegant Milesian goat, of Amsterdam 784 (Fig. 4a-b), may be great, but the North Ionian beast of Figure 5 seems hardly superior to it. Its head is too big, its neck too short, its back seems hunched, the front and hind legs are so different that it is hard to believe they belong to the same animal. The poor beast looks melancholy, for the painter added a line under the eye that seems to suggest as much (but was, of course, not meant to do so). All the same, compared with this North Ionian breed (Fig. 5), the goat in the Missouri oinochoe (Fig. 2a) still looks slightly wooden and primitive.

The animal style in Aeolia is usually cruder than the North Ionian

example of Figure 5, but this is not obvious on the small plate of Figure 7, which is regarded as Aeolian on stylistic grounds.[27] It shows the forepart of a rather elegant goat with a curious eye indicated with two concentric circles with a dot (the pupil) in the center. Again there is a stroke under the eye, the goatee is a double one; the attachment of the head to the neck is far more natural than in the Missouri example, which, again, seems less proficiently drawn (note the curly nose and the absence of the eyebrow).

For a clear deviation from the Greek norms we have to turn to the work of a truly provincial pottery center, such as the so-called "Carian" one, mentioned above (Figs. 8 and 9a-b),[28] but let us first look at an oinochoe from the Antikenmuseum in Bochum (Fig.10), which is provincial but perhaps more related to the Aeolian than to the "Carian" group. It is a surprising and rather funny one, decorated in what might be called a "close" style, the entire surface being filled with animals and birds in a wilderness of filling ornament, a style strongly reminiscent of tapestry or embroidery.[29] The shape differs from that of the Missouri oinochoe, but the foot is broad and the neck stiff and straight. The goat in the upper frieze walks on tiptoe, its wooden upper legs are very like those of the Missouri goat, its ear is like the curved blade of a dagger, its eye again consists of concentric circles with a dot (compare Fig. 7), its goatee points aggressively forward, and its tail is drawn in outline (though not its hooves, compare Fig. 2a). Here we see what a provincial imitation of Greek vase painting is like, and we must conclude that our goat jug may be slightly similar to but is not a product of the same tradition.

The degree to which such imitations of Greek work can be undisciplined and barbarous can be seen in Figure 8, an oinochoe with a thoroughly Greek shape.[30] Its decoration has several elements in common with that of our example: such as the three black bands around the belly (a very rare girdle decoration), the neck ornament, and also the shoulder panel framed with vertical border ornaments. However, the style of the figure scene is downright primitive and entirely un-Greek; the painter may have been a Carian who never handled a Greek pot. The subject is so curious that it looks like a fable, which might have been entitled "The Lion and the Hare."

It is in this provincial school that we regularly find the shoulder panel with two vertical borders flanked with inverted rays.[31] Here we find an occasional oinochoe with a single goat in the shoulder panel (Fig.9a-b),[32]

rays (though thin ones) around the base, triangular eyes on the lip (in the indentations of the lobes, just as on Fig. 2a-b), and a broad black girdle; but the angrily stalking goat of Figure 9b is a weird animal that has been elongated to fill the space reserved for it; our goat looks quite civilized compared to it. The filling ornaments with the cricket wicket motif near the left hand corner (a typical "Carian" filler) are in no way related to those of our oinochoe. In short, we may feel sure that the oinochoe of Figure 2a-c is less un-Greek, less barbaric than the "Carian" examples.

After this rather difficult journey through the East Greek W. G. Style pottery, we may summarize as follows. We have not found a good parallel for the shape of the Missouri oinochoe. The scheme of decoration is rare, but the shoulder panel between vertical framing ornament bands and flanked by inverted rays is quite common in the so-called "Carian" group. Here, too, we sometimes find the three broad belly bands (Fig. 8) and the single goat in the shoulder panel (Fig. 9a-b). The shapes, however, are different[33] and so is the often rather crude figure style and the repertoire of the filling ornaments. Clearly we are still in the dark in our judgment of the Missouri oinochoe.

More than fifteen years ago, in the summer of 1973 (according to a note in the Museum of Art and Archaeology files), an expert on East Greek pottery, R. M. Cook, saw the vase and attributed it to Chios, calling it "an unusual piece." This was before the upheaval in our knowledge caused by the scientific clay analyses and the publication of the "Carian" group. Cook's opinion was repeated in a more recent publication of the oinochoe.[34] For comparison we may use the Chiot sherd (Fig. 6).[35] On this sherd, the hoof-shaped pendant ornament (compare with Fig. 2a, left upper corner of the panel) seems to be at home, triangular fillers growing from the borderlines with three solid black cores are very frequent, dotted belly stripes are continued when in other examples they have often been abandoned, and there may be more arguments. But the style of the goat in Figure 6 is definitely more elegant, and the slip of Chiot ware is much whiter than that of the Missouri oinochoe. For these reasons we can no longer hold that our oinochoe is a product of a Chiot workshop, and our goat has to remain homeless, at least for the time being. It is clear from our survey that it must have come from some provincial East Greek school. If one may still hazard a guess — but we have seen that guessing has proved to be highly

unsuccessful — it seems more probable that this school was in, or near, North Ionia than in the neighborhood of the "Carian" workshop (contrast Figs. 7 and 6 with Fig. 9b).

This rather elaborate discussion of the oinochoe in Missouri, and the problems it raises, gives a discouraging picture of the current state of knowledge of East Greek pottery, but we may be confident that in the coming decades the difficulties that have been insurmountable for so many years will be finally solved by the wonderful technical means of AASDTAMSNMR OESQSFTLSEMTRM, etc.

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NOTES

Abbreviations:

Emily Hemelrijk: Emily A. Hemelrijk, "A Group of Provincial East Greek Vases from South Western Asia Minor," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 62 (1987): 33-55.

Gercke: Peter Gercke, *Funde aus der Antike, Sammlung Paul Dierichs* (Kassel, 1981).

[1]We have good reason to doubt that a poet called Homer was responsible for the Iliad and the Odyssey as we know them, but there is no doubt that around 700 B.C. a very great poet created the dramatic epic of the "Wrath of Achilles" (which forms the core of the Iliad). Shortly afterward this same poet, or perhaps a colleague of his, composed the nucleus of the Odyssey. The present shape of the Iliad and the Odyssey, however, is probably due to the compilation of existing oral poetry, made in Athens in the sixth century B.C.

[2]Thales assumed that everything was made of water. "This," according to Bertrand Russell, "is to be regarded as a scientific hypothesis, and by no means a foolish one. Twenty years ago, the received view was that everything is made of hydrogen, which is two-thirds water" (Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy*, 2d ed. [reprint, London, 1984], 45; a fascinating account of early Greek scientific endeavor.)

[3]Inv. no. 71.113. H. 30 cm: H. without handle 28 cm; W. 20.9 cm. Mended from fragments, complete. Reddish buff micaceous clay with cream slip. Red on three wide bands around belly, red stripes above and below cable ornament on neck (below it between two black lines, above it on top of the black stripe). Two vertical lines on each side of handle, the outer thin, added red on the inner one. Rotelles hatched. Published in W. G. Moon, *Greek Vase Paintings in Midwestern Collections* (The Art Institute of Chicago, 1979), 16-17, no. 11. Mentioned by Emily Hemelrijk, 33, n. 1, and by R. M. Cook, *Anadolu* xxi, 74, n. 8, both in connection with the group of vases called "Carian."

[4]For the technique of Greek vases and modern research see R. Hampe and A. Winter, *Bei Töpfern und Töpferinnen in Kreta, Messenien und Zypern* (Mainz, 1962), and *Bei Töpfern und Zieglern in Süditalien, Sizilien und Griechenland* (Mainz, 1965); R. E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery; A Review of Scientific Studies* (Athens, 1986); Joseph Veach Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery, rev. ed.* (London, 1988); Ingeborg Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst; Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefässe* (Munich, 1983); A. Winter, *Die antike Glanztonkeramik, praktische Versuche* (Mainz, 1978).

[5]Certain oinochoai of a later East Greek pottery class (called *Fikellura*) are painted in the likeness of an owl with breast feathers and wings. E. Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1 (1973),pl. 4-5, no. 47, etc. Eyes on either side of the central lobe (the "neb") of the trefoil lip are common (see *Samos* vi. 1, 36, pl. 64; 82; 106-7).

[6]It lasted perhaps till shortly before 550 B.C. The main publications on the Wild Goat Style: W. Schiering, *Werksstätten orientalisierender Keramik aus Rhodos* (1953); C. Kardara, *Rhodiaki Angeiographia* (1963); R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* 2 (1972), 117-25; N. Walter, *Samos* v (1968); E. Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1.

[7]Amsterdam, inv. no. 784.

[8]Usually there are filling ornaments between the legs and in the curve of the horn; emphatic dots in belly stripes also sometimes in Chiot; e.g., Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1, pl. 90b.

[9]Especially its reserved hooves, but also its thick clumsy upper legs, the concave curves of its forelegs, the flatness of the skull, and the curiously curved ear.

[10]See Walter, *Samos* v, and Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1.

[11]Clara Rhodos, *Studi e Materiali Pubblicati a cura dell Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi* i-ix. (1928-1941).

[12]Walter, *Samos* v, and Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1.

[13]Mainly P. Dupont, *Histria* v, 63-169, and *Dacia* xxvii (1983), 19-43. For further reading see the excellent survey by R. E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery*.

[14]Fig. 5 from Kardara, *Rhodiaki Angeiographia*, 254, fig. 204, a tracing made by Kardara of a photo of a goat on the dinos Tübingen S101473 (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Tübingen 1, pl. 10). Dupont (*Dacia* xxvii, 25) also identifies a local pottery in Erythrae.

[15]Amsterdam, inv. no. 3745. Dupont (*Dacia* xxvii, 23) suggests that other potteries may have existed in Pitane and Pergamum. For pictures of Aeolian pottery: E. Walter-Karydi, "Äolische Kunst," *Antike Kunst, Beiheft* 7 (1970): 3-18.

[16]See, e.g., T. Özgüc, *Masat Höyük* (1982), pl. 76-77.

[17]See, e.g., C. H. Greenewalt, *Californian Studies in Classical Antiquity* 3 (1970), 55-89.

[18] Clara Rhodos, *Studi e Materiali* vi-vii (1932-1933), 475-543 (esp. 491, 494).

[19] Both in Kassel, *Staatliche Kunstsammlung*; see Gercke, nos. 19 and 10.

[20]For illustrations, see Gercke (also Gercke, *Archäologische Anzeiger* [1983], 493, figs. 30-31) and Emily Hemelrijk. For lists of this group see Emily Hemelrijk, and R. M. Cook, *Anadolu* xxi, 74 n. 8; both include the Missouri oinochoe, erroneously, we now believe.

[21]Schiering, "Gürtelband Kannen," *Werkstätten* 20 (see n.6); Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1, pl. 63-65 (on the shoulder of no. 530 there are pendant rays, split lengthwise, flanking the central figure).

[22]Sometimes there are three bands enclosing two narrow running ornaments: *Annual of the British School at Athens* 34 (1933-1934), pl. 18 (BM A691). Triple belly bands may occur on the amphorae mentioned in n. 24 and are occasionally found on provincial W. G. Style work: see Fig. 8 and n. 31. *Delos* xvii, pl. 42, no. 15, shows a squat oinochoe with a billy goat in its shoulder panel flanked by pendant rays and three bands around its belly, but the shape is different.

[23]But see Figs. 9a-b; single geese in panels are common in "Carian" ware; see Gercke, nos. 24-26, and Emily Hemelrijk, figs. 25-26.

[24]Tocra: J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra, 1963-1965, The Archaic Deposits* i, BSA Suppl. vol. 4 (1966), 41, nos. 580-81, pl. 28; Istria: P. Alexandrescu, *Histria iv, La céramique d'epoque archaique et classique* (1970), pl. 1-2; Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1, pl. 113; *Delos* xvii, pls. 39-41 (multiple band and vertical frame: pl. 41.14); G. Ploug, *Sukas* ii (1973), pl. 9.171 (both with frame and three bands).

[25]Round-mouthed, globular, rather squat oinochoai, e.g., Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1, pl. 90, the oinochoe of Schiering, *Werkstätten*, pl. 3. and 12.1. See Emily Hemelrijk, 48, no. 28.

[26]Emily Hemelrijk, fig. 24; *Samos*, vi. 1, pl. 64-65; Kardara, *Rhodiaki Angeiographia*, 112.

[27]For Fig. 7, see n. 15. Very curious goats in an ornament-crowded animal style are found in Larisa: J. Boehlau and K. Schefold, *Larissa am Hermos III* (1942), pls. 19, 22, 25, 26, 29.

[28]Emily Hemelrijk and Gercke.

[29]Fig. 10 is published in *Antiken aus Rheinischem Privatbesitz*, 1973, pl. 196, no. 436. A similar abhorrence of empty space (*horror vacui*) is found on the pottery of Larisa (see n. 27), where the filling ornaments, like those of Fig. 10, are sometimes curiously curvilinear. It seems clear that the Missouri oinochoe does not belong to the "Carian" group, but compare the filling ornament to Gercke, nos. 7 and 23.

[30]Gercke, no. 19; *Staatliche Kunstsammlung Kassel*, Sammlung Dierichs, Alg. 23.

[31]A remarkable oinochoe with this shoulder decoration (a single bird in the panel) and three broad belly bands (with bordering line above and below) and rays around the base is to be seen in Charles Ede, *Corinthian and East Greek Pottery* (London, 1983), no. 28. This oinochoe does not seem to belong to the "Carian" school. Though it is from the sixth century, the style of its bird seems sub-Geometric. It should be compared with Gercke, no. 26, which may also fall outside the "Carian" group.

[32]Gercke, no. 10; *Staatliche Kunstsammlung Kassel, Sammlung Dierichs*, Alg. 33. Another example of single goat in the shoulder panel of a jug is Gercke, no. 12.

[33]Also the vertical handles are different (usually two-reeded; compare Fig. 2c). Incidentally, the imitation rivet bar under the handle (in Fig. 2c filled with wavy lines) is common on early W. G. Style vases (decorated with tooth-like pendant spikes): Walter, *Samos* v, pls. 96.503, 102.538, 117.592, 118.596.

[34]W. G. Moon, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections*, no. 11.

[35]Walter-Karydi, *Samos* vi. 1, pl. 94.744, from Sicily, Catania; with kind permission of Mrs. Walter-Karydi.

GAMING HEROES:
AJAX AND ACHILLES ON A LEKYTHOS IN MISSOURI

WILLIAM R. BIERS

Toward the end of the sixth century B.C., a new scene became very popular in Attic vase painting. It showed two armed warriors playing a board game, and most scholars believe that it may have been the famous vase painter Exekias who first painted the scene, and that he painted it at least twice. His painting on an amphora now in the Vatican is well known to every student (Fig. 1). Exekias has clearly labeled his figures; the bareheaded warrior to the left is Achilles, that to the right is Ajax. The subject of two warriors gaming was immediately picked up and repeated with variations for some fifty years until about 480 B.C. A particularly interesting example of one of the later renderings of the subject is in the collections of the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia (Fig. 2 a-c).[1]

1. *Achilles and Ajax playing a board game*, Amphora in the Vatican Museum, photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv.

The Missouri vase is a lekythos, a usually tall, cylindrical vessel that contained oil and was often used as a dedication at a grave or in sanctuaries. Such vessels usually have a long neck and a flaring mouth. Our example is more

c.

2 a-c. *Lekythos*, Museum of Art and Archaeology (82.299).

b.

rounded than the standard shape, with a larger, sloping shoulder (Fig. 2a). It belongs to a subdivision of the lekythos shape known as the Phanyllis Class,[2] first named by C. H. Emilie Haspels in 1936 after a lekythos of this shape found in the excavations on Delos decorated with a representation of a seated Dionysos and bearing a scratched dedication by a certain Phanyllis to the goddess Hera (Fig. 3).[3] This vase is then the name piece of the Phanyllis Painter, a major hand that can be identified in the workshop that specialized in these rather old-fashioned lekythoi. The scheme of decoration and the rounded shape is clear from the illustration of the Delos and Missouri examples and is quite constant. The broad shape gives a relatively large field for decoration, and the figured scene is generally placed there, with the body below simply painted black. The repertory of scenes portrayed on Phanyllis lekythoi are those normally found in Attic black-figure painting, with both mythological and everyday scenes featured. The relatively tall, narrow field restricted somewhat the possibility of large compositions, but there was considerably more room than on the narrower, cylindrical lekythoi. Single subjects, such as a god or a warrior arming, are invariably flanked by framing elements, usually onlookers, occasionally eyes or symmetrically placed participants in the scene. Subsidiary decoration on the shoulder often consists of upright, seven-petaled palmettes, sometimes enclosed, on a row of connected circles, sometimes dotted, and divided by vertical lines narrowing toward the bottom. Occasionally, alternate decorations are used for the shoulder, which may consist of single palmettes, figures, or quite often inverted, connected lotus buds with dots between them, as on the Missouri example. The neck is generally set off in some way, usually with tongues, and can be left plain or given upward-pointing rays.

Haspels put the less than one hundred examples of Phanyllis lekythoi known to her into five groups, including two attributions to painters, the Phanyllis Painter and the Chariot Painter, who accounted for less than thirty lekythoi. The remainder she placed in groups, of which the Group of the Arming Lekythoi and the Group of the Hoplite Leaving Home were named after the most common scenes depicted.[4] Giudice, writing with a greater corpus of material and almost fifty years after Haspels, accepted her groups, and while making some conflations and adjustments, added a great number of new attributions so that his definitive catalogue now lists over 500

examples of Phanyllis Class lekythoi.[5] There is considerable variation in quality among the vases produced by the Phanyllis workshop from the relatively well-drawn compositions of the Phanyllis Painter himself (Fig. 3) to small, hastily drawn and painted pieces at the lower end of the scale in quality if not in quantity. It is interesting that it appears that a large number of the workshop's output found its way to the West.[6]

Most of the lekythoi of the Phanyllis Class are relatively small, ranging in overall height to between 20 and 30 cm, though smaller examples exist in the large Hoplite Leaving Home Group and taller ones in the work of the Phanyllis Painter himself and in the Group of the Arming Warrior (Haspel's Group of the Arming Lekythoi). These larger examples (up to 35 cm in height and large in proportion) are usually more carefully finished than the smaller examples.[7]

The lekythos in Missouri with the scene of Ajax and Achilles gaming is one of the larger, grander Phanyllis lekythoi. The two heroes are shown crouching or squatting at either end of a rectangular gaming board, decorated with a simple white stripe, and gesturing toward the gaming pieces, which are shown as white dots. Achilles appears to point with his right hand, while Ajax gestures with his right. Both bearded heroes crouch in more or less the same pose, with the right leg horizontal and the left vertical, but Ajax's position is more extended, which together with the gesture of the right hand adds some animation to the scene. Achilles, on the other hand, is a compact, quiet figure. Both heroes are fully armored, with breastplate under a short cloak and greaves (protection for the lower legs) and wear Corinthian helmets pushed back on their heads. Achilles' double crest is cut off by the shoulder zone; Ajax has only one crest, perhaps one was omitted by the artist so as not to interfere with Athena's gesture (Fig. 2a). The heroes have spears over their left shoulders that extend well into the pendant bud frieze on the shoulder of the lekythos. Ajax's left arm, facing the viewer, is clearly depicted holding his spear, but Achilles' arm is obscured by his body and has to be imagined. The scene is closed by palm trees, each composed of a trunk and five symmetrically placed palm fronds on each side, each with white dots marking their attachment to the trunk. The players have placed their massive shields

3. *Lekythos from Delos dedicated by Phanyllis*, photo courtesy École Française d'Archéologie d'Athènes.

against the trees (Fig. 2 b and c). They are shown in profile, and the heavy rim and curved cut-out can be clearly seen. These are heroic shields, the shape resembling the figure-eight, and are associated with heroic scenes. The shield itself is often called a Boeotian Shield, from shields of similar shape familiar from coins of Boeotia in historic times. Achilles' shield is simply decorated with three large white dots, and its convex side faces the players (Fig. 2b). Ajax has placed the curved surface of his shield against the tree, and his blazon appears to be a tripod, half of which can be seen by the viewer (Fig. 2c).

Between the two heroes and in front of the gaming board stands Athena, a slim, elegant presence compared to the large, heavy heroes. She stands facing to the right but looks back to her right toward Achilles, and at the same time gestures with her left hand. Her right hand holds her spear, which diagonally crosses her body and extends into the shoulder zone. She is dressed in a long peplos, she wears her aegis over this, and a short cloak is draped over her left arm and hangs in symmetrical folds to both sides. She wears a helmet with a high crest, which is allowed to intrude into the pendant bud zone on the shoulder.

The vase is decorated in the black-figure technique, and the artist has been relatively careful with his use of incision and added colors (with the exception of the incised lines for the fold of drapery hanging behind Athena's right side that show through her white-painted arm. Her incised spear shaft also crosses over her closed hand). Incision is used for musculature, drapery, and armor details, as well as for facial features. His proportions are somewhat off, and there are several crudities, such as the heroes' hands and feet, but the lines can be quite sure, and Athena is a model of elegance. White is used for Athena's flesh, the rosette decorations down the central panel of her garment, the decoration on Achilles' cloak (traces), helmet crests (traces), the gaming board and its pieces, shield blazons, and the attachment points for the palm tree fronds. Added red was used for beards and Athena's peplos (traces). An interesting point is that Ajax seems a little less emphasized than Achilles — there is no decoration on his cloak, for instance, and this feature, together with his agitated pose and Athena's look and gesture, suggest that Achilles is the winner, as one would expect.[8]

A second large Phanyllis Class lekythos with Ajax and Achilles

gaming is, strangely enough, in Columbia, South Carolina (Fig. 4).[9] The shoulder decoration is the more common upright palmettes in linked circles, but the central scene is virtually a replica of the scene on the Missouri vase and should be by the same hand.[10] The South Carolina vase seems a little more finished, however, and appears to be in a better state of preservation. A few additional lines of incision have been added to Achilles, and he has gained a sword, its pommel seen extending out from his waist, while his shield blazon has a solid dot between two circles rather than the three solid dots of the representation in Missouri. Ajax's shield is decorated with the same white tripod as on the Missouri vase. Both heroes' eyes are more carefully drawn, and more attention has been given to Ajax's uniform, which now has almost as much decoration as does Achilles'. Both lekythoi were included by Giudice in the Warrior Arming Group, a group that includes a number of these larger, grander examples.[11]

A third, large Phanyllis lekythos with Achilles and Ajax gaming recently appeared on the Swiss market and is now in a private collection in

4. Left: *Lekythos* in Columbia, South Carolina, photo courtesy Columbia Museum of Art.

5. Right: *Lekythos* in Germany, photo courtesy of Dr. Herbert Cahn.

Germany (Fig. 5).[12] This vase provides yet a third replica of the Ajax and Achilles scene. Only in minor details are there differences from the two scenes already discussed. It is perhaps marginally closer to the South Carolina example; Achilles again has his sword and the same shield design, while the secondary decoration also includes upright palmettes; however, the neck is decorated with rays.

There is also a fourth Phanyllis lekythos with Achilles and Ajax gaming that is listed by Giudice in the Warrior Arming Group, but it stands apart from the point of view of style and iconography; Athena is not present, a palm tree between the gamers provides the vertical accent, the players sit, wear different helmets, and carry two spears instead of one.[13]

The subject of Ajax and Achilles gaming is not rare in vase painting toward the end of the sixth century B.C., as has been indicated. Something approaching 160 representations are known in both Attic black-figure (most numerous) and Attic red-figure (only sixteen), and even one example is known in Corinthian. The subject is rare in the Phanyllis Class of lekythoi, and the four just mentioned are the only examples among the 500 or so pots catalogued by Giudice. That three of the four representations are virtual replicas of one another is of interest, given the few representations of the subject in the Phanyllis Class.

Replicas or near replicas are in fact a feature of the Phanyllis Class, especially in the less finished, smaller examples evidently quickly mass-produced. Generic scenes are repeated over and over with minor alterations in details. Of the 109 vases listed by Giudice in his Hoplite Arming Group, eighteen vases show an arming scene and most of these show the same stage in the arming.[14] Scenes such as Theseus and the Minotaur are also copied over and over in their essentials on lekythoi of the Phanyllis Class.[15] It is thus not unusual that four representations of Ajax and Achilles gaming are known in the Phanyllis Class of Lekythoi. That three are close enough to one another to be considered replicas is interesting.

The question of replicas and their meaning has been discussed by a number of scholars, primarily in the context of red-figure examples.[16] Replicas and near replicas have been explained as special orders for specific occasions, copies made by lesser artists of the works of more famous painters, perhaps with the use of pattern books, or made by the artists themselves because they liked the subject. Most explanations have implied

that except for the situation in which individual artists decided for personal reasons to produce a number of replicas of the same scene, demand is the reason for replicas. In the case of our scene, a demand for it must have penetrated into the lower end of the market where the trade was quick to respond with paintings of the scene. Indeed, at the very bottom of the scale, the scene can be reduced to debased, genre squiggles.[17] John Oakley has recently suggested, on the basis of an analysis of a waste deposit from an Attic red-figure workshop, that many replicas might be explained on the basis of workshop practice and that a painter might paint a number of replicas all at one time for one firing, which would presumably be more efficient and cost effective.[18] One might also suggest that the possibility of selling the pots might also have something to do with how many copies or near copies a painter might be interested in making. The large Phanyllis Class lekythoi must have been special products of the workshop because of their size and relative carefulness of execution. That at least four copies of the Ajax and Achilles gaming scene were produced must testify to the popularity of the subject and hence the salability of the vases.

The scene itself has been well documented by Woodford,[19] who divides the representations of the two heroes into five main groups, depending on whether the two heroes are represented alone and bare-headed (A) or helmeted (B), whether they are bareheaded with Athena between them (C) or helmeted with Athena (D), or with a tree between them (E). The three replica vases (Missouri, South Carolina, German private collection) fall naturally into Group D, the most popular scheme of representation. The fourth scene belongs to Group E, with a tree as a central object rather than Athena. The several variations perhaps spring from an original source, as has been suggested, but what that was and whether Exekias was the originator or the first interpreter is a question that has been debated. Three main lines of thought have been expressed by scholars, and Woodford clearly outlines them.[20]

The sudden appearance of the scene leads some to suppose that an epic predecessor, such as a poem, served as inspiration. Unfortunately, there is no extant literary reference to Ajax and Achilles playing a game, so such a lost work would have to be invented before it could be used as an inspiration for Exekias. Although arguments from lack of evidence are difficult at best, one must remember how much is lost to us from antiquity,

particularly literary creations dealing with the early years of the Trojan War, such as the Cypria.[21] The question of vernacular traditions might also be mentioned--a written source need not be the only source of information.

A more recent suggestion has been made that the scene and others like it might have contemporary political significance reflecting the political situation surrounding the Peisistratid tyranny. The interpretation of the subject matter of archaic Attic painting as often having a contemporary historical/political meaning for the Athenians has become popular in recent years but is not accepted by many scholars.[22]

A third possibility, favored by Woodford, is that the scene of the two heroes playing a board game is likely simply to have been invented by Exekias himself and has nothing to do with any presumed prototype, literary or otherwise. Exekias' original concept may be preserved on the Vatican amphora (Fig. 1). The large number of succeeding representations, presumably based on the Exekian prototype, differ from it in various ways, and there seems to be no true replica of the Exekian original. The variations in the scene may be an argument for the lack of a specific literary model, and Woodford emphasizes how the changes from the Exekian composition may have been developed by the succeeding painters for compositional, personal, or even ideological reasons (for instance the introduction of Athena as an associate of Achilles).[23]

The introduction of Athena to the scene in the 520s B.C. was particularly popular, to judge from the great number of examples that have survived of this new schema, including the three vases presented in this article. She certainly dominates the scene, and her position and gestures perhaps suggest something more than her addition simply as a compositional factor or as an added emphasis for Achilles. If she is merely indicating her favor for the hero, the position of the body and the gesture of the left hand seems rather out of place. On the other hand, Athena's popularity on Attic vases needs no explanation, and she can appear in and even take part in scenes that illustrate stories from which she originally was absent.[24]

That there may be more to the gaming scene than painters' inventions is suggested by the possible existence of a sculptural group set up on the Acropolis toward the end of the sixth century. All that is preserved is a fragment of a crouching leg, drapery of one figure, a foot and drapery from another, as well as a torso of an Athena that is also sometimes included in

the group. These fragments are not accepted by everyone,[25] although Mommsen in her most recent study of the Exekias amphora accepts the group,[26] apparently with the exception of the Athena torso, for she finds a possible parallel in a white ground cup showing the players (one unbearded) with a palm tree between them.[27] Whether or not the torso belonged to the group, and even though the group postdates Exekias' composition, its mere existence suggests that at least something was in the air. It is unlikely that a sculptural group would be derived from a vase painting, but both could be inspired by another source, and that source need not have been a specific story or stories: it could have been a growing interest in the celebration or even definition of the two heroes, particularly in their relationship to one another in the Attic context, as suggested by Mommsen.[28]

Specific reasons why a particular theme is taken up and added to or changed may elude us, but the persistency of the general subject — of Ajax and Achilles gaming — is quite striking. It must have said something to the ancient viewer. What it says is ultimately bound up with the society in which it was made and the knowledge and training of the viewer, which is as true today as it was then.

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NOTES

Abbreviations:

ABL: C. H. Emilie Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936).

Giudice: Filippo Giudice, *I Pittori della Classe Phanyllis I* (Catania, 1983).

Woodford: Susan Woodford, "Ajax and Achilles Playing a Game on an Olpe in Oxford," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 102 (1982): 173-85.

[1]Acc. no. 82.299. H. 33 cm, D. (mouth) 7.3 cm. Gift of Saul and Gladys Weinberg in memory of C. H. Emilie Haspels. Charles Ede, *Pottery from Athens, Corinth, East Greece* (1982), no. 11; *MUSE* 17 (1983): 30-31; Giudice, 82, no. 157.

[2]Throughout this paper the words *Class* and *Group* will be used in the sense originally reserved for them by Beazley. Hence *Class* refers to a number of vases alike in shape, and *Group* refers to vases alike in style of drawing. See J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1963), xliii; Martin Robertson, "Beazley's Use of Terms," in L. Burn and Ruth Glynn, *Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV2 & Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1982), xiv-xv.

[3]Charles Dugas, *Les vases de l'Héraion. Exploration archéologique de Dêlos X* (Paris, 1928), 159, 171, n. 548, pl. 41; André Plassart, *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe. Exploration archéologique de Dêlos, XI* (Paris, 1928), 179-80, fig. 148; *ABL*, 63-64; Giudice 51, no. 1. I would like to thank Giles Touchais of the École Française d'Archéologie d'Athènes for providing a photo of the Delos vase and permission to publish it.

[4]*ABL*, 63-68, 199-205.

[5]Giudice, see n. 1. This is the first volume of a study that will deal with the organization, production, and distribution patterns of the Phanyllis workshop itself.

[6]Rough calculations from Giudice's lists indicate that for those examples for which provenience is certain or tentative, fully 72% of the work of the Phanyllis

Painter was found in the West, over 64% of the work of Giudice's Group of the Arming Warrior (Haspel's Group of the Arming Lekythoi), and 56% of the Hoplite Leaving Home Group, but only slightly over 27% of the Chariot Painter's output was found in the West (four of eighteen!). Scheffer has calculated that just over 56% of the total number of all the lekythoi of the workshop (for which we have a provenience) was found in West Greece or in Etruscan areas. C. Scheffer, "Workshop and Trade Patterns in Athenian Black Figure," *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen, August 31-September 4, 1987* (Copenhagen, 1988), 536-46. It seems that the better quality pieces were often exported.

[7]It is interesting that most of the Phanyllis Painter's lekythoi are over 30 cm or taller (thirteen of sixteen whose heights are given by Giudice). This painter was also at home on other shapes: the more common cylindrical lekythoi, small amphorae, and perhaps olpai. Possibly the leading painter of the workshop felt somewhat confined by the small field allowed for painting on the traditional cylindrical shape.

[8]Exekias in his picture seems to have wanted to make the outcome of the game clear in that he painted the words *four* coming out of Achilles' mouth and *three* out of Ajax's, suggesting Achilles was the winner.

[9]Columbia Museum of Art, acc. no. 73.49.1, Charles Randall Mack, *Classical Art from Carolina Collections* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1974) 15, no. 20. Thanks go to Harriett Green for providing the photo of the South Carolina lekythos and permission to publish it, and to Elizabeth Rich for providing additional information.

[10]Already suggested by Charles Ede, above n. 1.

[11]Giudice, 82, no. 156 (South Carolina example), no. 157 (Missouri example).

[12]H. 33 cm, *Kunstwerke der Antike* (Münzen und Medaillen Auktion 70, November 1986): 65, no. 199 (attributed to the Chariot Painter). I must thank Herbert Cahn for the photo and for permission to publish it here.

[13]*Ars Antiqua Auktion*, 14 May, 1960, pl. 58, no. 147; J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena - Additions to Attic Black-figure and to Attic Red-figure Vase Painters* (Oxford, 1971), 206, top, "Lucerne Market"; Giudice, no. 155; *One Thousand Years of Ancient Greek Vases* (New York: Royal-Athena Galleries, 1990), no. 42.

[14]Giudice, pls. XVI, XVII, for illustrations of nearly identical arming scenes.

[15]Giudice, pl. XXVIII, for four very similar scenes of Theseus struggling with the Minotaur.

[16]The basic study is K. Schauenburg, "Zu Repliken in der Vasenmalerei," *Archäologische Anzeiger* (1977): 194-204. Also, P. J. Connor, "Replicas in Greek Vase-Painting: The Work of Louvre F6," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 56 (1981): 37-42.

[17]Woodford, pl. VI a.

[18]John Oakley, "An Athenian Red-figure Workshop from the Time of the Peloponnesian War," forthcoming in a Supplement to the *Bulletin de correspondance hellenique*. I would like to thank John Oakley for allowing me to see his manuscript before publication and for taking the time to read this article and to discuss the problems connected with it.

[19]Woodford, supra n. 1. For bibliography on the theme of the Ajax and Achilles gaming scene, see 173, n. 3. See also the dissertation by Katerina N. Thomas, "Three Repeated Mythological Themes in Attic Black-Figure Vase Painting" (University Microfilms International, 1989), 87-113. She sees the heroes as engaging in divination by casting dice to decide who would fight Hector.

[20]Woodford, 178-81.

[21]For the epic cycle, see Albin Lesky, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, 3d ed. (Berne and Munich, 1971), 101-6.

[22]Woodford, 178, n. 45. For criticisms of this approach; R. Osborne, "The Myth of Propaganda and the Propaganda of Myth," *Hephaistos* 5/6 (1983/84): 61-70; R. M. Cook, "Pots and Pisistratan Propaganda," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107(1987): 167-69.

[23]Woodford, 179. Thomas (supra n. 19) states that the addition of Athena is more significant and suggests another tradition.

[24]Athena helping Herakles in Attic scenes of the tripod struggle is an obvious example: B. S. Ridgway, "The East Pediment of the Siphnian Treasury: A New Reinterpretation," *American Journal of Archaeology* 69 (1965), 1-5, especially 4-5.

[25]Woodford seems critically noncommital, 176, n. 21. For bibliography and more detail on the various attempts to reconstruct the group see also David L. Thompson, "Exekias and the Brettspieler," *Archeologia Classica* 28(1976): 30-39.

[26]H. Mommsen, "Zur Deutung der Exekias-Amphora in Vatikan," *Pro-*

ceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen, August 31-September 4, 1987 (Copenhagen, 1988), 445-54.

[27]Ibid, 452, abb. 5.

[28]Mommsen develops her argument as to the meaning of Exekias' painting in greater detail than can be recited here. Her suggestion that the sculptural group may be related to the establishment of the Cleisthenic tribes, one of which was named after Ajax, is attractive.

TWO ETRUSCAN VOTIVE HEADS IN THE MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

STEPHEN SMITHERS

Terracotta human heads first appear in Etruria during the seventh century B.C. as lids for Etruscan canopic urns. The indigenous stylistic traits seen in these urn heads commonly occur in the earliest human head antefixes used to decorate Etruscan temples. In the last quarter of the sixth century, the first mold-made votive heads appear in sanctuaries dedicated to a Kourotrophic goddess.[1] Like the female head antefixes produced between 525 and 500 B.C., the early votive heads may represent the goddess herself.[2] Male and female heads that seem to represent worshipers appear toward the end of the century. In return for these gifts, the goddess took an active interest in the everyday life, health, and survival in the afterlife of the dedicator. A female head and a male head in the Museum of Art and Archaeology are excellent examples of this votive type, dating from the Archaic and Hellenistic periods respectively.

Votive heads are the product of molds produced from a patrix. The heads derived from these molds form the first generation of a series based on the original patrix. Successive generations are derived from molds taken from heads of this first or later generations and, as a result, are of reduced size due to clay shrinkage during the firing process. Popular models transported to

1. *Veiled female head*, Museum of Art and Archaeology (78.27).

other sites sometimes led to a generation or series of generations produced from molds taken from these imported pieces. Variations in details incised in the molds or added to the molded product before firing can create new derivative generations and series.[3]

Lack of provenance is a major problem connected with many of the Etruscan votive heads in American collections. Discovering the origin of these terracottas and of the mold series itself relies heavily on the accurate study of stylistic details, height, and clay fabric. It is essential to consider stylistic trends current in the Greek world in order to assign dates to the terracotta heads since associated material, such as coins, vases, and terracotta lamps, usually is lacking even when pieces are found in context. Late Archaic Etruscan heads generally depend upon models received directly from Attica. Attic influences on Classical Etruscan style are absorbed indirectly through contacts with southern Italy and Sicily. By the end of the fifth century votive heads found at Veii and other sites show a distinct influence from the Greek Severe Style. The ripe Classical is inspired by the work of Phidias, Polykleitos, and their immediate followers. Etruscan votive heads dating from the fourth to second centuries continue styles adopted from Greece during the fifth century and are influenced by late Classical and Hellenistic Greek models received second-hand through contacts with Magna Graecia and Sicily. Many of these later heads belong to large series or related series represented by more than one example in this country. In the progression from one period to the next, the Etruscan artist often retains antiquated stylistic elements along with the new.[4]

2. *Veiled female head*, no. C41100, The Art Institute of Chicago, photo by author.

The female head in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia is one of the earliest Etruscan votive heads in an American collection (Fig. 1). The head is solid except for a hollow cone 7 cm deep that projects up from the center of the base. This base and the chin are chipped. The pink clay body includes small pieces of mica and stone. Like a female votive head in the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 2), the Museum of Art and Archaeology example follows a late Archaic format directly inspired by Greek art. The broader face, slight turning of the head to the right,

3. Left: *Kore marble head*, no. 660, Athens, Acropolis Museum, after Gisela M.A. Richter, *Korai* (New York, 1968), fig. 355.

4. Right: *Veiled female head from Veii*, courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria Meridionale, Roma.

rounding of the eyeball, and de-emphasizing of the Archaic smile betray the Missouri head's slightly later manufacture. Two molds generally were used to produce these votive heads, one for the front and one for the back. Details were added prior to the application of a fine clay slip and its firing. The eyelids and eyebrows of both are rendered in relief, but the Missouri head eliminates the diadem seen in the Chicago example, revealing just a veil that covers the top of the head and descends behind the ears to flank the neck. A similar handling of the veil can be seen on the Chicago example and the Late Archaic head appliqués that decorate a bucchero brazier in Perugia.[5] A wide relief band at the base indicates the upper edge of a garment as in the Chicago head. Three rows of tight, inward-turning snail curls cover the forehead and temples of the Missouri head, replacing the wavy, vertical strands of hair that appear on the Chicago head. Similar curls are evident on a marble kore head (no. 660) from the Acropolis Museum, Athens (Fig. 3), and reflect the infiltration of Ionian styles into both Greece and Etruria during the second half of the sixth century.

The Missouri head is part of a mold series found in the 1937-1938 excavations in the Campetti area at Veii.[6] At 13.7 cm high, it is slightly larger than the Veian example (12.2 cm high) illustrated in Figure 4. This increased size may indicate that the Missouri terracotta is part of an earlier generation. Both were produced from molds in which the right ear was damaged before

5. *Kore,* no. 688, Athens, Acropolis Museum , after Gisela M.A. Richter, *Korai* (New York, 1968), fig. 590.

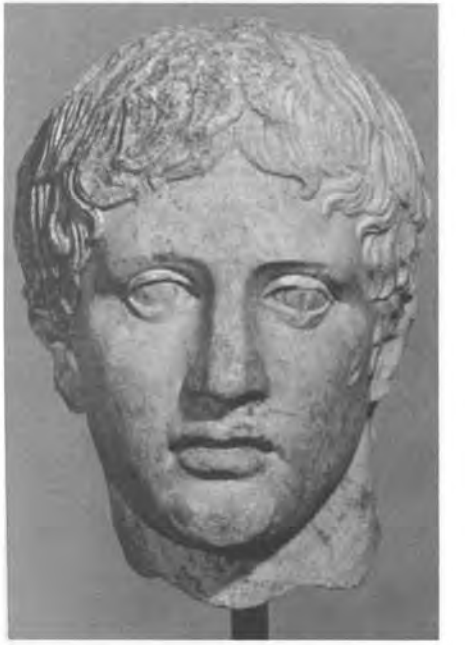
6. *Head of Athena from Olympia,* after postcard.

firing. The left ear on both is intact and well modeled. Variants of the same series are illustrated by Lucia Vagnetti in her publication of the terracottas from the Campetti area.[7] The same prototype used to create this mold series at Veii also produced the heads for the maenad figures that decorated the antefixes of the Sassi Caduti temple at Falerii. A stylistic comparison with another kore (no. 688) from the Acropolis Museum indicates an Attic source for the head type (Fig. 5). Both show a broad facial type that includes level eyes with prominent lids and depressions at the corners of the full and differentiated lips. Unlike the Missouri head, the hair of the kore is parted in the middle and descends in waves to side coils over the temples. Richter has assigned kore no. 688 to the beginning of the early Classical style.[8] Similarities shared with a terracotta head of Athena from Olympia (Fig. 6) dated ca. 490 B.C., as well as kore no. 688, suggest that the Missouri votive should be dated between 490 and 475 B.C.

During the late Classical and Hellenistic periods that followed, drastic political changes occurred in Italy and the Mediterranean. Defeats at Himera and Cumae in the fifth century weakened the Etruscans and led to

7. *Veiled male head,* Museum of Art and Archaeology (64.57).

8. *Veiled male head,* no. 2841, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, The University of Michigan, courtesy of the Kelsey Museum.



9. *Head of the Doryphoros from the theater at Corinth,* Ancient Corinth Museum, after postcard.

a flourishing of the cities of Magna Graecia. Taras became a prominent power in southern Italy during the second half of the century and Magna Graecia effectively formed a barrier between Etruria and mainland Greece. The central Italian political situation became one of continual war with the Greeks. This, combined with the emancipation of Italic peoples, Roman aggression, and the Gaulic invasion, had a negative impact on overseas trade with Etruscan centers.[9]

Rome began its meteoric rise to prominence after the conquest of Veii in 393/2 B.C. and became the master of southern Etruria and Latium by the second half of the fourth century. In 310 B.C. Rome's army successfully moved into central and northern Etruria.[10] The central Etruscan towns succumbed in the first half of the third century, and Rome became the cultural leader of central Italy.[11] The construction of roads similar to the Via Appia in 312 B.C. accompanied the extension of Roman influence. This developing network of roads facilitated the spread of new ideas and practices to and from Rome.[12]

The adoption of anatomical votives from Greek religious practice and an increase in the production of terracotta heads at Etruscan sanctuaries coincided with the rise of Rome during this unstable period. Since the terracotta heads of this time are found with anatomical votives, it generally is believed that they too commemorate successful cures. However, Etruscan votive heads rarely exhibit physical abnormalities. Instead, they portray current Italic ideals of male and female beauty tempered by religious decorum and Greek artistic trends. Age, illness, and deformity are not represented, despite the popularity of such subjects in other areas of the late Classical/Hellenistic koiné. Recent theories on the function of other votive types found within sanctuaries of the Kourotrophos suggest that votive heads could serve as dedications reflecting any concern of the worshiper ranging from those of health and welfare in this life to survival in the next.[13]

The Missouri terracotta male head (Fig. 7) is part of a large series that recalls Hellenistic models based on the works of Polykleitos, Praxiteles, Lysippos, and Leochares. Another head from this same series is part of the Kelsey Museum collection at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Fig. 8). The thick, twisting curls forming the hair mass are arranged symmetrically and frame the face down to the jaw. The forked locks at the crown of the head reflect Polykleitos' Herakles and the Doryphoros (Fig. 9), a bronze head, "head of Cincinnatus," from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, and the

10. Left: *Herm from Herculaneum*, Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), fig. 146.

11. Right: *Veiled male head*, no. 2566, from Rome, photo by author.

bust of Eubouleus ascribed to Praxiteles. The shape of the face and the strongly delineated brow, small eyes, and mouth also reflect this last Greek work. The loose, yet symmetrical treatment of the hair becomes increasingly popular in idealized portraits of Alexander the Great. A herm found at Herculaneum (Fig. 10), possibly copying an earlier third-century portrait of Demetrius Poliorcetes by Teisikrates, also shows a similar treatment of the hair and modeling of the face.[14] Summarily modeled ears angle outward from the votive head and join with the veil at their outer contours.

The votive head in Ann Arbor is attributed to Puteoli. Other examples from this mold series have been found in Rome (Antiquarium Comunale, Fig. 11), Marsiliana d'Albegna (Museo Archeologico, Grosseto), Caere (Siena, Fig. 12), Ariccia (Museo Nazionale Romano, no. 112403), and Capua (Museo Campano, no. 2659). Heads related to the series also have been found in Rome.[15] None of these examples have the same dark red-brown slip that covers the entire surface of the Missouri head. In both the Missouri and the Antiquarium Comunale heads (Figs. 7 and 11), the veil closely follows the contour of the head and neck. This veil merges with a wide relief band forming the base of the head in Rome, but this base is no longer preserved in the Missouri terracotta. The examples in Rome and Ariccia are the largest terracotta of the series (31 cm and 29 cm high). The examples from Caere and Capua are closer to the extant height of the Missouri head

(22.8 cm). The increased clarity of the facial details and hair incisions seen in the Missouri head is only matched by the Siena no. 37833 (Fig. 12). The size and number of related examples found in Rome indicate that this series probably originated there and was exported to Ariccia, Caere, Capua, and Puteoli. A Caeretan coroplast probably reworked the incised details of a mold taken from an early generation of the series to produce the clarity seen in the Siena and Missouri examples. Some of these same incised details also are retained by the Ann Arbor votive head (Fig. 8) and may indicate that the series traveled to Puteoli from Caere rather than directly from Rome.

12. *Veiled male head*, no. 37833, from Caere, courtesy of the Soprintendenza Alle Antichità-Firenze.

The red-orange clay body of the Missouri head includes particles of mica that vary in size. The deep, curved back reflects the shape of the skull and includes a large triangular vent hole. The pink clay body of the Ann Arbor votive includes both mica and stone particles and is completed by a much flatter molded back with a large circular vent. Such differences in clay body and manufacture indicate that we have two terracottas produced at different sites from related molds rather than the transference of a head made in one locality to another site.

Miria Roghi and Maria Bonghi Jovino date this mold series within the third century. Laura Gatti Lo Guzzo erroneously assigns it to the second half of the first century. The impact of the fourth-century models on the series is indicated by a comparison to depictions of Apollo and Hermes on Thracian coins. The continued influence of fourth-century models on Macedonia and Magna Graecia during the following century is reflected in coin depictions of Demetrius Poliorcetes dating after 292 B.C. and Sicilian coinage minted during the first Punic War (264-241 B.C.).[16] Assuming that the coins also reflect current sculptural trends in Magna Graecia as well as areas receiving artistic influences from her, this votive head series should be assigned to the first half of the third century.

The votive heads in the Museum of Art and Archaeology illustrate the importance of Veii and Caere as Etruscan centers of coroplastic production. The female head shows strong stylistic ties with Attic art of the late Archaic

period. The male head, on the other hand, illustrates the indirect transmission of late Classical and Hellenistic styles through Magna Graecia and Rome to Etruscan coroplastic centers as a result of changing political conditions within Italy. The rising power of Rome brought new political and cultural unity to central Italy with the beginning of the third century. Roman control included the establishment of Latin colonies, which provided new markets for central Italian trade, including trade in votives. A new network of Roman roads begun during the last quarter of the previous century strengthened trade contacts between centers. The large series to which the Missouri male head belongs demonstrates how the distribution of terracotta votive heads produced in the major coroplastic centers increased and widened along these trade routes to and from Rome in response to the economics of supply and demand. Local production of successive generations continued the life and spread of popular series even farther.

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NOTES

[1]In antiquity, the title Kourotrophos is connected with many mother goddesses and indicates their role as divine nurse. The goddess Ge is referred to as both mother of the gods and as Kourotrophos in the Rig-Veda (5.84). In the Odyssey (9.27) the term Kourotrophos first appears as an epithet of the personified Ithaca as the good nurse of men. See Theodora Hadzisteliou Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (Leiden, 1978), 4-8.

[2]Nancy A. Winter, "Archaic Architectural Terracottas Decorated with Human Heads," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung 85* (1978)1: 49.

[3]R. V. Nicholls, "Type, Group and Series; A Reconsideration of Some Coroplastic Fundamentals," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 47 (1952): 219-25; Stephan Steingräber, "Zum Phänomen der Etruskisch-Italischen Votivköpfe," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 87 (1980): 232.

[4]P. J. Riis, *Etruscan Types of Heads: A Revised Chronology of the Archaic and Classical Terracottas of Etruscan Campania and Central Italy* (Copenhagen, 1981), 75-79; P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika: An Archaeological Study of the Etruscan Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Copenhagen, 1941), 193; Maria Bonghi Jovino, *Depositi votivi d'Etruria* (Milano 1976), 77.

[5]Riis, *Etruscan Types* (supra n. 4), figs. 40-41. Riis derives his Clusium head type 7b from these head appliqués.

[6]The museum file on the terracotta head indicates that Reynold Higgins examined the piece on May 2, 1983, and suggested that the clay might be Campanian. A stylistic comparison with the votive heads illustrated in Lucia Vagnetti, *Il deposito votivo di Campetti a Veio* (Firenze, 1971), tav. XI, indicates that the head is from Veii. Four examples identical to the Missouri head have been found at this site.

[7]Ten examples of variant b and fourteen of variant c are recorded by Vagnetti. See Vagnetti, *Campetti*, (supra n. 6), 38, tav. XI, Axvi, a-c.

[8]Gisela M. A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* (New York, 1968), 38.

[9]Riis, *Tyrrhenika* (supra n. 4), 203-4; Helga Herdejürgen, *Götter, Menschen und Dämonen: Terrakotten aus Unteritalien* (Basel, 1978), 14. Roman contacts with Etruscan art were interrupted at the middle of the fifth century. Commercial connections between Rome and Athens also declined and did not revive until the end of the century. This decline coincided with a social and constitutional change in Rome ca. 450 B.C. See Einar Gjerstad, "Origins of the Roman Republic," *Les Origines de la République Romaine, Foundation Hardt Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* 13 (Geneve, 1967), 7-28.

[10]Riis, *Tyrrhenika* (supra n. 4), 187. The destruction of Veii is referred to in Diodorus 14, 93.2-5 and Livy 5, 21.17, 22.1-8, 50.8, 51-54 and 6, 4.5. Late Portonaccio and Campetti finds indicate that the sanctuaries continued to be used after the Roman destruction. A votive deposit discovered on the slope of the acropolis and facing the town contained material dated as late as the second and first centuries B.C. The reticulated walls of the Roman buildings indicate continued activity in the Campetti area until the first century. Such work was common between the second quarter of the first century B.C. and the second half of the first century A.D. A struggle in ca. 41 B.C. probably resulted in a massive destruction of the Roman city. Vagnetti has suggested that traces of burning on the latest votives indicate such a violent destruction. See Riis, *Etruscan Types* (supra n. 4), 50; Bonghi Jovino, *Despositi*, 45-48 (supra n. 4), 68.

[11]Riis, *Tyrrhenika* (supra n. 4), 197. The paintings of the François tomb at Vulci (340-310 B.C.) may reflect the encroaching threat of Rome. In these paintings, scenes depicting victory of the Achaeans over the Trojans are paired with scenes of heros from Vulci vanquishing Romans. See Larissa Bonfante, "Historical Art: Etruscan and Early Roman," *AJAH* 3 (1978): 136-38. For the most recent study of this tomb, see F. Buranelli, ed., *La tomba François di Vulci* (Roma, 1987).

[12]Tom F. C. Blagg, "Cult Practice and its Social Context in the Religious Sanctuaries of Latium and Southern Etruria: The Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi," *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV* (*BAR* 246 [1985]), 37-39.

[13]Britt Marie Fridh-Haneson in her *Le Manteau Symbolique* (Stockholm, 1983) examines terracotta votive couples in light of Orphic beliefs in reincarnation prevalent in the Greek colonies of southern Italy. For a discussion of the votive bambino in fasce type and its possible connections with the safe journey of the soul of a child to the afterlife, see Stephen Smithers, "An Etruscan Terracotta Votive Bambino in Iowa: Some New Thoughts on the Type and Its Interpretation," forthcoming in *Archaeological News*.

[14]Maria Rita Wojcik, *La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano* (Roma, 1986), tav. XXX, XLV, IL, LXVIII, and XCI; C. Kerenyi, *Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (London, 1967), fig. 55; *The Search for Alexander*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1980, pl. 3; George Dontas, *The Acropolis and its Museum* (Athens, 1986), pl. 121; Margarete Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art* (Chicago, 1964), pls. III-V; Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), 64, fig. 207.

[15]Laura Gatti Lo Guzzo, *Il deposito dall'Esquilino detto di Minerva Medica* (Firenze, 1978), tav. XXXVI. Gxa and Gxb, 1 and tav. XXXVII. Gxia, 1, Gxia, 2 and Gxib, 1; Mario Bizzarri, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 13 (1959), 89-90, nos. 1-2, fig. 1 c-d; Miria Roghi, *Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica (Archeologia Laziale II)* 3 (1979), tav. XLIX. 2; Maria Bonghi Jovino, *Capua Preromana: Terrecotte votive I* (Firenze, 1965), tav. XLII. 3.

[16]Roghi,*Quaderni del Centro* (supra n. 15), 228; Bonghi Jovino, *Capua* (supra n. 15), 89; Gatti Lo Guzzo (supra n. 15), 93; Colin M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), 364, pl. 32, nos. 569-70; Bieber, *The Sculpture* (supra 14), 50; John N. Svoronos and Barclay V. Head, *The Illustrations of the Historia Numorum: An Atlas of Greek Numismatics* (Chicago, 1976), 29, pl. XIII.5.

A BRONZE BASE FROM SYRIA

EUGENE N. LANE

In Roman times, a traveler in the northern parts of the province of Syria would have encountered in the city of Hierapolis (also known as Bambyke) a very interesting cult of the ancient Semitic goddess Atargatis. This goddess was known throughout the Roman world simply as the Syrian Goddess, Dea Syria, ἡ Συρία Θεός, so characteristic of the region was her worship considered to be. The name given to her city by the Greeks, Hierapolis, simply means "holy city." There were several places by this name throughout the ancient world, and in each case we are safe in assuming that the city was entirely overshadowed by the cult of its local divinity. The other name, Bambyke, represents a Hellenization of the native Semitic name, which exists in several variants but is generally given in Latin letters as Mambig. The place still keeps its old name: a village called Manbij, fifty miles northeast of Aleppo and near the Euphrates, is to be identified as the site of the ancient holy city.[1]

The cult, which, like that of Cybele, had castrated *galli* as its priests, spread far and near throughout the Roman Empire. Apuleius, in his *Metamorphoses* (second century), gives a vivid picture of their mendicant activities, wild dances, self-mutilation, and sexual lewdness.[2] But the best description is from the pen of the Greek-writing satirist and contemporary of Apuleius, Lucian. In his account De Syria Dea (Περὶ τῆς Συρίης Θεοῦ), he writes in the style and dialect of the historian Herodotus of some seven hundred years earlier, and like Herodotus, views with wide-eyed amazement every strange and unusual phenomenon among the foreign peoples whom he visits, consistently forcing their beliefs and customs into Greek terminology comprehensible to the people back home, for whom he is writing. The treatise is thus a tongue-in-cheek exercise in antiquarianism, all the more remarkable because Lucian was no Greek of Greece but hailed from Samosata in Commagene, on the Euphrates not far upstream from the location of the temple.

Perhaps because Lucian had first-hand information about the practices at Hierapolis-Bambyke, the work rises above a mere antiquarian tour-de-force and furnishes us the only reliable continuous account of the cult, which is borne out by other, independent, testimony.[3]

It would be beyond the scope of this article to recount all the details of the cult of the Syrian Goddess, but what is important for our purposes is that among the associated minor divinities was one whom the Greeks identified with Apollo. It was also a remarkable form of Apollo indeed. Lucian's description:

> Behind this throne (sc. of Helios) stands a statue of Apollo, but not as it is usually made. For all others think of Apollo as young and show him in the prime of youth. Only these people display a statue of a bearded Apollo. In acting in this way they commend themselves and accuse the Greeks and anyone else who worships Apollo as a youth. They reason like this. They think it utter stupidity to make the forms of the gods imperfect, and they consider youth an imperfect state. They make yet another innovation in their Apollo, for they alone adorn Apollo with clothing. About his deeds I could say a great deal, but I will describe only what is especially remarkable. I will first mention the oracle. There are many oracles among the Greeks, many among the Egyptians, some in Libia, and many in Asia. None of the others, however, speaks without priests or prophets. This god takes the initiative himself and completes the oracle of his own accord. This is his method. Whenever he wishes to deliver an oracle, he first moves on his throne, and the priests immediately lift him up. If they do not lift him, he begins to sweat and moves still more. When they put him on their shoulders and carry him, he leads them in every direction as he spins around and leaps from one place to another. Finally the chief priest meets him face to face and asks him about all sorts of things. If the god does not want something done, he moves backwards. If he approves of something, like a charioteer he leads forward those who are carrying him. In this manner they collect the divine utterances, and without this ritual they conduct no religious or personal business. The god also speaks of the year and all its seasons, even when they do not ask. . . I will tell something else which he did while I was present. The priests were lifting him up and beginning to carry him, but he left them below on the ground and went off alone into the air. [4]

The other description of this Apollo of Hierapolis is a fifth-century account from the Latin-writing antiquarian, Macrobius:

> Furthermore the Hieropolitans, who are of the Assyrian race, attribute all the effects and virtues of the sun to the appearance of one bearded statue, and call him Apollo. His face is characterized by a beard

> flowing to a point, with a basket standing out over his head. The statue is armed with a breastplate, and in his right hand he holds an upright spear, with a small figure of Victory standing on top of it, in his left he holds out the figure of a flower, and from the tops of his shoulders a Gorgon-adorned garment surrounded with snakes covers his shoulder-blades. Next to him eagles express the idea of flight, and at his feet there is a female image, on whose left and right hands are female statues. A dragon surrounds them with his flexing folds. The hanging beard signifies that rays fall to the earth from above. The gold basket rising on high points to the top of the ether, whence the substance of the sun is believed to come. By the argument of spear and breastplate the image of Mars is added, whom our account as it proceeds will show to be the same as the sun. The Victory testifies that all things are submitted to the power of this star. The figure of a flower testifies to the flowering of affairs, which this god inseminates, generates, upholds, nourishes, and ripens. The female figure is the image of the earth, which the sun illuminates from above. The two other female statues which surround it signify matter and nature, which operate as fellow servants, and the effigy of the dragon points to the bending route of the star. The eagles by the very high speed of their flight show the height of the sun. The Gorgon-garment is added because Minerva, whom we view as his protectress, is the virtue of the sun, as Porphyry attests to the fact that Minerva is the virtue of the sun which supplies prudence to human minds. For on this account this goddess is related to be sprung from Jupiter's head, that is, sprung from the highest part of the ether, whence is the origin of the sun.[5]

It is against this background that we can interpret a bronze base acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia in 1984 (Fig. 1a-c).[6] The base's total preserved height is 11.2 cm, while the height of the base alone is 6.2 cm, its width is 10 cm, and its depth is 10 cm. This nearly cubical base is surmounted by an omphalos, that is, a representation of the stone at Apollo's shrine in Delphi, which was thought to represent the navel of the world. The omphalos is decorated with a net pattern of triple incised lines, intended for fillets, with four-petaled rosettes in between (Fig. 2). There is a considerable piece missing at the top, where it is evident that a statuette once stood. Of this more will be said later. The omphalos is cast separately from the base (the statuette was also presumably separately cast) and terminates at the bottom in a sleeve, which is inserted into the top of the base. Traces of a soldering material holding the sleeve in place are visible on the inside of the base.

As for the base itself, the side that we will define as front (the statue seems to have been facing in that direction) has incised frontal busts of the moon,

2. Detail of Fig. 1a, *Omphalos*.

b.

c.

1 a-c. *Bronze base and omphalos*, Museum of Art and Archaeology (84.53).

right, and sun, left, with six rosettes spaced irregularly around the field (Fig. 1b). Flanking busts of the sun and moon are a fairly banal phenomenon on ancient dedications to various gods, such as Mithras and Sabazius. They can be viewed as emphasizing the god's power over day and night. The left side and back are plain. A plain molding is at the bottom of all four sides of the base, and a fascia with egg-and-dart decoration around the top. An incised egg-and-dart decoration can also be seen on both vertical edges of the front face. There are holes in the bottom center of the front, and on the left side. The lower back side also has two vertically arranged holes. The omphalos has three smaller holes: one over the right (inscribed) side of the base, and two (vertically arranged) over the back side, somewhat more than 90 degrees removed from the other hole. The most likely explanation for the holes both in the base and in the omphalos is that there was an internal support, going up through the sleeve that connects base and omphalos, for the statuette that surmounted the whole thing. The holes would have

3. *Victory-on-an-orb*, Boston Museum of Fine Arts (62.971).

served for insertion of lateral pins for this support.

The right side of the base (Fig. 1c), which shows numerous signs of damage, bears the following inscription, incised in dots:

Μομβογέος
Ἡροφίλου
κὲ Κορενκᾶνο-
ς ἀδελφὸς
ἀνέθηκαν.

"Mombogeos, son of Herophilos, and his brother Korenkanos dedicated this."

The name Mombogeos, which occurs in several variants, is derived from the place name Mambig, i.e. Hierapolis-Bambyke. It is interpreted as meaning someone who has made a pilgrimage to, or was born under the protection of the goddess of this place. It is Syrian in distribution and thus not only connects our object with this cult but also gives us a fairly certain provenience.[7] The name Korenkanos seems unparalleled. However the Semitic name QRYN, meaning "horn," occurs in Palmyra, and its Greek transcription is Κόρενος.[8] It is likely that Korenkanos represents an expanded form of this name. At all events, this name can be taken as confirming the Syrian provenience of the object. The base, therefore, which the omphalos shows as being dedicated to Apollo, must have been dedicated to the peculiar form of Apollo worshiped with the Syrian Goddess at the shrine of Hierapolis-Bambyke. (Further confirmation may be drawn from the name of the dedicants' father, Herophilos, as Lucian identifies the Syrian Goddess with Hera, and this identification must have been made at the shrine also.)

We turn now to the subject of the statuette that originally surmounted the base. It is clear from the break at the top of the omphalos that the figure originally had its left foot advanced and lower than the right. The configuration suggests that the personage was thought of as alighting on the omphalos. It is clear that the inspiration for the sculpture is derived from the well-known Victory-on-an-orb type of Roman imperial sculpture, which was particularly disseminated by Augustan propaganda but had its roots earlier, in the Hellenistic period. Several handsome examples of such statuettes are known, including the example illustrated here (Fig. 3), a Hellenistic production from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, its right arm unfortunately broken, but its feet

placed in a similar fashion to those of our figure, the right foot, however, being the one advanced, whereas evidence suggests that our object had the left foot advanced.[9]

The question here, however, is whether a figure of Victory is to be restored or whether the influence is restricted merely to the general type, and some other deity can be supplied. There can be no question but that Apollo is the god to whom the statuette is dedicated. It would seem prima facie and extremely odd to have Victory landing on his omphalos, and I have been unable to find any parallel examples for such a phenomenon. Nor is Macrobius' listing of Victory among the attributes of Apollo sufficient to explain such a thing. So it would seem to me preferable to have Apollo himself surmounting the structure, although that idea too poses problems. Would it have been a conventional Apollo, or the unusual bearded Apollo of Hierapolis? Certainly the Apollo of Macrobius, with its overlay of accompanying symbols, is ruled out, if indeed it ever existed. Likewise, in spite of the fact that the statue of the Hieropolitan Apollo was said to fly by itself, it is hard to imagine Apollo gracefully landing. He does not have the practice in hovering lightly in the air, holding wreaths over conquerors' heads, that Victory does, especially on coins.[10] When one thinks of Apollo descending, one is more likely to think of the angry Apollo of the *Iliad*, coming down from the peaks of Olympus, his arrows clashing in his quiver as he strides, ready to bring pestilence upon the Achaeans for dishonoring his priest.[11] Balanced against these considerations, however, is the fact that we are dealing with an extremely provincial piece of art. To the manufacturer, dedicants, and viewers of this piece, the type of the Roman Victory might not have seemed incongruous transferred to an Apollo on his omphalos, and although they knew enough about the associations of the Greek Apollo to know that this "navel" symbolized his oracular function, the Iliadic picture of Apollo descending might never have crossed their minds, as it would that of someone (like the author) with greater exposure to mainline Greek culture. We will, of course, never know for sure, unless by some unlikely chance the statuette is recovered. But on the whole, I opt for an Apollo of some sort rather than a Victory.

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NOTES

[1]R. A. Oden, *Studies in Lucian's De Syria Dea*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 15 (Missoula, Mont., 1977), 1-2, with references to earlier literature. This book is the best recent general treatment of this cult. The reader may also want to consult Monika Hörig, *Dea Syria = Alter Orient und Altes Testament 208* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1979), which sets the cult in the wider perspective of the religions of the area.

[2]*Metamorphoses* 8. 24-30.

[3]The authorship has been disputed several times in the past, but the attribution is ably defended by Oden, *Lucian's De Syria Dea*, 4-14.

[4]Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 35-37, trans. Harold W. Attridge and Robert A. Oden, Society of Biblical Literature, Texts and Translations 9, Graeco-Roman Religions Series 1 (Missoula, Mont., 1976). Oracles from moving statues are not at all uncommon in later antiquity. See especially E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, Calif., 1951), 292-95. For a statue that gives oracles by moving as it is carried in procession, see Klaus Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion* (Mainz, 1988), 129f. It is probably this oracular function that led to the identification of this Semitic god with Apollo. The original god is most probably the Semitic El. See R. Dussaud, *Revue de l'histoire des religions 63* (1943), 128-49.

[5]Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1., 17. 66-70, in my own translation, from the edition by J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970). It would seem unlikely that Macrobius ever saw the statue or that it ever actually had all these additional attributes, which seem to have been added for purely symbolic reasons. On the date and identity of Macrobius, see A. Cameron, *Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966): 25-38.

[6]Acquisition no. 84.53, purchased in Israel.

[7]The name is attested in Jalabert and Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, I* (1929), no. 49; IV (1955), nos. 1501 and 1780, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 12 and 61. There is also a listing of instances given in Honigmann's article, "Hierapolis," in A.F. von Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopédie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 4, col. 733. The accentuations given to the Greek names here are hypothetical.

[8]J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palymrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971), 110. The Greek transcription occurs in an inscription from the village of Mjêdil in the area that in ancient times was called Trachonitis, southeast of Damascus (Enno Littmann, David Magie, Jr., and Duane Reed Stuart, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions in Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909, III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Syria, A, Southern Syria* [Leiden, 1921] 389, no. 78710).

[9]See especially Tonio Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mainz, 1967), pl. 4, no. 3 (August), and pl. 5 (Calvatone); another handsome example, from Avenches, *Annalis Leibundgut, Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz, II* (Mainz, 1976), pls. 33-34. The Calvatone and Avenches examples show the left foot advanced, as in the case of our object. The Boston example is published in M. B. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston and Greenwich, Conn., 1971, 71-72, no. 74.

[10]See for instance the illustrations of Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, pl. 8.

[11]Homer, Iliad 1. 43ff.

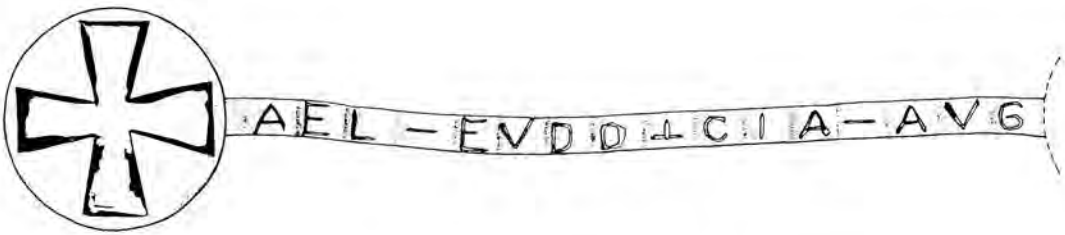
A GOLD FINGER RING AND THE EMPRESS EUDOCIA

JANE C. BIERS

Jewelry that can be associated with an illustrious historical personage is rare; thus, a gold finger ring (Figs. 1 and 2) inscribed with the name of Aelia Eudocia, wife of the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius II, is of particular interest.[1] Apart from its inscription, however, there is nothing remarkable about the ring itself, which has a thin, flat, bezel decorated with an incised, equal-armed cross once inlaid with niello, the black, silver/copper sulphide popular with Byzantine gold- and silversmiths for decorating jewelry and plate.[2] The niello has been partially and roughly removed from the cross, leaving an uneven border around the edge. The circular hoop is narrow and faceted on the exterior, and its two ends, covered by the bezel, have not been soldered together to form a complete ring; the ends are still visible beneath the bezel. The inscription on the exterior of the hoop (Fig. 2) gives the name and title of the empress, AEL(IA) EVDOCIA AVG(VSTA), each letter being incised in a single facet and with some niello still remaining in the letters. A short horizontal stroke separates the three words, and between the O and C of EVDOCIA there is a third horizontal stroke combined with a vertical one, perhaps intended to be a small cross.

1. *Finger ring with inscription of Empress Eudocia,* Byzantine, gold, and niello, Museum of Art and Archaeology (77.239).

The identification of the person named on the ring is not open to question. The title Augusta was normally held only by the wife, sister, or mother of the emperor, and the use of Latin script indicates an early Byzantine date, although even when the Greek word *Basileus* had replaced Augustus as the usual title for the emperor, the Latin title Augusta continued to be preferred for the empress rather than the Greek Basilissa.[3] Only one Byzantine empress bore the name Aelia Eudocia; she was the wife, and



2. *Gold finger ring, drawing by John Huffstot.* Surviving niello indicated in solid black.

later widow, of Theodosius II, ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire from 408 to 450.[4]

Although no ancient author wrote a biography of the empress, scattered references to her occur in a number of ancient sources, some more trustworthy than others.[5] All accounts, ancient and modern, indicate that Aelia Eudocia was an interesting woman. She was born probably ca. 400 in Athens,[6] where her father, Leontius, was a sophist.[7] Her Greek name was Athenaïs,[8] and she was reputed to be a great beauty.[9] She was given an excellent education by her father and is also said to have been taught by two other scholars.[10] After her father's death Eudocia was involved in litigation against her two brothers over her lack of an inheritance and went to Constantinople to try and settle her claim. This reason for her presence in Constantinople is not necessarily to be believed, since it occurs in sources that are not always trustworthy,[11] but it seems to be true that while in Constantinople she attracted the attention of Pulcheria, the emperor's influential sister, who promoted her to the emperor as a possible wife.[12] In 421 Eudocia married Theodosius II, after she had been baptized a Christian and had taken the name Aelia Eudocia.[13] The bare facts about her life after her marriage are as follows: her eldest daughter, Licinia Eudoxia, was born in 422,[14] and in 423 Eudocia was granted the title of Augusta,[15] an event that provides a *terminus post quem* for the date of the gold ring. She bore two more children, both of whom died young. Her second daughter, Flacilla, died in 431;[16] her son, Arcadius, is known only from an inscription and a dedication and must also have died young.[17] The empress had made a vow to visit Jerusalem should she live to see her remaining daughter marry,[18] and when in 437 Licinia Eudoxia was married to Valentinian III, emperor of the Western Roman Empire, Eudocia fulfilled her vow by making her first pilgrimage to Jerusalem,[19] a city with which she would have a long associa-

tion. She arrived there after a triumphant royal progress during which she delivered a formal speech at Antioch.[20] During her pilgrimage she adorned many of the churches in Jerusalem and other cities and then returned to Constantinople, taking the bones of Saint Stephen with her.[21] Probably in 441 or 442 she returned to Jerusalem where she spent the remainder of her life.[22] During this period the empress became for a time a convert to Monophysitism, the most influential heresy of the time,[23] but she returned to Orthodoxy before her death, which occurred ca. 460 in Jerusalem.[24] She was buried there in the church of Saint Stephen.[25] The empress's exile or banishment to Jerusalem probably gave rise to the story of romantic involvement with Paulinus, the emperor's advisor and best friend, which was said to be the cause of her banishment, but since the story does not occur in fifth-century sources and is also chronologically unlikely, probably Eudocia lost her influence at court and left Constantinople for that reason.[26]

It is easy to see why her life would inspire romantic stories, especially when her other accomplishments and achievements are added to the bare outline given above. She wrote poetry, little of which has survived. Preserved are 800 lines from books 1 and 2 of her life of the martyr Saint Cyprian and approximately 2,000 lines of the *Homercentones*, the Incarnation and the Life of Jesus put into Homeric verse.[27] A previously unknown poem was discovered in 1982 inscribed on a marble plaque in the Baths at Hammat Gader in the Yarmuk Valley, Israel.[28] Among her other works that have not survived were a panegyric in Greek hexameters to celebrate the victory of Theodosius over the Persian Sassanians in 421-422 and a verse paraphrase in eight books of part of the Old Testament.

The sources are not informative about her life in Constantinople between her marriage in 421 and her final departure. She is said to have founded a church of Saint Polyeuktos which was rebuilt in the early sixth century by Anicia Juliana, her great-granddaughter,[29] but almost nothing else is known. Dagron points out, in opposition to Kaegi, that it is wrong to assert that Eudocia was at the head of a pagan faction in Constantinople.[30] Cameron has also argued strongly against such an interpretation.[31] Eudocia must, however, have asserted herself politically, as the positions held by her brother Valerius and her friend Cyrus attest. Her brother was consul in 432 and Master of the Offices in 435,[32] and Cyrus, elected prefect of Constantinople in 435, was also praetorian prefect of the East in 439 and consul in 441 and

possibly 442.[33] From these facts, however, we learn very little about Eudocia's political power. It is, therefore, not for her achievements in Constantinople, nor for her poetry, that the empress is chiefly remembered today, but rather for her influence on Jerusalem; she is seen as one of that city's greatest benefactors.[34] It may have been due to her that Jews were once again allowed to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem and to reside there.[35] Better attested, however, is her effect on the defenses of the city and on its charitable and religious institutions. The sources record that she repaired the city wall and built a new one, enlarging the area enclosed on the southern side.[36] The new wall followed the line of an earlier, Hasmonean, or late Hellenistic, wall and served the city until the end of the ninth century, or even later. Parts of it were identified in early excavations at the end of the nineteenth century, and its early Byzantine date was confirmed in a more recent study.[37]

The new wall was not all that Eudocia did for Jerusalem. She also played a major part in the tremendous amount of building activity that took place there in the fifth century. The Madaba mosaic map, which dates between 543 and 565, shows the city crowded with religious and charitable buildings.[38] A good many of them may have been erected by Eudocia or by members of her entourage. Indeed, one mid-sixth-century writer says that the empress built churches and so many monasteries and hospices for the poor and the old that he could not enumerate them.[39] Unfortunately, most of the sources are as little help in attributing specific buildings to the empress. Some, however, mention that the empress built a new church of Saint Stephen, in the northern part of the town outside the Damascus Gate, where she was buried.[40] This church was excavated in 1885-1893 by the Dominican Fathers, who built their church and monastery on the site, preserving much of the northern aisle of Eudocia's church.[41] Except, however, for the information concerning this church and the city walls, very little specific knowledge can be gained from the sources about the locations and names of the buildings and institutions founded by her. Evagrius states that she built monasteries and laurae (groups of single cells for monks); John of Nikiu mentions a convent and a pilgrim hostel.[42]

The most extensive list occurs only in a late and unreliable author, Nicephorus Callistus, who records that the empress built many sacred monasteries, founded laurae and divine scholae, an episcopal palace, a

pauper's house in Phordisii, and other poorhouses, hostels, and homes for the aged. In addition, she gave money to churches, hospitals, homes for the sick, sacred buildings, monasteries, and nunneries.[43] Thus, although Eudocia's reputation as an important benefactress of the Holy City is well attested, a correct estimation of the extent of her influence is extremely difficult and should take into account the literary record that shows that her contemporaries were also founding institutions.[44] She may have built a church at the Pool of Siloam, since the pool was enclosed within the new city wall. A church excavated there in 1896[45] is described in an account written ca. 560-570, and surviving Corinthian capitals indicate a mid-fifth-century construction date for the church.[46]

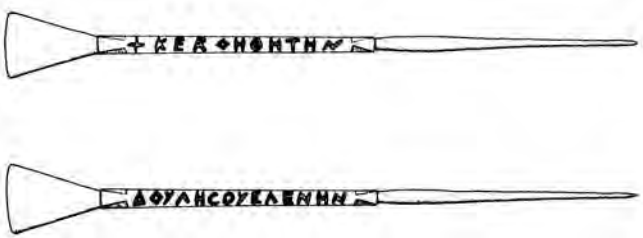
The church of Saint John the Baptist has also been tentatively attributed by some scholars to Eudocia.[47] No ancient source, however, connects her with it, although it is mentioned in an account written soon after 512 and appears to date to the middle or second half of the fifth century.[48] Part of the church still exists today as the crypt of the Prodromos.[49]

One of the few geographical locations mentioned in the literature occurs in paragraph 4 of Cyril of Scythopolis' *Vita* of John Hesychastes. Eudocia is said to have built a home for the aged with a chapel of Saint George before the Holy City. A group of buildings excavated in 1949 in Giv'at Ram, West Jerusalem, was associated by the excavator with Eudocia.[50] A basilical church and several rooms, thought to be part of a monastery, were uncovered, including a chapel with mosaic floor that bears an inscription, "O Lord, God of St. George, remember the donor!"[51] The text in Cyril of Scythopolis, however, mentions only a home for the aged and a chapel to Saint George. Firm attribution of this group of buildings to Eudocia does not seem justified.[52]

Other buildings of fifth-century date are known in Jerusalem, one of which was founded by Bassa, a contemporary of Eudocia.[53] Another of probable fifth-century date[54] is a church in Beit Hanina on the Mount of Olives which lies beneath one probably to be dated to the sixth century. The church of the Probatica was ascribed by Vincent to the fifth century, a date confirmed by excavation in the '50s and '60s,[55] and the sources mention a church at this location in the fifth century.[56] Other buildings are also mentioned, for example, the Church of Pontius Pilate, a basilica of the Temptation of Jesus, and the Golden Gate.[57] These buildings were attributed to

Eudocia in Cabrol-Leclercq, but there is no evidence to support the attribution.[58] The impression gained from reading the sources is, however, that many buildings were constructed in Jerusalem during the fifth century, and the part played by Eudocia should not be minimized. Hunt emphasized her importance both to Jerusalem and to other areas of Palestine, not only because she founded institutions but also because she was able to endow them from her revenues. He also pointed out that the presence of a Byzantine empress in Jerusalem must have done much to further the development of Palestine as a "focus of devotion" for the Christian world.[59]

Knowledge of the empress's life and achievements enhances the significance of the gold finger ring in the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Furthermore, since the ring is firmly dated by its inscription to between 423, the year when Eudocia became Augusta, and ca. 460, the year of her death, it can perhaps serve to date other rings.[60] A gold ring from the Stathatos Collection, now in the National Museum at Athens, has a very similar faceted hoop, also inscribed, but no bezel. It is dated in the publication to the ninth century but perhaps could be earlier.[61]



When an object from antiquity has a name on it, one might naturally assume that the object once belonged to that person and was worn or used by him or her. Certainly, there are objects from the ancient world that are rightly thought of as once having been the personal possessions of the individual named. A silver stylus (Fig. 3) in the Museum of Art and Archaeology bears an inscription that translates, "God help thy servant Helen."[62] It is probably correct to assume that Helen once used the stylus. In the case of the gold finger ring, however, the name is that of an empress, and here one must exercise caution. It is known that emperors, and thus presumably also empresses, gave to individuals gifts of objects that had been made especially for that purpose.[63] The gold medallion shown in Figure 4 is an example of such a gift. It was struck probably about 340 by Constantius II to commemorate a special event.[64] More relevant,

3. *Inscribed stylus*, Byzantine, silver, Museum of Art and Archaeology (76.333).

4. *Medallion of Constantius II*, gold, Museum of Art and Archaeology (71.37).

however, to a discussion of the Eudocia ring is a number of gold finger rings inscribed with the word *fidem* or *fides* on the bezel and *Constantino* or *Constanti* on the hoop (Fig. 5). It has been accepted for many years that these rings were not the personal property of the emperor named but were made for him to give away, probably to officers in the army.[65] The evidence of a passage in the *De Administrando Imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus is often cited.[66] There it is recorded that Constantine the Great presented gold rings to the leaders of the Chersonites, although those rings had a portrait of the emperor on them, probably an intaglio gem stone as Ross suggested,[67] and were, therefore, not the same type as the surviving gold rings.

5. *Ring inscribed FIDEM CONSTANTINO*, gold, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 11.023

A number of fibulae, seven gold and one bronze, inscribed with the name of one, and in some cases of two, emperors are in the same category as the Constantine gold rings. These fibulae, of the so-called crossbow type, range in date from ca. 303/304 to 361/363, and some of them commemorate a particular event, such as the decennalia of Constantine I. Others employ a phrase such as "vivas" together with the name of the emperor (Fig. 6).[68]

It has been asserted for some of these inscribed fibulae that they must have belonged to the emperors themselves.[69] A golden fibula was, however, the characteristic badge of rank in the late Roman empire for senators, for high-ranking administrators and for officers of high rank in the army, as is known from the literary sources and from depictions in art.[70] Furthermore,

6. Crossbow fibula inscribed COSTANTI VIVAS, gold, Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Antikensammlung, no. VII B303.

the latter show that emperors and princes did not usually wear the crossbow fibula but rather a highly ornamented brooch, usually round but sometimes oval or almond shaped.[71] For these reasons, as Noll argued convincingly, it is unlikely that the gold fibulae with emperors' names on them actually belonged to the emperors named. Rather, they were intended as gifts to high-ranking officials and soldiers.[72]

In view, therefore, of the arguments demonstrating that these two groups of jewelry inscribed with imperial names were not the personal property of the emperors, one cannot safely assume that the empress Aelia Eudocia once wore the gold finger ring with her name on it. More probably, it was made to be given to some worthy recipient. Depictions of the imperial family such as that of the empress Ariadne on an ivory panel in Vienna dated to the early sixth century serve as a reminder of how rich and ornate the apparel and jewelry of an early Byzantine empress could be.[73] The simple bezel and rather fragile construction of the Eudocia ring provide a striking contrast.[74] A gold ring adorned with a cross would, however, be suitable for a religious woman such as Eudocia is known to have been, both from her writings and from her building activity in Jerusalem. The question of ownership cannot be definitely decided, but whether the ring was worn by her, or whether it was made for her to give away, it is still associated with one of the more fascinating figures of early Byzantine history.

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NOTES

[1]Acc. no. 77.239. Said to come from Beirut. Diameter of hoop 1.92 cm.

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[2]D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966), 194-96; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), 533. On niello, see M. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst: Niello* (Osnabrück, 1972, reprint of Frankfurt 1924 edition), and W. A. Oddy, M. Bimson, and S. LaNiece, "The Composition of Niello Decoration on Gold, Silver and Bronze in the Antique and Mediaeval Periods," *Studies in Conservation* 28 (1983): 29-35.

[3]George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2d ed., trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford, 1968), 56-57; Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos Ivory," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 309-10.

[4]There was a powerful empress, Eudocia Makrembolitissa, in the eleventh century, the wife first of Constantine X and then of Romanus IV. See L. Cohn, "Eudokia Makrembolitissa" in A.F. von Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* (hereafter *RE*) (Stuttgart, 1907), 6:1, cols. 912-13; N. Oikonomidès, "Le serment de l'impératrice Eudocie (1067): un épisode de l'histoire dynastique de

Byzance," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 21 (1963): 101-28.

[5]The most important references to her life occur in the following ancient authors: Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, W. Jacob, ed., *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* ,vol. 71 (Vindobonae, 1952); Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, eds. (Amsterdam, 1964, reprint of London 1898 edition); Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii, Vita Sabae, and other saints lives*, E. Schwartz ed., *Kyrillos von Skythopolis, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1939); Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon, Patrologia Latina*, J.-P. Migne, ed., vol. 51 (Paris, 1861); John Malalas, *Chronographia*, L. Dindorf, ed., *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (hereafter *CSHB*) (Bonn, 1831); Tusculum fragments in *Spicilegium romanun*, A. Mai, ed. (Rome, 1839); *Chronicon Paschale*, L. Dindorf, ed., *CSHB* (Bonn, 1832). A brief modern account using some of these sources appears in J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, A.D. *395-527* (Cambridge, 1980), 408-9. A fuller account occurs in O. Seeck, "Eudokia," *RE* (Stuttgart, 1909), 6:1, cols. 906-12, and H.-G. Beck, "Eudokia (Kaiserin)," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1966), 6: cols. 844-47. See also G. R. Sievers, *Studien zur Geschichte der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1870), 431-33; W. Wiegand, *Eudoxia, Gemahlin des oströmischen Kaisers Theodosius II* (Worms, 1871); F. A. Gregorovius, *Athenais, Geschichte einer byzantinischen Kaiserin* (Leipzig, 1882); Charles Diehl, *Byzantine Portraits* (New York, 1927), 24-48; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2d ed.(London, 1923),1, 225-31. For more recent studies see Kenneth G. Holum, "Family Life in the Theodosian House," *Kleronomia* 8 (1976): 280-92, and *Theodosian Empresses, Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982); Alan Cameron, "The empress and the poet: paganism and politics at the court of Theodosius II," *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982): 217-89; E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 312-460* (Oxford, 1984), chap. 10.

Socrates' ecclesiastical history, written ca. 439 and thus a contemporary account, contains the earliest and least fanciful report of Eudocia's origins. John Malalas, the sixth-century historian, has left us the earliest and most complete connected account of her life, but it is a highly romantic version that was followed by the *Chronicon Paschale*. Both Marcellinus and the *Chronicon Paschale* share the same annalistic source for the period, but Marcellinus, the earlier, is the more reliable. The Eudocia story also occurs in an eighth-century text, on which see Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, eds., *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 10 (Leiden, 1984), 254, for comment on the function of the story in Malalas as a moralizing fable. Late nineteenth- and early

twentieth-century historians for the most part uncritically accepted the romantic stories about Eudocia. For a skeptical evaluation of some of these authors and of more recent work, see Cameron, "Empress and poet."

[6]Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 1. Holum disputes her Athenian origin and suggests that she came from Antioch (*Theodosian Empresses*, 117-18). An inscription on a statue base found in the Athenian Agora provides, however, the first real evidence for a connection between Eudocia and the city of Athens. See E. Sironen, "An Honorary Epigram for the Empress Eudocia in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 59 (1990): 371-74. I would like to thank E. Sironen for an advance copy of his article and Judith Binder for informing me about Dr. Sironen's work.

[7]Socrates 11. 17, 2; Theophanes *Chronographia* 5911, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1839).

[8]Socrates 11. 16, 2; Priscus *Fragmenta* 8, I. Bekker and B. G. Niebuhr, eds., *CSHB* (Bonn, 1829); *Chronicon Paschale* 421; Theophanes 5911.

[9]Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 1; Theophanes 5911. No portrait busts have survived. For her coins see J. F. W. de Salis, "The Coins of the Two Eudoxias, Eudocia...," *Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1867): 203-15; J. Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), 1: 120-21; J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines* (Amsterdam, 1968, reprint of St. Petersburg 1912-1914 edition), 82-86.

[10]Socrates 11.16, 2; Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 10.306, 58, T. Kiesslingius, ed. (Hildesheim, 1963).

[11]John Malalas, *Chronographia* 14. 52-53; *Chronicon Paschale*, 420, 421.

[12]Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 1; Theophanes 5911.

[13]Socrates 11. 17, 2; Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 1; Theophanes 5911; Marcellinus 421, 1.

[14]Marcellinus 422, 1.

[15]*Chronicon Paschale* 423.

[16]Marcellinus 431, 1.

[17]Cameron, "Empress and poet,": 266-67.

[18]Socrates 12. 15, 2.

[19]Theophanes 5927; *Anthologia Graeca* 105, vol. 1, Hermann Beckby, ed. (Munich, 1957).

[20]Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 3-5. Evagrius records that her stay in Antioch was commemorated by a skillfully made bronze statue. According to John Malalas (*Spicilegium romanum*, 2: 2, 15, frag. 2) and the *Chronicon Paschale* (444), two monuments commemorated her visit, a gilded bronze statue and a bronze stele. The Latin mistranslation of bronze statue for the bronze stele of John Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale* has been followed by Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), 451.

[21]Socrates 12. 15, 2; Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 21. 1 and 22. 1; Theophanes 5927; Marcellinus 439, 2. The relics brought back by Eudocia were an addition to the relics of Saint Stephen's right arm that had been brought to Constantinople in 421 and placed in a chapel dedicated to Saint Stephen founded by Pulcheria. On this earlier translation of Saint Stephen's relics, see Kenneth G. Holum and Gary Vikan, "The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 115-33. See, however, L. J. Wilson, "The Trier Procession Ivory: A New Interpretation," *Byzantion* 54 (1984): 602-14, for an alternative interpretation of the Trier ivory. The bones brought back by Eudocia were deposited in the basilica of Saint Lawrence.

[22]The ancient sources do not agree on the date for her final departure. Most modern scholars have rejected 440 and 444, preferring 441 or 442, based on a passage in Suidas, *Lexikon*, A. Adler, ed. (Leipzig, 1928-1938), *s.v. Kyros Panopolites*, which states that the fall of the poet Cyrus of Panopolis, the empress's friend, was brought about by her departure. By February 442 Cyrus was no longer consul and praetorian prefect (Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 235-36). Constantelos considers, however, that Cyrus was consul until 443 and that Eudocia left in that year (D. J. Constantelos, "Kyros Panopolites, Rebuilder of Constantinople," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 12 [1971]: 460). The year 443 has also been suggested by Boyce, based on the rarity of solidi of Eudocia for that year and the apparent increase in those for her daughter Licinia Eudoxia. Boyce argued that Eudocia's departure in 443 led to a cessation of the minting of her solidi (Aline A. Boyce, "Eudoxia, Eudocia, Eudoxia: "Dated Solidi of the Fifth Century," *Museum Notes* 6 [1954]: 136-38). See, however, Cameron, "Empress and poet,": 258-63, for objections to Boyce's argument; Cameron favors a date of 441, or possibly 440, for Eudocia's departure.

[23]Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 27 and 20; Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 15. 9, *Patrologia Graeca*, J.-P. Migne, ed., vol. 147 (Paris, 1865); Theophanes 5945. On the heresy, see W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972).

[24]Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 30 and 35; Theophanes 5947; *Nicephorus* 14. 50 (*Patrologia Graeca* ,vol. 146).

[25]Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 22, 1; Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historion* 337C, I. Bekker, ed., *CSHB* (Bonn, 1838).

[26]The story, which involves a large Phrygian apple as the means of discovery of Eudocia's adultery, is found first in the uncritical and often confused sixth-century historian John Malalas (*Chronographia* 14: 57-58). The *Chronicon Paschale* (444) follows John Malalas (see also *Cedrenus* 337C). Paulinus

was executed in 440, and in Cappadocia, not Constantinople, but Eudocia retained her influence in Constantinople until 441 or 442, or, if the later date is preferred for her departure, until 443. That there were rumors about the empress's adultery as early as 451 is attested by Nestorius (*The Bazaar of Heracleides*, 520, trans. F. Nau [Paris, 1910]: 331). For careful discussion of the facts, see Seeck, *RE*, cols. 909-10; Beck, "Eudokia," cols. 845-46.

[27]On the empress as a poet, see A. Ludwich "Eudokia, die Gattin des Kaisers Theodosios II, als Dichterin," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 37 (1882): 206-25; Herbert Hunger, "On the Imitation (Μίμησις) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969): 34, and *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12.5.2* (Munich, 1978), 100-101, 112; Cameron, "Empress and poet,": 279 (for a scathing denunciation of her poetic ability); A.-J. Rey, "Studies on the works of the Empress Aelia Eudocia" (M. Litt., Saint John's College, Oxford, 1988).

[28]J. Green and Y. Tsafrir, "Greek Inscriptions from Hammat Gader: A Poem by the Empress Eudocia and Two Building Inscriptions," *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982): 77-91.

[29]*Anthologia Palatina*, trans. W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (London, 1916) 1. 10. See R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul I* (Princeton, 1986).

[30]Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974), 384, n. 4; W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton, 1968), 68.

[31]Cameron,"Empress and poet,": 277-81.

[32]Martindale, *Prosopography*, 1145.

[33]Seeck, *RE*, col. 908 (for 441 or 442); Constantelos, "Kyros," 460.

[34]M. Avi-Yonah, *Jerusalem* (New York, 1960), 112.

[35]Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine: A Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest* (New York, 1976), 240-41.

[36]Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 22, 1; Cassiodorus *Expositio Psalmorum* 50, 20, M. Adriaen, ed., *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (hereafter *CCSL*), vol. 97 (1958); *Chronicon Paschale* 444; John Malalas, *Chronographia* 14. 58; *Nicephorus* 14. 50. For plan of the city, see Y. Tsafrir, "Jerusalem," in *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. 3, K. Wessel and M. Restle, eds. (Stuttgart, 1978), cols. 555-56, fig. 11; K. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (London, 1974) fig. 44.

[37]F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894-1897* (London, 1898), 25-28; Kenyon, *Jerusalem* , 269-70. More recent excavations have not demonstrated that the new wall did not follow the line of the earlier one. (Y. Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David, I, 1978-82, QEDEM* 19 [1984], 30-31). There seems to be a question, however, as to when exactly Eudocia's wall went

out of use. D. Bahat ("Les portes de Jérusalem selon Mukaddasi," *Revue Biblique* 93 [1986]: 430) states that it was not abandoned until 1033, following an earthquake. He refers to J. Prawer's article, "The Conquest of the City and the Walls of Jerusalem at the Eve of the First Crusade," *Eretz Israel* 17 (1984) (in Hebrew). Y. Tsafrir, on the other hand, considers it possible that the line of Eudocia's wall was abandoned earlier, between 870 and 985, the time of Muqaddasi, and not necessarily as a result of war but more likely as a result of decrease in population and decline in importance of Jerusalem (Y. Tsafrir, "Muqaddasi's Gates of Jerusalem. A New Identification Based on Byzantine Sources," *Israel Exploration Journal* 27 [1977]: 154-58). Recent excavations have uncovered remains of a gate through Eudocia's wall. See *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 72 (1979): 28-29; 77 (1981): 26-27; 80-81 (1982): 30-31.

[38]Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem, 1954), 16-18, pl. 7; Y. Tsafrir, "Jerusalem," cols. 575-87, fig. 21, and "The Maps Used by Theodosius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986): 136. For full bibliography on the mosaic up to 1977, see H. Donner and H. Cüppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba* (Wiesbaden, 1977), xi-xvi. See also M. Piccirillo in *Monde de la Bible* 52 (1988): 16-18. For a date in the first half of the seventh century for the mosaic, see Pauline Donceel-Voûte, "La carte de Madaba: cosmographie, anachronisme et propagande," *Revue Biblique* 95 (1988): 540-42.

[39]Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, 35.

[40]Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 22; Theodosius, *Itinerarium* 8, P. Geyer ed., *CCSL*, vol. 175 (1965); Antoninus Placentinus 25, *CCSL*, vol. 175 (1965).

[41]L. de Vaux, "Mémoire relatif aux fouilles entreprises par les R. P. Dominicains à Saint-Étienne de Jérusalem," *Revue archéologique*, series III, 12 (1888): 32-60; J. Lagrange, *St. Étienne et son sanctuaire à Jérusalem* (Paris, 1894); H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem; recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. 2, 4, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1926), 768-804.

[42]Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 21; John of Nikiu, *Chronigum de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, H. Zotenberg ed., *Académie des inscriptions et belle-lettres Paris. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris, 1883), 24: 470.

[43]Nicephorus Callistus 14, 50, but for unreliability of this source, see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 239.

[44]For discussion of the buildings put up by contemporaries of Eudocia, see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 241. See also n. 53 below and John Philip Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 24 (1987), although with little information on Jerusalem in the first half of the fifth century.

[45]Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem* , 178-210.

[46]Antoninus Placentinus 24; Asher Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land* (Bonn, 1970), 90-93; Avi-Yonah, *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1976), 2: 615. A mid-sixth-century reconstruction described by Ovadiah is not mentioned by Avi-Yonah. Excavations here from 1978 to 1982 revealed substantial remains of structures that dated to the fifth century. The excavators concluded that they may have been connected with the public buildings constructed around the Siloam Church in the fifth century. See Shiloh, *QEDEM* 19 (1984), 6.

[47]F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 7: 2 (Paris, 1927), 2331-32, 2334, for attribution to the empress; Vincent-Abel, *Jerusalem* (Paris, 1922), 2, 3: 644.

[48]John Rufus, *Plérophories*, F. Nau ed., *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1912), 8: 35-36; Ovadiah, *Corpus*, 78-79.

[49]Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem* , 2, 3: 652-66.

[50]Avi-Yonah, *Encyclopedia*, 615-16.

[51]Avi-Yonah, "Excavations at Sheikh Bader," *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 15 (1949): 19-23, see page II for the English summary where the buildings are dated to the sixth century. See also Ovadiah, *Corpus*, 81-82, who follows Avi-Yonah's original dating to the early sixth century but states that the church was probably connected with Eudocia's home for the aged. For plan of the basilica, see Ovadiah and C. Gomez da Silva, "Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land, II: Updated Material on churches discussed in the Corpus," *Levant* 14 (1982): 139, no. 21.

[52] Another attribution to Eudocia that also is not justifiable is based on the German and English translations of John Rufus's life of Peter the Iberian, which state that the empress was also responsible for the restoration of a church on the Mount of Olives where the Persian martyrs and the forty martyrs of Sebastia were buried (R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer* [Leipzig 1895], 37; D.M. Lang, *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints* [Oxford, 1976, reprint of 1956 edition], 65). The Syriac text, however, apparently does not connect Eudocia with this restoration but only with the building of the church of Saint Stephen.

[53]Excavations in 1961-1967 uncovered remains of the foundations of a church whose plan was probably basilical. A surviving fragment of a mosaic floor contains an inscription that perhaps associates the church with Bassa, who is known to have built a nunnery and a chapel of Saint Menas, which survives today as part of the Armenian Cathedral of Saint James (Kenyon,

Jerusalem , 273-74). For Bassa, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, 30, and *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 2. 1, 3, 31, p. 135, E. Schwartz, ed. (Berlin/ Leipzig, 1933).

[54]Avi-Yonah, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 617-19.

[55]Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem* , 2, 4: 685-98; J. M. Rousée, "L'église Sainte-Marie de la Probatique," *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana. Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 26 (1965): 171-74. Ovadiah and da Silva, "Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land, I: Newly Discovered Churches," *Levant* 13 (1981): 223-24, dated to probably the beginning of the fifth century, and before 427.

[56]John Rufus, 35; *Vita Petri Iberi*, 94, R. Raabe, ed., *Petrus der Iberer* (Leipzig, 1895).

[57]Church of Pontius Pilate: *Vita Petri Iberi*, 94; Theodosius 7; *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* 6, R. Weber, ed., *CCSL*, vol. 175 (1965); Antoninus Placentinus 23. Basilica: *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* 5. Golden Gate: Antoninus Placentinus 17.

[58]Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire*, 2334. The attribution of the Golden Gate to Eudocia, originally in Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem* , 2 (910-11), has been given no credence for many years. For latest discussion of the date of this gate, see M. Rosen-Ayalon, "The Early Islamic Monuments of Al-Haram Al-Sharif," *QEDEM* 28 (1989): 38-44.

[59]Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 237, 239-40.

[60]The type of bezel, flat and circular, was fairly popular in the Christian East and can be paralleled by a number of rings of the sixth and seventh centuries. See H. Battke, *Ringe aus vier Jahrtausenden im Schmuckmuseum Pforzheim* (Frankfurt, 1963), no. 23, and K. R. Brown in Kurt Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), no. 308, for one with nielloed, equal-armed cross. This example and others listed in M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 2 (New York, 1965), no. 67, have a heavier bezel than does the Eudocia ring, and their hoops are plain. Faceted and polygonal rings without a bezel, some inscribed, some plain, are known from the third century and later (cf. F. Henkel, *Die Römischen Fingerringe der Rheinlande* [Berlin, 1913], nos. 9-13; F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1907), nos. 639-43. For a list of Byzantine gold and silver rings with inscriptions, see M. Hadzidakis, "Un anneau byzantin du Musée Benaki," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 17 (1939-1943): 193-206.

[61]E. Coche de la Ferté, *Collection Hélène Stathatos. Les objets byzantins et*

post-byzantins (Limoges, 1957), pl. VI bis B. There appears to be no mention of this ring in the text. The date is given as part of the caption for the plate.

[62]Acc. no. 76.333. L. 12.5 cm. Gift of Gawain McKinley.

[63]Ramsay MacMullen, "The Emperor's Largesses," *Latomus* 21 (1962): 159-66.

[64]Acc. no. 71.37. Diameter 4 cm. Gift of Maureen C. Mabbott in memory of Thomas O. Mabbott. Published: *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to the Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia*, O. Overby, ed. (Columbia, 1982), no. 112. For description of the occasions of medallion issues and for discussion of the recipients, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (New York, 1944), especially 117-18, for gifts of gold medallions to barbarian princes in the third and fourth centuries. For other medallions of Constantius II of the same type as the Missouri medallion, see Toynbee, "Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-antique Art," *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 140-41; Alfred R. Bellinger, "Roman and Byzantine Medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12 (1958): 146-47. The Missouri medallion is the only one attested from the Thessalonika mint.

[65]Henkel, *Fingerringe*, 17. Noll listed the rings of this type known to him, adding to the examples published by Henkel. See R. Noll, "Eine goldene 'Kaiserfibel' aus Niederemmel vom Jahre 316," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 174 (1974): 241-43. See also Gary Vikan, "Early Christian and Byzantine Rings in the Zucker Family Collection," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 45 (1987): 33, fig. 3, for publication of a ring, possibly Noll no. 15 or 16, listed there as from the Guilhou collection, present whereabouts unknown. For one more ring, see Endre Tóth, "Römische Gold- und Silbergegenstände mit Inschriften im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum. Goldringe," *Folia Archaeologica* 30 (1979): 164-66, no. 11 (an incomplete ring found in Hungary).

[66]Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* 53, 145-46, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 1 (1967).

[67]M. Ross, "Two Gem Carvings of the IV Century A.D.," *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957): 174, pl. 67.

[68]Noll, "Kaiserfibel,": 221-38.

[69]E. Coche de la Ferté, *L'antiquité chrétienne au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1958), 102; J. Heurgon, *Le trésor de Ténès* (Paris, 1958), 25; Ross in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 299, "a fibula presented to Constantine the Great."

[70]A. Oliver, Jr., "Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Jewelry," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1966): 283-84; Noll, "Kaiserfibel,": 238-39.

[71]Klaus Wessel, "Fibel," *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1971) 2: cols. 539-41.

[72]Noll, "Kaiserfibel,": 238-39. Oliver points out that many gold fibulae are equal in weight to five aurei or to multiples of five and refers to a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 20. 4, 18, E. Gallatier ed., *Histoire* [Paris, 1968-1977]) in which the emperor Julian promised five aurei and one pound of silver to each man at his accession in 361 (in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 303).

[73]Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 31, no. 25,

[74]One may think, however, of the rather plain and simple pendant that belonged to Maria, empress 398-407 (D. Gaborit in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 306, no. 279).

TIGERS. . . AND THE KISHI SCHOOL OF JAPANESE PAINTING

RICHARD L. WILSON

Hito tsuge ni
Tora no madara wa
Wakitsu to mo
Hito no kokoro o
Ikaga tanoman

A single tale
Might sufficiently describe
The stripes of the tiger;
But how difficult to divine
The real human heart.

This tenth-century Japanese poem, curiously similar to the western admonition about telling a tiger by its stripes, might be applied to the tradition of tiger painting in Japan--it is much more than a topography of dots and lines. Tigers were indigenous to China and Korea, but not to Japan. The absence of the real animal, coupled with the mythical associations that the tiger image possessed upon its introduction to Japan in the prehistoric period, posed special problems for the painter. A tiger by Kishi Renzan (1805-1859) in the collections of the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri-Columbia nevertheless succeeds in evoking both traditional attributes of the beast together with a naturalism new to Japanese painting (Fig.1).[1]

The sources of tiger painting in Japan must be sought in Chinese cosmology. Together with the dragon, phoenix, and tortoise, the tiger was one of the four supernatural animals, and it variously represented autumn, wind, the west and sunset.[2] The pairing of the tiger with the even more

1. *Tiger*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, by Kishi Renzan, Museum of Art and Archaeology, S. Woodson Canada and Evelyn Kehr Canada Fund and gifts of Prof. and Mrs. Chester Starr, Josefa Carlebach, and Waldo E. Tyler (87.166).

mythical dragon is in evidence from the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) in commentaries on the *Book of Changes*, where the dragon is said to have been followed by clouds and the tiger followed by the wind.[3] Not surprisingly, the first manifestation of the tiger in Japanese painting is as a directional sign of the west in prehistoric tomb murals. Such paintings reflect the interests of Japanese chieftains in the sophisticated mortuary practices of their peers on the continent. Tigers soon appeared in the context of another importation, Buddhism. A panel of the seventh- century Tamamushi (Beetle-wing) shrine preserved in the Hôryûji temple, Nara, depicts the *Mahasattva Jataka*, a didactic tale wherein the Prince Mahasattva, an earlier incarnation of the Buddha, sacrifices himself so that a starving tigress and her cubs might live.[4] Tigers continued to appear in the service of Buddhism in the centuries following. For example, in the so-called *nehan* (Sanscrit: *parinirvana*) paintings depicting the deceased Buddha amidst his followers, the tiger is among mourners from the animal kingdom.[5]

2. *Tiger*, hanging scroll by Mu Qi, Daitokuji, Kyoto.

From the fourteenth century, tigers were favored subjects in the Chinese ink paintings imported by Japanese warriors and their emissaries in the Zen sect of Buddhism. While the tiger seems not to have had a formal iconographic significance in Zen, monk-painters drew freely from cosmological and popular imagery already established in China. The most heralded work from that milieu is a pair of hanging scrolls depicting a dragon and tiger and bearing the signature of the thirteenth-century Chinese monk-painter Mu Qi (Fig. 2). The tiger bears the inscription, "When the tiger roars, wind blasts." The Mu Qi tiger, like the numerous derivative works that were to follow, is seated amidst summarily depicted rocks and bamboo; the atmosphere is mist-laden and ambiguous. This painting is referred to in a record of ca. 1500 as a "flanking picture," suggesting that it, together with an opposing dragon, formed a triptych with a Buddhist figure in the center. Such a juxtaposition

might have been intended to place Buddhism at the center of powerful and opposing cosmic forces.[6] The reason for the omnipresence of bamboo in tiger paintings is not perfectly known, but it has been suggested that it evokes the yin/yang pairing of a "weak" tree to a "strong" animal.[7]

From the sixteenth century, Japanese tiger paintings based on the Mu Qi model appear in significant numbers on folding screens and murals; the earliest dragon-tiger screen extant is one from the hand of Tan'an Chiden (late fifteenth to early sixteenth c.) preserved in the Jihô-in, Kyoto.[8] The continuing popularity of the subject with military patrons suggests that the tiger had become coded with more than simple ferociousness or religious symbolism. One explicitly political interpretation, derived from Confucian sources, maintains that the dragon coaxing rain from the clouds and the tiger calling for the wind symbolize an enlightened emperor selecting an enlightened minister.[9] It is more likely, however, that tiger paintings, linked as they were with shogunal collections in centuries past, functioned as talismans of "legitimate" political power in this era of civil war. The connection between tigers and bald political authority emerges succinctly in the mid-late 1500s, in the heyday of upstart warriors like Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598). Large-scale temple and castle murals featured the animal in stupendous isolation; one such composition, of tigers and leopards (the latter were believed to be female tigers) is noted as early as the mid-sixteenth century, at the Jukôin chapel of the Daitokuji temple complex in Kyoto.[10]

Meanwhile, Japanese generals were confronting Korean tigers during their invasions of the peninsula in the 1590s. Korea was the closest natural habitat of the beast; indeed the earliest Japanese mention of tigers—in the eighth-century *Nihon shoki*—takes place in the Korean kingdom of Paekche. The seventh volume of a book called *Ansai gunsaku* (Military plan for the pacified west) relates the capture of a Korean tiger and its subsequent shipment to Japan, where it was shown to Toyotomi Hideyoshi.[11] This may well have been the first display of a living tiger on Japanese soil. Warlord Katô Kiyomasa (1562-1611), renowned for his valor in the conflict, is cited for a stand against feline ferocity in *Shôzan kidan* (Shozan annals, vol. 10):

> When Kiyomasa was in Korea, in the deep mountains, a tiger appeared. The tiger caused a stir among the horses, which angered the general. The beast tore into a small boy, and then turned toward

3. *Tigers*, detail of a sliding door panel by Kanô Sanraku and Kanô Sansetsu, Tenkyûin, Kyoto.

Kiyomasa. Kiyomasa then mounted a rock with a rifle in his hands. The tiger was within two hundred feet. The tiger stared at Kiyomasa and stopped. Others were afraid and made ready to shoot the tiger, but Kiyomasa ordered them to desist, saying that he would do the job himself. The tiger strode forward, mouth widening, and was about to make his leap when Kiyomasa shot it. The bullet struck the throat and the tiger perished.[12]

This story depicts more than a successful safari. Just as gorillas and other nonhuman primates served surrogate functions in racist and colonial narratives about Africa,[13] here the tiger substitutes for the Korean population, foreign and ferocious perhaps, but no match for Japanese musket fire.

The pacification and seclusion of Japan in the early decades of the seventeenth century guaranteed both the proliferation and stagnation of tiger painting. Painters of the Kanô school, entrusted with the most prestigious and grandiose commissions, followed protocols established in the previous century by painters such as Sesson Shûkei (ca. 1504-1589), Hasegawa Tôhaku (1539-1610) and their own forbears. The subject was now frequently composed in color on a ground of gold leaf, but convention and not verisimilitude was the guiding principle (Fig. 3). The persistence of legend and absence of viewing opportunities is testified to in an entry in the 1713 Japanese encyclopedia *Wakan sansai zue*:

> The tiger is the king of the beasts. The shape of its body is that of a cat. Its size is that of a cow. Its skin is a yellow color with black markings. It has fangs and claws. Its whiskers are like needles and its tongue, which is the size of a human hand, has a thorny texture. Its neck is short and its nose flat, and one of its eyes has the ability to glow at night. When it stalks at night, one eye glows and the other fixes on the game. When a hunter shot one, the glowing eye fell to the ground and turned to stone. This was amber. After killing the tiger, the head disappeared into the ground, and when the spot was excavated only ash remained. When the tiger roars, it sounds like thunder. The sound causes the wind to blow and other animals to tremble. The tiger makes such sounds in the autumn. It mates but once in the winter, on a veiled moonlit night. Seven months later, the female gives birth. When

> hunting, the tiger waits for the proper phase of the moon. It attacks from the rear with up to three pounces. If the game is not vanquished after this, it will break off the attack. A tiger will become intoxicated if it eats a dog --they are like wine to to the tiger. It will run away if it smells the horn of the sheep--this is bad for it. If a tiger reaches the age of five hundred it will turn white. The tiger possesses a magical bone in its body. . . . It is shaped like a hook and it is about a foot long. It runs along both flanks. If this bone is extracted and carried around, the wearer will have good luck. If it is not carried, the person will incur the bad will of others. The tiger will eat people, but it hates porcupines.[14]

There is evidence from other sources, however, that tigers were to some extent accessible in the urban amusement centers that flourished in Japan from the early 1600s. Live tigers are reported at the riverbed entertainment district in Kyoto in 1648 and again in Kyoto and Osaka in the Empô era (1673-1681), although there is some question as to whether these were real tigers or not.[15] Impresarios were apparently capable of painting up large cats or building models out of skins stuffed with salt and limestone. A record of the Genroku period (1688-1704) quotes the sideshow barkers announcing the tiger thusly: "Here, here! A tiger brought from Holland [meaning brought to Japan by Dutch traders] only yesterday! Money back if it's a fake! Hurry! Satisfaction guaranteed!"[16] Authenticity notwithstanding, the passion for such amusements was temporarily curtailed by fifth-generation Tokugawa shogun Tsunayoshi (1646-1709). Told that his inability to produce a male heir stemmed from taking life in an earlier existence, Tsunayoshi in 1687 passed severe edicts protecting all forms of animal life, an act that earned him the sobriquet "Dog Shogun." The laws were finally repealed in 1717, and the passion for spectacles immediately resumed.

Three years later, the loosening of import restrictions by eighth-generation Tokugawa shogun Yoshimune (1684-1751) provided fresh inspiration for Japanese painters. European illustrations brought in by the Dutch revealed conventions of spatial perspective and solid form, and greater numbers of Chinese paintings (among them recent bird-and-flower paintings) displayed a heightened interest in natural observation and fine detail. There were also visits by Chinese painters to the entrepôt of Nagasaki, including I Fujiu (1698-after 1747) in 1720 and 1730 and Shen Nanpin (fl. 1725-1780) in 1731-1733. The latter transmitted his meticulous and colorful manner of bird-and-flower depiction to Japanese student Kumashiro Yûhi (1713-1772), whose students in turn spread this "Nagasaki style" to the cultural centers in Kyoto, Osaka, and

Edo. Yûhi's interest in sketching from nature is evidenced in a register of Japanese hermits and eccentrics called *Zoku kinsei kijinden* (vol. 5) :

> At one time [Yûhi] was asked to make a painting of a tiger and it so happened that a foreigner had just imported one. With brush and paper in hand, [Yûhi] approached the cage. The tiger was motionless, with face lowered, but [Yûhi] wanted to see the tiger in movement. So he took it upon himself to fetch a bamboo pole and struck the tiger on the head. Then the tiger became angry and roared, causing all the bystanders to flee. Even though all had escaped, Yûhi refused to leave and kept on sketching. Witnesses recounted that even though the beast made a ferocious face with its eyes roundly glaring as if to pounce on someone, the painter boldly but calmly continued on with his work.[17]

That caged tigers sometimes failed to evoke the true nature of the beast, however, is hinted in the inscription on a 1755 tiger executed by the individualistic Kyoto master Itô Jakuchû (1716-1800): "When I paint natural phenomena, depiction is impossible without a true model. As there are no ferocious tigers in this country, I could only indicate the appearance of one by copying [Chinese painter] Mao-I's painting."[18]

Was it that facsimile tigers failed to inspire the brush, or that the brush, worn by centuries of convention, failed to inspire the tiger? The triumph of Maruyama Ôkyo (1733-1795) in tiger painting suggests the latter. Ôkyo, like his colleagues in Nagasaki, benefited from the new influx of Western and Chinese materials. As a youth, Ôkyo trained under a Kanô painter, but employment as a maker of perspective prints to be used in an exotic toy viewing device called *nozoki karakuri* spurred an interest in empirically based depictions of space and volume. In his mature work, Ôkyo combined these new approaches with more traditional conventions (bold linear contours and areas of flat, ungraded color) to create his own brand of lyrical naturalism. Although he too seems not to have studied living tigers, Ôkyo made careful studies of tiger skins and animals of similar appearance. A longtime patron, the abbot Yûjô of the Enman-in monastery outside Kyoto, made notes about the painter's opinions about brushwork and color schemes appropriate to the subject: "Ôkyo said that in painting tigers, old tiger fur should be rendered by continuous flickering movements of the brush; the same is true for middle age tigers; young tiger fur is painted in thin brush strokes. Adding powdered shell to yellow ocher will whiten the color."[19] Ôkyo's tigers (Fig. 4) accordingly display an unprecedented sensitivity for tex-

ture and coloration, avoiding the flat patterning of centuries past.

Ôkyo's greatest rival was Renzan's master Ganku (1749-1838), founder of the Kishi school. Son of a low-ranking samurai in Kanazawa (Ishikawa Prefecture), Ganku spent his youth working in a dyeing establishment; he learned to read by deciphering merchants' shop signs. He is said to have started in painting by sketching textile patterns, and there are legends that he worked under local masters Yada Shinyôken (dates unknown) or Mori Ransai (1740?-1801), but his writings fail to mention a teacher or school affiliation. In 1779, Ganku moved to Kyoto, where the naturalism of painters like Jakuchû and Ôkyo was revolutionizing Japanese painting. Ganku proceeded to digest the major currents, especially the color and detail of the Nagasaki school and the lyrical but rigorously structured naturalism of Ôkyo. To those precedents he added a nervous and exaggerated contour line that gave his work with a distinctive animation. In 1784, Ganku attracted the patronage of Prince Arisugawa, which in turn guaranteed numerous commissions from the merchant class (Kyoto artists had a long tradition of securing the nominal support of the Imperial family as a step toward attracting money-eyed buyers). By the time that Ganku was invited back to Kanazawa to decorate the local castle in 1809, he was quite wealthy; records show that his works sold at prices equal to those of Ôkyo.[20] Ganku's high commissions and his opportunism (he boasted of employment in the Imperial Palace, although his real duties consisted of nothing but lighting a ceremonial torch three days a year) were satirized by contemporaries; Miyajima Shinichi has suggested that such behavior militated against his gaining posthumous fame.[21] Indeed, the influence of Ôkyo and his disciples, particularly Matsumura Goshun (1752-1811), continued into the twentieth century whereas Ganku slipped into obscurity.

4. *Tiger*, detail of a sketch by Maruyama Ôkyo, private collection, Japan.

Five prominent pupils nevertheless kept Ganku's style alive through the mid-nineteenth century. His son Gantai (1782-1865) and nephew and adopted son Kishi Ganryô (1798-1852) were conservative followers.[22] Yokoyama Kazan (1784-1837) and Kawamura Bumpô (1779-1821) studied under Ganku but synthesized his manner with other currents. Widely regarded as the most versatile and talented heir was son-in-law and

adopted son Renzan, painter of the tiger under consideration here. Despite the considerable number of Renzan paintings extant, there is little information on his life. Early twentieth-century painting histories identify him as a Kyoto resident originally named Aoki Toku or Tokujirô. He also used the names Banshôrô, Shishin, and Bunshin, along with the studio names Shidô and Renzan. He is reported to have studied ten years with Ganku (some accounts say his mentor was Ganryô), whereupon he was adopted into the Kishi family with the names Renzan and Gantoku.[23] A commission to decorate the Hall of the Wild Geese in the Imperial Palace[24] hints at a place of some esteem among early nineteenth century Kyoto masters. This work presumably occurred after master Ganku's withdrawal from active life in mid-1820s (his official retirement took place in 1824). Renzan's adopted son Chikudô (1826-1897), who came to Renzan after training with a Kanô school painter named Eigaku, continued in Kishi school subjects and displayed a large tiger painting at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Insofar as Chikudô served the Ii family, lords of the Hikone domain in western Japan, there may be some yet-undiscovered material on Renzan in the voluminous Ii family archives.

5. *Tiger*, detail of a folding screen by Kishi Ganku, Tokyo National Museum.

As a tiger painter, Renzan was certainly well positioned. His master Ganku left numerous tiger studies (Fig. 5), and in 1799 he even assumed the name Kotôkan (Tiger-Head Hall) after receiving the head of a tiger from a Chinese resident of Nagasaki.[25] In the Museum of Art and Archaeology tiger, Renzan shows himself worthy of the Kishi mantle (Fig. 1). The salient features of the Mu Qi tradition are still in place: a few sketchy rocks, bamboo, wind-driven vapors, and the tiger itself. The space created by the bending and disappearing tree trunk and reappearing foliage is a Nagasaki school characteristic. The nervous, crumbly line defining the branches and the leaves is typical of the Kishi school. The tiger itself, depicted with the undulating physique characteristic of Kishi school tigers, is executed in three stages: an ocher wash for the body color, dark and diffuse ink blotches

for the stripes, and short, wiry, sparsely placed strokes for the fur. Renzan obviously studied tiger skins or good pictorial facsimiles, for the striations and the snarling mask successfully avoid the near-comic stylization of earlier modes. The convincing fur texture probably owes a debt to Ôkyo. The signature, located just below the tree trunk, reads "Renzan Gantoku," a combination of the painter's name and his school name. Immediately below the signature a square intaglio seal reads "Gantoku no in" (Seal of Gantoku) and a square relief seal underneath that reads "Azana Shidô" (alias Shidô).

As mentioned above, hanging scrolls depicting tigers originally formed part of a triptych, and that mode of display continued in samurai households as part of the system of official etiquette. On the other hand, urban merchants, the real supporters of Kishi school painters, had less concern for punctilio. Box inscriptions and ledgers demonstrate that Ganku was executing tiger scrolls as individual works. As for the associations that the tiger had for nineteenth-century merchant patrons, it must be remembered that the warrior class represented the apex of power and prestige. Aspirations to that status, however vicarious, frequently guided the merchants' cultural activities and guaranteed the popularity of traditional subjects like the tiger. But participation also engendered transformation. The merchants' frank enjoyment of reality through the prism of the senses and their interest in the world of colorful and exotic urban amusements also conditioned the production of Kishi tigers. Renzan's tiger thus represents not only a summation of the styles that had transformed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Japanese painting but also a synthesis of the spiritual and secular urgencies that inform the entire tiger tradition.

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NOTES

[1]Kishi Renzan, *Tiger*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 109.0 x 41.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia (87.166), S. Woodson Canada and Evelyn Kehr Canada Fund and gifts of Prof. and Mrs. Chester Starr, Josefa Carlebach, and Waldo E. Tyler. The author wishes to acknowledge assistance received from Kuroda Taizô of the Idemitsu Museum and Ogasawara Saeko of Houston, Texas.

[2]Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy* (Boston, 1970), 29.

[3]Yoshiaki Shimizu and CarolynWheelright, *Japanese Ink Paintings* (Princeton, N.J., 1976), 206.

[4]See illustration, Kurata Bunsaku, *Hôryûji: Temple of the Exalted Law* (New York, 1981), 29.

[5]See, for example, the fourteenth-century *nehan* scroll in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Barbara Ford, "The Arts of Japan," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 45:1 (1987): 16.

[6]Suggested in Fontein and Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, 29.

[7]Henri L. Joly, *Legend in Japanese Art* (London, 1908, reprinted Rutland, Vt., 1967), 530.

[8]Illustrated in Yamane et al., eds., *Muromachi jidai no byôbu-e* (Screen paintings of the Muromachi era) (Tokyo National Museum, 1989), no. 59.

[9]Yoshiaki Shimizu, ed., *The Shaping of Daimyo Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1988), cat. no. 123.

[10]Ibid., 204.

[11]See Shimodana Seiichi and Munemasa Itsuô, eds., *Nihon no monyô* (Japanese motifs) (Kyoto, 1976), 24: 14.

[12]Ibid.

[13]See Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Science, Narrative and Politics in*

Twentieth-Century Studies of Monkeys and Apes (New York, 1989).

[14]Terashima Ryôan, ed., *Wakan sansai zue*, (pub. 1713, reprinted Tokyo, 1987), 38:48-49.

[15]Asakura Musei, *Misemono kenkyû* (Research on sideshows)(Tokyo, 1928), 195-96.

[16]Ibid., 196.

[17]Quoted in Hosokowa Junjirô, ed., *Koji ruien* (Classified garden of ancient event)], vol. 7 *Dôbutsu-bu* (Animal section) (1896, reprinted Tokyo, 1981), 448-49.

[18]Quoted in Hickman and Satô, *The Paintings of Jakuchû* (New York, 1989), cat. no. 28.

[19]Sasaki Jôhei, "Ôkyo kankei shiryô *Banshi* bassui" (Selections from *Banshi*, a document related to Ôkyo), *Bijutsu shi* 111 (1981): 47.

[20]See Miyajima Shinichi, "Ganku," *Ganku* (Toyama: Toyama Bijutsukan, 1987), 10.

[21]Already in the first half of the nineteenth century Kinoshita Itsuon (1799-1866) wrote that Ganku, along with Chikudô (Nakabayashi Chikutô, 1776-1853), Baiitsu (Yamamoto Baiitsu, 1783-1856), and Kaisenyakara (Oda Kaisen, 1785-1862), had flourished in his lifetime but was totally disregarded after his death. Ibid.

[22] Two less important Ganku followers are Ganki and Ganjô. Gantai's three sons — Gankei (1811-1848), Ganrei (1816-1883), and Gansei (1827-1867) — and Ganryô's son Gankyô (1829-1874) also continued the school, although without special distinction.

[23]See *Dainippon shoga meika taikan* (General survey of masters of Japanese painting and calligraphy)(Tokyo, 1934), part 1, 1162-63; part 2, 1923; *Rakkan-hen* (signature and seal appendix), 646.

[24]Jack Hillier, *The Uninhibited Brush: Japanese Painting in the Shijô Style* (London, 1974), 228.

[25]Miyajima, "Ganku," 13.

ACQUISITIONS
1988 - 1990

EGYPTIAN ART
1989

Nine Mosaic Glass Inlays and Fragments, Egypto-Roman, 1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D., glass (98-106), gift of John and Elsbeth Dusenbery in honor of Gladys and Saul Weinberg.

GREEK AND ROMAN ART

GREEK
1988

Kylix, Laconian, Archaic period, ca. 525 B.C, pottery (88), gift of Chi Omega Sorority, University of Missouri-Columbia, in honor of their seventy-fifth anniversary.

Greek, *Kylix*, h. 12.5 cm (88.88).

Bird-bowl, East Greece, Subgeometric period, 650-615 B.C, pottery (5), Weinberg Fund.

Coin, Lydia, Saitta, Caracalla, 198-217, bronze (29), Weinberg Fund.

Coin, Pamphylia, Sillyon, Septimius Severus, 193-211, bronze (8), Weinberg Fund.

1989

Daedalic Style Votive Plaque, Cretan, Orientalizing period, ca. 650 B.C, terracotta (63), Weinberg Fund.

Coin, Phoenicia, Sidon, 10/9 B.C.-A.D. 116/17, bronze (62), gift of Mrs. Fordyce Mitchel in memory of Fordyce Wood Mitchel.

1990

Pair of Interlocking Knobbed Rings, 6th c. B.C. or later, bronze (124), anonymous gift.

Biconical Bead, Macedonia, late 7th or early 6th c. B.C., bronze (123), anonymous gift.

Globular Pendant, mid 7th c. B.C., bronze (122), anonymous gift.

Bird-cage Pendant, Macedonia or Thessaly, Late Geometric and Subgeometric periods, second half of 8th c. B.C., bronze (121), anonymous gift.

Horse, Late Geometric period, last quarter of 8th c. B.C., bronze (120), anonymous gift.

Horse, Late Geometric or Subgeometric period, late 8th or early 7th c. B.C., bronze (119), anonymous gift.

Greek, *Daedalic Style Votive Plaque*, h. 11.7 cm (89.63).

Greek, *Horses*, Geometric period, max. h. 3.7 cm (90.119-120).

Plate Fibula, "Thessalian" Type, 7th c. B.C., bronze (118), anonymous gift.

Plate Fibula with Double-segmented Bow, Late Geometric or Subgeometric period, last quarter of 8th-second quarter of 7th c. B.C., bronze (116.19), anonymous gift.

Plate Fibula with Triangular Catch Plate, Subgeometric period, 7th-6th c. B.C., bronze (116.18), anonymous gift.

A group of jewelry, Geometric to Subgeometric period, 8th-7th c. B.C., bronze (116.1-116.17), anonymous gift.

Finger Ring, Hellenistic, 3rd-2nd c. B.C., gold and garnet (104), anonymous gift.

Chalice, Chios, ca. 550 B.C., pottery (111), Weinberg Fund.

Krater, Euboean (?), Protogeometric style, ca. 900 B.C., pottery (109), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates.

Greek, *Krater*,
Protogeometric style,
h. 20.3 cm (90.109).

Lamp, early 5th c. B.C., terracotta (103), anonymous gift.

Feeding Vessel, East Greece (?), Provincial Wild Goat style, before 575 B.C., pottery (99), Weinberg Fund.

Shallow Bowl, Hellenistic, 1st c. B.C., glass (97), gift of Mrs. Ely Jacques Kahn.

Coin, Cilicia, Anemurium, Valerian I, 253-260, bronze (125), Weinberg Fund.

68 Coins, Campania, Bruttium, Sicily, Macedonia, Islands of Thrace, Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Locris, Boeotia, Euboea, Attica, Megaris, Phliasia, Sicyonia, Elis, Islands off Elis, Messenia, Arcadia, Crete, Pontus, Mysia, Troas, Caria, Rhodes, Phrygia, Cilicia, 5th-1st c. B.C.; 19 Greek imperial coins, Macedonia, Attica, Megaris, Achaia, Messenia, Argolis, Troas, Chios, Lydia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Cappadocia, Judaea, Egypt, 1st-3rd c., bronze, silver, billon (8-92, 94, 95), gift of Gladys and Saul Weinberg.

Seven Beads, Geometric to Early Archaic period, 8th-early 6th c. B.C., amber (117.1-117.7), anonymous gift.

Intaglio of a Griffin, Perachora, 7th c. B.C., ivory (115), anonymous gift.

Greek, *Coin*, obverse (90.38).

Greek, *Coin*, obverse (90.13).

Greek, *Coin*, reverse (90.125).

ROMAN

1988

Hermes; Relief from a Krater with Procession of Four Gods, Archaistic, Neo-Attic style, Trajanic period, late 1st-early 2nd c., Pentelic marble (33), Weinberg Fund and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Roman, *Hermes; Relief from a Krater with Procession of Four Gods*, h. 28 cm (88.33).

Portrait of the Emperor Hadrian as a Young Man, ca. 136-38 (with 18th c. bust), marble (1), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates.

Roman, *Portrait of the Emperor Hadrian as a Young Man*, h. 54.4 cm (89.1).

Appliqué of the God Men, probably from Anatolia, 2nd c., bronze (61), Weinberg Fund.

Five Mosaic Glass Fragments, ca. 1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D., glass (107-111), gift of John and Elsbeth Dusenbery in honor of Gladys and Saul Weinberg.

Roman, *Mold-blown Bottle*, h. 7.6 cm (89.97).

Mold-blown Bottle, Sidonian, ca. 1st c., glass (97), gift of John and Elsbeth Dusenbery in honor of Gladys and Saul Weinberg.

1990

Beaker, 2d half of 1st c., glass (106), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Lamp, late 1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D., bronze (105), anonymous gift.

Lamp, Palestine, said to come from Nazareth, late Roman-early Byzantine period, 7th-9th c., terracotta (102), gift of Mrs. Kate Rogers.

Tessera, Corinth, early Roman period, bronze (93), gift of Gladys and Saul Weinberg.

Roundel, Imperial period, bronze (7), Weinberg Fund.

Roman, *Glass Beaker*, h. 11 cm (90.106).

Roman, *Plaque of the Cult of the Danube Riders*, h. 12.3 cm (90.6).

Gabled Plaque of the Cult of the Danube Riders, probably Yugoslavia or Romania (ancient Pannonia or Dacia), ca. 250-300, lead (6), Weinberg Fund.

Plaque of the Cult of the Danube Riders, probably Yugoslavia or Romania (ancient Pannonia or Dacia), ca. 250-300, lead (5), Weinberg Fund.

Plaque of the Cult of the Danube Riders, probably Yugoslavia or Romania (ancient Pannonia or Dacia), ca. 250-300, lead (4), Weinberg Fund.

Gabled Plaque of the Cult of the Danube Riders, probably Yugoslavia or Romania (ancient Pannonia or Dacia), ca. 250-300, lead (3), Weinberg Fund.

Round Plaque of the Cult of the Danube Riders, probably Yugoslavia or Romania (ancient Pannonia or Dacia), ca. 250-300, lead (2), Weinberg Fund.

Round Plaque of the Cult of the Danube Riders, probably Yugoslavia or Romania (ancient Pannonia or Dacia), ca. 250-300, lead (1), Weinberg Fund.

EAST ASIAN ART

CHINA
1988

Anonymous, *Visiting the Sage*, Ch'ing dynasty, 19th c., ink and colors on silk mounted on paper (2), gift of Dr. and Mrs. Henry G. Schwartz.

China, *Kuanyin*,
h. 25.5 cm (90.98).

1990

Kuanyin (Guanyin), Ch'ing dynasty, perhaps 18th c., porcelain: Te Hua (Dehua) ware/blanc-de-chine (98), gift of Dr. and Mrs. Robert P. Burns.

JAPAN
1988

Shigemitsu (?), fl. 1850, *Kabuki actor* (?), woodblock print (4), gift of Dr. and Mrs. William L. Trogdon.

KOREA
1988

Soon Hyung Kwon, Korean, b. 1929, *Nature*, 1987, ceramic with dolomite glaze (30), gift of the artist in honor of the Sesquicentennial of the University of Missouri and the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul.

SOUTH ASIAN ART

INDIA
1988

The following objects from India are the gift of Catherine and Ralph Benkaim.

Scene from the "Bhagavata Purana" Showing a Confrontation Between Demons and Gods, Guler regional style, ca. 1760, ink on paper (28).

Scene from the "Ramayana" Showing Hanuman Presenting Rama's Ring to Sita, Chamba regional style, ca. 1735, ink on paper (27).

Kali on Shiva, Ganga on a Crocodile, Kangra regional style, 1820, ink on paper (26).

Nawab Asuf ud-Daula of Oudh, Lucknow regional style, 19th c., ink on paper (25).

A Prince Seated on a Throne, Kishengarh regional style, ca. 1760, ink and gold on paper (24).

Vishnu on Garuda Encounters Indra on Airavata, Chamba regional style, 1720-1725, ink on paper (23).

A Deity in a Chariot Drawn by a Goat, Bikaner regional style, ca. 1800, ink on paper (22).

Sketches of Animals, Kotah regional style, ca. 1800, ink on paper (21).

Udai Singh of Chamba, Chamba regional style, 1690-1700, ink, graphite and color on paper (20).

Two Girls Feeding an Antelope and a Peacock, Kangra regional style, ca. 1830, ink on paper (19).

Studies of Sculptures from a Temple, Kotah regional style, ca. 1800, ink on paper (18).

A Girl with Shaved Head Seated on a Donkey Led by a Drummer, Lucknow regional style, ca. 1820, ink on paper (17).

An Angel Holding a Rabbit, Bundi regional style, ca. 1800, ink on paper (16).

A Raja Hunting a Tiger from a Roof Top, Devgarh regional style, ca. 1840, ink on paper (15).

Vishnu on Shesha, Kotah regional style, ca. 1780, ink on paper (14).

Sun Emblem, Mewar regional style, ca. 1800, ink on paper (13).

Kali Seated on Shiva (recto); *Shiva Dancing on a Corpse* (verso), Kotah regional style, ca. 1820, ink and watercolor on paper (12).

Two Elephants Fighting, Kotah regional style, ca. 1775, ink on paper (11).

PAKISTAN
1988

The following objects from Pakistan are the gift of Alan and Ann Wolfe.

Panel with a Karosthi Inscription Recording a Foundation or Donation by a vihara-master Aphana, son of Chapa, from the Maksi clan, Gandharan, late 4th c., schist (39).

Carved Architectural Ornament, Gandharan, late 3rd-4th c., schist (37).

Two Sections of Tiered Umbrellas, Gandharan, late 3rd-4th c., schist (36, 38).

Prince Siddhartha with His Writing Tablet, Gandharan, ca. 4th c., schist (35).

Head of a Young Man, Gandharan, ca. 4th c., stucco (34).

Twenty-one Grain Sack Seals, Gandharan, 3rd-4th c., clay (40-60).

Gandharan, *Head of a Young Man*, h. 24.5 cm (88.34).

Gandharan, *Bodhisattva*, h. 61 cm (90.96).

1990

Bodhisattva, Gandharan, ca. 4th c., schist (96).

CENTRAL AMERICAN ART

COSTA RICA
1989

The following objects from Costa Rica are the bequest of William Q. Loegering.

Pair of Earrings, 20th c., gold (59 a-b).

Bird, ca. 900-1300, gold (58).

Costa Rica, *Man Drinking from a Bottle,* h. 6.1 cm (89.57).

Man Drinking from a Bottle, Diquis region, ca. 900-1300, gold (57).

Collection of Thirteen Small Bowls, Jars, and Tripod Vessels, ca. 900-1300, pottery (26-38).

Biconical Bowl with Wide-Flaring Foot and Painted Decoration, ca. 900-1300, pottery (25).

Two Whistles in the Form of Birds, ca. 900-1300, terracotta (23, 24).

Vessel with Effigy Handles, ca. 900-1400, pottery (22).

Effigy Vessel with Pinched Decoration, ca. 900-1400, pottery (21).

Quadruped with Rattle Head, ca. 900-1400, pottery (20).

Footed Jar, ca. 900-1400, pottery (19).

Collared Jar, ca. 900-1400, pottery (18).

Collared Jar with Animal Head Rattle, Nicoya region, ca. 900-1300, pottery (17).

Pendant in the Shape of a Toucan Head, ca. 900-1300, jade (60).

Collection of Eight Pendants and Nine Beads, ca. 1000-1400, jade and jade like stones (40-56).

String of Beads, ca. 1000-1400, jade (39).

Grinding Platform (metate), ca. 800-1500, stone (16).

Costa Rica, *Grinding Platform*, h. 20 cm (89.16).

Mace Head, possibly from Guancaste region, ca. 300 B.C.-A.D. 300, stone (15).

Costa Rica,
Squatting Shaman,
h. 15 cm (89.13).

Three Squatting Shamans, ca. 1000-1500, volcanic stone (12-14).

1990

Bead Necklace, Linea Vieja, Chorotega culture, ca. 1250, stone (128), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

MEXICO
1990

The following objects from Mexico are the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

Large Eccentric Flint, Yucatan, Maya culture, ca. 900-1200, flint (141).

Earflare, Yucatan, Maya culture, ca. 900-1200, jade (140).

Group of Fourteen Pendants, Yucatan, Maya culture, ca. 900-1200, spondylus shell (139).

Pendant in the Shape of a Bird, Yucatan, Maya culture, ca. 900-1240, shell and stone (138).

Pair of Earflares, Yucatan, Maya culture, ca. 900-1200, jade (136.1, 136.2).

Standing Figure, Guerrero, Mezcala culture, ca. 250 B.C., serpentine (135).

Pendant in the Shape of a Stylized Figure, Guerrero, Mezcala culture, ca. 250 B.C., stone (134).

Mexico, *Mezcala Standing Figure,* h. 9.7 cm (90.130).

Pendant in the Shape of a Head, Guerrero, Mezcala culture, ca. 250 B.C., serpentine (133).

Finger Ring, Oaxaca, Mixtec culture, ca. 1250, copper (132).

Seated Monkey, Guerrero, Mezcala culture, ca. 250 B.C., serpentine (131).

Standing Figure, Guerrero, Mezcala culture, ca. 250 B.C., serpentine, (130).

Mask, Guerrero, Mezcala culture, ca. 250 B.C., serpentine (129).

EL SALVADOR
1990

Pendant in the Shape of a Stylized Bird, Sonsonate, Maya culture, ca. 900-1240, jade (137), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

SOUTH AMERICAN ART

ECUADOR
1988

Twenty-two Ornaments and Fragmentary Objects, ca. 1000-1400, copper and copper alloy (61-82), anonymous gift.

Two Spindle Whorls, Coastal region, Late Prehistoric period, terracotta (84, 85), anonymous gift.

Spoon, ca. 1000-1400, stone (83), anonymous gift.

PERU
1988

Effigy Vessel, Vicus culture, ca. 100, pottery (89), anonymous gift.

Two Textiles, Inca culture, ca. 1100, cotton (96, 97), anonymous gift.

Three Feathered Textiles, Nazca culture, ca. 600, feathers, cotton, and wool (93-95), anonymous gift.

Peru, *Effigy Vessel*, h. 16.2 cm (88.89).

Textile Fragment, Inca culture, ca. 1100, wool (92), anonymous gift.

Poncho, Inca culture, ca. 1100, wool (91), anonymous gift.

Tunic, Huari culture, ca. 1000, wool (90), anonymous gift.

1989

Finial with Musicians, Chimu culture, ca. 1000-1450, copper (95), anonymous gift.

Ornament with Birds, ca. 1000-1400, silver (94), anonymous gift.

Four Depilatory Tweezers, Chancay culture (?), ca. 1200-1400, gold and copper alloy (87-90), anonymous gift.

Textile, Inca culture, ca. 1400, wool and cotton (96), anonymous gift.

Three Weaving Tools, ca. 1100-1400, wood (91-93), anonymous gift.

Bag, Chenca-Ica culture, ca. 1000-1200, wool (86), anonymous gift.

Bag, Inca culture, ca. 1400, wool (85), anonymous gift.

Textile Fragment Depicting Two Birds, Chancay culture, ca. 1200-1400, wool (84), anonymous gift.

Textile Depicting Two Figures, Chimu culture (?), ca. 1000-1450, cotton (83), anonymous gift.

Four Tie-dyed Textiles, Chancay culture (?), ca. 1200-1400, cotton (78-81), anonymous gift.

Tunic, Central Coast region, ca. 1500, cotton and wool (77), anonymous gift.

Peru, *Tunic*, 50 x 92.5 cm (88.90).

Two Ponchos, Inca culture, ca. 1450-1532, wool (76, 82), anonymous gift.

Textile Fragment Depicting Row of Llamas, Inca culture, ca. 1450-1500, wool (75), anonymous gift.

Textile, Chancay culture, ca. 1200-1400, wool (74), anonymous gift.

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ART

PAINTINGS
1988

William Quinn, American, b. 1929, *Halley's Comet over Webster Groves*, 1986, oil on canvas (86), anonymous gift.

Douglass Freed, American, b. 1944, *Encasement #1-83 Blue*, 1983, oil on canvas (9), gift of the artist in honor of Dr. Vera Townsend upon her retirement.

Douglass Freed, *Encasement #1-83 Blue*, 91.3 x 214.7 cm (88.9).

1989

David Ligare, American, b. 1945, *Study for "Dido in Resolve,"* 1989, oil on canvas (7), gift of the University of Missouri-Columbia Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee.

David Ligare, American, b. 1945, *Dido in Resolve*, 1989, oil on canvas (6), gift of the University of Missouri-Columbia Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee.

David Ligare,
Dido in Resolve,
2.95 x 2.03 m
(89.6).

1990

Stephen Sacklarian, American, b. Bulgaria, 1899-1983, *Totems*, ca. 1973, acrylic on canvas (142), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alan B. Furman.

Daniel E. Chaffee, American, b. 1955, *Compelling Disaster*, 1985, oil on canvas (114), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Daniel E. Chaffee, *Compelling Disaster*, 1.06 x 1.06 m (90.114).

Anonymous, Greek, *Saint Agia Paraskevi*, 1852, paint on wood panel (101), gift of Mrs. Jeanne A. Fistedis in memory of Mr. Stanley H. Fistedis.

Anonymous, Greek, *Virgin and Child*, 20th c., paint on wood panel (100), gift of Mrs. Jeanne A. Fistedis in memory of Mr. Stanley H. Fistedis.

DRAWINGS

1988

Douglass Freed, American, b. 1944, *Working Diagram for "Encasement #1-83 Blue,"* 1983, pencil on paper (10), gift of the artist.

Sir Frank Brangwyn, British, 1867-1956, *Study for "The Pioneers,"* Missouri State Capitol, ca. 1921-1922, pencil and colored chalk on paper (7), purchased with funds generated from gifts of Morton D. May and Allan Gerdau.

Sir Frank Brangwyn, *Study for "The Pioneers"*, 41.7 x 31.5 cm (88.7).

1989

Ludwig Bemelmans, American, b. Italy, 1898-1962, *Swans*, watercolor and graphite on paper (70), gift of Rowland H. Smith in memory of Jane Froman.

Ludwig Bemelmans, American, b. Italy, 1898-1962, *Two Musicians*, ink on tracing paper (69), gift of Rowland H. Smith in memory of Jane Froman.

David Ligare, American, b. 1945, *Four Preparatory Drawings for "Dido in Resolve,"* 1988, graphite and white chalk on buff paper (8) sepia ink on paper (9) graphite on paper (10, 11) (8-11), gift of the University of Missouri-Columbia Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee.

Thomas Hart Benton, American, 1889-1975, *Illustrated Letter to Fred Shane,* 1938, ink on paper (3), gift of Fred Shane.

1990

Michael Ott, American, b. 1945, *Pop Artist*, 1986, watercolor (107), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Michael Ott, *Pop Artist*, 76.5 x 58 cm (90.107).

GRAPHICS

1988

Paul Huet, French, 1804-1869, *Flood on the Isle Séguin*, 1833, etching on mounted China paper (32), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Left: Eugène Isabey, *Eglise Saint Jean, Thiers*, 34.3 x 28.2 cm (88.31).

Right: Wilhelm Lehmbruck, *"Macbeth"*, 38.7 x 29.4 cm (88.6).

Eugène Isabey, French, 1804-1886, *Eglise Saint Jean, Thiers*, 1831, lithograph on mounted China paper (31), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Wilhelm Lehmbruck, German, 1881-1919, *"Macbeth,"* version 5, 1918, etching with drypoint on laid paper (6), purchased with funds given in memory of Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Benson, Dr. Margaret Mandeville and Dr. Thomas Mier.

1989

Thomas Medland (?), English, 18th-19th c., (after a painting by Philipp Reinagle), *The American Aloe*, 1807 (from "The Temple of Flora," published by Dr. Robert Thornton, 1799-1807), color engraving with aquatint and stippling on heavy paper (73), gift of Rowland H. Smith in memory of Jane Froman.

James Caldwall (?), English, 1739-? (after a painting by John Henderson ?) *Indian Reed*, 1804 (from "The Temple of Flora," published by Dr. Robert Thornton, 1799-1807), color engraving with aquatint and stippling on heavy paper (72), gift of Rowland H. Smith in memory of Jane Froman.

James Caldwall (?), English, 1739-? (after a painting by John Henderson ?), *The Nodding Renealmia*, 1801 (from "The Temple of Flora," published by Dr. Robert Thornton, 1799-1807), color engraving with aquatint and stippling on heavy paper (71), gift of Rowland H. Smith in memory of Jane Froman.

Brooke Bulovsky Cameron, American, b. 1941, *Double Sicilian Suns*, 1988, viscosity printed photo intaglio with metal leaf (2), gift of the artist.

Abbe Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Gardens with a Classical Fountain*, 25.3 x 32.3 cm (90.127).

1990

Abbe Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, French, 1727-1991, *Gardens with a Classical Fountain*, 1767 (after a work by Hubert Robert), aquatint and etching (127), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Käthe Kollwitz, German, 1867-1944, *Selbstbildnis von vorn*, 1923, woodcut (126), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Käthe Kollwitz, *Selbstbildnis von vorn*, 14.9 x 15.5 cm (90.126).

Salvador Dali, Spanish, 1904-1989, *Untitled*, no date, etching and drypoint (113), gift of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Gaines.

Jocelyn Barbara Hepworth, English, 1903-1975, *Fragment*, no date, embossed lithograph (112), gift of Gladys and Saul Weinberg.

Armen Gasparian, American, *Avening Village*, 1990, serigraph (108), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

DECORATIVE ARTS

1988

William Morris, British, 1834-1896, *Textile with "The Tulip and Rose" Design*, ca. 1876, wool (3), gift of Elizabeth Belot in honor of Dr. Vera Townsend and Dr. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt.

William Morris, *Textile with "The Tulip and Rose" Design*, 2.7 x 1.8 m (88.3).

Linda Hoffhines, American, b. 1950, *Compressed Urn*, 1987, terracotta, cement, and sherds of ceramic and mirror (1), purchased with funds generated from a gift of Dr. William D. Curtis.

1989

Vase, Czechoslovakia, Bohemian, 19th c., glass (68), gift of Mrs. Jefferson Patterson.

Middle Eastern Style Decanter, French, ca. 1890, enameled glass (67), gift of Mrs. Jefferson Patterson.

Collection of Glassware, Italy, Murano, Salviati Company, ca. 1925, glass (66.1 - 66.6), gift of Mrs. Jefferson Patterson.

Murano, *Collection of Glassware*, max. h. 32.8 cm (89.66.1-6).

Bohemian, *Collection of Glassware*, max. h. 20.7 cm (89.65.1-6).

Collection of Glassware, Czechoslovakia, Bohemian, ca. 1905-1910, enamelled glass (65.1-65.6), gift of Mrs. Jefferson Patterson.

Clock in the Form of a Cathedral, French, ca. 1830, gilt and silvered bronze and blue glass (64), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund purchase.

J.F. Antoine Bovy, French, 1795-1877, *Medal commemorating Louis-Philippe and the Completion of the French Railway*, 1842, copper (5), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Jean-Auguste Barre, French, 1811-1896, *Medal Commemorating the Visit of Louis-Philippe and the Royal Family at the Mint on November 8, 1833*, 1833, bronze (4), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

1990

Platter and Pair of Urns, French, ca. 1938, Henri B. Quimper company, ceramic (110.1-110.3), gift of Gladys and Saul Weinberg.

French, *Clock in the Form of a Cathedral*, h. 60.3 cm (89.64).

EXHIBITIONS

. . . AND THE KITCHEN SINK: TWENTIETH-CENTURY WORKS FROM THE PERMANENT COLLECTION
December 10, 1988-March 8, 1989. This exhibition of more than sixty American modern works from the permanent collection explored the humor and various techniques of the artists.

EAST ASIAN ART FROM THE PERMANENT COLLECTION
March 18-June 12, 1989. In this exhibition, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean bronze, porcelain, lacquerware, woodcuts, and paintings spanning 3 millennia displayed the differences in style and aesthetic philosophies of these cultures.

CLASSICAL REVIVALS: GREEK AND ROMAN THEMES IN WESTERN ART
March 25-May 15, 1989. Organized by the students in the Museum Studies class of 1988-1989, the works in this exhibition, all from the permanent collection, examined the revival of classical Greek and Roman themes in later periods.

THE MODERNIST STILL LIFE - PHOTOGRAPHED
June 6-July 2 1989. This exhibition, organized by Jean S. Tucker of the University of Missouri-St. Louis, in celebration of 150 years of photography, defined the still life as a conscious construction by the artist, emerging as an expression of free choice.

THE ART OF THE JULY MONARCHY: FRANCE 1830 TO 1848
October 21-December 3, 1989. Organized to mark the sesquicentennial anniversary of the University of Missouri, this was the first major exhibition ever to focus on French art and culture in the 1830s and '40s, during the reign of Louis Philippe, the citizen-king. This exhibition was comprised of more than 220 works of paintings, sculpture, drawings, prints and illustrated books from twenty French and thirty American museums.

ROME AND THE GERMANS AS SEEN IN COINAGE
December 22, 1989-March 10, 1990. Coin replicas dating from 116 B.C. to A.D. 535 were the focus of this exhibition which encompassed the history of the Roman Empire.

The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848, views of the salon and bookstore front.

The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848, view of the collector's room.

Missouri Murals: Studies for the State Capitol Decoration, Missouri State Museum, Jefferson City.

MISSOURI MURALS: STUDIES FOR THE STATE CAPITOL DECORATION

January 20-March 4, 1990. This exhibition traced the history of the extensive decoration program commissioned after the completion of the new Missouri state Capitol building in 1918.

PICTURES THAT MADE A DIFFERENCE: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHARLES MOORE

January 26-March 31, 1990. In this exhibition black and white photographic images of moments during the Civil Rights movement illustrated the hopes and fears of America in the 1950s and '60s.

The Art of Illuminated Manuscripts and Early Printing

THE ART OF ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTING
February 2-April 8, 1990. Sacred and secular texts from the tenth through the sixteenth centuries were featured in this exhibition from the collections of Ellis Library, the Museum of Art and Archaeology, and the Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

DIVERSITY OF VISION: AMERICAN WORKS ON PAPER FROM THE PERMANENT COLLECTION
March June 17, 1990. The works of twelve twentieth-century American artists were featured in this exhibition, which illustrated the diversity of vision found not only among artists in one century but also within the total creative expression.

MAJOR TO MINOR: REFLECTIONS OF MONUMENTAL ART IN THE GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD
April 6-May 13, 1990. The purpose of this exhibition was to contextualize a selection of small-scale Greek and Roman objects as links in a chain of visual tradition, and to explore the route by which the monumental original found its way into minor-scale form.

THE MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY COLLECTION
June 8-September 31, 1990. The multiplicity of styles and intentions of twentieth-century art was explored in this exhibition from the permanent collection.

Major to Minor: Reflections of Monumental Art in the Greek and Roman World

VIEWS AND VISTAS: LANDSCAPES FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

June 22-September 31, 1990. The works in this exhibition represented a sweeping range of landscape types: purely imaginary settings, romantic evocations of nature's moods and exotic settings, and realistic depictions of specific topography and observations of nature.

EARLY 20TH CENTURY ART GLASS FROM A PRIVATE COLLECTION

September 1, 1990-May 26, 1991. This exhibition of 35 glass objects from a private collection illustrated a number of important stylistic and technical advancements made during the Art Glass movement in America and Europe.

Greg Olson, chief preparator, and Susan Langdon, acting curator of ancient art, discuss the installation of the *Major to Minor: Reflections of Monumental Art in the Greek and Roman World* exhibition.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN ARTISTS 1880-1987: SELECTIONS FROM THE EVANS-TIBBS COLLECTION

October 20-December 2, 1990. This exhibition, organized by SITES, focused on twentieth-century African-American art, the influence of nineteenth-century black artists and its relation to black American history from 1880 through the 1980s.

LOANS & EXHIBITIONS TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS

1989

LOANS

To the Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 23 pieces of ancient Corinthian pottery, all dating between 675 and 400 B.C., for the exhibition ***Ancient Corinth***, January 29-March 12.

To The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, 2 schist sculptures of the Buddha from Pakistan, the Gandharan period, for the exhibition ***The Universal Teacher Image of the Buddha in Asia***, May 14-July 23.

Seated Buddha, possibly 3rd. c., India, h. 36.5 cm (62.53).

Jan Sadeler I, *The Burning of Troy* (after Master de Vos), engraving, 19.5 x 27 cm (78.48).

To The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, an engraving by Jan Sadeler I, Flemish, 1550-1600, *The Burning of Troy* (after Marten de Vos), and an agamograph by Yaacov Agam, Israel, b. 1928, *No.123*, 1971, for the exhibition ***Art By Chance: Fortuitous Impressions***, July 22-September 3.

To the George Caleb Bingham Gallery, Department of Art, University of Missouri-Columbia, 10 works in various media for the exhibition ***Faculty Artist: A Retrospective of Works by Former Members of the Art Faculty at UMC 1887-Present***, August 28-September 24.

To the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., a drawing by Winold Reiss, American, *Harlem Girl I*, ca. 1925, for the exhibition ***To Color America: The Portraits of F. Winold Reiss***, October 27-April 1, 1990.

To the Margaret Harwell Art Museum, Poplar Bluff, Missouri, 38 works in various media from the Predynastic through Roman periods, for the exhibition ***Ancient Egypt***, December 3-January 31, 1990.

F. Winhold Reiss, *Harlem Girl I*, ca. 1925, pencil, charcoal and pastel on heavy illustration board, 55.5 x 37.8 cm (78.183).

EXHIBITIONS

Special opening at the Missouri State Museum, Jefferson City, ***Missouri Murals: Studies for the State Capitol Decoration***, March 1-May 31.

To the Albrecht Art Museum, St. Joseph, Missouri, ***Missouri Murals: Studies for the State Capitol Decoration***, June 5-July 23.

To the Margaret Harwell Art Museum, Poplar Bluff, Missouri, ***Missouri Murals: Studies for the State Capitol Decoration***, November 5-December 1.

1990

LOANS

To the Quincy Museum of Natural History and Art, Quincy, Illinois, 20 works in various media from the predynastic through Roman periods for an exhibition on the arts of Ancient Egypt, March 10-December 31.

To the Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, a drawing by Thomas Hart Benton, American, 1889-1975, *Study for Colleges and City Life for the mural Cultural Progress* and a painting, *Portrait of a Musician*, for the exhibition ***Thomas Hart Benton: Drawing from Life***, March 2 -May 20.

To the Seattle Art Museum, stoneware by Richard Notkin, American, b. 1938, *Cooling Tower Teapot #5*, 1983, for the exhibition ***Strong Tea: Richard Notkin and the Yixing Tradition***, May 31-July 29.

To The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *Fragment from a Mural Painting*, Teotihuacan, ca. 300-600, for the exhibition ***The Arts of Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries***, October 10-January 13, 1991.

EXHIBITIONS

To the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, ***The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848***, January 21-March 12.

To the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, California, ***The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848***, March 31-May 20.

To the Carousel Gallery, St. Louis Department of Parks and Recreation, St. Louis, Missouri, ***Missouri Murals: Studies for the State Capitol Decoration***, October 6-November 11.

OTHER MUSEUM ACTIVITIES

1989

LECTURES

FEBRUARY 6
Andrea Norris, Director, Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, "Milan and Leonardo da Vinci," Blake-More Godwin Lecture.

FEBRUARY 13
Anna Marguerite McCann, Professor, Trinity College, Hartford, CT, "Underwater Archaeology: Excavations at the Roman Port of Cosa (Italy)," sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

FEBRUARY 27
William R. Biers, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Lost Scents: Can We Identify Perfumes in Greek Vases?" sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

MARCH 23
Morteza Sajadian, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Western Influences on Caliphal Art of Cordoba, Spain."

MARCH 27
Lawrence Okamura, Department of History, "Hoardes, Hordes, and Insurrection: Trouble in Third-Century Germany," sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

MARCH 30 - APRIL 1
Midwest Art History Society, Sixteenth Annual Meeting, Symposium: "Mural Painting in American Government Buildings: The Decoration of the Missouri State Capitol", Osmund Overby, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia; "The Missouri Capitol as a Beaux-Arts Type," Richard Guy Wilson, Professor, University of Virginia; "The Concept of the American Renaissance," Francis V. O'Connor, Independent scholar; "Mural Painting in Capitol Buildings," M. Sue Kendall, Independent scholar, "Mural Painting and the American Scene."

APRIL 10
Jan Bouzek, Professor, Charles University, "Greece and Barbarian Europe in the Early Iron Age," sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

APRIL 28
Warren Moon, Professor, Department of Art History and Classics, University of Wisconsin-Madison, "The Painted Scenes from the Synagogue at Dura Europus," sponsored by the Museum Associates After Hours Committee.

OCTOBER 20 - 21
Symposium; "The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848": Gabriel P. Weisberg, Professor, Department of Art History, University of Minnesota, "Antoine Vivenel, Entrepreneur of the Juste Milieu"; Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Professor, Department of Art and Music, Seton Hall University, "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: Trying to Make a Reputation during the July Monarchy"; James Cuno, Director, Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, "The Scatological Impulse in French Caricature, 1830-1835"; Robert Bezucha, Professor, Department of History, Amherst College, "The French Revolution at Age Fifty"; Michael Driskel, Assistant Professor, Department of Art History, Southern Methodist University, "The July Monarchy Under the Shadow of Napoleon"; Patricia Condon, Assistant Professor, Department of Art History, University of Kentucky, "Shaping the Private Environment into a Universe"; June Hargrove, Professor, Department of Art History, University of Maryland, "Sculptural Eclecticism: Liberty or Compromise under Louis-Philippe."

OCTOBER 24
Janet E. Buerger, Associate Curator, International Museum of Photography, George Eastman House, "The Emergence of Photography under the July Monarchy."

NOVEMBER 3
Michael Marrinan, Associate Professor, Department of Art, Stanford University, "Louis Philippe's Versailles: A History Machine for the Grand Public," Blake-More Godwin Lecture.

NOVEMBER 14
Claudia Einecke-Schuck, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Daumier--the Art of the Caricature."

NOVEMBER 28
Janis Bergman-Carton, Department of Art, University of Texas at Austin, "Conduct Unbecoming: Daumier and the Women of Ideas."

MIDDAY GALLERY EVENTS

JANUARY 25
Karen Kleinfelder, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "...and the Kitchen Sink: Twentieth-Century Works from the Permanent Collection."

FEBRUARY 1
Jane Biers, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Recent Ancient Acquisitions."

FEBRUARY 8
Concert by Missouri Arts Quintet, Department of Music.

FEBRUARY 15
Morteza Sajadian, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Films of the Thirties: A Golden Age of Cinema."

MARCH 8
Jeffrey Ball, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Studies for the State Capitol Decoration."

MARCH 22
Forrest McGill, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "East Asian Art in the Permanent Collection."

MARCH 29
Edzard Baumann, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Greek and Roman Themes in Western Art."

OCTOBER 25
Claudia Einecke-Schuck, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "An Introduction to the Art of the July Monarchy."

NOVEMBER 1
Ray Brassieur, Missouri Cultural Heritage Center, "Folklore and Folklife of the Missouri French."

NOVEMBER 8
Morteza Sajadian, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "France and the Islamic World."

NOVEMBER 15
Ray Brassieur and Pierre Boyer, Missouri Cultural Heritage Center, "Traditional French Stories: Hero Tales, Fantasies, and Fairy Tales Remembered."

NOVEMBER 29
Dramatic Reading by Bobby Korner and Carla Waal, Department of Theatre, "Dramatic Readings from the July Monarchy."

FILMS

FEBRUARY 22
The Blue Angel, part I, 1930.

MARCH 1
The Blue Angel, part II, 1930.

APRIL 5
M, part I, 1931.

APRIL 12
M, part II, 1931.

APRIL 19
Grand Illusion, part I, 1937.

APRIL 26
Grand Illusion, part II, 1937.

OCTOBER 27
The Three Musketeers, 1975.

OCTOBER 29
Les Misérables, 1935.

NOVEMBER 5
Madame Bovary, 1949.

NOVEMBER 19
La Sylphide, performed by the Paris Opera Ballet Company (video).

NOVEMBER 26
Hector Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique*, discussed by André Previn and performed by the London Symphony Orchestra (video).

1990

LECTURES

FEBRUARY 8
Kwabena Ampofo-Anti, Associate Professor, Department of Art, Hampton University, "Traditional African Art in Society."

FEBRUARY 9
John Kronik, Department of Spanish, Cornell University, editor of PMLA, "The Web, the Hive, and the Looking Glass: The Art of Self-Consciousness."

FEBRUARY 26
Jack Baker, Associate Professor, Department of Classics, The Ohio State University, "Persepolis: The Achaemenid Regal Center," sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

MARCH 26
John Coleman, Professor, Department of Classics, Cornell University, "Excavations at Halai," sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America.

APRIL 24
Panel Discussion, "Censorship in the Arts: 'Rationale' and Repercussions": Bill Bondeson, Department of Philosophy; Claudia Einecke-Schuck, Museum of Art and Archaeology; Steve Kaufman, Department of Philosophy; Karen Kleinfelder, Department of Art History and Archaeology; and Mary Jo Neitz, Department of Sociology.

APRIL 25
Cissy Grossman, museum consultant and free-lance curator, "Curator as Detective: Uncovering Meaning in an Object by Sign and Symbol."

APRIL 26
Panel Discussion, "Censorship in the Arts: 'Rationale' and Repercussions": Amy Ferman, Artist; Sarah Marcus, KCOU; Carole Patterson, Artist; Morteza Sajadian, Museum of Art and Archaeology; and Sandra Scott, School of Journalism.

OCTOBER 19
Sharon Patton, Chief Curator, Studio Museum in Harlem, "African American Artists 1880-1987: Selections from the Evans-Tibbs Collection," sponsored by Museum Associates.

NOVEMBER 27
"The Faust Fest," Edzard Baumann, Department of Art History and Archaeology, and Rudi Nollert, Readings from Goethe's Faust; Mary Brodnax, interpolation of the story; Ross Bernhardt, Hugh Emerson, Michael Mehan, and Christine Wallace, musical performance; Claudia Einecke, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "An Interpretation of Delacroix's L'ombrede Marguerite Apparaissant a Faust."

MIDDAY GALLERY EVENTS

JANUARY 24
Jeffrey Ball, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "The Missouri Murals."

JANUARY 31
Ray Brassieur, Missouri Cultural Heritage Center, "Early Industry in Missouri."

FEBRUARY 6
Ann Guell, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Aldus Manutius: Printer and Man of Letters."

FEBRUARY 14
Charles Jones, Professor, Department of History, William Woods College, "Missouri and the Civil War."

FEBRUARY 21
Osmund Overby, Department Art History and Archaeology, "The History of the Missouri Capitol."

APRIL 11
Susan Langdon, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Major to Minor: Reflections of Monumental Art in the Greek and Roman World."

APRIL 18
Morteza Sajadian, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Recent Glass Acquisitions."

JUNE 13
Frank Stack, Department of Art, "Matisse's Earthly Paradise."

JUNE 20
Frank Stack, Department of Art, "An Earthly Hell: The Post-Modern Artists' Dilemma."

JUNE 27
Robert Bussabarger, Department of Art, "Ceramics: Unaffected by Time and Place."

JULY 11
Musical performance by Christine M. Wallace, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Musical Images."

JULY 18
Carole Stonner, Graduate Student, Department of Art, "Observation Versus Preconception: An Attempt to Reveal Nature's Complexity."

JULY 25
Greg Olson, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Constructed Landscape."

AUGUST 1
Notley Hawkins, Graduate Student, Department of Art, "The Nocturne: The Pursuit of a Personal Vision in American Painting."

SEPTEMBER 12
Claudia Einecke, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Views and Vistas: Conception and Perception in Landscape Art."

SEPTEMBER 19
Morteza Sajadian, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Early Twentieth-Century Art Glass."

SEPTEMBER 26
Candace Stout, Department of Art, "Survival Skills for the Appreciation of Art."

OCTOBER 3
Luann Andrews, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Museum as Educator."

OCTOBER 10
William Berry, Department of Art, "Artist in Residence: Working Abroad."

OCTOBER 17
Jane Biers, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Recent Acquisitions of Ancient Art."

OCTOBER 24
Claudia Einecke, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "1880-1987: Works from the Evans-Tibbs Collection in Context."

OCTOBER 31
Geta LeSeur-Brown, Office of Women Studies, "When Malindy Sings: The Harlem Renaissance in Literature and Performance."

NOVEMBER 7
Daniel Frye, Department of Art, "Shifting Paradigms of Aesthetic Beliefs."

NOVEMBER 28
K.C. Morrison, Vice Provost for Minority Affairs and Faculty Development, "The Museum's Role in Minority Education."

FILMS

FEBRUARY 28
La Strada, 1954.

MARCH 7
La Dolce Vita, 1960.

MARCH 14
Satyricon, 1969.

MARCH 29
Amarcord, 1974.

JUNE 20
Rear Window, 1954.
Lecture by Karen Kleinfelder, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Spying on the Voyeur: Hitchcock's *Rear Window*."

JUNE 27
Un Chien Andalou, 1929.
Lecture by Karen Kleinfelder, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "The Inner Eye/I of Surrealism."

JULY 11
Rashamon, 1950.
Lecture by Morteza Sajadian, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "A Prismatic Description of a Single Event."

JULY 18
The Draughtsman's Contract, 1983.

Lecture by Patricia Crown, Department of Art History and Archaeology and Catherine Parke, Department of English, "The Draughtsman's Contract: Riddles of History and Art History."

JULY 25
8 1/2, 1963.
Lecture by Morteza Sajadian, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Lies and Evasions as a Source of the Search for the Authentic Self."

OCTOBER 21
The Birth of a Nation, 1915.

OCTOBER 30
Say Amen, Somebody, 1983.

NOVEMBER 6
Soul Soldier, 1972.

NOVEMBER 11
Do the Right Thing, 1989.

MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
STAFF LIST

1989

FORREST MCGILL
Director, through October
MORTEZA SAJADIAN
Assistant Director
SAUL S. WEINBERG
Director Emeritus
JANE C. BIERS
Curator of Ancient Art, on leave of absence
PATRICIA CONDON
Curator of European and American Art, through July
CLAUDIA EINECKE-SCHUCK
Acting Curator of European and American Art
SUSAN LANGDON
Acting Curator of Ancient Art
JEFFREY B. WILCOX
Registrar and Photographer
MAURA F. CORNMAN
Conservator
LUANN ANDREWS
Curator of Education: Docent and Public Programming
ANN GUELL
Academic Coordinator
GREG OLSON
Chief Preparator
MIKE SLEADD
Graphic Designer/Preparator, through April
ANNE BROOKS
Secretary/Tour Coordinator
CHRISTINE WALLACE
Secretary
AMY BRASSIEUR
Membership Coordinator
SUE STEVENS
Bookkeeper
CHARLOTTE OVERBY
Assistant Preparator

AIMÉE LEONHARD
Conservation Assistant
JEFFREY BALL
Curatorial Assistant
GLADYS D. WEINBERG
Research Fellow
DAVID DAVIS
Security
NORMAN NEELY
Security
FLORENE FRATCHER
Museum Shop Manager, through June
BETTE WEISS
Museum Shop Manager
MARY CAMPBELL
Museum Shop Assistant Manager
STUDENT ASSISTANTS
Walter Berry
Jennifer Crotty
Kathy Needle
James Terry

1990

MORTEZA SAJADIAN
Director
SAUL S. WEINBERG
Director Emeritus
JANE C. BIERS
Curator of Ancient Art
CLAUDIA EINECKE
Acting Curator of European and American Art
SUSAN LANGDON
Adjunct Associate Curator of Ancient Art
JEFFREY B. WILCOX
Registrar and Photographer
MAURA F. CORNMAN
Conservator, through March
LUANN ANDREWS
Curator of Education: Docent and Public Programming
ANN GUELL
Academic Curator, through December
GREG OLSON
Chief Preparator

ANNE BROOKS
Senior Secretary/Tour Coordinator
CHRISTINE WALLACE
Fiscal Officer
SUE STEVENS
Bookkeeper
CHARLOTTE OVERBY
Assistant Preparator
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DANAH COESTER
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GLADYS D. WEINBERG
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DAVID DAVIS
Security
NORMAN NEELY
Security
BETTE WEISS
Museum Shop Manager
MARY CAMPBELL
Museum Shop Assistant Manager
STUDENT ASSISTANTS
Jennifer Crotty
Ginger Fletcher
Richard Hinkel
Kathy Needle
Jeannette Rozgay

MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
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BETTY REVINGTON BURDICK
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Department of Romance Languages
TONI PRAWL
Graduate Student
MORTEZA SAJADIAN
Director, Museum of Art and Archaeology
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* Acquisitions subcommittee

ART HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
DEPARTMENT FACULTY 1989-90

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Chairman
EDZARD BAUMANN
WILLIAM BIERS
PATRICIA CROWN
on leave of absence, fall 1990
KAREN KLEINFELDER
SUSAN LANGDON
HOWARD MARSHALL
OSMUND OVERBY
MARCUS RAUTMAN
MORTEZA SAJADIAN
KATHLEEN SLANE
on leave of absence, fall 1990

EMERITUS/EMERITA
Homer Thomas
Vera Townsend
Saul Weinberg